

Food and Foodways in Roman Britain:
A study in contact and culture change.

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Abstract

Food and Foodways in Roman Britain: A study in contact and culture change

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This thesis explores food and foodways, and changes in foodways over the Roman period, it has two main aims: to develop a methodology for the study of foodways and to apply this methodology to examine the impact of the Roman Conquest on native cultures. The thesis is underpinned by the development of a post-colonially informed theoretical framework.

In the first part of the thesis a methodology is developed which allows three main strands of evidence for the study of foodways (pottery, animal bones and botanical remains) to be studied together rather than in isolation. The foodways are broken down into different stages: food procurement, food preparation, cooking and serving. The methodology is then applied to case studies chosen from the area of the Corieltauvi and a representative sample from Southern Britain. The sites were chosen on the basis of the quality of the excavations and the published reports and the presence of all three of the data sets. The published data were reanalysed using SPSS and Excel and were recast in the different elements of the meal process. These sites have been divided into broad categories such as rural low status, rural high status and urban. Models were developed to predict foodways for each site category. Questions such as regionality, differences in consumption and status display have also been addressed.

The results demonstrate the value of the application of the methodology to the analysis of the different data sets together rather than in isolation. The analysis has shown that the meaning of pottery and foodstuffs is not necessarily intrinsic but dependant on their context of use. It has also been established that change is far less common than continuity on most of the sites studied.

The conclusions suggest important regional and status differences in the way people engage with food and in the material culture surrounding food. The different areas of analysis have allowed for clear comparisons between the different sites and have also highlighted areas of change and continuity more clearly. The thesis has challenged a number of existing models of Romanisation and emphasised the continuity of native cultures in the areas studied.

Keywords: Food and foodways; Post-colonial theory; Romanisation; Identity; Change and continuity; Status differentiation; Consumption.

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Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Contents	viv
List of Tables	xiii
List of Figures	
 Chapter One: An Introduction	 1
 Chapter Two: Theoretical Frameworks	 14
1. Romanisation	14
2. Beyond Romanization: Post-colonial theory and resistance	20
2.1. Resistance versus. variability	25
3. Food and Foodways	29
3.1. Why is food important? An anthropological perspective	29
3.2. How food has been studied in Roman archaeology	36
3.2.1. Animal bones	37
3.2.2. Botanical remains	40
3.2.3. Pottery	42
3.3. Food in historical archaeology: The integration of finds	43
3.4. Roman Archaeology: The beginnings of integration	45
3.5. How can food be studied in an archaeological context	46
3.5.1. The food process	47
3.6. Conclusions	48
 Chapter Three: Methodology	 49
1. Introduction	49
2. General outline of the model	49
3. Analytical methods	51
3.1. Introduction	51
3.2. Species proportions	51
3.3. Age-at-death and sex	53
3.4. Size of animals	53
3.5. Butchery	55
3.6. Skeletal element representation	58
3.7. Form, fabric and colour of ceramic vessels	59
3.8. Fragment size of bones	59
3.9. Presence/absence and quantity of imported goods	60
3.10. Botanical remains	60
3.11. Textual evidence	62
3.12. Other evidence	63
4. Discussion of the different stages of the model	63
4.1. Food Procurement	64
4.1.1. Introduction	64
4.1.2. Animal husbandry regimes	64
4.1.3. Supply	66
4.1.4. Wild resources	67
4.1.5. Plant remains	68
4.2. Food Preparation	70
4.2.1. Introduction	70
4.2.2. Processing of ingredients	70
4.2.3. Storage and preservation	75
4.3. Meal Preparation	76

4.3.1. Introduction	76
4.4. Cooking	77
4.5. Social context of eating	78
4.6. Serving and eating	78
5. Data collection	79
5.1. How the data were collected	80
5.1.1. Faunal assemblage	81
5.1.2. Ceramics	82
5.1.3. Botanical remains	83
5.2. Problems with the data	84
5.2.1. Taphonomy	86
5.2.2. Residuality	87
5.2.3. Structured deposition and differential assemblages	87
5.3. Site selection: Status, territory and towns	89
 Chapter Four: Rural Sites: Sites within the Corieltauvin territory	 93
1. Introduction	93
1.1. Whitwell	95
1.1.1. Introduction	97
1.1.2. Location	97
1.1.3. Excavation	97
1.1.4. Pottery	98
1.1.5. Animal remains	99
1.1.6. Plant remains	99
1.1.7. Food procurement	99
1.1.8. Food preparation	102
1.1.9. Cooking	102
1.1.10. Serving	103
1.1.11. Other information	103
1.1.12. Summary	103
1.2. Empingham	104
1.2.1. Introduction	106
1.2.2. Location	106
1.2.3. Excavation	107
1.2.4. Pottery	108
1.2.5. Animal remains	108
1.2.6. Plant remains	109
1.2.7. Food procurement	109
1.2.8. Food preparation	113
1.2.9. Cooking	113
1.2.10. Serving	114
1.2.11. Other information	114
1.2.12. Summary	115
1.3. Pasture Lodge Farm, Long Bennington	116
1.3.1. Introduction	118
1.3.2. Location	118
1.3.3. Excavation	118
1.3.4. Pottery	119
1.3.5. Animal remains	119
1.3.6. Molluscs	119
1.3.7. Plant remains	119
1.3.8. Food procurement	120
1.3.9. Food preparation	123

1.3.10. Cooking	124
1.3.11. Serving	124
1.3.12. Other information	124
1.3.13. Summary	124
1.4. Dragonby	125
1.4.1. Introduction	129
1.4.2. Location	129
1.4.3. Excavation	129
1.4.4. Pottery	131
1.4.5. Animal remains	131
1.4.6. Plant remains	132
1.4.7. Food procurement	133
1.4.8. Food preparation	139
1.4.9. Cooking	140
1.4.10. Serving	141
1.4.11. Other information	141
1.4.12. Summary	143
1.5. Dunstons Clump	144
1.5.1. Introduction	146
1.5.2. Location	146
1.5.3. Excavation	147
1.5.4. Pottery	147
1.5.5. Animal remains	147
1.5.6. Plant remains	147
1.5.7. Food procurement	148
1.5.8. Food preparation	149
1.5.9. Cooking	149
1.5.10. Serving	150
1.5.11. Summary	150
1.6. Clay Lane, Earls Barton, Northamptonshire	151
1.6.1. Introduction	153
1.6.2. Location	153
1.6.3. Excavation	153
1.6.4. Pottery	153
1.6.5. Animal remains	153
1.6.6. Plant remains	154
1.6.7. Food procurement	154
1.6.8. Food preparation	157
1.6.9. Cooking	157
1.6.10. Serving	157
1.6.11. Summary	157
1.7. Maxey (Plant's Farm)	158
1.7.1. Introduction	160
1.7.2. Location	160
1.7.3. Excavation	160
1.7.4. Pottery	161
1.7.5. Animal remains	162
1.7.6. Plant remains	162
1.7.7. Molluscs	162
1.7.8. Food procurement	162
1.7.9. Food preparation	165
1.7.10. Cooking	165
1.7.11. Serving	167

1.7.12. Summary	167
1.8. Haddon Farmstead	168
1.8.1. Introduction	170
1.8.2. Location	170
1.8.3. Excavation	170
1.8.4. Pottery	170
1.8.5. Animal remains	171
1.8.6. Plant remains	171
1.8.7. Food procurement	172
1.8.8. Food preparation	173
1.8.9. Cooking	174
1.8.10. Serving	175
1.8.11. Other information	175
1.8.12. Summary	175
1.9. Orton Hall Farm	176
1.9.1. Introduction	178
1.9.2. Location	178
1.9.3. Excavation	179
1.9.4. Pottery	179
1.9.5. Animal remains	179
1.9.6. Food procurement	180
1.9.7. Food preparation	184
1.9.8. Cooking	185
1.9.9. Serving	187
1.9.10. Other information	188
1.9.11. Summary	188
1.10. Stonea Grange	190
1.10.1. Introduction	190
1.10.2. Location	190
1.10.3. Excavation	192
1.10.4. Pottery	193
1.10.5. Animal remains	193
1.10.6. Molluscs	194
1.10.7. Plant remains	194
1.10.8. Food procurement	195
1.10.9. Food preparation	198
1.10.10. Cooking	201
1.10.11. Serving	201
1.10.12. Other information	202
1.10.13. Summary	203
2. Summary of Corieltauvian sites	205
Chapter five: Rural sites: Non-Corieltauvian sites	216
1. Introduction	216
1.1. Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire	216
1.1.1. Introduction	218
1.1.2. Location	218
1.1.3. Excavation	218
1.1.4. Pottery	219
1.1.5. Animal remains	219
1.1.6. Plant remains	220
1.1.7. Food procurement	220
1.1.8. Food preparation	223

1.1.9. Cooking	224
1.1.10. Serving	225
1.1.11. Other information	226
1.1.12. Summary	227
1.8. Asthall, Oxfordshire	228
1.2.1. Introduction	230
1.2.2. Location	230
1.2.3. Pottery	230
1.2.4. Animal remains	231
1.2.5. Plant remains	231
1.2.6. Food procurement	231
1.2.7. Food preparation	235
1.2.8. Cooking	236
1.2.9. Serving	237
1.2.10. Summary	238
1.3. Watkins Farm, Northmoor, Oxfordshire	240
1.3.1. Introduction	240
1.3.2. Location	243
1.3.3. Excavation	243
1.3.4. Pottery	243
1.3.5. Animal remains	244
1.3.6. Plant remains	244
1.3.7. Food procurement	244
1.3.8. Food preparation	247
1.3.9. Cooking	247
1.3.10. Serving	248
1.3.11. Other information	248
1.3.12. Summary	248
1.4. Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn	250
1.4.1. Introduction	250
1.4.2. Location	250
1.4.3. Excavation	252
1.4.4. Pottery	253
1.4.5. Animal remains	253
1.4.6. Plant remains	254
1.4.7. Food procurement	254
1.4.8. Food preparation	258
1.4.9. Cooking	259
1.4.10. Serving	259
1.4.11. Other information	260
1.4.12. Summary	260
1.5. Frocester	261
1.5.1. Introduction	263
1.5.2. Location	263
1.5.3. Excavation	263
1.5.4. Pottery	264
1.5.5. Animal remains	264
1.5.6. Plant remains	265
1.5.7. Molluscs	265
1.5.8. Food procurement	266
1.5.9. Food preparation	271
1.5.10. Cooking	272
1.5.11. Serving	273

1.5.12. Summary	273
2. Sites outside the Corieltauian territory: Summary	274
Chapter Six: Urban sites	282
1. Introduction	282
1.1. Causeway Lane, Leicester	282
1.1.1. Introduction	284
1.1.2. Roman Leicester: The site in its context	284
1.1.3. Location	286
1.1.4. Excavation	286
1.1.5. Pottery	288
1.1.6. Animal remains	288
1.1.7. Fish remains	288
1.1.8. Molluscs	289
1.1.9. Plant remains	289
1.1.10. Food procurement	290
1.1.11. Food preparation	293
1.1.12. Cooking	297
1.1.13. Serving	297
1.1.14. Summary	297
1.2. Bath Lane, Leicester	301
1.2.1. Introduction	303
1.2.2. Location	303
1.2.3. Excavation	304
1.2.4. Pottery	304
1.2.5. Animal remains	304
1.2.6. Food procurement	304
1.2.7. Food preparation	308
1.2.8. Cooking	308
1.2.9. Serving	308
1.2.10. Summary	308
1.3. Lincoln	311
1.3.1. Introduction	314
1.3.2. Roman Lincoln: The sites in their context	314
1.3.3. Location	316
1.3.4. Excavation	316
1.3.5. Pottery	316
1.3.6. Animal remains	317
1.3.7. Fish remains	318
1.3.8. Plant remains	319
1.3.9. Food procurement	319
1.3.10. Food preparation	324
1.3.11. Cooking	326
1.3.12. Serving	327
1.3.13. Summary	327
1.4. Silchester: Forum and Basilica Excavations	329
1.4.1. Introduction	332
1.4.2. Roman Silchester: The site in its context	332
1.4.3. Location	334
1.4.4. Excavation	334
1.4.5. Pottery	334
1.4.6. Animal remains	335
1.4.7. Fish remains	336

1.4.8. Plant remains	337
1.4.9. Food procurement	338
1.4.10. Food preparation	343
1.4.11. Cooking	345
1.4.12. Serving	347
1.4.13. Summary	347
2. Summary of urban sites	350
Chapter Seven: An archaeology of food: A discussion	358
1. Introduction	358
2. Iron Age Food	359
3. A range of foodways scenarios	361
4. Corieltauvian rural sites	366
5. Non-Corieltauvian rural sites	380
6. Supporting trends	384
7. Urban centres	386
8. The wider context – Mediterranean foodways	391
9. This study in context	395
Chapter Eight: Future Directions	399
1. Introduction	399
2. Research Themes	399
2.1. Change and continuity	399
2.2 Resistance	401
2.3. Romanisation	403
2.4. Identity and food	404
3. Future Research	405
3.1. The Data	405
3.2. Methodology for studying food in other time periods	408
3.3. A holistic approach to studying other areas of daily life	409
3.4. Conclusions	412
Bibliography	414

List of Tables

Acknowledgements	i
Contents	ii
List of Tables	viv
List of Figures	xiii
Table 1.1: List of sites discussed in the thesis	2
Table 3.1: The stages of the model illustrating the food process and how it can be identified in the archaeological record	50
Table 3.2: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat (based on modern cuts of meat). (After Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002)	56
Table 3.3: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat (based on modern cuts of meat). (After Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002)	56
Table 3.4: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat (based on modern cuts of meat). (After Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002)	57
Table 4.1: Species proportions from Whitwell (Total fragment count: 300)	100
Table 4.2: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Whitwell, calculated as a proportion of a notional 100 cattle bones.	100
Table 4.3: Ratio of domesticates/ horse and dog from Whitwell, calculated as a proportion of a notional 100 domesticates bones	101
Table 4.4: Fabric proportions from Whitwell (Sherd count: 200)	101
Table 4.5: Ratio of coarse wares/ local fine ware and imported fine ware from Whitwell	102
Table 4.6: Ratio of coarse ware/ fine ware from Whitwell	102
Table 4.7: Species Proportions from Empingham (Total Fragments Count: 1,855)	110
Table 4.8: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Empingham	110
Table 4.9: Ratios of domesticate mammals/ domestic fowl from Empingham	111
Table 4.10: Fabric proportions from Empingham (Total weight in kg: 56.431)	112
Table 4.11: Ratio of coarse wares/ local fine wares and imported fine wares from Empingham	112
Table 4.12: Ratio of coarse wares/ fine wares (local and imported) from Empingham	112
Table 4.13: Species proportions from Pasture Lodge farm (Total fragment count: 1,859)	120
Table 4.14: Ratio of all species/cattle from Pasture Lodge Farm	120
Table 4.15: Ratios of non-livestock species against domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig) from Pasture Lodge farm	121
Table 4.16: Ratios of wild species (red deer, roe deer and hare) against domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig) from Pasture Lodge farm	121
Table 4.17: Sherd numbers of coarse ware, local fine ware and imported fine ware (sherd count: 663) from Pasture Lodge farm	122
Table 4.18: Ratios of fabric types against coarse wares from Pasture Lodge farm	123
Table 4.19: Minimum Number of Individuals of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby	134
Table 4.20: Meat Weight (kg) of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby	134
Table 4.21: Meat Weight (%) of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby	134
Table 4.22: Fabric proportions from Dragonby from Dragonby	136
Table 4.23: Fabric proportions in the early Roman period (Gallo-Belgic, Iron Age Fine ware, Iron Age coarse ware, Romano-British fine ware, Romano-British coarse ware) expressed as estimated number of vessels from Dragonby	136

Table 4.24: Fabric proportions of the later Roman period (Gallo-Belgic, Iron Age style, Romano-British style) from Dragonby expressed as estimated number of vessels.	136
Table 4.25: Number of sherds of local and imported mortaria from Dragonby (N: 191)	139
Table 4.26: Quantification of different types of amphorae from Dragonby (Kg: 71.253 and N: 422)	140
Table 4.27: Species proportions (total fragment count: 2,944) from Clay Lane, Earls Barton	155
Table 4.28: Ratio of cattle/sheep, pig, horse, red deer, dog and domestic bird from Clay Lane, Earls Barton	155
Table 4.29: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from Clay Lane, Earls Barton	156
Table 4.30: Fabric proportion (Weight in kg: 47.220) from Clay Lane, Earls Barton	156
Table 4.31: Species numbers (total fragments count: 170) from Maxey.	163
Table 4.32: Ratio of all species/cattle from Maxey	163
Table 4.33: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 4) from Maxey	164
Table 4.34: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 116) from Maxey	164
Table 4.35: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 59) from Maxey	164
Table 4.36: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 154) from Maxey	164
Table 4.37: Number of forms from Maxey	165
Table 4.38: Number of different forms present from Maxey	165
Table 4.39: Number of forms from Maxey	166
Table 4.40: Number of forms from Maxey	166
Table 4.41: Species numbers (Total fragment count: 3,086) from Orton Hall Farm	181
Table 4.42: Ratio of cattle/sheep, pig, horse, dog, domestic bird, wild bird from Orton Hall Farm	181
Table 4.43: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/domestic and wild birds from Orton Hall Farm	182
Table 4.44: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from Orton Hall Farm	182
Table 4.45: Fabric proportions (percentage of sherd count) from Orton Hall Farm	183
Table 4.46: Ratio of coarse wares/local fine wares and imported fine wares from Orton Hall Farm	183
Table 4.47: Number of sherds belonging to mortaria from Orton Hall Farm (N: 195)	185
Table 4.49: Forms present (whole pots) at Orton Hall Farm	186
Table 4.50: Ratio of jars/bowl, dish, bowl/dish, beaker, mortaria and Samian from Orton Hall Farm	186
Table 4.51: Ratio of jar/serving vessels (bowl, dish and bowl/dish) from Orton Hall Farm	187
Table 4.52: Species proportions (in percentage) of the three main domesticates from Stonea Grange	196
Table 4.53: Ratio of cattle/sheep and pig from Stonea Grange	196
Table 4.54: Fabric proportions (%) from Stonea Grange	197
Table 4.55: Ratio of coarse ware/ local fine ware and imported fine ware from Stonea Grange	198
Table 4.56: Amphorae in weight (kg) and EVE from Stonea Grange	200
Table 4.57: Summary table for Clay Lane, Earls Barton	206
Table 4.58: Summary table for Dunstons Clump	207
Table 4.59: Summary table for Haddon	207
Table 4.60: Summary table for Whitwell	208

Table 4.61: Summary table for Dragonby	209
Table 4.62: Summary table for Maxey	209
Table 4.63: Summary table for Pasture Lodge Farm	210
Table 4.64: Summary table for Empingham	211
Table 4.65: Summary table for Orton Hall Farm	212
Table 4.66: Summary table for Stonea Grange	213
Table 5.1: Species proportions (total fragment count: 1,955) from Roughground Farm (1957-1982 and 1990)	221
Table 5.2: Ratio of cattle/ other species (%) from Roughground Farm	221
Table 5.3: Fabric proportions (sherd count: 2,941) from Roughground Farm	222
Table 5.4: Ratio of coarse ware/ local and imported fine ware from Roughground Farm	223
Table 5.5: Amphorae sherds (sherd count: 42) from Roughground Farm	224
Table 5.6: Pottery forms represented as percentages of estimated vessel equivalents (EVE) from Roughground Farm	225
Table 5.7: Total fragment count from Area A (N: 1,519) from Asthall	232
Table 5.8: Total fragment count from Area B (N: 840) from Asthall	232
Table 5.9: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Asthall	233
Table 5.10: Fabric numbers (expressed as EVEs) from Asthall	253
Table 5.11: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Asthall	236
Table 5.12: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Area A from Asthall	236
Table 5.13: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Area B from Ashtall	237
Table 5.14: Total Fragments count (%) from Frocester	266
Table 5.15: Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) from Frocester	266
Table 5.16: Ratio of cattle/sheep and pig (%) from Frocester	268
Table 5.17: Ratio of domestic species (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from Frocester	268
Table 5.18: Ratio of domestic species (cattle, sheep and pig)/ wild species (red and roe deer, fox, hare, rodent and weasel) from Frocester	269
Table 5.19: Fabric proportions (number of sherds: 31,593) from Frocester	270
Table 5.20: Number of sherds of each amphora type represented from Frocester	271
Table 5.21: Summary table for Watkins Farm	275
Table 5.22: Summary table for Asthall	276
Table 5.23: Summary table for Castle Copse	277
Table 5.24: Summary table for Frocester	278
Table 5.25: Summary table for Roughground Farm.	279
Table 6.1: Species numbers (total fragment count: 16,605) from Causeway Lane	291
Table 6.2: Ratios of cattle/other animals from Causeway Lane	291
Table 6.3: Ratio of domesticates/wild species from Causeway Lane	292
Table 6.4: Ratio of domesticates/domestic birds from Causeway Lane	292
Table 6.5: Number of sherds (37,725) of the different fabrics (coarse ware, local fine ware, imported fine ware) present from Causeway Lane.	293
Table 6.6: Ratio of coarse wares/local fine wares and imported fine wares from Causeway Lane	293
Table 6.7: Number of sherds (599) of mortaria from Causeway Lane	294
Table 6.8: Number of sherds (3,008) of amphorae from Causeway Lane	295

List of Tables

Table 6.9: Species proportions (total fragment count: 4,345) from Bath Lane	305
Table 6.10: Ratio of cattle/other species from Bath Lane	305
Table 6.11: Ratio of domesticates/wild species from Bath Lane	306
Table 6.12: Ratio of domesticates/bird species from Bath Lane	306
Table 6.13: Number of sherds (1,353) of the different types of fabric (coarse ware, local fine ware and imported fine ware) from Bath Lane	307
Table 6.14: Species numbers (Total fragment count: 27,096) from Lincoln	321
Table 6.15: Ratio of cattle/other species from Lincoln	321
Table 6.16: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/ other domesticates and fish (edible) (not including wild mammals) from Lincoln	322
Table 6.17: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/wild species (red deer, roe deer, boar, hare and wild birds) from Lincoln	323
Table 6.18: Fabric proportions (sherd count: 14,190) from Lincoln	323
Table 6.19: Ratio of coarse wares/ imported fine ware and local fine wares from Lincoln	324
Table 6.20: Proportions of mortaria (sherd count: 107) from Lincoln	326
Table 6.21: Proportions of amphorae (sherd count: 529) from Lincoln	326
Table 6.22: Species numbers (total fragments count: 22,136) from Silchester	340
Table 6.23: Meat weight (kg) for the three main domesticates from Silchester	341
Table 6.24: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Silchester	341
Table 6.25: Food stuffs as represented by the amphorae present (weight in kg: 62.131) from Silchester	345
Table 6.26: Vessels over all periods expressed as % of EVEs from Silchester	345
Table 6.27: Vessels within the food process represented as % of EVEs from Silchester	346
Table 6.28: Summary table for Causeway Lane	351
Table 6.29: Summary table for Bath Lane, Leicester.	352
Table 6.30: Summary table for Lincoln	353
Table 6.31: Summary table for Silchester Forum-Basilica	355
 Table 7.1: Degrees of change.	 361

List of Figures

Abstract	
Acknowledgements	i
Contents	ii
List of Tables	viv
List of Figures	xiii

Figure 1.1: A map, after Jones and Mattingly 1990: 156, showing the sites selected for analysis and the boundary of the Corieltavian Tribal area. See table 1.1 for identification details of the sites. 3

Figure 4.1:	Whitwell site plan. From Todd 1981: 54.	96
Figure 4.2:	Empingham site plan. From Cooper 2000: 10.	105
Figure 4.3:	Pasture Lodge Farm site plan. From Leary 1994: 8.	117
Figure 4.4a:	Dragonby overview plan, showing excavations in local landscape context. From May 1996a: 11	126
Figure 4.4b:	Dragonby site plan, Site One. From May 1996a: 68.	127
Figure 4.4c:	Dragonby site plan, Site Two. From May 1996a: 50.	128
Figure 4.5:	Dunstons Clump site plan. From Garton 1987: 21.	145
Figure 4.6:	Clay Lane site plan. From Dark and Dark 1997: 57.	152
Figure 4.7:	Maxey (Plant's Farm) site plan. From Pryor, French, et al. 1985: 27.	159
Figure 4.8:	Haddon site plan. From French 1994: 30.	169
Figure 4.9:	Orton Hall Farm site plan. From Jones and Mattingly 1990: 249.	177
Figure 4.10:	Stonea Grange site plan. After Jackson and Potter 1997: 63.	191
Figure 5.1:	Roughground Farm site plan. From Allen, et al. 1993: xx.	217
Figure 5.2:	Asthall site plan. From Booth 1997: 4.	229
Figure 5.3:	Watkins farm site plan. From Allen 1990: 3.	242
Figure 5.4:	Castle Copse site plan. From Hostetter, et al. (eds) 1997: 165.	251
Figure 5.5:	Frocester site plan. From Price 2000: 12.	262
Figure 6.1:	Leicester, general town plan. Highlighted area A is the Bath Lane excavation (see figure 6.2 for a more detailed plan), highlighted area B is the Causeway Lane excavation. From Clay and Mellor 1985: 33. The scale and complexity of the excavation precluded the publication of a site wide plan of features.	283
Figure 6.2:	The Bath Lane area, Leicester. From Clay and Mellor 1985: 1.	302
Figure 6.3a:	Lincoln, city plan, showing different city areas, and the locations of excavations. From Dobney, et al. 1996: 4.	312
Figure 6.3b:	Lincoln Town defences, area of excavation. From Colyer, et al. 1999: 2.	313
Figure 6.4a:	Silchester, general town plan. From Fulford and Timby 2000: 6.	330
Figure 6.4b:	Forum-Basilica plan. The area of the excavation covered the whole Basilica area. From Fulford and Timby 2000: 7.	331

Figure 7.1: Framework for mapping change in foodways against change in architecture.
Note: Orton Hall Farm included as an example. 364

Figure 7.2: Change in foodways mapped against change in architecture for
Corieltauvian rural sites. 367

Figure 7.3: Change in foodways mapped against change in architecture for non-
Corieltauvian rural sites. 381

Chapter One: An Introduction

Food is an area which is attracting increasing academic attention. This attention is in recognition that food is central to human identity, and in a discipline like archaeology, which, at least in part, seeks to address issues of human identity, food is an important topic. The theory of what food might mean, and the practical archaeological evidence the consumption of food might leave behind, form the basic components which will be addressed in the study that follows.

The theoretical framework of this thesis aims at the development of an understanding of the body of evidence concerning the human relationship to food (this will cover aspects of anthropology, as well as sociology, and the theory relating to the archaeology of households). It aims to ground the understanding of food in the daily-lived experience of the empire, and as such, the principal body of *archaeological* theory that I will be concerned with is that relating to decentralising our understanding of the empire – post-colonialism. The principal aim of this project is therefore to place food within a social context constructed within a framework that is sensitive to local conditions, and to the identities of local individuals. As such it will focus upon what I shall term the ‘native’ pattern of foodways (although that in itself, as we shall see, contains much internal variation), that of the people living in Britain whom the empire sought to rule.

To link theory to the archaeology and evidence, we need a case study and I have chosen Central England. This is principally the area occupied by the Corieltavian tribe with additional, contrasting, sites from outside this area. This area was chosen because it contains a wide variety of sites, published to the required standard, and lies outside the areas of principal military activity – a substantial longstanding military presence would obscure and possibly distort the native foodways with which this study is principally concerned.

The data for this project will be drawn from published excavation reports, listed upon Table 1.1. and mapped on Figure 1.1. The sites chosen for analysis include the urban centres located in the Corieltauvian territory, such as Leicester and Lincoln. These urban sites will be contrasted with rural sites including Orton Hall Farm, Stonea Grange, Dragonby, Empingham and Whitwell. Many of these sites have Iron Age phases, thus allowing for Iron Age/Roman, and urban/rural comparisons. Sites from outside the tribal area of the Corieltauvi, chosen to provide a comparison with Corieltauvian sites, will also be considered, such as Silchester, Great Bedwyn, and Roughground Farm. The criterion for selecting these sites is considered more fully in chapter three.

Map Number	Site	Type
1	Whitwell	Rural Corieltauvian
2	Empingham	Rural Corieltauvian
3	Pasture Lodge Farm	Rural Corieltauvian
4	Dragonby	Rural Corieltauvian
5	Dunston's Clump	Rural Corieltauvian
6	Clay Lane	Rural Corieltauvian
7	Maxey (Plant's Farm)	Rural Corieltauvian
8	Haddon	Rural Corieltauvian
9	Orton Hall Farm	Rural Corieltauvian
10	Stonea Grange	Rural Corieltauvian
11	Roughground Farm	Rural Non-Corieltauvian
12	Asthall	Rural Non-Corieltauvian
13	Watkins Farm	Rural Non-Corieltauvian
14	Castle Copse	Rural Non-Corieltauvian
15	Frocester	Rural Non-Corieltauvian
16	Causeway lane	Urban Corieltauvian
17	Bath Lane	Urban Corieltauvian
18	Lincoln	Urban Corieltauvian
19	Silchester	Urban Non-Corieltauvian

Table 1.1: List of sites discussed in the thesis

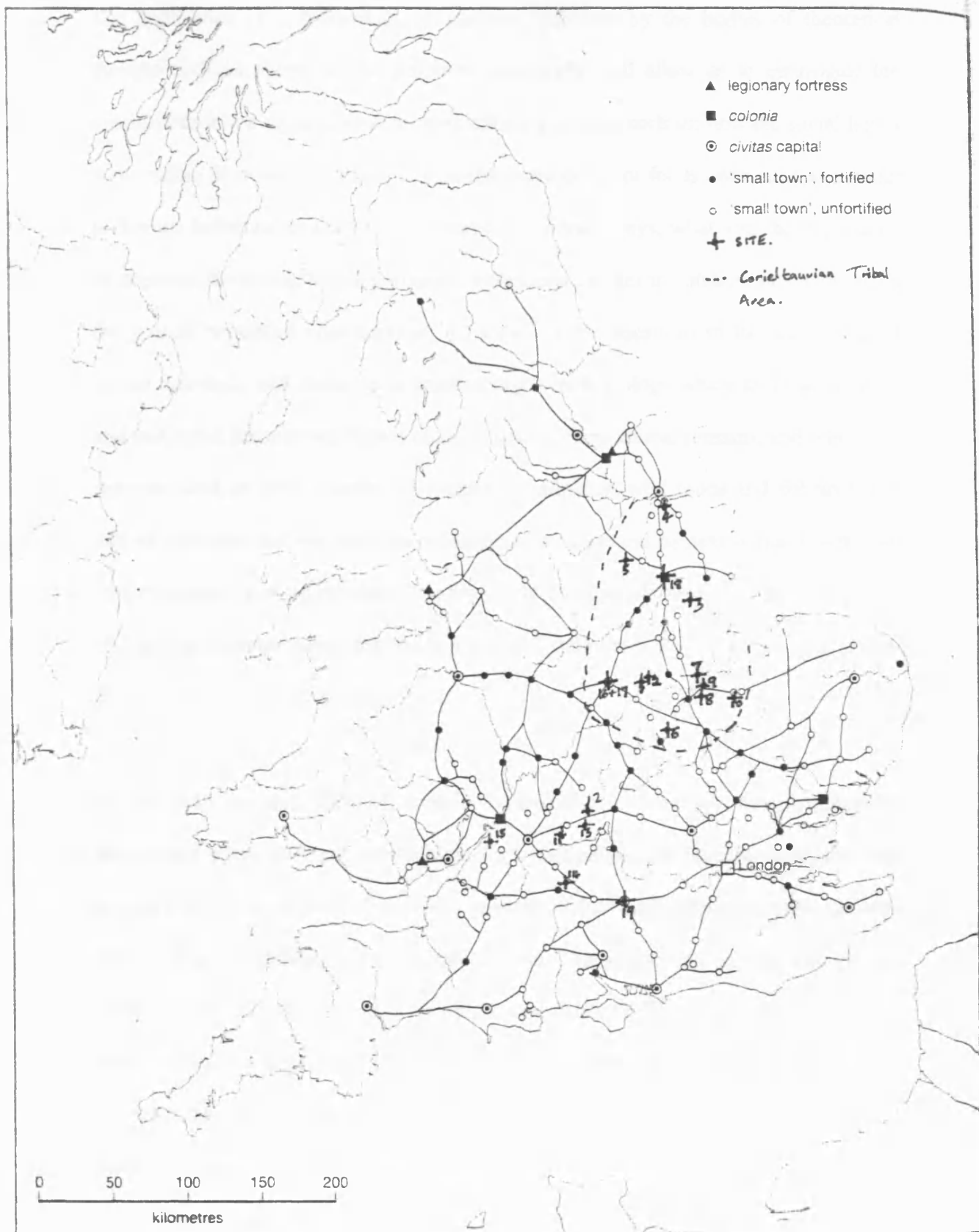


Figure 1.1: A map, after Jones and Mattingly 1990: 156, showing the sites selected for analysis and the boundary of the Corieltauvian Tribal area. See table 1.1 for identification details of the sites.

The application of a framework of analysis, informed by the bodies of theoretical thought outlined above, to the proposed case study, will allow us to interrogate the available data in a sophisticated fashion, asking questions such as: how did social habits surrounding food change during this period; were different foods consumed as a result of Roman influence, or were they prepared in different ways; what was the importance of imported flavourings and ingredients; were there changes in butchery practices and in the general pattern of consumption? To look at these questions in the archaeological record this study will focus upon constructing a methodology which takes account of, and integrates, three broad classes of small find: pottery, animal remains, and other food remains (such as plant remains). Evidence for drinking, wild foods and fish/shell fish will be gathered, and we will also consider the architectural context within which food was consumed, and other related features in the evidence available. Thus the project will aim to combine zooarchaeological research with the study of the material culture associated with food consumption.

As we shall see, the study of material connected with food has been traditionally fragmented across different archaeological sub-disciplines. The process of learning how to study the wider picture of food is a process of drawing information from different sources, and establishing ways to combine them. This project can only be a single step along the way, and as such I have chosen to concentrate on the core ‘food’ elements of a meal, the meat and vegetables, the way it was cooked, and presented. This allows a concentration on the three key groups of small finds above – all that can be realistically achieved within the scope of this thesis, but also evidence common enough to allow us to build up a broadly based picture.

Much work has been done in the area of Roman diet. This work will be critiqued in more detail in chapter two, but for now it is sufficient to note that much (in particular

the work of King 1978, 1981, 1991, 1999, and 2001), has mainly focused upon economic aspects, and has been carried out from a Romano-centric view-point, minimising any sense of a local social context. This work has functioned within the assumption that, upon contact with Roman influence, eating habits were (rapidly) transformed to closely resemble those of the colonial power. Foodstuffs are seen more in the light of the general economy, i.e. the production of staples, or the import of luxuries. The apparent shift in eating habits are, if considered at all, seen to be part of the shift from native to Roman styles of food production (see King 2001).

This means that what we do know is considered from a perspective which places Roman culture and concepts of Roman-ness at the heart of the conventional theoretical framework, a feature shared with other areas of study in Roman archaeology, but particularly those that touch upon Roman imperialism (see Webster 1996a for an outline of the problem). Consequently, underpinning the conventional approach to the archaeology of the Roman period in Britain, is the assumption that provincials wanted to adopt Roman material culture and with it the way in which that material culture was used (they adopted the social meaning of the object as well as the object itself). This is termed Progressive Romanisation (Millet 1990a: 38), and although this has come under attack (for a good sample of such attacks see Freeman 1993; Webster and Cooper (ed) 1996; Mattingly 1997a and b; Forcey 1997; Terranato 1998; Woolf 1992 and 1998), none of these specifically address issues of food. These ‘rebuttals’ are not in themselves perfect – many contain an implicit assumption that the natives consciously resisted Roman culture (e.g. Alcock 1993 and 1997; Hingley 1997). Meadows’ work (1994; 1997; 1999) does counter concepts of Romanisation within the context of food, and does so from the perspective that the maintenance of native food-related practice equates to resistance to Roman rule (1999: 116). The difficulty with this response to Romanisation is that it preserves an element of Romano-centricism – functioning from

an underlying assumption that we need to 'explain' natives retaining their own culture, rather than jettisoning it as quickly as possible in favour of Roman import culture, through some politically motivated agenda. This makes sense if we still consider Roman culture inherently superior, and need to explain why it is not used to replace 'inferior' native ways and things. Culture, however, particularly that concerning food, is key to identity and society (Jones 1997; Meadows 1999: 101), and we must be wary of too easily assuming that whole cultural packages would just be thrown aside. Rather, it makes more sense to seek explanations when we see the familiar, the intimately important, being seemingly replaced with exotic and foreign objects and ways of using them.

James (2001) acknowledges that 'mass' (low status) culture may simply have ignored Romanising influences, thus preserving regional diversity. This is still based upon a basic assumption of low status groups' apathy to Roman culture (again presupposing that the natives knew what Roman culture actually was, which, as we shall see, given the practical limits on the dissemination of detailed cultural information in the ancient world, need not necessarily be the case). We might term this 'cultural conservatism'. Status in ancient society – the difference between the elite, and individuals of lower status, plays an important role in how we understand this issue.

The 'famous' acts of resistance, for example the Boudican Revolt, or the areas of life that resistance has often been linked to, like religion (Webster 2001), have strong elite connotations. The Boudican Revolt was led by native elites after their relationship with the empire had broken down, and religion, although practiced by many, was led by the elite (Salway 1982: 676). If, as James has suggested (2001: 187), resistance might be chiefly associated with elites, resistance would then be found, not on poor rural sites, but rather, on wealthier sites. Therefore native resistance may have two faces: anti-

Roman in the case of the native elite and anti-elite in the case of the poor. If we consider the impact of conquest upon native society, it may be that those most affected by the Roman Conquest were the native elites. The people who were 'in charge' in late Iron Age Britain, as Millett (1990b) has made clear, found themselves in a situation post-conquest where their scope for action was more limited, and where their continuance in positions of authority was dependant upon the approval of the Roman authorities. The native rural poor on the other hand were poor and unimportant before the Conquest just as they were after – and the people in authority with which they had contact, and against whom any 'low status' resistance was directed, remained the same.

If we take the two strands offered here together, that of a concept of cultural conservatism, and that of elite-focused resistance, we can begin to see an alternative interpretation of 'non-Romanised' forms of low status culture. What we are seeing is not, perhaps, 'resistance' upon the part of the masses, it is the archaeological evidence of a simple desire to remain the same, which is more than understandable once we have shed the position that there is some intrinsic superiority in the 'Roman' way of doing things. This idea is considerably buttressed if we consider the practical limitations upon the ability of low status natives to gather information upon how to be 'Romans' (even supposing that they wished to pursue such a course).

Understanding how the social knowledge of cultural practices spread (Joyner 1984; Courtney 1997; Hawkes 2002; Swift 2000) is important to understanding the way cultures interact. Such an understanding helps us to explore the realities of contact and culture change, as it establishes the limits of what would be practically possible, even if natives wished to become British Romans, i.e. to take on 'Romanness'. I would suggest that many studies (e.g. Millett 1990b) touching upon culture change actually have a too

optimistic view of native Britain's ability to absorb *and* understand Roman objects and cultural ways.

A further point to consider is: who was actually doing the food preparation? In the first instance, let us focus upon 'low status', farming sites. The archaeology relating to food preparation in such contexts is in essence that of the home and daily life, particularly in arenas of research like consumption (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Bocock 2000). In most traditional societies this is very much a woman's world, and although men may be involved in food procurement and agriculture, the cooking is often carried out in the home (see McIntosh and Zey 1989: 140-143). Women, in particular poor women, may have had little social and political influence, and despite occasional high profile exceptions (e.g. Boudicca), this was almost certainly the case in pre-Roman native society. Thus, a poor woman's contact with the outside world may have been even more limited than that of a poor man, further limiting the potential for cultural change through contact with the exotic. Cooking is not a skill that has traditionally been learnt in a formal way, it is a skill acquired through watching and helping others, for example the mother (Flandrin *et al.* 1996). Therefore, particularly in pre-literate societies, it can be suggested that information about food, and how to cook, was passed on from mother to daughter, and existing as it did in the 'closed' domestic world, would have been a prime area of 'conservatism' (see Appadurai 1988b: 3-5). Food cooked by a woman would have been basically a continuation of food cooked by her mother, which in turn she learnt of grandmother. Food, in particular daily food, may have remained unchanged, except for minor modifications, for many generations, and because of the possibility (rather than in spite of it) that a great sense of identity may have been vested in what food was consumed, a 'passivity' or cultural inertia and conservatism, rather than decisive resistance, is sufficient to explain this. On farmsteads, perhaps with little contact with the wider world, food would naturally tend to be 'native' rather than

‘Roman’. Again, we perhaps should take the approach that it is change in this core area of identity which requires explanation – rather than the lack of change. However, it should be noted that highly conservative sites would form only one end of a range of scenarios upon any given site examined, ranging from ‘conservative’ to sites that, for reasons of their own, may be much more open to change and accept new goods and practices. The situation may well, for example, be different on more complex, and ‘higher status’ sites, given the importance of feasting in building social, community and power relationships (Cunliffe 1978: 98-99). Thus, to consider the difference in foodways between elaborate and apparently wealthy sites, and their poorer neighbours is a key issue in the following project.

To understand the relationship between general cultural issues, and the specific issues of food, we have to develop our understanding of the role of food in the social arena, but do so in the context of the sketch of contact and culture change outlined above (which will be elaborated in chapter two). It is self-evident that on a purely physical level food is central to life: without a fairly continuous supply of nutrition, life itself is impossible. But because of its central position in life, it is a key domain for cultural and ritual activities, as evidenced by the attention paid to this issue by anthropologists (Lévi-Strauss 1964; Douglas 1971; Goody 1982; Scholliers 2001; Counihan and Van Esterik 1997; Counihan 1999; Counihan and Kaplan 1998; Visser 1987, 1991; Toussaint-Lamat 1992 to name but a few) and social theorists (Baudrillard 1988; Barthes 1972; Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Williamson 1986). Thus the study of food is not merely based on the nutritional or calorific content of a food stuff, rather it encompasses the fuller context of its production, storage, distribution, preparation and presentation in a social and cultural setting (Johannessen and Hastorf 1993: 182).

In particular, the study of food has long been recognised as important to the understanding of the social fabric of groups within both anthropology and historical (North American) archaeology (Yentsch 1994: 196; Deetz 1996: 73-79). As has been suggested by Johannessen and Hastorf, in everyday cooking and serving of food, people not only feed themselves but express themselves socially, economically, politically and ideologically; what 'we' eat is not what 'they' eat and these distinctions help us to differentiate us (1993: 182). From this we can see that food is much more than nutrition, possibly because the action of eating is fundamental to life, it has been filled with much symbolic meaning. It is an everyday necessity but it expresses concepts that are fundamental to the functioning of a society: wealth, status, identity can all be expressed by what food is being eaten and how it is consumed. This being so (and this will be considered in more detail in chapter two) identity is expressed not simply by the food being eaten, but also in the way in which it is consumed. Issues surrounding the consumption of food thus become important to wider debates in archaeology concerning identity (see the work of Jones 1997), and in the current approach being taken, the importance of identity is how it affects the relationships between groups of people enmeshed in a colonial context (i.e. through issues such as resistance and domination). A key area of research, then, must be how to recognise important food related issues in the archaeological evidence we have available.

Traditionally in archaeology, the different components that make up a meal have been studied separately and often without much thought to the role they played in foodways, but in this thesis I will suggest a more integrated approach. The storage, preparation, and serving of food may all involve one of the principal categories of remains that we find: ceramics. But if we are looking at food, it is not enough to study simply pottery – we must consider the different artefactual classes (the principal of which are animal bones and plant remains as well as ceramics) that together represent the physical

evidence left by eating. 'Food' is clearly an issue which cross cuts these (in traditional archaeology) discreet artefact classifications, but to move forward in identifying an archaeology of food, a methodology is required to allow us to study them together, paying particular attention to the order that they may have been used to prepare, cook and eat a meal.

The model which has been devised for an integrated study of food is based on the steps needed to procure ingredients, prepare them, cook them, serve them and finally consume them (Hawkes 1999; 2001). The process has been divided into four main stages: food procurement, food preparation, storage (which can occur either after food procurement or after food preparation) and consumption. These have each been subdivided into different phases which take account of all the activities of the meal. The model also identifies the different types of archaeological evidence which indicate the different stages in the consumption process.

If, as considered above, we have no convincing model to suggest to us how native women would have learnt to 'cook Roman', when we find imports we are left with difficulties in approaching them. Where 'Roman' foodstuffs are present (albeit in *very* small quantities), we must question who were they for and how were they used, if we are to model their possible relationship to everyday food. Much material culture theory stresses that the social meaning of an object is not intrinsic, but imparted by context (Appadurai 1988a: 4-5): evidence of 'exotic' foodstuffs in small quantities is not, therefore, convincing evidence of the transplantation of continental cooking *methods* to Britain. There are many interpretations: we may envisage such exotics as functioning within the well-established social sphere of the rural farmstead: imports may have been novelties, the acquisition of which built (male) status, they may have been small-scale

imports, tried and rejected, they may have been acquired, but converted to use within 'native foodways'.

Roman Britain was not, of course, homogenous. There were various categories of settlement performing different functions, occupying different locations in the social and political hierarchy of the province. If post-colonialism is about 'decentralising' (see Connor 1989) it is important not to aggregate sites in Britain and simply treat them alike. By approaching the development of the case study with this in mind, we can select a range of sites to give us a balanced sample.

The vast majority of sites in Britain will have been rural, and the majority of sites under consideration here are consequently located in the countryside. But rural sites can be subdivided quite crudely into high and low status, based upon the label attached to the site by its excavator. This is often done on very superficial indicators; for example, a site with a high proportion of fine wares, is normally considered to be high status (see Cooper 1996: 86; Hawthorne 1996; Willis 1994: 141-142). There is often very little consideration of the context of use or of the bigger picture. However, in at least initially establishing this division, we can test its validity (at least within the context of 'food') by considering whether or not this designation of poor/wealthy is reflected in what was actually consumed upon these sites, or how it was consumed (i.e. the cooking methods employed).

There will also be consideration of 'urban' sites both within and outside Corieltauavian territory. This will allow comparison with the high and low status rural sites, informing us upon the possible differences between rural and urban ways of consuming food. The fact that some of these sites lie outside the principal study area (beyond the tribal territory of

the Corieltauvi), will also allow us to make comparisons between different tribal areas, and allow us to identify any possible regional variations.

It is in chapters four, five and six (the data chapters), respectively focusing especially on rural sites within the Corieltauvian territory, other rural sites outside the Corieltauvian territory and urban sites, that the methodology is applied to the case study. The way in which these have been organized is based on the sequence of activities associated with the meal put forward in chapter three. Each site discussion will include a consideration of each of the sources of evidence outlined in chapter three and will combine the three different strands of evidence to provide a holistic picture of the foodways on that particular site.

Chapter seven draws together the theory, the methodology and the data to form an overview of food in Roman Britain. The different types of sites will be compared and contrasted to each other. Finally, the overall conclusions to the thesis will be outlined and discussed.

Chapter eight focuses on different approaches which could be taken in the future and how the work started in this thesis could be enlarged upon in future research.

The above provides an outline of what this thesis aims to achieve, and has introduced several of the key issues involved. In the next chapter we will consider the theoretical background for this project in detail.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Frameworks

1. Romanisation

Romanisation has been the dominant discourse in the consideration of the impact of the Roman period upon the native cultures of Britain ever since the term ‘Romanisation’ was coined by Haverfield (1905). Haverfield considered changes in native society to have been brought about by the Roman Conquest, the end result of which was a native culture that more closely resembled that of Rome, although not necessarily ‘everywhere and at once’ (1905: 18). This process he called ‘Romanisation’. Although Haverfield’s concept has been deconstructed extensively in research (see TRAC: Cottam *et al.* 1995; Barker *et al.* 1999; Fincham *et al.* 2000; Davies *et al.* 2001; Carruthers *et al.* 2002; Barrett 1981, 1989, 1997), and many would consider that the intellectual problems surrounding this issue have been dealt with, this is not, in fact, the case. Even current studies (some of which are even presented at TRAC (see Davies *et al.* 2001) take Romanisation as a given, and locate their studies within a paradigm of the ‘obvious’ superiority of Roman culture. This is particularly true in the study of Roman diet, as the most recent paper by King (2001: 210) makes clear, explicitly offering Romanisation as ‘a working hypothesis’. The issue must, therefore, be fully explored before we proceed.

Haverfield recognised that a fusion occurred between Roman and British cultures, resulting in a culture neither purely British nor Roman, but ‘Romano-British’ (1905). This idea of a fusion, a marriage of two different cultures is one that is key to the development of more flexible and less Romano-centric interpretation. It is the case that Haverfield perceived the flow of cultural influence to have been one way, and the marriage of the two cultures in many ways was not one of equals, but rather where the Roman element could wield more power over the British element (see Webster 1996a: 10-11). The whole theory, as put forward by Haverfield, is thus generated within a context that privileges a Roman point of view, with British culture (and for that matter

Roman culture) seen as a homogenous and unvaried unity, but the Roman element, through its unquestioned superiority, being dominant. In many ways, although it acknowledges that the process of Romanisation is not a simple one of adoption by the natives of Roman habits, it still sees the process itself in a positive light, the Romans bringing the 'good things' of civilisation to backward Britons. British culture is also seen as a passive thing – not in a position to respond to the external world, and enduring a process of being watered down by Roman influence.

This model of progressive Romanisation, in which native Britons were turned into civilised Roman (or Romano-British) citizens through beneficial contact with Rome, has been the mainstay of interpretation and thinking within Roman archaeology, and the modern impact of Haverfield's thinking was crystallised by the approach of Millett (1990a and b). This dominant concept has not gone unchallenged, however, and we must briefly consider an alternative which grew up in the seventies and eighties: the 'nativist' school. The idea underlying this theory was also developed out of post-colonial thinking, which suggested that the colonial power had no or little impact on the colonised. In other words, the adoption of Roman habits was a veneer which was laid over native culture and society and which once the colonial power was removed became dominant again (Forcey 1997). One of the key works of the nativist school is Reece's *My Roman Britain* (1988) which challenged the orthodoxy of progressive Romanisation. Within this work, Reece suggested that in the early period, soldiers passed through Britain but as they had little impact on the food supply they would not have been worried about any further (Reece 1988). He also suggested that there was an element of continuity in the production of pottery (1988: 35-42). Although British pottery took on Romanising forms and fabrics in the last century BC and first and second centuries AD, these changes were extremely variable. Some of the production centres closest to the continent, where one would expect the influence to be greatest,

took on only some of the new ideas and but maintained some of the old production techniques. Some of their production remained completely along the lines of Iron Age pottery production. Whilst it may be argued that it was always understood that BB1 (a hand-made coarse ware manufactured in the South West, burnished on the outside, and often with incised lattice work decoration) was a continuation of Iron Age pottery types into the Roman period, the situation according to Reece was subtler (1988: 41-42). The essential element of the nativist contribution to the debate over the effect of the contact with Roman culture is that natives were free to 'pick and mix', adopting perhaps a form or a technique where they wanted it, but rendering it in one of their own fabrics (e.g. BB2, a wheel-made coarse ware, similar to BB1 also burnished on the outside with incised lattice work decoration). Native influence over culture fusion is thus highlighted, natives effectively being presented with a suit of things from which they took what they wanted.

At the lower end of the social scale however, the Iron Age cooking pot did not change much, nor did it change quickly. Therefore, pottery production incorporated some new ideas but the old traits were still very much present. Reece's picture of Romanisation was one where Roman ideas and objects were adopted but people did not take on the whole 'Roman package'. Rather people picked and mixed the 'new' goods and habits with their old well-established ways of doing things, and that this led to the development of broad regional blocks of culture (e.g. 'Gallic') within the empire (Reece 1988: 10-11, 1990: 30-34). Reece also suggested that bio-archaeological evidence should be looked at in conjunction with other material culture so that a more complete picture may emerge (1988).

Thus we see that Reece's work does not follow the model of progressive Romanisation, nor however, does it refute the idea of change as is sometimes claimed (Webster 2001:

212-213). Rather, the approach is more nuanced; people may choose which goods they use and which they do not. In a sense, this is not pure nativism: Reece recognises that Rome had an impact – people intermixed their old ideas with the new Roman ones which they found useful or which had meaning for them. People did not however, take on board the whole ‘package’ without negotiation, a ‘take it or leave it’ approach which is implied in the other Romanisation models. This work, however, had little immediate impact, as only two years after the publication of *My Roman Britain* (1988), Romanisation reached its fully developed form in the shape of the work of Martin Millett (1990a and b). Millett, as an ex-student of Reece, was influenced by his work (note how, in 1990a: 35-41, Millett suggests that the real ‘seat’ of acculturation are the native elites, leaving the non-elite natives to acculturate more weakly – reminiscent of nativist arguments that cultural contact between native society and the empire was superficial), but it was Millett (1990b) that set the agenda for the years that followed.

In recent years, Romanisation has ceased to be to be considered in the light of moral or social progress, but more in the light of the development, or acculturation, by which native society readily adopted ‘Roman culture’ (Millett 1990a, 1990b; Jones 1991; Woolf 1992; Hanson 1994; Hingley 1997). Millett has argued for a definite mechanism to drive this emulation. The elite of Britain and Gaul adopted Roman material culture to reinforce their social standing by identifying themselves with Rome (Millett 1990b: 38). As the Roman administration utilized the native elite to operate the new *civitates*, to collect taxes and administer law and order (see Garnsey 1978; Garnsey and Saller 1987), the elite could safeguard their personal and localised power through ‘buying into’ the Roman power structure, and, in the name of attempting to be ‘Roman’, form a firmer bond with their imperial masters, and Roman culture. In Millett’s model these new ideas and habits passed down the social hierarchy through a process of emulation, a self-generating desire by low status natives to follow the social and cultural lead of the

native elite (1990b: 38). Roman culture, in other words, from towns and country houses to coinage, pottery, and brooches, to religious beliefs, language and manners, spread itself (Millett 1990a; Hingley 1996: 40). This basic theory has formed the background to the 'new orthodoxy' in Romano-British studies (Hanson 1994: 149; Hingley 1996).

But the 'one size fits all' approach has two principal difficulties. It both regards Roman culture as relatively homogenous, but it also has difficulty accommodating variability within the native response to Roman rule. Within the progressive Romanisation model, whole groups within society were not given a voice, and whole areas of the country were characterized as backwards, as they did not fit the progressive models outlined above. The tribes of northern Britain, Wales and the Southwest that failed to Romanise have been largely dismissed as social and economic failures (e.g. Salway 1982: 186 on the *Iceni*). Romanisation often rely on simplification and general assumptions, and there is often little room for detailed considerations of individual settlements or areas. Even though Britain is considered in most twentieth century texts as 'Romanised' (Dark and Dark 1997: 17) vast areas of the country were not, and this may be explained in a variety of ways: resistance (Hingley 1997, 1989), lack of interest (Reece 1988) or lack of availability of material culture (see Going 1992). In his critique of the situation, Hingley (1997: 82) suggests an idealized version of native society and material culture that involves roundhouses, hand-made pottery, enclosed settlements, hill forts, warfare and human sacrifice. A 'Roman' cultural assemblage on the other hand would include towns, country houses for the rich, roads, taxes, wheel-made pottery, coins, bathhouses and peace. General studies (Dark and Dark 1997; Salway 1982 to cite but two) have tended, in the past, to buy into these idealised portraits as a way of sidestepping a more complex reality.

Recent attempts have aimed at rescuing Romanisation under the guise of ‘cultural compatibility’. Terranato (1998, 2001) has developed the concept of ‘cultural bricolage’ in the context of Roman Italy. Simply stated this concept suggests that different locations and different social groups responded to the impact of Roman culture in different ways depending upon local circumstance (1998: 25). This allows an explanation of differing patterns of impact, but despite acknowledging the need for a post-colonial perspective (1998: 20) he focuses on trying to quantify the variation, rather than advancing the consideration of native motivation for adopting Roman culture *at all*, preferring an image of a long term ‘unification process’ based upon an image of ‘cultural compatibility’. But again, this assumes a conscious response to the presence of Roman culture that goes deeper than the simple physical presence of the objects involved. In Roman Italy this may well be the case, but as Terranato himself states ‘drafting evidence from one context to ‘fill a gap’ in another, should be avoided’ (2001: 64). His essential point, that the elites perform a valuable, perhaps key, function in the negotiation of a convergence of culture containing varying packages of individual elements of the available repertoire, is important, because it should alert us to pay even closer attention to what non-elite natives are *actually* doing (as opposed to what we assume they are doing because we see superficial elements of the local ‘bricolage’). In short, what Terranato’s concept does not equip us to do, is understand whether the local *populus* buy into the social rules the elite are negotiating.

If Roman culture was considered to have trickled down into British life, this leaves us with the difficulty of defining what Roman culture is, and what ‘Roman’ actually means; this aspect of Millett’s work thus came under early attack (Freeman 1993). Underlying all theories of Romanisation is an assumption that there was somewhere a ‘lifestyle package’ of Roman goods which people knew about and could adopt. When we take the example of Samian ware, almost ubiquitous on Romano-British sites, it

becomes clear that the meaning of the label 'Roman' is many and varied. Samian ware was produced in Gaul using a mixture of Gaulish and North Italian techniques, it was largely made by a native workforce and was traded all over the Empire (Tyres 1996: 105-116). There is in fact little about such a Samian bowl which one could ascribe to 'Rome'. If a Samian bowl is excavated on a site in Britain it can be considered 'foreign' or imported, whereas if it is excavated on a Gaulish site it might be described as local. The material culture in itself is neither Roman nor not Roman, rather it is its context of use which gives it meaning, and this is something that we shall return to later in this chapter.

2. Beyond Romanisation: Post-colonial Theory and Resistance

Having highlighted and identified the colonial overtones present in the study of Roman archaeology, and outlined the dominant discourse of Romanisation, a way forward is presented both to assist in the deconstruction of Romanisation, and to move forward to an understanding of cultural contact within which to situate our consideration of food. The use of post-colonial theory to assist in the understanding of the Roman world is increasingly well developed (see Webster and Cooper 1996; Mattingly 1997a; Hingley 1996, 1997, 2000), and my principal interest here is not to attempt to develop new strands of post-colonialism, but to outline the theory, and its use within Roman archaeology, as a tool to apply to the study of food.

Post-colonialism deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998: 186). Although post-colonialism is seen by many scholars as being merely 'anti-colonial' due to its association with post-independence movements in newly independent countries in, for example, Africa and Asia, (Fanon 1961; Cabral 1973; Davidson 1994; Ngugi 1981; Slemon 1990) the different perspective that it gives us upon the conditions of life experienced by the colonised help us to generate an

understanding that allows us to explore the different experiences of the colonizer and the colonized (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998, 1997; Boehmer 1995; Childs and Williams 1997).

Post-colonial theory was developed within the field of literary criticism (see the work of Said 1994). The key figure for our purposes is Edward Said, and his two principal works *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), and *Orientalism* (1978). Edward Said (1994: 34-50) pioneered the concept of discrepant experience, a simple concept, but one with profound ramifications. Simply stated, it means that your experience of society is contingent upon your position within it – the world view of a poor peasant is different to that of, for example, a high status individual nearer to the top of society (Mattingly 1997a: 9). Although post-colonial theory is not actually one single unified theory, but contains many strands which can be utilised to study culture change and contact (see Ashcroft *et al.* 1997 and McGowan 1993, for a sense of the ‘broad sweep’ of post-colonialism). Said's concept is probably the most influential aspect of post-colonialism, and has triggered wider debates in academic fields beyond literary criticism (see Pearson *et al.* 1997). In the latter volume the range of individual issues addressed is wide, spanning nationalism and national identity (Lazarus 1997 and Shohat 1997), broad issues of identity (Bhabba 1994; Young 1997 and Wood 1997) to gender (Chrisman 1997), and internal social relations (Robbins 1997). This is just a sample, but serves to illustrate the broad ramifications of post-colonialism. As a debate it continues to feed into other areas like the designing of social research methodologies (Smith 1999), and the relationship of race to the writing of history (Cimbala and Himmelberg 1996), quite apart from the rising profile of historical issues which post-colonialism raises, like colonization (Ferro 1997: vii-x).

Said's concept of discrepant perspective has a multiple relevance to archaeology which has been touched on above. Firstly, it draws attention to the fact that the conquered also

have a worthwhile story to tell, but that this largely remains untold because ‘knowledge’ of the colonially oppressed has been created largely by the oppressor (Webster 1996a, gives an introduction to the debate, but see also Fanon 1961; Young 1990: 119-140 and Williams and Chrisman 1993: 4). This is something which might lead us to draw a series of conclusions. In most colonial situations it is the conquerors who write the history, and although these texts are valuable tools, they are only a small part of the picture. Part of the answer, particularly for archaeology, is material culture studies. The conquered, who often do not have a voice within historical texts, can be given voices through the study of their objects (Deetz 1996; Mattingly 1997a and b). This leads us on to another important issue: just as people can have discrepant experiences of events, objects have discrepant meanings – their meaning is not intrinsic but generated by the social circumstance in which they are located. For example, a Samian bowl in a rural farmstead may have been used and perceived in different ways than a similar Samian bowl in a villa.

An important note of criticism which is often levied at post-colonial studies is that it is a-historical. The question asked is: are we not making the assumption that all colonialisms are the same in all historical periods? It is true that the colonial referred to in post-colonial studies is commonly that exemplified by the European nations from the fifteenth century onwards (Scammell 1989; Hobsbawm 1987: 72-73), and although Rome undoubtedly had an Empire, in trying to deconstruct Roman imperialism we must not fall in the trap of likening Rome directly to modern-day imperial nations. There are a number of grounds on which this objection can be refuted, not the least of which is the observation that comparative analysis allows the recognition of difference, as well as similarity (see Webster 1996a: 8-9).

Comparative colonialism can offer a different perspective to the 'positive colonialism' which has abounded in works on Roman Britain (in terms of general accounts this may be seen in the work of Frere (1987), Salway (1982), and Millett (1990a and b), more recently in James (2001), and Terranato (1998, 2001), in the context of Italy) allowing us to use well-documented instances of relationships between coloniser and colonised to inform an exploration of the past, and to alert us to possibilities whilst we open up new interpretative frameworks (Webster 2001). The key here is to realise that when contact occurs between cultures, one being in a dominant position, the other subordinate, the relationship will not be a carbon copy of something which happened elsewhere and else when – this most certainly would be a-historical. But the relationship forms through 'cultural negotiation', the seeking of accommodations, between the two 'sides' (Webster 2001). Thus each relationship, whilst having similarities which can be usefully explored through comparison with other colonial contexts, will, in each individual case, be unique – shaped by those involved in forming it.

It is also worth highlighting that it is not the 'colonialisms' themselves which are compared, but rather an understanding of what colonialism may mean to subordinate groups which are explored. It is important to note that there are fundamental differences in the nature of modern European imperialism (see Curtin 1971; Etherington 1984; Hobson 1938; Reynolds 1981) and that of Ancient Rome (see Hanson 1994). Many aspects of modern colonial government adopted Roman titles and institutions, which makes direct comparison especially seductive when studying the Roman Empire. As has been identified by Hingley (1994, 1996, 2000) the Roman Empire was used by the colonial powers not simply as a precedent, of a 'how to administer an Empire', but also as a justification. Rome was seen as the well-spring of European civilisation, which was regarded as superior to that of the colonized, and the colonizers saw it very much as their duty to spread this civilizing influence. This relationship between European and

Roman imperialism is in itself a dynamic influence which clearly has an impact upon the way we conceptualise the past (Hingley 2000), but we must be *particularly* on our guard against easy assumptions of familiarity when dealing with Rome in a comparative context.

However, examples from different historical colonial contexts can be used to inform our understanding of how people may have reacted to external rule. For example, when Philip de Souza compares nineteenth-century French writing on the Barbary Corsairs with the Classical accounts of Rome's pirate wars, he is not drawing a direct analogy between French imperialism and Roman imperialism; he is comparing discursive strategies which made territorial expansion possible in both cases, and using that comparison to reassess the Roman case (see de Souza 1996). Thus, the colonial discourse of the Roman Empire (and from province to province) must be expected to differ from colonial discourses in other colonial contexts, because they are historically situated. On the other hand though, an understanding of colonial rule in other historical contexts can provide us with valuable insights into the colonial condition in general.

This leads us to the second broad theme of interest generated by an application of Said's thinking to archaeology, the issue of deconstructing writings upon archaeology, many of which are themselves products of a colonial discourse. Works of post-colonial theory illustrate the variety of differing views of the colonial and imperial situation on the part of both the native peoples and the members of the colonizing powers, but they have also drawn attention to the primacy given in colonial discourses to the views of the dominant imperial powers (see Fanon 1961; Fabian 1983; Said 1978, 1994: 34-50). The agenda of most post-colonial literature appears to be to establish alternative images of the colonial situation, images which differ from those produced at the centre (Hingley 1996: 40-42).

But to enable us to do this, and to become fully aware of the dangerous assumptions of

similarity which have at times underpinned our understanding of the Roman Empire, we must deconstruct the existing archaeological literature.

In a general sense we have already done this, and the position established in this chapter already may be summarised as follows. As discussed above, 'Romanisation' suggests an enlightened process by which 'well-meaning' individuals in the imperial, tribal and local elite gently demonstrated the advantages of new ways to their interested kin, clients and slaves and encouraged voluntary change in their way of life (Hingley 1996: 39-40). This implies two things: firstly that everyone in society, from members of the aristocracy to humble peasants, had an interest in maintaining the empire and secondly that everyone knew exactly what 'becoming Roman' entailed. The first is derived from the work of Haverfield (see Freeman 1993) and stems from the idea of European cultural superiority and is associated with the nineteenth-century concept of the 'white man's burden'. For example, many late Victorians and Edwardians argued that the British Empire had a moral purpose which was to bring progress and liberty to the natives of the colonies. It was felt that Rome had fulfilled a similar moral purpose. Our own imperial history has influenced our thinking on the Roman Empire and imperialism and has compelled many authors (Millett 1990a, 1990b; Haverfield 1905; Hawkes 1947) to see the Roman imperial presence in a positive light. What this means specifically for food we shall discuss later, in the context of an understanding of resistance and variability in the ancient world.

2.1. Resistance versus Variability

A principal outcome of the application of post-colonial studies to Roman archaeology is the identification of 'resistance'. Once the desire to represent Roman culture (whatever that may have been) as an undoubted good that was self evidently superior to anything native, and therefore adopted as a matter of course, is put to one side, the possibility

then exists that where culture from the Roman empire is not adopted, or at the very least where it appears to have been appropriated to 'non Roman' uses, what we are actually witnessing is resistance to Roman rule (Mattingly 1997a; MacMullen 1966). Resistance has often been found in the way in which people utilized material culture. Material culture is however, not a passive symbol of power, wealth and control (Pearce 2000: 125); rather we should see it in the context of dynamic actions that helped to create power relationships (Hingley 1997: 88). Consequently, resistance may be detectable in how people reacted to the establishment of such power relationships, and in how they responded to the available material culture that they had to hand to use as tools in the construction of their social identity.

There are many different ways in which the powerless can express opposition which range from mild disobedience amongst slaves, servants and tenants, sabotage of industrial production by workers (e.g. the Luddite movement in nineteenth-century Britain), to drawing upon ancestral ways of life in a swiftly changing society (see McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1993b). Therefore, resistance generated at the lowest levels of society, perhaps implicit in settlement patterns (Hingley 1989; Fincham 2002: 94-96) may be anti-Roman only in the sense that it resisted alien concepts and material culture drawn upon by the elite to create power relations (Hingley 1997: 88). The resistance low down the social scale might well have been aimed at the 'Roman style' techniques adopted by their own elites, rather than the Roman Empire *per se*, an entity (and perhaps even a concept), that must almost certainly have been beyond the ability of low status individuals in a pre-industrial society to comprehend, with consequently low mobility, and minimal access to information.

If one interpretation of variability within the empire is resistance, another is simple conservatism. Given that the poorest settlement that we consider in the archaeological

record may mostly have been physically, economically and/or politically isolated, and that the transmission of information in the Roman world was problematic (Hawkes 2001: 47-48), it can be argued that conservatism in habits need not imply resistance to Rome *per se*.

The ability to communicate accurate information about complex cultural practices in the ancient world has not been adequately explored, and is an issue which is often glossed over. The oft-cited role of coins as communication device (see Howgego 1995: 39) has spilled over from discussions of the propaganda value of coin images circulating over wide areas, into offering such a role to coinage in the circulation of detailed cultural information like hairstyles (Swift 2000). Such a suggestion, however, ignores the practical difficulties of *accurately* translating a small two pence coin portrait that, comes without instructions, into a fully-fledged hairstyle. Another vehicle for change offered is the army (James 2001), but again there are problems. The army were not stationed everywhere, and whilst this might have acted as a mechanism for change in the north of Britain where there were permanent garrisons for long periods of time, the same cannot be said for every remote settlement, or the bulk of the south of England where the military presence was transitory (Meheux 1996; Reece 1988: 10-11). Even in areas where the army was present, unless we envisage a conscious effort by the military to teach the natives how to cook, a gap in the chain of transmission still exists. Natives may have observed how 'Roman food' is cooked, but it is unrealistic that they would, through casual observation have, become fully-fledged Roman cooks.

This issue is, however, crucial to any discussion of contact and culture change, and to unravelling people's motivations for changing, or 'failing' to change. The limits of native access to cultural information, the 'instructions' needed to put any new package of material culture into practice, are the effective boundaries to what those natives could

have achieved in terms of acculturation, even if they had wanted to. To assume full and free access to this information as a given is, given the probable limitations, clearly to overstate the case for acculturation from the beginning, but it might also lead us to overstating the case for resistance. Resistance infers knowledge, and understanding of what you are resisting, and a conscious course of action to do something different. What, then, can we say about Britain? A lack of cultural knowledge can be accommodated through interpreting cultural continuity (often cited as 'resistance', Hingley 1997; Alcock 1993; Fincham 1999; Mattingly 1997a and b and Webster 2001) as simple conservatism. Conservatism may contain elements of resistance, but resistance to the 'new', because it is 'new' rather than 'Roman'. That newness may indeed even contain political elements, and might thus be 'anti-Roman', but if the resistance originates in a desire to remain the same, it does not infer any cultural understanding of the intrusive cultural elements that are being resisted. It can also imply an unwillingness to change, not because they did not want to associate themselves with Rome, but rather that there was no good reason for change, the option of change was not even open, or they did not want to associate themselves with the local elites.

To locate food within this debate, it is clear that we need to generate a detailed understanding of what food is, by which I mean the complex social (as opposed to the obvious physical) role it performs. In doing so we will be able to consider the possible impact that the negotiation of a colonial discourse will have had upon the social practices surrounding food (a broad package which we will term 'foodways' (Deetz 1996: 73).

3. Food and Foodways

3.1. Why is Food Important? An Anthropological Perspective

‘People who eat strikingly different foods or similar foods in different ways are thought to be strikingly different...What we like, what we eat, how we eat it and how we feel about it...speak eloquently of how we perceive ourselves in relation to each other.’ (Mintz 1985: 26).

The study of food is not merely based on the nutritional or calorific value of a food stuff, rather it encompasses the fuller context of its production, storage, distribution, preparation and presentation in a social and cultural setting (Johannessen and Hastorf 1993: 117). In this light, the study of foodways has long been recognised as important to understanding the social fabric of groups. As already discussed, this has been particularly the case within anthropology but also within historical archaeology in North America.

It is not surprising, therefore, that food has formed an important component of anthropological studies, but the way in which it has been studied in anthropology has undergone many changes over the past century. Nineteenth-century anthropologists primarily focused their interest on questions such as taboo, totemism, sacrifice and communion; the more religious and ritual aspects of food behaviour were very much the order of the day. Cannibalism too was of great interest and in many ways anthropologists have never lost interest in this subject. The close relationship between food and sex was also explored particularly in the early decades of the twentieth century with such important works as Crawley’s *Mystic Rose* (1919) and Malinowski’s work on the relationships between savages, sex and food in his work *The Sexual Life of Savages* (1948). Both these works focus on the taboos of sex and derives in the main from Freud’s analysis of such prohibitions in his seminal work *Totem and Taboo* (1913).

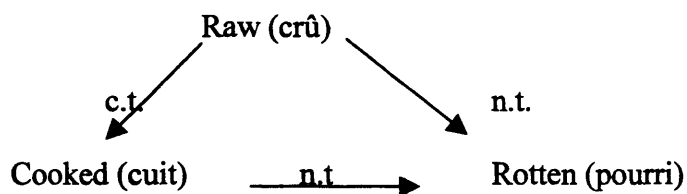
Another favourite topic in this period was that of sacrifice and in particular the ideas behind sacrifice: i.e. the offering, the food, which feeds both the living and the dead (or divine). The focus of these early anthropologists, many of whom were themselves struggling with their own religious practices and beliefs, was directed towards the ritual and supernatural aspects of consumption. Their contributions, although now rejected (Goody 1982: 12-13), were, however, not negligible. They carried out important studies on peoples that had as yet only been characterised as 'savages' with nothing of interest about them for the more civilised countries (Goody 1982: 12).

Developments in anthropology after this initial period were heavily influenced by the theories of the French sociologist, Durkheim (1915). The focus on the role of commensalisms (the sharing of food within a social context) in establishing and maintaining social relations became central in the study of food. The functional approach (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde 1950, and Malinowski 1926, 1948) focused on the social roles which food played; the explanation of the different styles of food consumption no longer being seen in the light of religion and ritual but rather grounded in society and community. Strange habits were now explored, not in terms of evolution of human beliefs about this world and the next, but rather in terms of the part they played in a particular society (see Richards 1939: 127). However, certain criticisms have, in recent years, been levied against this functional approach: in essence there is an absence of an historical dimension and of a non-functional component. Discussion of food was not located within its historical context and the development of food habits were not, in themselves, seen to have a history within a given society. Neither were issues of personal choice and identity addressed.

Another major development in the anthropological study of food was the work of Lévi-Strauss (see 1962, 1963, 1964). His approach (broadly termed Structuralism) looks at

the structure of human thought and of the human mind: *L'esprit humain*. He attempted to look inwards to what underlies the visible social context, rather than sideways to other aspects of surface behaviour, considering other aspects in order to elicit homologous patterns, which are then referred to the 'deep structure' (Goody 1982: 15). The structural approach of Lévi-Strauss came to assume a linkage between the deep structure of the human mind and of human society, or at least between unconscious attitudes of individuals and social structures of particular groups.

Lévi-Strauss' first works focused upon nineteenth-century preoccupations of sex and incest, later though he became interested in food and in particular cooking. His interest in cooking expressed itself in the development of '*le triangle culinaire*' (1964):



c.t. = Cultural transformation

n.t. = Natural transformation

The underlying structure of this culinary triangle is based on the double opposition of distinctive features: between the elaborated and the non-elaborated and between culture and nature. The cooked (cuit) is a cultural transformation (or elaboration) of the raw, while the rotten (pourri) is a natural transformation of both the raw and the cooked. He went to elaborate this basic culinary triangle by including cooking techniques or as he termed it a 'triangle of recipes', which included the processes of smoking, boiling and roasting. The basis of his studies remained based on binary oppositions between nature and culture but with the introduction of the different cooking methods these oppositions become more complex: roasting and smoking are on the side of nature whilst boiling on

that of culture. With regards to the results however, smoking is on the side of culture whereas roasting and boiling are on the side of nature. As compared with boiling, roasting requires no utensils whilst smoking, as practised amongst some South American tribes, uses a rack. Roasting changes the meat hardly at all whereas smoking turns it into a durable commodity. Boiled food is closer to rotten (*pourri*) and is therefore natural partly because this is how a number of tribes regard boiled food.

There are obvious problems with this structuralist approach, the main one being that as it is primarily based upon binary opposition it does not allow for more complex interpretations. It also relies upon the idea that all human actions are based upon some underlying structure that is common to all of us, regardless of time or place: in effect, a form of a-historicism (Douglas 1971: 61-62).

In the seventies and eighties, particularly in the work of Douglas (see esp. 1971), a different, cultural approach was adopted. Douglas was influenced by both the functionalist and structuralist approaches of the preceding generations of anthropologists, but evolved a new position out of these influences. She saw food as linked to both biological factors as well as social factors, but it was the latter aspect that interested her most. In this context, food was seen as a code: the message it encodes will be found in the pattern of the social relations being expressed (Douglas 1971: 63). Once again, food is seen as being 'symbolic' of social relations, but Douglas asks us to consider the meal not simply as an assemblage of binary oppositions, which takes us only part of the way towards a satisfactory understanding, but rather that we place the meal in the context of the other meals consumed. The meal and its components cannot be studied on their own but need to be considered as part of a whole. This approach, although still relying on the idea of a basic code that, if we could decipher, would help us to understand human behaviour, goes some way in extending the somewhat restricted

analytical field that Lévi-Strauss adopted. As Douglas (1971: 64) states: if food is a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relationships being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries. The problems with Lévi-Strauss' work can be simply summed up: firstly he is looking for precoded, pan-human messages in the language of food, drawing from his work on linguistics. Secondly, he relies completely on a very restrictive binary analysis.

In the recent decades, anthropology, like much of the social sciences and humanities, has been subject to post-colonial interpretation. It has been suggested, and can be clearly seen, that anthropological studies, particularly the early studies, were influenced by a colonial mind-set. The peoples being studied were regarded as 'savages' (see Malinowski 1926) and their habits were seen as 'curiosities' and often not understood within the context of their societies (as these were seen as inferior to the dominant colonial culture). This of course is reminiscent of the way in which Roman archaeology has been studied in Britain (see Hingley 2000). Key to the deconstruction of the colonial overtones of anthropology was the decentring of Western categories of knowledge. Post-colonial theory explores 'the projection from the 'civilising' imperial centres of fetishised images of Africa, the 'Orient', Latin America, etc. as civilisation's 'Other', in ways that simultaneously bring these regions into being for Europe, fulfil its need for psychological and political centring, and silence any attempts at self-representation by these people and their post-colonial descendants' (Connor 1989: 232). In this way, it attempts to repudiate the domination of the 'centre', and to articulate the histories of the margins. In the past, the subjects of anthropological studies were passive, their existence was based on whether or not their habits had been adequately recorded and classified by the 'centre'. By focusing more on the cultural and social factors in societies, not merely

far-away 'exotic' ones but also within the 'centre', anthropologists have been able to get beyond the binary oppositions which were inherent in much of the discipline.

Through a post-colonial deconstruction of the way anthropological research has been conducted, the discipline has been able to appreciate the wide variety in/of the human experience, rather than seeing human behaviour as 'curious'. This has had an effect on how food too has been considered. The role food plays within a family and how food is used to express identity have all come to the forefront (see Scholliers 2001; White 1992; Johnston 2001). There has also been an increasing focus on the individual, rather than on commensality (see the work of Appadurai 1988b). Food is seen as a means of enabling the understanding of how we perceive ourselves (Simoons 1995), our gender (McIntosh and Zey 1989; Counihan and Van Esterik 1997; Counihan 1999; Counihan and Kaplan 1998) and our identity (Gabaccia 2000). The search for deep structure or for underlying codes has been rejected and a wider variety of issues is now being addressed. Post-colonialism too has had an increasing impact, particularly on the study of the African American food heritage (see Yentsch 1994, 1996; Lupton 1994; Sutton 2001) as well as on the study of other areas affected by colonialism such as South and Meso-America (Super 1988), India (Appadurai 1988b; Khare 1992; Harris 1985), the Pacific islands such as Papua New Guinea (Whitehead 2000) and Africa (Wiessner and Schiefenhovel 1996).

If food is central to self-perception and identity, how does this work in practice? Two examples help to illustrate this, particularly with reference to considering the main focal point of this thesis, that of reaching an understanding of food within the context of Roman Britain. A good example of the importance of food in terms of creating social identity as expressed through what is eaten is the case of the Trobriand Islanders, Micronesia. The Trobriand Islanders do not eat human flesh, nor do they eat dog or

snake. They abhor their neighbours, whom they consider to be cannibals and dog-and snake eaters. These neighbours in turn despise the Trobriand Islanders for their lack of culinary discrimination in neglecting such excellent foods as humans, dogs and snakes (Malinowski 1948: 89). The creation of identity on the part of the Trobriand islanders can thus be seen to be based upon the opposition between themselves and their neighbours, a common theme in food as an element of social identity (e.g. Harris 1985 and White 1992). The relevance for our case study of Roman Britain is that this might illustrate a 'resistant' attitude to food, a simple binary opposition to an opposing food tradition. However, we must note that this requires either i) knowledge, or ii) assumed knowledge (something that you *think* is true, but might not actual bear much resemblance to the fact), of that opposing food tradition.

The Trobriand Islanders shape their foodways with at least partial reference to how they think their neighbours behave, but does this happen *within* communities? In addition, given the concerns discussed earlier in this chapter about the limits of social knowledge between groups in a pre-modern society, can we elaborate upon this simple oppositional model? This possibility is opened up by Warner (1998: 205). In this paper, the heterogeneity within African American culture is explored through ceramic usage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Warner considers how social differences were maintained and defined in opposition to 'white' Annapolis (Maryland, USA). Warner identifies a deliberate rejection of elite status symbols, such as the avoidance of particular goods by the white wealthy because they were seen as being 'too showy'. The reverse was also identified: individuals who were less well off devoted a disproportionate amount of time and resources to acquiring 'genteel' goods or engaging in costly activities such as the hosting of dinner parties and tea drinking. Here we see a possible explanation for the variability we see in Roman Britain – acceptance or

rejection of cultural symbols adopted by those elites within the poor populace's own experience, rather than distant elites of which they had no knowledge.

From an anthropological perspective, we can draw out several strands which are of importance in helping to build an understanding of the possible social role played by food in Roman Britain. Firstly, it is clear that food is more than calories, and as such, if we are to understand food in the case study, we must move away from traditional 'diet'-based studies, and pay more attention to the social context of food. Secondly, we can see that food is used to build identity, and can be used as a form of resistance. However, we must also note that as food is deeply embedded in social structure, and intimately linked to 'who we are', change in foodways cannot be approached in a casual fashion. It is not something that will 'simply happen', because change in food infers change in many other areas of social practice and understanding. If the Trobriand Islanders were suddenly, for example, to start eating snake, this would suggest a complete revolution in their understanding of food and their relationships to their neighbours, not simply the discovery that they quite liked snake. Change in the foodways of Roman Britain must, therefore, be quantified and the *explained*, not just assumed as a given because of the Roman Conquest. It is from this perspective that we will consider how food has been studied in Roman Britain to date.

3.2. How has Food Been Studied in Roman Archaeology?

The principal paradigm through which issues relating to food have been studied in the context of Iron Age and Roman Britain has been diet, something which has been approached from environmental remains, i.e. animal bones and plant remains (Alcock 2001: 13-16; Davies 1971; King 1978, 1999, 2001; Maltby 1989; van der Veen 1992). The general pattern of Iron Age diet/foodways is, with reference to this current study, essentially a contextual issue, and has most reference to the interpretation of Roman

Period data generated in this project. As such it is considered in chapter seven. However, many of the issues in the study of what was eaten in the Iron Age are the same as those discussed below with reference to the Roman period debate. The integration of different groups of material culture in Roman archaeology has not been considered until recently (Meadows 1994, 1997, 1999; Hawkes 1999, 2001, 2002). We will return to the integrationist approach as it is beginning to be applied to Roman archaeology in section 3.4. However, to begin, we must outline how each area of material culture which touches upon food has been traditionally studied. These areas are: i) Animal Bones, ii) Botanical Remains, and iii) Ceramics.

3.2.1. Animal Bones

Animal bones have been the class of finds most commonly used to identify the meat favoured for consumption, and hence by implication the animals being kept by the inhabitants of Romano-British sites (e.g. Davies 1971; Dobney 2001; Grant 1989, 2002; Jones 1997; King 1978, 1999, 2001; Maltby 1989; Rowley-Conwy 2000). King's approach, although based firmly upon the acculturative model of social change (Romanisation/Gallicisation), as exemplified in King (2001: 1), is still largely accepted as the basis for much current archaeozoological research (Dobney 2001: 36). King's method is to establish the quantity of each species present upon a given site, a proportion calculated using a basic fragment count. This narrows the scope of study, giving primacy to species' proportions. For example, looking at King (1999), we see that he identifies a range of dietary scenarios, and if we narrow specifically to his analysis of the Maghreb assemblage by way of example (1999: 187 - 188), we see that he identifies moderate levels of pig, and high levels of sheep. This pattern is not at issue, but we can also suggest that other factors evident in faunal remains, like husbandry regimes, contribute a large amount of information to our understanding of how domestic species are being managed (like, for example, whether they are being

used primarily for meat, or for secondary products). We can suggest that Kings work thus accurately maps shifts in species proportions over time, and over wide geographical areas, but ignores other important factors which concern livestock and their uses, and fails to compare the picture generated with, for example, changes in ceramic use, and other areas of material culture. None of this is done, for example, for the Maghreb assemblages. What King allows us to see, is moderate amounts of pig, and high sheep/goat, but we do not know, for example, if this is alongside a complex pattern of ceramic usage, accompanied by imports, or what the focus of the husbandry regime was. Also, we do not know if the sheep on the majority of Maghreb sites were old, which indicates a focus upon the production of wool (which might suggest that any meat eaten was old, and of possible poorer quality), or young, which would indicate a focus on young, more tender meat, and little wool production? Thus, when we come to consider Kings evidence for Britain (1999: 178 - 180), although the pattern advanced is not in dispute (relatively low amounts of pig, but with large amounts of sheep/goat and cattle), the information lacks the detail that would allow us to situate this trend against other variables effecting animal remains (like age of death), and limiting any attempt to compare animal remains data to other forms of evidence touching upon food. This method has become, however, almost a 'shorthand' for the full complexity of faunal remains assemblages, and is used even in otherwise more sophisticated analysis (Meadows 1999: 110 - 112).

The second issue is that of King's interpretation of this observed phenomenon – his *interpretation* of such patterns is narrowed by a focus upon Romanisation. King views Romanisation (or lack of) as the principal factor at play shaping these observed patterns, failing to take into account alternative motors for social action. A good example of this is the decrease in numbers of sheep bones relative to the other two main domesticates, cattle and pig, in the Roman period in Britain (King 1978: 211). This has often been

interpreted in the light of the progressive Romanisation model discussed above, i.e. the more Romanised (or civilised) the native population became the less they favoured sheep. In this model sheep are seen as the staple of the Iron Age. The more Romanised the native population became, the more they favoured Roman-style meats such as beef and pork. We also see a similar interpretative framework for our Maghreb example, above (see 1999: 187).

In recent years, this approach has been further developed by King (2001). Through (limited) comparative surveys of archaeozoological material from around the Mediterranean, he has identified several distinct 'dietary areas'. The Italian sites all show high pig percentages, whereas as the Northwestern sites in Gaul and Germany show high cattle percentages. Thus the dietary changes in Britain are not due to Romanisation (there being little evidence for a change to a more pork-based diet) but due to Gallicisation or Germanisation. King suggests, that this is due in part to the contact with the Roman Army (many of whom came from Gaul and Germania) but also due to the 'closeness' geographically of Britain to Gaul in particular. This approach, although more subtle than Romanisation, relies upon the same cultural process as other acculturation models, and in common with Terranato's 'bricolage' model goes very little way to answering the most important question of all: *why?* It provides no social context for the change observed but just assumes that contact with another cultural block will automatically generate change. As in 'Romanising' models, the native populations within this model have little choice in changing their foodways as the nebulous process of Romanisation does this for them. They are not considered as active agents but rather as pawns at the mercy of larger processes. However, if food is truly as important as anthropological studies have illustrated then change should not occur lightly. In addition, as we shall see later, there are methodological problems that might lead us to re-evaluate downwards the scale of change that King sees. There are also

problems when we attempt to reconcile the results of this narrow-based approach, to more holistic studies ranging across different aspects of 'food' related material culture (Hawkes 1999: 89-91).

There have been some exceptions to this Romanisation-based analysis of diet, principally Meadows (1994; 1997 and 1999), but we shall examine the impact of her work in 3.4.

3.2.2. Botanical Remains

The vast majority of plant evidence is in the form of macrobotanical remains, usually, in a British context, preserved through waterlogging, or by charring. Such remains can also be preserved, wholly or partially, by being replaced by minerals percolating through the sediment. It is easy to see why plant remains have often been ignored or at least under-represented: they are preserved only in special conditions and are labour intensive to retrieve. Nevertheless, they are a vital part of studying foodways. It can be suggested that the plant component was the most abundant in the food consumed but their remains are less durable, and therefore less visible to archaeologists than the remains of the meat component.

The primary focus of archaeobotany over past decades has been issues concerning the domestication of plants and farming systems. In a specific Roman context crop husbandry regimes (van der Veen 1992), the difference between consumer and producer sites (Jones 1986, van der Veen 1991, Robinson 1996) and domestication/spread of different species Jones (1989) on plant remains. Our current understanding of changes in cereals in Britain during the Roman period is that bread wheat appears to spread after the conquest (at the expense of spelt and emmer), and has been seen as an indicator of Romanisation, being associated with richer sites (Jones 1989: 133, Allen *et al.* 1993:

176). Rye, which also becomes more common after the conquest (Alcock 2001: 18). Emmer, however, was a hardy crop, and was much used by the Roman Army, despite its apparent decline (Alcock 2001: 17). The difficulty, however, is that many site assemblages, although dominated by cereals, may also contain what we consider to be 'weed' plants, which may in fact be edible, and which would increase the variability in the diet considerable (see Reynolds 1995 for a general consideration, or specifically Meadows 1999: 112), but whether or not such plants were consumed can only rarely be conclusively demonstrated.

Much work has also focused on crop processing (see Hillman 1981) and how plant remains can be retrieved and quantified (Renfrew and Bahn 1992: 254-266). More recently however, studies have focused on the role that plants played in food, rather than on farming. The role of exotic and imported plants, particularly in the Roman period, is now being considered.

The temperature at which plants were cooked can also be determined by new techniques that, may prove increasingly useful in the future. Such techniques had been used to analyse the stomach contents of Lindow Man (see Hillman 1981). Like many new procedures used in archaeobotany, they are very costly and can only be achieved under the right circumstances.

In general we should note that, whilst some work considering botanical remains in a broader site context has been undertaken (see van der Veen 1992, in which examination of Romano-British botanical remains was located against the general archaeological background of the site from which samples had been collected, or Meadows 1999, where she sets the remains in the broader context of the site), botanical remains have,

like animal bones, not, as yet, been systematically located within a spectrum of information relevant to 'food'.

3.2.3. Pottery

Initially pottery, like many archaeological artefacts, was studied as art history (Orton *et al.* 1993: 5-8). Publication of pottery in Britain and elsewhere was limited to the aesthetically more pleasing fine wares, for example Combe and Jackson 1787; and Kempe 1832, published, respectively, meticulous drawings of assorted fine wares and Samian from London, not unreminiscent of modern Samian reports (e.g. Dickinson 1996; Bird and Dickinson 2000).

The focus of pottery studies (Orton *et al.* 1993) is principally scientific, in that pottery analysis considers issues like fabric analysis (67-75), and quantification (166-181), but the actual function of the pottery in question is relegated to a very few pages in the final chapter (217-226, though most of even this contribution focuses upon highly technical issues like fabric analysis, rather than vessel use *per se*). We see a similar pattern in Tyres (1996), a book specifically about the pottery of Roman Britain, where the actual cultural use of these objects is confined to just a handful of pages (42-45). This is, perhaps, a surprisingly understudied issue when we consider that we are dealing with: the most common cultural artefact from Roman Britain.

Ceramics have, however, been employed to study the chronological development of a site and its trading links with other parts of the Empire (e.g. Cooper 1998), and it is in this light that pottery is mostly recorded in site reports (e.g. Timby 2000a and b). Although these are valuable areas of study and have been of great use in providing us with a basic framework for studying the Roman World, there are other issues related to everyday activities that can also be addressed through detailed pottery analysis.

However, pottery has rarely been considered from a social, or even a functional, perspective (Willis 1996: 38-39). There are some exceptions from Roman Britain, principally Cooper (1996), applying consumer models and trade patterns to provide a social context for pottery use, Evans (1988: 55) who has called for a more integrated approach to finds in general, including pottery, but who has also looked at the social context of the use of pottery (1988, 2001), and Willis 1993; 1995; 1996, who has looked at the social use and meaning of Samian and mortaria). Evans (1993: 95) in particular and Willis (1997) more generally, have also called for a greater awareness of the storage potential of ceramics, in their relationship with food, and Willis has pointed out string patterns, suggesting differential consumption of different types of pottery on different kinds of sites (Willis 1996 in general, but especially 42), a pattern which Fincham has also observed in part of north Africa (Fincham 2001: 34-44). The work of Meadows (1999) has also looked at pottery, but, as with animal remains, as she has begun to integrate different strands of finds, is considered separately below.

As with faunal and botanical remains, then, we can see that the way that pottery has been considered hitherto has been useful in creating a body of data to work with, but when considered in isolation, these data cannot give us the full picture of the cultural role played by ceramics.

3.3. Food in Historical Archaeology: The Integration of Finds

We have looked briefly at animal remains, botanical remains, and pottery. The broad pictures that these specialisms create is not being questioned here, but rather the point of this discussion is to illustrate how historically each set of data has been considered in isolation, and often from a specific perspective (like considering only species proportions when we come to consider animal remains, or thinking principally in terms of the use of pottery as a dating tool). We have also noted important studies which are

approaching specialism specific information in a more sophisticated manner. However, it has become clear from the above consideration of the different aspects of the archaeological record that touch upon 'food', that one way to achieve a deeper insight into this area of human behaviour, is to integrate our study of different finds, and as we shall see this is already happening, in anthropology, historical archaeology, and to a lesser extent, the archaeology of Roman Britain. The term foodways has been commonly used within anthropology for a number of years but it has also gained in popularity within the field of American historical archaeology. Here, foodways have been defined by the folklorist Jay Anderson as meaning: 'the whole interrelated system of food conceptualisation, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation and consumption shared by all members of a particular group' (Deetz 1996: 73). Within (Northern American) historical archaeology and particularly within the work of James Deetz, the different classes of finds related to food are considered together rather than artificially isolated in separate finds reports. Also, the areas of material culture which have a bearing upon 'food', but perhaps pottery in particular function socially, and can be used to great effect to display status. Food could be used in conspicuous consumption, both by eating rare and expensive food stuffs but also by serving them on uncommon ceramics (Yentsch 1994: 133).

However, although (Northern American) historical archaeology has brought the valuable insight of integrating the different classes of material culture, food has mostly been studied from the perspective of the ceramics used. The 'environmental' remains have often been understudied. This primacy of the ceramics is suggested by Deetz: when foodways change then we can expect a change in the pattern of ceramic use (1996: 73-79). The situation is complicated by the fact that the place a household occupied in the social hierarchy would have had an important effect on the kinds of ceramics used.

Deetz illustrates the potential of ceramics to study foodways, but like European studies, focuses too heavily upon one source of evidence. We need to combine the information gained from *all* relevant sources to get a balanced and holistic picture of the foods consumed and how these were used in the construction of identity and social display. Over reliance upon ceramics alone would ignore the possibility of differential access, for whatever reason, to pottery supplies, a reality in Roman Britain as demonstrated by Going (1992).

Through the integration of the different classes of material culture associated with food we can obtain a better picture of the food eaten as well as its social context. In historical archaeology we can know the social status of individuals through documentary sources, and the archaeological data can provide a pattern of behaviours which could be associated with people of that particular status, but this can provide us with illustrative examples of the role of material culture in society which helps us to interpret evidence from other periods. For example, the Chesapeake household of the Calvert family, who was the then governor, continually upgraded the Chinese porcelain in their possession so that what they owned could not be mistaken as the possessions of a poorer man (Yentsch 1994: 139). In that way the Calvert family used pottery and porcelain as a means of distinguishing themselves from others (Yentsch 1994: 143). The link between status and ceramic use may well be valuable in interpreting Roman period ceramic assemblages.

3.4. Roman Archaeology: The Beginnings of Integration

As noted above, the process of examining material through an integrated approach, rather than through isolated sub-disciplines, has begun to be applied to the study of foodways in Roman Archaeology (Meadows 1994, 1997, 1999; Hawkes 1999, 2001,

2002). This process has in part been fuelled by the developments in historical archaeology noted in section 3.3 (Hawkes 1999).

Meadows (1994, 1997, 1999) has pioneered the integration of finds in the study of food in Roman Britain. Meadows' work has mainly concentrated on one site, i.e. Barton Court Farm and has consisted of a detailed analysis of the different classes of remains (ceramics, animal bones and plant remains). However, this work was only attempted on one site and the focus was primarily on ceramics. The theoretical approach was informed by a 'watered-down' version of Romanisation, rather than through any framework more sensitive to the realities of life for those that inhabited the site. Since Meadows' work, the importance of integration has become more evident in Roman archaeology (see Hill 2001).

3.5. How can Food Be Studied in an Archaeological Context?

As Yentsch (1996: 27) suggested, the food domain cannot be properly understood without the knowledge of the functional and symbolic parameters of each successive phase that food passed through: being obtained; introduced into the household domain; transformed from raw product into edible meal; distributed; consumed; its remains discarded. Herein lies the basis for the way in which food will be approached in this thesis, to be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. If we are to study food, an everyday commodity, from the viewpoint of those actually consuming or involved in the preparation of the food, then we need to approach food from the perspective of how a meal might actually be prepared. Within this method the different classes of artefacts can be combined as they would all have functioned together in creating the end product, an edible meal. Douglas (1971: 61), in her key structuralist work, suggested that food was a code and that the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of the social relationship being expressed. Taking this perspective further Goody (1982: 37) suggests

that cooking should be analysed in the context of the total process of production, distribution, preparation and consumption of food. Thus the subdivision of the process of making an edible meal fits in with the idea of integrated finds analysis. Just as the different classes of material culture should be analysed together, so then should the different processes that go into making and consuming a meal.

3.5.1. The Food Process

The food process can be subdivided into three main stages: food procurement, storage, food preparation, and serving/consumption. These themselves can be further subdivided into the phases that one would need to go through in cooking and serving and eating a meal. The food procurement stage includes activities such as animal husbandry, supply from outside sources, hunting and fishing, and agricultural practices. Storage can occur at several intervals in this scheme, after initial procurement or after initial preparations have been made. Food preparation can be subdivided into initial preparation that may involve further processing of meat, vegetables, and cereals. The preparation of the meal can now get underway after the ingredients have been obtained and processed. Cooking follows next and after that serving and eating. Here we can see the different transformations that the food needs to undergo before it can be consumed; firstly, from the fields, woodlands and the sea to the kitchen as raw ingredients; secondly, the preparation of these ingredients for cooking; thirdly, the transformation of some of the ingredients from raw to cooked food; finally, the removal of the meal from the cooking sphere (be that a separate kitchen or a simple hearth) to the eating sphere to be served and consumed by either a family group (daily food) or by a larger group which includes people who are not usually part of the household (public food or feasting). The development of the use of this model in an archaeological context will be explored in detail in chapter three and applied to data in chapters four, five, and six.

3.6. Conclusion

Previous studies of food in Roman archaeology have relied on the individual components of a meal rather than combining the different aspects to consider the whole. Food consumption is a complex social issue which is integral to life both biologically and culturally. Having discussed the structure of food studies, the way in which food is approached in other disciplines, and considered how food can be approached in Romano-British archaeology through the construction of meal phases (the food process), we can move on by putting the theoretical framework into practice in the following chapters.

Chapter Three: Methodology

1. Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodology which will be adopted in this thesis for studying foodways. It takes account of the different elements of material culture that are involved in the preparation and consumption of a meal, aiming to put food and its consumption into a socially meaningful context rather than regarding it as being purely nutritional. This will be achieved through considering archaeological evidence through the 'lense' of the food process mentioned in section 3.5.1 of chapter two. The different elements of the model are based upon actual process that would have had to be gone through to obtain the ingredients for, prepare and consume a meal, and also identifies the archaeological evidence which would be associated with the particular phases of a meal so that these can be recovered from the archaeological data.

2. General Outline of the Model

The model is divided into three main elements: food procurement, and food preparation and storage, which can occur either after the procurement or after the preparation stages. These have each been subdivided into different phases which take account of the meal process. These divisions are based upon the discussion of food literature in chapter two, but aim to use that theoretical discussion to identify 'signatures' in the archaeological record.

The model will also identify the different types of archaeological evidence which indicate the different stages in the consumption process. The analysis involved in this project will be a re-examination, using the recording scheme set out below, of published reports. The main thrust of this will be a critical evaluation of the published evidence, followed by the integration of the different finds categories. The aim has been to evolve a model that is flexible enough to accommodate the often incomplete nature of

archaeological data, whilst at the same time allowing for a detailed and theoretically-informed picture to emerge. It is understood that data are essentially theory laden: the way data have been collected on site and the way in which they have been analysed are dependent on the informing theoretical framework of the archaeologist (Shanks and Tilley 1987): only when we have reconsidered the nature of the available data itself, can we reconsider its interpretation.

Meal Stage	Process	Evidence
Food Procurement		
	Husbandry Regimes	Age-at-death profiles
	Supply	Pottery, including amphorae
		Botanical remains (imports and exotica)
	Hunting and fishing	Wild animal remains
	Agriculture	Plant remains Farm Tools Cultivation Features
Food preparation	1. Initial processing	
	Meat	Butchery, skeletal element representation
	Cereals	Chaff, husks and grains Corn Driers
	Dairy products	Pottery Species present, age-at-death
	2. Storage (can occur in different places in the food process)	
	Smoking and curing of meat	Bone modification (e.g. hole through scapula) Structural evidence
	Grain Storage	Structural evidence Botanical evidence
	3. Meal preparation	
	Meat	Butchery (filleting), Skeletal element representation
	Flavourings	Amphorae Botanical remains
	Preparation vessels	Mortaria
	4. Cooking	
	Pottery	Forms and fabrics Size of vessels

		Local/ Imported fabrics
	Type of joint	Butchery Skeletal element representation
	5. Serving	
	Pottery	Size, form and fabric
	6. Other Information	
	Rituals associated with food	Size of animals Context of deposition

Table 3.1: The stages of the model illustrating the food process and how it can be identified in the archaeological record.

This way, even using ‘old’ data, we can open up a more sophisticated consideration of Roman period foodways than has currently been possible.

3. Analytical Methods

3.1. Introduction

The model evolved in this chapter will be used as a framework for recording, analysing and interpreting the evidence gathered from published and archive site reports, re-casting that data in the light of general stages identified in food preparation – this allows comparisons between the sites analysed. In the process of gathering data certain issues of particular importance have been identified and these will be focused on in detail.

3.2. Species Proportions

In the past, species proportions have commonly been used by many animal bone specialists working in Roman Britain as one of the best indicators of what was being eaten on sites (see King 1978, 1999, 2001). Although they can be used as a general indication of the species present on a particular site, the exploitation of the different animals and their contribution to the food needs to be explored more deeply. Species proportions may be calculated in different ways, and often have to be considered in the

form in which they were originally published – the information necessary to recalculate the figures is not always published with the results of the analysis.

Percentages of total fragment counts may also be distorting, as an apparent rise in a certain species may just be a reflection of a decline in another species. Some species proportions are based on fragment counts which reflect the number of bone fragments of a certain species present on a site and are therefore influenced by the level of breakage and other depositional factors. Other methods of quantification may also have been used - such as Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI). The calculation of the MNI looks at the minimum number of animals which would have been needed to have been present on a site to make up the bone assemblage.

The methods of quantification used thus play an important role in the pictures that will be created in the final report of an excavated site, but what all the above methods have in common is that they generate, through differing means, a comparison between the numbers of various types of animals on a site (for example, the number of cows versus the number of sheep). What this does is provides a count, but does not consider the perspective of the ancient farmer, who is more likely to have viewed the beasts being raised in terms of what they were largely for – eating. A method which relates to the actual ‘dietary use’ of the animals in the past, i.e. how much they could have contributed to the meat diet, is that of meat weight. This involves establishing an average weight of meat that a creature would contribute, then multiplying it by the number present. This will be calculated using figures based on primitive breeds, and may give a more accurate picture of the importance of certain species (see Vigne 1992). However, it is necessary to raise a caveat with this method – it must be remembered that, although a certain species contribute very little to the overall meat diet, it may still have played an important role in the social life of the inhabitants of the site, perhaps as a

pet, or in terms of non-dietary secondary products like wool. However, the aim of the model is to create a more complex and sophisticated picture of foodways in this period, and the wider social issues pertaining to animal ownership are considered to be beyond the scope of this project.

3.3. Age-at-death and Sex

The age-at-death of animals raised for food on a site is an aspect of the animal bones assemblage which will be used to establish the husbandry regimes under which these animals were reared. It will also allow the focus of the husbandry regimes to be explored – what were the inhabitants of the site principally interested in? For example, were cattle mostly kept for meat, traction or dairy products? It has to be borne in mind that even though the main focus for the ownership of particular animals may have been secondary products, the end product (as evidenced by the faunal remains in the archaeological record) would still have been meat. A detailed analysis of the different age-at-death patterns, and what they are considered to signify, is given in section 4.1.2.

At the same time, and wherever possible, the sex make-up of the herd will be established, to enhance a picture of the use of the livestock, i.e. wool and dairy products are principally produced by female animals.

3.4. Size of Animals

The increase in size of livestock has been a traditional marker of a more ‘Romanised’ site (King 1978, 1999, 2001), and a general size increase can indeed be demonstrated from the Iron Age to the Romano-British period. There have been several models put forward in recent years to explain this size increase, one being that larger animals were brought across from the Continent to Britain as a result of the Roman Conquest, the other suggesting that the Romans brought with them improved agricultural methods

(Grant 1989: 136). The former model, involving the physical movement of animals, has now largely been superseded by explanations in terms of improved techniques as well as better nutrition. It is important to note, however, that the social implications of the presence of larger livestock have been largely left unconsidered, something which will be addressed in this project. For example, evidence from Le Patural in Central France suggests that larger animals were present but they were small in number. The people who owned such animals may have regarded them as symbols which enhanced their power in society (Grant 1989: 143). This is an approach which clearly has potential to add to our understanding of the wider social context within which such animals were raised.

To calculate animal height overall withers height will be recorded (where published) and compared between sites. The calculation of withers heights is usually based on the length of long bones, but there are different methods of achieving this. Multiplication factors have been determined for different long bones (radii, femora, tibiae or humeri as well as metapodia) by a number of different authors (a range of publications devoted in their entirety to bone measurements and their uses include: Boessneck 1969; von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970; Kiesewalter 1888), each author establishing a different set of measurements, giving a range of possible different methods. As ever, in a study of this kind focusing upon published data, re-analysis must function within the limits set by the methods of recording used in each individual report, and although ideally one method would be chosen and applied to all the information available, in reality we must work with this variety of methods, and establish ways to make them at least broadly comparable.

3.5. Butchery

Although this is not often published or recorded in detail, a broad pattern of the way in which the carcass was utilised needs to be understood to establish whether or not there was change over time or regional variation. The types of joints which may have commonly been exploited also need to be identified to obtain a more detailed picture of the meat actually consumed. This can be broken down into a process which allows us to recognise different activities in the archaeology.

Initial butchery allows the carcass of an animal to be subdivided into joints of meat suitable for consumption. The following tables (3.2, 3.3 and 3.4) are based on modern methods for butchery, as practised in England. Whilst these might not be a perfectly accurate reflection of what the butchery of ancient breeds would produce (as they deal with modern meat bearing animals), the basic anatomy of ancient breeds, as compared with modern ones, is, of course, the same. Such modern information can, therefore, be used as an informative guide to illustrate the kind of subdivision of carcass which may have been employed.

Thus, the initial stage of the butchery process may be characterised by the discard of some parts of the carcass such as the heads and metapodials or other non-major meat-bearing parts of the body. Initial butchery deposits thus may be recognised by the absence of primary meat-bearing parts such as the femur, humerus, radius and tibia. A caveat must be raised here – secondary products such as bone for working or hides may also be removed at this point, which might also result in the generation of a deposit of a particular nature, head and extremities present, but the larger and more workable bones missing. In these circumstances, however, it is highly unlikely that the meat of the animal would be discarded, and even deposits which are suspected of being the remains

of efforts to procure such secondary products, would also have contributed the principal meat joints to the local diet.

Species	Skeletal Element	Meat Cut
Pig	Skull	(A) Heads
	Jaw bones (mandible and maxilla)	
	Teeth	
	Scapula	(B) Spare rib joint
	Distal humerus	
	Distal/Proximal humerus	(C) Hand
	Radius/ulna	
	Metacarpal	
	Ribs	(D) Loin
	Vertebrae	
	Ribs	(E) Belly
	Distal femur	(F) Hams
	Pelvis	
	Metac(t)arsals	(G) Trotters
	Phalanges	
	Vertebrae	(H) Tail

Table 3.2: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat for pig (based on modern cuts of meat). (After: Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002: 150-151)

Cattle	Vertebrae	Tail
	Tibia/fibula	(A) Leg of beef
	Proximal femur	(B) Lower: Thick flank
	Femur (shaft)	(B) Middle: Topside/ Top rump
	Distal femur	(B) Upper: Silverside
	Pelvis	(C) Rump steak
	Vertebrae	
	Vertebrae	(D) Sirloin
	Ribs	
	Ribs	(D) Inside: Fillet
	Ribs	(E) Hindquarter flank
	Ribs	(F) Forequarter flank
	Ribs	(F) Brisket
	Ribs	(G) Fore rib
	Vertebrae	
	Ribs	(G) Backrib/ wingrib
	Vertebrae	
	Scapula	(H) Chuck steak
	Distal humerus	
	Proximal humerus	(I) Shin
	Distal radius/ulna	

	Collarbone Ribs	(J) Stewing steak
	Skull Jaw bones (mandible, maxilla) Teeth	(K) Head

Table 3.3: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat for cattle (based on modern cuts of meat). (After: Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002: 184-187)

Sheep	Distal femur Pelvis	(A) Leg
	Proximal femur Distal tibia	(B) Shank
	Pelvis Vertebrae	(C) Chump
	Ribs Vertebrae	(D) Loin and saddle
	Vertebrae Ribs	(E) Best end, Rack
	No skeletal elements	(F) Breast
	Scapula Distal humerus	(G) Shoulder
	Collarbone Ribs	(H) Middle neck and scrag end
	Proximal humerus Distal radius/ulna	(I) Shin, fore shank
	Skull Jaw bones (mandible and maxilla) Teeth	Head

Table 3.4: Correlation between skeletal elements and joints of meat for sheep (based on modern cuts of meat). (After: Fearnley-Whittingstall 2002: 202-203)

The subdivision of the carcass into joints is the next phase of processing. There are, as mentioned above, many different types of butchery marks which can be used to indicate different processes. For example, skinning marks are often similar to those produced by dismembering, and are usually located on the skull near the snout and around the mandible, at the base of the horn cores or antlers (where present) and ears and around the metapodia and phalanges. These are the places where the skin is more tightly

attached to the underlying elements and would therefore be difficult to remove without damaging the hide (Reitz and Wing 1999: 202-203).

Different types of marks were categorised by Noe-Nygaard (1989), who established five distinctive skinning and butchery marks: cut, scrape, chop or hack, blows and saw marks. The characteristics of each mark reflect the type of tool used, the angle of the cutting edge, the pressure applied and whether the meat was cooked or raw (Walker and Long 1977: 610; Grant 1989: 140). The cut and scrape marks can be identified by small incisions which may have a V- or U-shaped profile. Cut marks were most probably made by knives during skinning, when dismembering the carcass and during the removal of meat both before and after cooking. The other characteristic mark is the hack, which are deep and have a V-shaped profile (Noe-Nygaard 1989: 472). Hacks tend to cluster around the larger joints of the long bones but can also be found on the shafts of long bones. These were usually made by large, heavy tools such as cleavers. Such tools would have been employed to joint the carcass before cooking rather than for the removal of meat once cooked (Reitz and Wing 1999: 157-159). This illustration underlines the importance of butchery marks – differing patterns of butchery may not only be indicative of changing patterns of consumption, but may also illustrate changes in tools used, for example, there may have been a shift from flint to iron tools in the early Roman period or the increased use of saws, which would show itself in the butchery evidence through a change from hacks to cleaner cuts.

3.6. Skeletal Element Representation

This area is closely linked with butchery, and needs to be examined in conjunction with it. A detailed analysis of the skeletal elements present can tell us which joints were favoured and thus what cooking methods may have been employed. The distribution of different bones over a site may be used to suggest the status or function of different

areas, though of course this could only ever be a tentative strand of analysis as taphonomy, rubbish disposal and post-depositional factors will all distort the archaeological record. It should be noted at the outset that this may not be possible on an individual site like a small farmstead (largely because of a lack of published data at this level), but it may be possible for larger urban sites where different excavations have taken place within the city. For example, in Leicester a clear distinction can be observed between the remains of the joints of meat discarded on the extra-mural site of Great Holme Street and to those found in the insula within the city walls at Causeway Lane (Monckton 1999b).

3.7. Form, Fabric and Colour of Ceramic Vessels

This area of analysis is important in order to establish the way in which meals were cooked, and indeed the types of meal which were eaten most: for example, liquid food is easier to eat from a bowl than a plate, so many platters and only a few bowls might suggest a limited number of broths and soups. The size (rim diameter) is also important, as it may be possible to suggest whether or not meals were consumed communally or individually: larger bowls may be indicative of communal cooking or eating whereas smaller bowls may indicate individual consumption. The colour and the decoration, as well as the fabric, may also be significant in status display, especially if the fabric, colour or decoration is of an exotic nature. Consideration of the ceramic vessels may thus yield information on both the physical nature of the meal, and its social context.

3.8. Vessel Size and the Fragment Size of Bones

Although vessel and bone fragment size is not often recorded in reports, where it has been a relationship may be established between the size of the joints produced in butchery and the rim diameter of cooking pots. The fragment size of bones may also be indicative of the way a carcass was processed for consumption, and thus help to

illustrate butchery patterns. Again, however, we need to consider the impact of preservational and post-depositional factors as well as possible breakage during and after excavation, and the likelihood of post-depositional fragmentation of bone makes this a possible line of enquiry interesting to note, but very difficult to pursue.

3.9. Presence/Absence and Quantity of Imported Goods

Apart from providing evidence for long-distance trade and contact with other areas of the Empire, the occurrence of amphorae on sites may indicate the presence of Roman-style flavourings and goods and, as will be discussed elsewhere, may have status implications. However, their quantity over time needs to be considered. For example, if only one sherd of a Dressel 20 amphorae (most of these contained olive oil from the Guadalquivir Valley in Southern Spain) was present on a site, it would not be reasonable to suggest that olive oil contributed greatly to the foodways of the people who lived there. The preferential consideration of 'Roman' pottery (e.g. imported wares and amphorae), has been considered in chapter two, and careful consideration of the amounts of such material, in relation to more local products, will help us to establish the possible scale of such imports, and thus engage in a more informed consideration of the impact that they may have had.

3.10. Botanical Remains

Cereals and the remains of vegetables, fruits, herbs and flavourings, were probably the main component of any meal, meat featuring only in small amounts and on an occasional rather than daily basis (Wiessner and Schiefenhovel 1996; Segui 1999). They are thus crucial in understanding foodways in Roman Britain. By studying the remains of cereals we can also gain an insight into the wider agricultural regime practised - did the Roman Conquest bring about a change in the cereal crops cultivated on sites or did the same crops carry on being eaten (see van der Veen 1992)? These are

important issues to consider, especially in conjunction with the animal husbandry regimes.

Of the various types of plant remains encountered archaeologically, cereal remains are often the best preserved and therefore the best represented on sites. This is because cereals commonly come into contact with fire through their processing and therefore char. Indicators that cereals were present on site are the presence of glumes, of chaff and of weed species which are commonly found growing amongst the cereal crop on the fields.

There were many native plants that may have been used to add flavour to food such as juniper, elderberry, sloe and hazelnut (see van der Veen 1996: 198). It can be suggested that such edible plants, which could be collected from the surrounding countryside, would have been used on a daily basis to flavour food – their indigenous nature ensuring a constant supply.

This would contrast with imported flavourings, which may not have been in constant supply, and which would have been used on a more occasional basis. Imported flavourings may have included plants, herbs and spices and, if available, could have been incorporated into the native cookery traditions (see Monckton 1999b). Some Mediterranean herbs, however, need not imply continued trade with source areas once they have been introduced, as most can be successfully grown in Britain (van der Veen 1996).

As with cereals, evidence for these flavourings would come from the preserved plant remains and seeds recovered from sites, though this clearly relies on the preservational conditions on the site and the excavation techniques employed. This will always be a

difficult area to study archaeologically, as mentioned above, due to the preservational difficulties encountered on most sites.

3.11. Textual Evidence

The principal source for food and cookery in the Roman world is the cookery book attributed to Apicius, *De re coquinaria*. This allows a direct insight into elite Roman dining habits and tastes in the fourth century, and has often been used as an indication of what 'Roman Food' in Britain may have been like. It is, for example, the source of the recipes in Renfrew (1985). This importance of this book, as the only cookery book to survive from the ancient world, has perhaps become magnified, especially when the dining habits of a fourth-century Roman noble are transferred to, for example, the inhabitants of rural Britain in the second century. Our problem is that there are very few texts that refer directly or indirectly to the eating habits of the provinces and in particular Britain. There are some remarks in Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* but it is questionable how reliable these are. For example, it is stated that the Iron Age inhabitants of Britain did not eat chicken, as this was a taboo food (Book V, 14) but these are found on some late Iron Age sites (for example, chicken remains have been recovered from the Iron Age deposits at Clay Lane, Earls Barton, see chapter 4). Thus although textual evidence may give a very useful insight into elite dining, its relevance to Britain needs to be critically assessed. The Roman texts were not written for the masses and Apicius cannot be seen in the same light as the modern day cookbooks of Delia Smith or Elizabeth David, introducing people to new ingredients and cooking methods. These texts would have circulated within the elite circles of Rome and therefore would have had little influence on the cooking habits and tastes of the provincial peasants, who were very probably illiterate.

3.12. Other Evidence

There are, of course, many other sources of evidence which relate more indirectly to food and food preparation in particular, including structural evidence such as the location of hearths, building layout, the presence of separated dining areas and kitchens as well as storage facilities. These occur in the fourth century and may indicate a change in the dining habits, possibly indicating a separation of different groups of people (Scott 1993a). Small finds are also relevant, as are other cooking implements made of metal and glass. However, it is the principal aim of this project to create and test a methodology for the integration of the main classes of excavated material which have a bearing upon food consumption, namely pottery, animal bones, and botanical remains. These classes of material are common enough to help provide a broad based picture, grounded in substantial bodies of evidence. Although the specific architectural setting of a meal (if identifiable) is clearly important to the social context of that meal, and metal implements may have been used in cooking, they are secondary to the main body of information available, and the main purpose of the methodology. It is necessary, then, due to time constraints, to focus upon the material which is most directly related to food consumption, and occurs in sufficient quantity to make its study worth while – namely animal bone, pottery, and botanical remains.

4. Discussion of the Different Stages of the Model

As mentioned above, the model has been subdivided in three parts addressing three different stages: food procurement, food preparation and storage. These stages have been subdivided in different processes that represent the making of a meal (see Table 3.1). The background information of the site being analysed is also important, as this will provide a contextual framework for the foodways.

4.1. Food Procurement

4.1.1. *Introduction*

The first stage identified in the process of preparing a meal is that of food procurement. This involves and includes the procurement of meat and necessitates a consideration of animal and crop husbandry regimes (and horticulture); supply, including sources; and hunting and fishing, i.e. to what extent did wild food resources play a role in the foodways and social contexts of the inhabitants of the site in question? Did ritual play any part in acquisition, perhaps for sacrificial purposes? The archaeological evidence that can be used to identify this stage is discussed below.

4.1.2. *Animal Husbandry Regimes*

Animal husbandry regimes can be studied by looking at the age-at-death profiles of each domestic species present, in order to attempt to establish whether the primary emphasis was on meat, dairying, traction, hides or other secondary products. It must be noted that, although animals may have been exploited for secondary products such as milk, traction or leather production, the aims of almost every husbandry regime would have included meat production. Thus, even though a herd may have been exploited primarily for dairy products, the animals are, ultimately, likely to have been eaten.

As indicated above there are many different husbandry strategies which can be practised, each of these leaving their own forms of distinct evidence. This evidence, primarily derived from bone fusion, tooth eruption and wear data, indicates age-at-death and kill-off patterns. Extensive research has been conducted on the construction and interpretation of kill-off patterns (see Payne 1973 and Grant 1978, 1982: 92-94). When age data cluster in a single age class, it is assumed that this indicates a targeted hunting or culling strategy, and observable changes in these age patterns may be indicative of environmental change (shortage of fodder over a poor winter may lead to a higher level

of slaughter than might otherwise have been the case) as well as changes in the social structure of the site in question (Reitz and Wing 1999: 213). Thus, in general terms, age-at-death provides information about the herd management structures, such as the use of younger animals for food, selective seasonal slaughter, or the slaughter of old animals after their ability to provide by-products (traction, milk etc.), or labour to look after the livestock has diminished. Husbandry regimes which focus on obtaining different products will lead to different mortality, but also sex, profiles: for example, if meat was the main requirement young animals may be preferentially slaughtered whereas if dairy products were desired females will not be killed until they are mature or old.

The age classes present on a site might also be indicative of whether or not animals were 'produced' as well as consumed on the same site. An age-at-death profile, although with a focus on particular ages at which large groups of animals were culled, would have to represent all ages of animals to indicate that a full and viable population existed. This would indicate that the site was producing and consuming livestock. However, we might observe an extremely narrow focus on one particular age group, with very few younger or older animals represented, and this might suggest that animals were being imported onto the site. Conversely, if animals of prime age, depending on the products desired, are missing from the assemblage, then one might suggest that some animals were being raised on the site but consumed elsewhere (Reitz and Wing 1999: 234-237).

The death of an animal, however, is not the only method of exploiting it. Techniques that allow nutrition to be extracted from livestock in a non-fatal way include dairying and the exploitation of blood products. Both of these techniques may leave very little archaeological trace, but could have provided good sources of protein at the same time

as preserving the stock. However, if animals were exploited for things like milk, blood, wool or hair, then there is an increased likelihood that these animals will survive into old age, and so a mortality pattern with an emphasis on older animals may suggest that these animals were being exploited for secondary products throughout their lives.

4.1.3. Supply

Many sites had access to food stuffs and other goods, such as ceramics, produced elsewhere. Much research has been carried out on this particular issue, particularly with regard to ceramics and amphorae (see Greene 1986; Keay 1984; Peacock and Williams 1986; Tyers 1996). Such goods, those which come from outside Britain in particular, illustrate how British sites became involved in wider supply networks, ultimately connecting them with other, distant parts of the Empire. As has been discussed in chapter two, many of these goods in themselves were not 'Roman'. There is nothing intrinsically 'Roman' about olive oil or Samian ware, and this opens up possible different meaning in the eyes of the Romano-British people who were acquiring them. The importance of such items may have lain more in the fact that they were not 'local' (they may have been effectively 'symbols' of the empire, if not intrinsically Roman in themselves), or the immediate practicalities of an object might have been significant (e.g. to a Briton purchasing a piece of unfamiliar 'Roman' pottery, the most important consideration may have been what they could actually do with it). Thus, Pottery is considered in respect of whether it was imported or locally produced fine or coarse ware, but, where the published data were available, the forms have also been analysed. Where the information was provided in the published reports, the forms have been broken down into general categories: jars, dishes and bowls, given meaning within the different stages in the meal process. This method helps us to get a more experiential understanding of pottery use in the past, rather than seeing pottery merely as a means of studying trade, or for dating contexts.

4.1.4. *Wild Resources*

Another aspect of food procurement is the exploitation of wild animal resources, predominantly through hunting and fishing. Wild animals are commonly present on Roman period sites, but in small numbers. Although the contribution of wild resources to daily subsistence may have been minimal, they may have been eaten or hunted at special times and for reasons which go beyond mere dietary need (Grant 1989: 144). Wild or semi-domesticated animals may occupy a special place in the social and religious life of the people.

An example of this is the status of the deer in the Middle Ages. The deer in the Royal Forests were personal property of the king, and hunting such an animal without permission was a capital offence (Grant 1989: 144). Nevertheless, deer skeletons have been recovered from excavations of rural settlements (see Grant 1984), and these can be interpreted as a deliberate disregard of the accepted social code of conduct, and might, under certain circumstances, constitute acts of resistance. As has been discussed in chapter two, 'resistance' may sometimes be a too value laden term for what is more passive – conservatism. As with all supposed cases of resistance or conservatism, the context is all-important – if there is a specific prohibition on killing deer from Royal Estates, then the killing of such an animal can be considered to be an act of resistance, but if deer (or other wild species) have always formed part of the foodways (possibly associated with feasts or other social events) then continuing to kill and eat these animals could be evidence for conservatism. This will be explored in more detail in the following chapters, in the context of the Romano-British sites that we shall examine.

Marine resources, such as periwinkles, oysters and other shellfish, are also present, but in larger amounts. Excavations of archaeological sites have recovered fish bones which indicates that fish may have played a role in the food of the inhabitants of Roman

Britain. Alcock (2001: 47) however, suggests that fish would only occasionally have featured in the diet. The main obstacle to the regular consumption of fish (particularly in inland areas) is the lack of refrigeration. At Silchester however, freshwater fish as well as saltwater fish such as grey mullet, herring, salmon and sea bream were recovered which suggests that there was a market for the produce of coastal fisheries, inland (Alcock 2001: 47). It is however, unclear if this fish was transported fresh or arrived on site dried or smoked which would enable it to be preserved for a longer period of time.

Fish can be pickled in barrels of salt or in amphorae filled with seawater and salt (Alcock 2001: 47) and would ease transportation as well as preservation. Fish, even in small quantities would have added variety to the food consumed but it can be suggested that, particularly inland, fish may have been reserved for only the richest of consumers and may have been eaten as much for the prestige of acquiring food from far away as well as the taste.

Shellfish, and in particular oysters, are recovered in quantity from Roman sites. This suggests that they were popular and that there was a supply route from the coast to inland markets. The oysters may have been both natural and cultivated, in particular the coast of Essex seems to have been favoured for oyster cultivation (Alcock 2001: 55).

4.1.5. Plant Remains

Meat was not necessarily (or even probably) the primary component of a meal, and may not have figured on a daily basis (see Wiessner and Schiefenhowel 1996; Segui 1999). Thus we also need to consider, where the evidence has been preserved, the role-played by cereals and other plants. This type of evidence may exist in the form of carbonised grains, or in waterlogged deposits, although is often absent due to preservational biases. Of course, cereals are not the only type of plants that would have been consumed –

vegetables and fruits too may have formed an integral part of the meal. However, of all of the botanical remains, cereals are often the best preserved and therefore the most numerous in archaeological assemblages.

Evidence for the processing of cereals is sometimes present. The chaff, if preserved, may also contain weed seeds that could suggest the kind of agricultural regime practised by the inhabitants of the site. The presence of burnt grains may also indicate that malting (for example, for use in beer production) was practised on site. More often encountered is structural or small finds evidence related to cereals in the form of drying ovens, threshing floors, or quern stones. Such evidence can not only provide information about the crop processing techniques used, but also indicate where food may have been processed.

As noted in chapter two a variety of cereals were known in Roman Britain. The nutritional value, and indeed the culinary uses of these different varieties were similar (with the possible exception of barley, which makes a poor bread, but is better for beer making) all contributed chiefly carbohydrates to the diet (Alcock 2001: 17). The end product, the actual food eaten, may have been in the form of bread, the cereal grains may have been used to thicken stews, have been used to brew various alcoholic drinks, or make 'gruel' or porridge (Renfrew 1985: 20-23). The chief variation in the qualities of these cereals in fact relates to the conditions in which they grow, with spelt growing well in a damp climate, and hardier (thus being able to be sown in winter). Emmer was a crop tolerant of damp summers. However, both were difficult to thresh, and were, as noted in chapter two, often replaced by bread wheat, a cereal in which the grain is more easily detached from the husk (Alcock 2001: 17-18), a practical advantage which may well have encouraged its spread. It is important not to focus exclusively upon cereals, however, as there are many edible plants that occur upon Romano-British sites

(Robinson 1996). These include 'weed species' like, for example, black bindweed, fat hen, and even opium poppy (Meadows 1999: 112). Such additions are likely to have been used as flavourings for other foods (Renfrew 1985: 22-23).

4.2. Food Preparation

4.2.1. Introduction

The second stage in the meal process has been labelled 'the food preparation stage'. The issue of storage will also be further discussed. This stage explores the different types of processes needed to prepare, cook and serve the food obtained in the first stage.

4.2.2. Processing of Ingredients

The first process that occurs within this stage is the initial processing of the different components of that particular meal, i.e. meat, grains and dairy products.

The carcasses of the slaughtered animals need to be butchered to subdivide the carcass into joints of meat suitable for consumption; secondary products such as bone for tools and hides may also be removed at this stage. Evidence for the initial stage of the butchery process may be identified archaeologically by deposits of heads and metapodials and very few major meat bearing bones such as the femur, humerus and tibia being present.

Butchery is also associated with later stages in carcass preparation. There are different types of marks which are associated with the dismemberment and subdivision of the carcass. The disarticulation marks associated with secondary butchery may indicate cultural preferences and definitions of the units of meat produced. These marks may also be useful in indicating the way in which meat was prepared for cooking and, possibly, give clues to the type of preparation the meat was to undergo. Another

possible form of preparation would be cutting and breaking down of joints, both to reduce their size and to expose the marrow (another possible food resource) – something which would also have occurred during this food stage.

Finally, there are elements of the carcasses that would need processing but which, because they were not intimately associated with skeletal elements, would leave little archaeological trace. These carcass elements might broadly be termed offal. Although the archaeological evidence for the consumption of offal will probably remain elusive, it can be suggested that the highly nutritious (and tasty) parts of the body such as the liver, kidneys, hearts, brains and stomach and other organs would not have gone to waste. These, although now on the margins of consumption in modern-day Britain, are still considered delicacies in many other countries (see Lacey 1994; Kiple and Kriemhild 2000). They cannot be stored, and need to be consumed soon after slaughter – this makes them important to note, as they cannot be transported off site. If consumed, they will have been eaten by those living on, or close to, the location of slaughter, and their presence in the diet of a site can certainly be inferred when there are animal bone assemblages present.

The role of cereals and other plant remains has already been discussed in detail in the section on food procurement. As noted previously, however, an understanding of the initial preparation process of cereals and vegetables relies heavily on the preservational state of the site in question. Vegetable remains are only rarely preserved, or are rarely identified on archaeological sites, and therefore, although they may have made a substantial contribution to the meal, can only be touched upon here. There is some indication, particularly from urban centres (Monckton 1999b) of the cultivation of vegetables and fruits, but the evidence is sparse. Sometimes the chaff from cereals may have been preserved, if this activity took place close to a fire. Threshing of cereals

produces chaff and may be carried on site as and when cereals are needed in cooking, in which case the cereals are harvested, and the ears stored rather than the individual grains. This quite commonly occurs on Romano-British sites and can be detected in the archaeological record by the lack of weed seeds in the assemblage (Hillman 1981). Once the grain has been brought onto site, it may be threshed and then further sieved to remove any remaining weed seeds and then be used whole and incorporated in stews and casseroles, or further ground using querns to produce flour for baking bread.

Evidence for the processing of milk to make dairy products is mainly obtained from ceramic evidence such as pottery bowls with holes in, or other utensils. Such ceramic containers have been interpreted as having been used to make cheese, i.e. to separate curds and whey. Such colanders or cheese presses have been recovered from several sites in Britain. As with all of these processes, receptacles and utensils, made of organic materials which do not commonly survive in the archaeological record, may have been used, but here we must focus on ceramics, which preserve under most conditions.

Edible fats, used in some processes undertaken as part of the later cooking stage, may have been prepared well in advance, some of which (like butter) were dairy products. Such fats may also have included vegetable oil, or olive oil (see under imports). This points up a basic division in the way food in the Mediterranean may have been prepared, as opposed to that in a northern province like Britain, and that is the divide between a foodway incorporating a principally dairy element, and that with a greater emphasis upon vegetable oil. This issue will be explored in chapter seven, in the light of the evidence for the relative importance of each different type of fat in the data analysed.

Wild resources, in particular marine resources such as oysters and shellfish, also need processing before cooking or consumption can occur. Oysters and other shellfish need to be removed from their shells, and it is this process that results in the principal form of archaeological evidence for this mode of consumption – the preserved remains of shells. Once ‘de-shelled’ it is unlikely, due to the fact that they need to be consumed quickly, that shellfish would have been transported far. When shells are discovered on site, it is likely, therefore, that shellfish constituted an element in the local diet.

Wild resources may have been processed in the same way as domesticated ones, depending on the type of plant or animal they were from. Wild animals would need to be skinned and butchered in the same way as domestic species. Wild plants and herbs would also have been treated in the same way, possibly dried, ground for use in the cooking.

The evidence for imported flavourings is two-fold: botanical remains and indirect evidence through amphorae, as is the case for olive oil, fish sauce, and possibly fruits (Tyers, 1996: 85). Botanical remains, due to the difficulties surrounding preservation, are rare and the evidence for imported flavourings such as coriander and poppy seeds is even rarer. They are present on a small number of sites in very small quantities, some of which will be discussed in greater detail in chapters four, five and six.

Although drink may have a nutritional value, and may thus technically be considered ‘food’, it has not been considered as a core element of the study of ‘food’ in the few studies that currently exist (see Meadows 1999: 108-110, which touches upon drink only in that some drinking vessels are noted as being present in the assemblage under consideration). This thesis is limited in scope to the core elements of diet, because the methodology being evolved focuses upon the interrelation of the three principal sets of

relevant finds found commonly on British archaeological sites – ceramic, faunal, and botanical, in the context of the cooking of a meal. Drink may also be seen as slightly distinct, as it can be enjoyed as part of a meal, but this is certainly not necessarily the case, and drink can often be enjoyed on its own. It thus functions in a different, if overlapping, social context to ‘food’ proper.

The study of the production of beer and wine which would be required to integrate drink fully into this study, is thus beyond the scope of the current work. However, this does not prevent us from recognising the evidence for drink when it is present (e.g. wine carrying amphorae, beakers, and structural evidence like corn driers, used in the production of beer), and building it into the broader model of a Roman meal – important if we are to properly contextualise food. The obvious contrast in Roman Britain is between imported wines, and ‘native’ drinks, including beer, and possibly mead and cider (Alcock 2001: 94). The principal archaeological evidence specifically for wine in Roman Britain are amphorae fragments, and so it should be noted that both wine and beer can be transported in barrels (Alcock 2001: 88-89). Barrels, being wood, are only rarely preserved, and thus the true extent of wine drinking may be underrepresented. However, as wine, like olives, were principally a Mediterranean phenomenon, restricted climatically (Toussaint-Samat 1992: 247-249), and most wine drunk is likely to have arrived as an import (Renfrew 1895: 24). It thus seems probable that locally produced drinks would always have predominated. Evidence for beer may be more structural in nature, perhaps being in the form of corn driers (Mackreth 1996a: 75). The real evidence, which occurs widely enough to allow some form of analysis, however, is in the form of ceramic drinking vessels. The presence of such vessels does not tell us what was being drunk, but in concert with other forms of evidence, may allow a clearer picture to emerge.

4.2.3. Storage and Preservation

Storage and preservation may also have occurred after the initial food procurement stage, i.e. fresh food such as herbs, vegetables and cereals may have been stored after harvesting. Preservation would have been important, especially to make food last at times of scarcity, like over the winter months or in the summer before harvest time.

Although evidence for the storage of meat may be scarce, smoking and curing would have been necessary to prepare it for storage, if it was not to be consumed immediately. As outlined in tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, most parts of a pig can be turned into bacon or hams through curing, and there are also large parts of a cow and even a sheep which can be preserved to provide meat long after slaughter. For example, an entire sheep may have been consumed by a family group in one sitting, whereas a mature pig or cow are too large to have been eaten by a small group on a single occasion. In some modern communities certain parts of, in particular, pigs were consumed by the community on one occasion, whereas the other parts were preserved as hams or sausages of which small bits would be consumed everyday over the winter (Segui pers.comm.). Chickens for example, would be easily consumed by a family, as would lambs (Segui 1999). However, we should note that even smaller animals may have been consumed over more than one sitting, with offal of, for example, sheep, contributing a secondary meal after the principal meat bearing parts of the animal had been consumed.

Meat and fish can also be cured by salting, or smoking, and there are direct forms of evidence for these processes observable in the faunal remains. Preserved meats and fish may have elements removed, thereby leaving archaeological traces for curing on the preparation site (IJzereef 1989: 134-5; Schmid 1972:42). Holes through scapulae have been interpreted as resulting from hanging meat whilst being smoked; as has been suggested at Lincoln (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 63; Dobney 2001). Evidence for such

preservation may also come from indirect indicators, like the presence of briquetage (the remains of the crude ceramic containers used to produce and transport salt) (Woodiwiss 1992).

Cereal storage might be best approached through structural evidence. In the Roman period, for example, particularly on larger urban and military sites, granaries were constructed to store cereals (see Crow 1995). There were also corn dryers, structures probably designed to dry out the harvested corn prior to storage (Mackreth 1996a: 75). Either structure would indicate the probable processing and storage of grain on a large scale.

Milk can be stored as cheese, but although production of cheese may be indicated by the presence of particular pottery vessels, it is not possible to determine whether any cheese produced was stored for long periods.

4.3. Meal Preparation

4.3.1. Introduction

The third phase in this stage of food preparation is the actual preparation of the meal, using the ingredients procured and prepared in the preceding stages.

This stage may involve the further final processing of the carcass after the disjointing stage, i.e. filleting or further subdividing the carcass into different joints. As mentioned above, offal and products such as blood and marrow may also have been consumed. However, the exploitation of these secondary products is unlikely to leave archaeological traces and consequently their consumption can only be assumed.

The cereals and vegetables may also need further processing, although again the evidence for this may be scarce, or indirect (see Jones 1989; van der Veen 1992). Some food stuffs such as flavourings or grains may need to be prepared in specialised vessels, for example, mortaria. We might also find evidence of milling, through the presence of quern stones on sites.

The main pottery vessel which may indicate preparation is the mortaria. The presence and absence of this particular vessel will be explored in detail in chapter seven.

The application of residue analysis may give us further insights into what exactly mortaria and other ceramic vessels were used for. Although it may aid future studies there is as yet no information available that is relevant to this study.

4.4. Cooking

The fourth stage in the food preparation process is the cooking of the meal. Here the size of ceramic cooking pots, and the fragment size of the bones present, may be indicative of the size of joint and the method of cooking employed. Other cooking methods, such as roasting and grilling are highlighted, where, for example, the age-at-death of meat bearing animals suggests that this may be a possibility (e.g. roasting, principally a slow cooking techniques is best applied to meat from older animals which tends not to be so tender), or where there is direct evidence from the faunal remains themselves. This is the case with roasting, probably identifiable in the archaeological through the presence of burnt bones, particularly bones with relatively little meat cover, e.g. distal tibia. Other evidence might contribute to our understanding of how a meal was cooked, in the form of cooking equipment. Such evidence is very rare, certainly too rare to be deeply incorporated into any wide ranging, site by site, analysis, but might

include metal spits and griddles, to indicate roasting or grilling, and metal pans, which might indicate frying, or if deeper, boiling (Renfrew 1985: 30-31).

4.5. Social Context of Cooking

When considering the evidence gathered for the cooking process we must bear in mind the different types of meals that can be cooked (Yentsch 1996: 195). Possible distinctions may have included daily food and feasting, which may have used different cooking techniques but the same ingredients. Daily food may often be simpler and its preparation will mostly be less time-consuming and complicated (Yentsch 1996: 200). From examples on historical sites in North America it can be suggested that changes in the type of food cooked may be indicative of changes in society as a whole, but this has been discussed in detail in chapter two. This is, then, not an issue which can easily be dealt with on a site-by-site basis, and really relates to the wider theoretical discussion of food. This theoretical understanding has underpinned the way in which data has been collected and processed, but will also inform later discussions in the conclusion chapter.

4.6. Serving and Eating

The final stage of the food preparation process is the serving and eating of the meal. Here, issues such as status and power and relationships with the new imperial administration may have played a role, influencing how Roman style material culture was used in the serving and consuming of the meal. One approach to the different possible contexts of dining may be approached through the available structural evidence; the location of hearths, whether there were separate dining areas and kitchens or if the meals were prepared and consumed within the living quarters, would all be relevant to the understanding of the context and symbolism of the food being consumed. There is, for example, evidence from the East Midlands that the location of the hearths and spits remain constant in the rectangular building forms adopted in the Roman

period. Thus hearths are located in the same position as in Iron Age roundhouses (Taylor 2001). Although structural evidence lies beyond the scope of this thesis, which has concentrated upon the integration of small finds, it will be used to create a broad 'site-by-site' cultural context within which to locate foodways, where appropriate.

The approach to serving and eating taken here, which has a strong bearing upon the social context of 'Roman style' portable material culture, is through the small finds, especially ceramics. Two issues are intertwined here – the practical details of serving a meal, and the social meaning of what is being eaten (i.e. stews are easier to eat from bowls rather than plates), and the way in which it is served. The first issue (what is being eaten) will be approached through a consideration of the forms being used – something which will allow us to see whether there is continuity or change in the basic range of vessels being deployed, and whether this indicates any basic change in the kind of food that was being prepared, and/or the way in which it was served. But status issues can also be considered – the type of pottery being used to serve a meal, might, in itself, enhance the status value of that meal, or have some other bearing upon the social context of food. The use of imported types of pottery might indicate that sourcing ceramics from a distance away was significant, the use of new forms (e.g. platters) might suggest conscious attempts to adopt new cultural practices. In considering this, both vessel form and fabric are important.

5. Data Collection

The sites, which will be discussed in the following chapters, have all been selected using the same criteria. Firstly, the sites should have well-published pottery and animal bones report. Although the integration of botanical remains is the ideal aim of the overall methodology, sites without botanical remains have been included in the analyses. This is because most sites do not yield botanical remains due to excavational

or preservational factors. To exclude these sites would be to ignore not only large amounts of potentially useful data on ceramics and faunal assemblages, but also prevent us establishing any sort of broadly based picture relating to certain classes of sites, in particular small rural sites. This leads us into the second aim of the data collection strategy: to create a representative, though by no means complete, sample of the different types of sites present in the selected study area. Wherever possible, taking into account excavational biases, rural low-status sites have been given more attention in my analysis than high-status or urban sites, as it is on this class of site, traditionally understudied, that the bulk of the population would have lived. This is in line with the theoretical considerations of chapter two, which call for greater attention to be paid to those of low status when studying Roman Britain.

5.1. How the Data Were Recorded

The data were collected into three separate. This has involved the codification of data to enable a greater degree of standardisation in its collection. In this section I will discuss the codes employed.

Site reports tend to use a chronology which is specific to the site in question and does not necessarily allow for easy cross-comparison. Therefore, for this study, each site was given one of four period codes to simplify chronological comparisons. However, the original dating codes used in individual site reports have also been included in the database. The chronological codes used in this study follow the standard periods for Roman Britain: Iron Age (1); Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (2); Early Roman (3); Mid-Roman (4); Late Roman (5); Site overview(9) – some sites do not always give specific period codes but amalgamate all Roman material into one category, and if this is the case, this period has been called period 9.

5.1.1. Faunal Assemblage

In the animal bones database, the total number of bones from all species present on site is recorded. A second method of broad quantification is the total number of domesticated species present, i.e. cattle, sheep and pig. This can be used for comparisons between wild and domestic species in terms of food provision. For all domesticated species (cattle, sheep and pig) three forms of quantification have been included in the database: total fragment count, percentage (based on the total fragment count) and minimum number of individuals (MNI). The most commonly used method is that of total fragment count, although there are limitations with this method of quantification (as discussed above); it allows for comparisons with other sites. The percentages calculated are derivative of the total fragment count number, and where the MNI has been published, also of the MNI.

Skeletal element representation has also been included in the database, but in a codified form. This category has only been recorded for the three main domesticates, as other species are not analysed in published data in this way. The codification groups the data into three different categories: 1= High meat yielding parts dominate the assemblage, 2=Low meat yielding part dominate the assemblage, 3= Mixed, all elements relatively equally represented. This grouping is based not on what is culturally seen as the 'best cuts' but rather on the objective ranking based on which skeletal elements have the most meat on them. Thus, scapulae, proximal and distal humeri, proximal and distal femora and pelves are in the high meat-yielding category, whereas radii/ulnae, tibiae and metapodia are in the lower meat-yielding category. The category of mixed representation could be seen as indicative of the fact that the animals were butchered and consumed on the same site. The high meat-yielding category could be seen to indicate that the meatiest cuts were consumed on the site but that the butchery had occurred elsewhere. The low meat-yielding category could either be interpreted as

primary butchery waste, particularly if metapodials and horn cores (although these may be indicative of industrial waste) are present.

The age-at-death has only been recorded for the three main domesticates, again, because it is only for these species that reports usually publish this data. The codes used are: 1= most animals culled when young, 2= most animals culled when mature, 3= both young and mature animals were culled, 4= most animals have been killed as young adults.

Butchery has also been recorded in the database. Presence and absence have been marked but further information has not been codified. Where butchery has been discussed in the reports, this has been recorded separately. The codes used are as follows: 1= presence (but no detailed discussion), 2= absence, 3= not recorded in the report, 4= analysed in detail.

Other information was also been recorded, when available in the published report, including, the withers height of cattle, sheep, pig, horse and dog. The number of measurements was recorded to give an indication of the reliability of the withers height calculated. The average height has been calculated by taking the average of the minimum and maximum heights given. The minimum and maximum heights have also been recorded as these can often help to identify if the average has been unduly influenced due to the presence of one very large or very small individual.

5.1.2. Ceramics

The second database contains the recorded information about the ceramic assemblages from the sites analysed. The same principles apply to this data base as to the one dealing with the faunal remains, although the database itself is much larger as there are many different types of wares represented on any given site. Each ware is represented by three

methods of quantification: total numbers, percentage and EVE (estimated vessel equivalent).

The ceramics database includes data about the site, such as record number, site number as well as information about the chronology using the standard chronological codes discussed in section 5.1. The total number of sherds represented on each site for each period is recorded, as is the total weight of pottery where available – however, it should be noted that this is not often given in published reports.

Broad ‘combined’ categories of wares have been established: local fine wares, imported fine wares and local coarse wares. This achieves two purposes – firstly, to create a simplified analytical structure that enables the creation of broad pictures which are easily comparable from site to site. Secondly, and more importantly, to generate an ‘experientially based’ analysis of the pottery. What will have been most important to the person acquiring a pot at market is its broad identity as an object (cheap coarse ware for the everyday/expensive fine ware for status display), and its specific form. Thus the different types of wares present are mainly used to establish general patterns, such as the relative proportion of imported fine ware and local or regional fine ware.

More important for this research is the type of forms present, such as bowls, jars, dishes, platters, flagons, beakers and cups. Unfortunately forms are rarely recorded in detail but only mentioned briefly in reports; in those cases the information is recorded in the notes.

5.1.3. Botanical Remains

The botanical remains have been recorded in a third database. The species have been divided into edible and possibly edible species; edible includes cereals, collected foods

such as hazelnuts and sloe berries, cultivated plants such as pulses and vegetables, and possible edible plants include plants which are considered to be weeds but which may be edible such as nettles and dandelions. In most reports, there is a concentration on cereals, as these are considered to be most indicative of the botanical element of diet, being staples.

Weeds have traditionally been considered in the light of their usefulness as environmental indicators. However, they may have been used as flavourings or herbal remedies, and seen as the inhabitants of the sites analysed as useful plants that happened to grow naturally nearby, rather than in the way we see 'weeds' today. Most modern gardeners regard weeds as plants which need to be eradicated as they serve no useful function, whereas many 'weeds' or wild plants are edible. Dandelions, for example, although spoiling the appearance of the modern lawn, are very tasty to eat.

5.2. Problems with the Data

As with any set of published data, there are problems and difficulties – barriers in the way of re-analysis created by the way in which information was collected and recorded. We must, before proceeding, be aware of these issues, and seek to counter them as far as possible. However, it is important to recognise from the start that, with archaeological data, we are not dealing with a scientific sample that accurately represents the 'micro level' of day-to-day activity in the past. The data that archaeological excavation can provide, filtered through issues like taphonomy, residuality, sample bias, can only support a certain level of analysis – analysis conducted on the basis of a comparison of a clutch of sites, something which will help to smooth out inadequacies in the data. For all of the difficulties listed bellow, although individually we may try to counter them, the real solution lies in seeking a broad picture

which is indicative, rather than pursuing a highly detailed analysis that the data cannot support.

The first of these issues is inconsistency in the way the data were published. There are no standardised ways of collecting information in archaeological investigation – no recognised way of recording the number of pots represented by a particular assemblage of ceramics, for example. Neither is there agreement upon what is to be recorded. Some site reports, for example, record the weight of coarse ware sherds found, others simply produce a catalogue of fine ware. How are these different forms of information recording to be reconciled to produce mutually comparable considerations of sites? This issue has already been addressed – indeed addressing it has been a fundamental element of the methodology outlined above. The individual elements of data from each site report have been coded in detail, but consistently. This renders the data susceptible to comparative analysis.

The percentage of the site which was excavated, i.e. how typical is this assemblage of the site in general. This is a difficult issue – but not just in terms of this project. The representative nature of the area of a site excavated underpins how useful not only re-analysis may be, but the whole excavation in general. If the messages given by the excavated area of a site are not typical of that site, then the excavation is at best of no real use at all, at worse it is misleading, as it creates a false picture of the site in question through excavation of an unrepresentative part of it. On rural sites this is actually a relatively issue to deal with. The archaeological traces of foodways will tend to be concentrated in domestic, and for the storage and processing phases, perhaps in ‘work’, buildings of settlements. Sites were selected where the excavation was centred upon the core of the settlement, thus ensuring the representative nature (within what is possible, given that archaeological material has limitations), of the material analysed. Any

remained distortions should be evened out by the fact that a range of rural sites was examined.

On urban sites the issue is slightly different. An urban site is a large conglomeration of individual dwellings, and different ‘quarters’, where different activities may predominate. There are no completely excavated Roman towns – so we must accept that the picture that we derive from urban centres will be partial. The issue here, is to be aware of the general context of the site within the wider framework of the urban centre of which it is a part, and locate any interpretation of the evidence from urban excavations in that context.

5.2.1. Taphonomy

This is the process by which the archaeological sample is distorted by the differential survival of material. Small, easily crushed bones, for example, may fail to survive, where as the heavier, more robust elements will enter the archaeological record (see Reitz and Wing 1999: 122-128). This will lead to a situation where certain aspects of the possible evidence from a site appear to be under represented (e.g. there may be no bird or fish bones from a site – small, and only usually discovered where soil samples have been sieved), but the reason is preservational, rather than through any selective process conducted in the past. This has been addressed in three ways. Firstly, through an awareness of the aspects of the archaeological record where taphonomic issues are liable to have affected the evidence from a site – where these have been found, they have been noted, and are used to inform a general picture of foodways, but no detailed analysis of such elements was conducted. Such detailed analysis was reserved for more robust aspects of the data like domesticated faunal remains and pottery.

Secondly, taphonomic issues were drawn out on a site-by-site basis (see chapters four, five and six). With each site the likely distortions introduced by taphonomic factors have been noted, taking into account factors like, for example, the amount of sieving that was conducted.

Thirdly, as with all problematic aspects of the data, the consideration of a group of sites, and the ultimate creation of an 'average' picture, helps in smoothing out sites where taphonomic issues have distorted the data.

5.2.2. Residuality

This issue is one which affects all archaeological data, be it analysis of small finds, excavation, or the processing of survey information. It is the possible occurrence of material from one chronological period in another. This may occur if the stratigraphy upon a site is poor, and material has somehow become mixed. This is dealt with in two ways. Firstly, where residuality has been noted in a site report as a particular issue, this has been incorporated into the site description provided, and suspect data highlighted on a site-by-site basis. Secondly, the averaging effect of examining a group of sites will counter the distorting effect of 'rogue' data.

5.2.3. Structured Deposition and Differential Assemblages

In essence this refers to the idea that specific deposits may have been formed with a specific purpose in mind – leading to a contents which is not random, but has been skewed towards that specific purpose. Such a deposit might be a deposit where, for example animal remains, have been concentrated for a ritual purpose, and do not represent the area of activity that we might normally associate with animal remains – food production. It may also be the case that certain locations may attract a certain type of deposition – ditches within throwing distance of doors in buildings used as a quick

way of depositing of domestic waste being a possible example, or the infilling of 'convenient' holes in a yard surface (Maltby 1985: 55). Countering this is difficult, particularly when most site reports do not record in detail where material has come from. However, as Maltby (1985: 67) suggests, it is important to be aware of as many factors as possible that might have an influence upon the patterns observed in archaeological material, if we are to use those patterns to interpret the actions that led to their formation. In the context of this study, reliant as it is upon the re-analysis of published material, this entailed an awareness of the possible distorting nature of unusual deposits which may have been formed by non-food related activities, and caution when approaching such material, highlighting such deposits in the analysis. This issue, like others affecting the assemblage, also underlines the importance of analysing large amounts of material, a broad evidence base being less susceptible to distortion by individual deposits.

Trade may also be seen to be a broad based form of this kind of distortion to a sample. Some sites may be identified as primarily producer sites (e.g. van der Veen 1991 for botanical remains, although Meadows (1999: 112) considers such distinctions problematic) – producing particular produce for export off site. It is possible in such circumstances that what is found will reflect the working life of the site, and not what is eaten by the sites inhabitants. However, we may note that in terms of the principal forms of evidence that we will be considering, pottery is not really affected by this – unless material is recovered from a kiln site it is unlikely that the ceramic assemblage upon a site reflects anything other than pottery being used upon that site. In terms of faunal and botanical remains, awareness of this situation can add to our interpretation of the evidence from that site. Stonea is a good case in point (chapter four), where the absence of certain meat bearing joints (presumably exported off site) is noted, and allows us to consider what kind of meat would have been left on site to enter the

foodways of the inhabitants. Some sites may well have decided to seize the opportunities that the Roman presence offered them (e.g. by making money from supplying the authorities), an influence which may have helped to shape some of the decisions made by the inhabitants – as we shall see in chapter seven.

5.3. Site Selection – Status, Territory, and Towns

Selecting the sites to be examined is clearly an important process – the structure of this sample will determine what questions we are able to answer. It is (as identified in chapter two), a principal aim of this thesis to try and generate a picture of foodways in Roman Britain from the perspective of the inhabitants themselves. This essential theoretical approach should underpin the sample design.

Firstly, at the heart of the sample chosen are sites belonging to the Corieltauvinian *Civitas* of the province (see Todd 1973). A *Civitas* was, at least crudely, a reflection of pre-conquest tribal identities in the structure of the province, and the approach taken here is to view foodways as an issue related to identity. The aim, then, is to explore and reconstruct the foodways of one such tribal division, but with a range of sites from outside the *Civitas* selected to provide a contrast with the Corieltauvinian sites. The Corieltauvinian/non-Corieltauvinian nature of sites was determined by geographical location, and the boundaries of the *Civitas* used in this assessment are recorded on figure 1.1. Sites from beyond the *Civitas* were clustered in an area that we might loosely term south west Central England, running from the Bristol channel to Silchester. Grouping the sites together means that they are comparable with each other, and allows us to evolve a sample that may reflect this area. The region is essentially part of the southern ‘civilian zone, with a landscape dominated by villas, and less elaborate settlements, often consisting of small ‘enclosed farmsteads’ (Dark and Dark 1997: 58-59; Henig 2000; Hingley 1988), with some wetland exploitation on its western edge, by

the coast (Allen and Fulford 1990). This area is similar to the Corieltauian tribal territory (Dark and Dark 1997: 58, Fincham 2002: 84-88, Todd 1973), making it a good comparison. We should note, however, that such a structured comparison precludes the inclusion of sites from other areas of the country, given the limits on the size of the current project, and thus none are located in the north or west, from the so called military zone.

Another obvious division amongst sites in the Province is that between urban and rural. This is a key division, as urban sites, often being the location of administrative authority, and trading centres, may well have been open to greater 'outside' influences (e.g. higher levels of imported goods), than rural sites. How did such a situation affect the way in which foodways developed on these different classes of sites? The rural/urban nature of the sites selected is evident from their wider landscape context.

The final issue effecting sample structure is status. Some sites in Roman Britain were wealthy villas, some urban sites, but the vast majority were low status, poor farmsteads, or small domestic structures on the outskirts, or less prosperous areas of towns. Determining whether or not a site was high or low status is a more difficult issue than determining, for example, if a site was urban and rural. There are different definitions of status, ranging from traditional hierarchies based upon architecture (see, for example, traditional work upon Roman villas like that in Rivet 1969, a phenomenon used to characterise whole landscapes as in Dark and Dark 1997), in which the principal indicator of status is the presence of substantial (stone built and 'Roman-style') architecture, to more flexible interpretations that take account of more subtle variations in both structure and the material culture present upon a site (Taylor 2001; Fincham 2002). The theoretical framework of this thesis aims to consider a new picture of foodways against the more traditional picture of 'diet', as suggested by, for example,

King (1978). It is appropriate, then, to test our developing understanding of foodways, against the traditional picture of high status/low status sites. What this will allow us to do is to take a fresh look at the activity taking place upon architecturally sophisticated sights, to see if the day-to-day handling of food chimes with the more 'Roman-style' pretensions of the settlements structures. As considered in chapter two, contact and culture change, and the transmission of social 'knowledges', is not a simple process, and mixing, re-interpretation, and misunderstanding all distort what one culture views another culture to be. Food is essentially private, and conservative, and if there is any sense in which the individuals living in traditionally 'Roman style' high status structures did so as part of the incomplete adoption of a socio-cultural package, this will show in their foodways. Essentially, Corieltauavian foodways being practiced in a stone built villa, for example, would illustrate a willingness to be publicly 'Roman', alongside a desire to maintain a key element of non-Roman 'native' identity.

The basis for establishing what status group a site belongs to, therefore, will be principally architectural, in effect asking the question: would a site have been traditionally considered, on the basis of its architecture, high or low status? This consideration is undertaken upon a site-by-site basis, essentially determining whether or not the architecture of a site was relatively elaborate, or relatively simple. Architecture will be ranked from group one (a site which remains, for example, a farmstead), through to two (showing increasing complexity, perhaps a farmstead which is later rebuilt in stone, a 'transitional' site) through to three (a complex site, which perhaps evolves into a villa). Urban sites, as will be seen, are always at the upper end of complexity, and to generate a sense of gradation within this groups they are rated one (urban), a relatively poor neighbourhood, perhaps with a mix of industrial activity, two (urban) a relatively prosperous area, to three (urban), a wealthy area. This assessment may then used to provide a broad context within which to consider the picture of foodways outlined on

the site. Change in foodways amongst the sample sites is summarised and coded in terms the two principal phases of the meal stage process, Procurement and Processing. Degrees of complexity in the meal stages are recorded, using 'ranks' (a term used with no sense of value judgement, but simply to distinguish it from the term 'groups' used in the case of architecture) which indicate different orders of complexity. Rank One indicates no complexity, in the case of procurement this would be indicative of no imports, and, for example, unchanged species proportions, and in the case of processing, a very limited range of vessel forms, with little, if any fine ware. Rank two suggests limited complexity, in procurement terms perhaps with a few imports, some change in faunal remains, and in processing terms some fine ware. Rank three indicates significant complexity, with, for example, when we look at procurement, plentiful imports, or when considering processing, unusual implements being found, plentiful fine ware in a relatively large range of vessel forms. Rank four would be indicative of overwhelming change in either procurement or processing.

This ranking will be conducted in the context of the summary charts at the end of each chapter, and will allow broad patterns of complexity and elaboration within the meal process to be compared with the broader site context, as suggested by architecture. This will allow us to gain an overview of foodways in relation to the wider context of the life of the inhabitants of the sites examined in our sample, and will be discussed in full in chapter seven.

Having outlined our methodology, we will proceed in chapters four to six to apply it to the detailed data from our sample sites.

Chapter Four: Rural Sites: Sites within the Corieltauviian Territory

1. Introduction

In this chapter we will consider the rural sites identified for analyses in the Corieltauviian territory. As stated in chapter three, the principal study area selected was the tribal territory of the Corieltauvi. Other rural sites from the civilian zone of the province have been selected as a comparison, and these are presented in chapter five. The presence of the three different categories of data that are the focus of this project, and whether or not the sites were well published, were guiding principals in the selection of a specific sites for consideration. The sites are initially ordered to cluster sites by geographical location (see figure 1.1).¹

Each site discussion will commence with consideration of the sites' excavation, noting the architectural development of that site, and any key problems with the excavated data as it was presented in the excavation report. Each of the three key areas of data will then be considered in turn, starting with animal bones, then by pottery, and followed by botanical remains, if present. Each consideration of a site concludes with a brief overview, designed to put the evidence for foodways into the broad architectural context of the site in question. These summaries will enable us to build a range of 'foodways' scenarios in chapter seven.

¹ Please note the abbreviations listed below are used throughout the three data chapters (four, five and six):

N: number of sherds or fragments of bones

Birdd: domestic birds (e.g. chicken, geese)

Birdw: wild birds (e.g. pheasant, woodcock)

MNI: Minimum Number of Individuals

EVE: Estimated Vessel Equivalent

Periods: 2= LPRIA

3= Early Roman

4= Mid-Roman

5= Late Roman

6= End of Roman period/Early Anglo-Saxon (only used in Orton Hall Farm)

9= Site overview (used when site reports have named a period 'Roman'). It represents periods 3-6 (where applicable).

It is worth noting a few specific factors as a preliminary to analysis of the data proper. Firstly, where data is available there will be some consideration of the types of form used upon a site (e.g. bowl, dish, jar). This information is, however, partial, and was not available for the majority of sites. Where relevant, some forms of pottery have been discussed in terms of size. This discussion of size is really meant to be a broad indication of the approximate dimensions of the vessels under discussion, and should be taken to indicate the following: small means a diameter of less than 10 cm, medium a diameter between 10 and 20 cm, and large indicates a diameter greater than 20 cm (Green *et al.*, 1993: 119).

When considering pottery from the sites analysed, where that information is available, the ceramic assemblage will be considered in terms of the forms present (e.g. bowls, jars, dishes). However, on all sites, there will be a consideration of the ratio of fine ware to coarse ware. It may seem obvious that cheaper, and presumably more ‘utilitarian’ coarse ware will dominate ceramic assemblages, but the extent to which this is the case has been obscured by the concentration of many pottery specialists upon fine wares (examples are numerous, but amongst others include Stonea Grange and Empingham). The dominance of coarse ware in pottery assemblages will thus be thoroughly explored as we consider the data, however, a key issue concerning the make up of pottery assemblages may be noted here. The dominance of coarse ware in such pottery assemblages may be put down to the fact that it is subjected to more regular, and possibly heavier use than fine wares, and thus breaks more frequently. This would lead to an overrepresentation of coarse ware in the pottery assemblage. Here, I would argue two things. Firstly, if this were the case, it would highlight, not detract from, the day-to-day nature of coarse ware, and underline the fact that it was the principal pottery in use for everyday foodways. To convincingly argue that the bulk of coarse ware as compared to fine ware, was solely down to differential breakage rates, we would also have to

argue that fine ware was very rarely used – placing it firmly in the realm of special pottery, used on an occasional basis, and with little relevance to the normal eating habits of a site. Secondly, high breakage rates of coarse ware would indicate the high level of use that such pottery was being put to, and confirms that it was replaced continuously, and as it was broken – putting it still more firmly at the centre of the domestic life of a site, as the inhabitants of that site could clearly not do without it.

We should also note at this stage the issue of wild meat. The consumption of meat not raised for consumption, but hunted, is a complex one, and strictly speaking, a full consideration of this issue is outside the heart of this project, which, as previously noted, aims to marry the three main strands of material culture of relevance to food into a unified, but broadly based picture of Romano-British foodways. Occasional hunted meat is an issue peripheral to this core concern, as to consider it properly would entail a full examination of issues like the role of the ‘wild’ in Romano-British society. However, where such wild meat occurs it will be noted. The issue will be revisited when we come to examine urban sites in chapter six, and the idea that such meat may have been hunted by people living on rural sites, but traded with towns, will be considered.

1.1. Whitwell

Location: SK 9240 0880

Plan: Figure 4.1

Reference: Todd, M. 1981. *The Iron Age and Roman Settlement at Whitwell, Leicestershire*. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service: Archaeological Report No.1

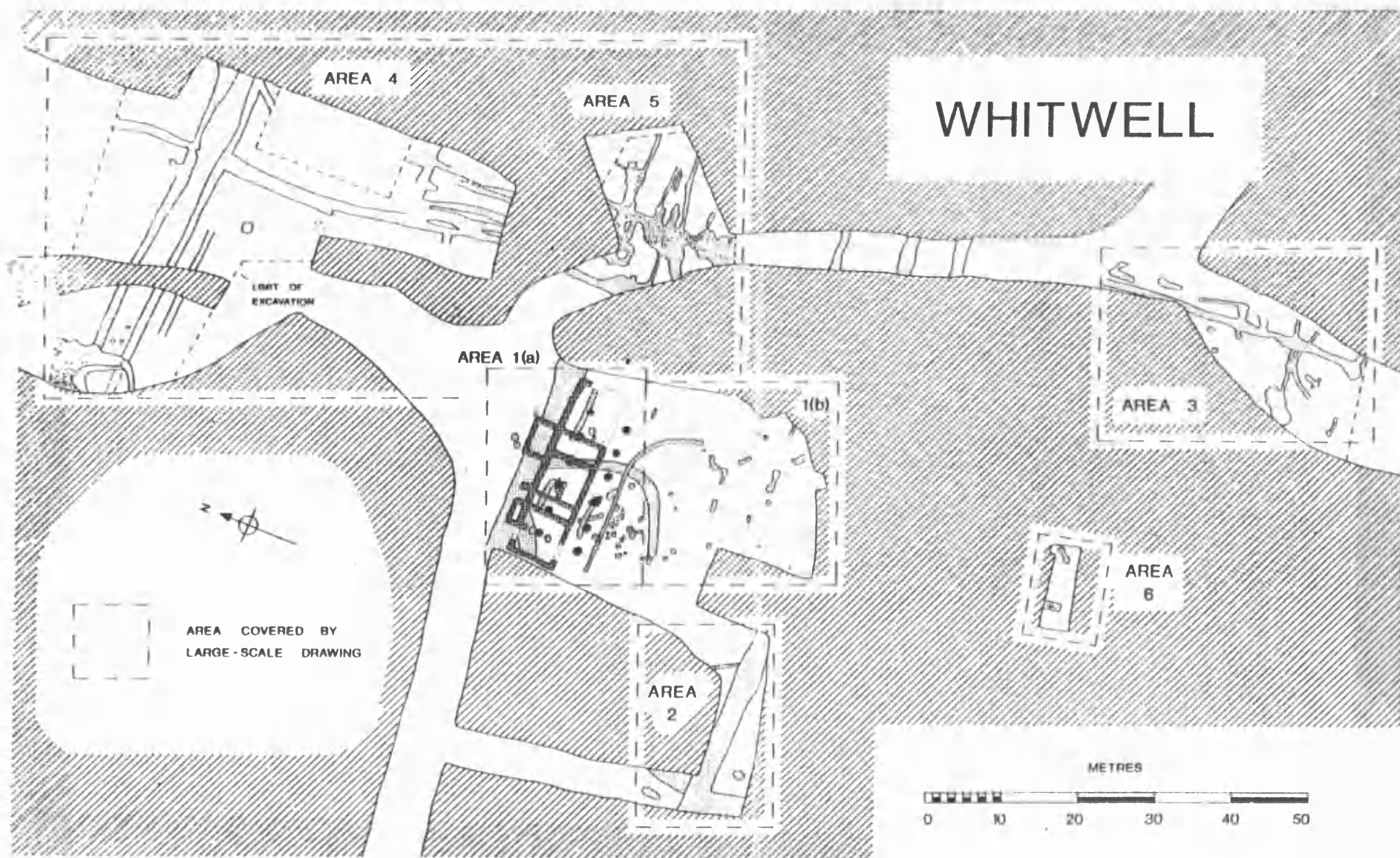


Figure 4.1: Whitwell site plan. From Todd 1981: 54.

1.1.1. Introduction

The site was excavated as the result of the construction of the administrative headquarters of the Anglian Water Authority at the reservoir of Rutland Water. The site was located on a flat spur which projected into the flooded valley of the river Gwash one kilometre from the village of Whitwell.

The removal of topsoil over a large area revealed the presence of Iron Age and Roman pottery, traces of stone buildings, pits, ditches and evidence for settlement activity (Todd 1981: 1).

1.1.2. Location

The site of Whitwell is situated on the northern side of the valley of the river Gwash. This area was flooded to make the Rutland Water reservoir (Todd 1981: 3). There is evidence for prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupation in the valley. The sites at Empingham are located nearby. The Roman fort at Great Casterton is approximately 7 kilometres away.

1.1.3. Excavation

The excavation of the site started in 1976 in advance of construction work. The total area which was stripped of topsoil amounted to 2.875 hectares. The area revealed evidence for settlement activity in the form of pits, gulleys and ditches. A detailed excavation of all features could not be carried out due to the time restrictions. Areas were selected to focus attention on.

Area 1a contained the remains of stone and timber buildings as well as Iron Age pottery. To the south of this area lay another area (Area 3) which contained a complex

of gulleys and pits and which contained a large quantity of early Roman pottery sherds. To the north of Area 1, the remains were less coherent and consisted largely of ditches which were field boundaries (Areas 4 and 5) (Todd 1981: 3).

Area 1a and Area 3 showed the greatest potential and became the main foci of the excavation. It was not possible to excavate both areas fully and attention was also paid to the field enclosures of Areas 4 and 5 and the features of Area 2.

Iron Age remains were located in Area 1a. The most notable feature was a boundary ditch. There was however, no evidence for the presence of structures within the enclosure. There was also little evidence from the late Pre-Roman Iron Age at Whitwell (Todd 1981: 8). The next phase in the history of the site began in the middle of the first century AD. The area which had been occupied by the Iron Age enclosure was adopted as the site of Romano-British farmstead (Todd 1981: 13). The farm building probably dates to the middle or later second century AD (Todd 1981: 13).

1.1.4. Pottery

The Iron Age pottery was mostly recovered from the pits and gulleys and other features from Area 1a. There seems to be a total lack of Roman material from these features (Todd 1981: 21).

The Roman pottery was selected according to criteria not listed in the published report. Major stratified groups and significant individual vessels are included in the report, whereas the fine wares are represented in their totality (de Bethune 1981: 26). The aim of the pottery reports was to establish a type-series for the area and to provide a chronology for the site.

It is noted that the site, particularly in the early Roman period, had a wide range of vessels present and the presence of the fort at Great Casterton is seen as being the source of these vessels (Todd 1981: 13). This will be further discussed in chapter six.

1.1.5. Animal Remains

Only a small quantity of animal bones was recovered from the sites and most of it was identifiable (Harman 1981: 40). The bones from unstratified contexts were not included in the final report.

1.1.6. Plant Remains

There was no evidence for any plant remains but then there wasn't a sampling strategy in place.

1.1.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

Most animals that were culled at Whitwell were mature at the time of slaughter. There were six bones recovered from Iron Age deposits (Period 2), which belonged to immature animals, less than two years old at the time of death (Harman 1981; 40). Bones of lambs were also recovered from the main Romano-British phases (Period 3-5). Pigs were mostly killed between two and three years of age when they would have attained their maximum size and productivity.

2. Species Proportions

The species proportions discussed below (see Table 4.1) are based upon the total fragment count carried out in the report (Harman 1981, 40). On the whole it can be seen that sheep dominate the assemblage; this is both the case in the Iron Age deposits but also in the Romano-British ones (Periods 3, 4, 5). There is also an increase in cattle

towards the later Roman period (late second to mid-fourth century), something that is also the case for pigs, which increase remarkably towards the later phase.

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog
2 (Iron Age)	16	18	3	2	0
3 (Early Roman)	15	50	5	1	0
4/5 (Mid-Late Roman)	61	86	28	13	2

Table 4.1: Species proportions from Whitwell (Total fragment count: 300)

This pattern is borne out when the ratios of cattle to other species are calculated (see table 4.2). In the later period there is a decrease in sheep, although they are still the dominant species on site. There is also a steady increase noted in the numbers of pig bones present, and this is also the case for horse. Dog makes its first appearance in this later phase.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Dog %
2 (Iron Age)	100	113	19	13	0
3 (Early Roman)	100	333	33	7	0
4/5 (Mid-Late Roman)	100	141	46	21	3

Table 4.2: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Whitwell, calculated as a proportion of a notional 100 cattle bones.

On the whole sheep dominate the assemblage, and continue to do so, despite the fact that cattle and pig play an increased role by the end of the Roman period on site.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

The only other non-domesticated species present on site were horse and dog. As discussed above these appear in relatively small quantities, although their percentage share of the assemblage does increase towards the later Roman period. Horse in particular shows a small but marked increase in the later Roman period, here notated as period 4/5 (see Table 4.3).

Period	Domesticates %	Horse+dog %
2	100	5
3	100	1
4/5	100	7

Table 4.3: Ratio of domesticates/ horse and dog from Whitwell, calculated as a proportion of a notional 100 domesticates bones

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

During the Iron Age, most pottery is locally made, and the vessel forms are uniform (see Table 4.4). There is no Roman material present, which has been interpreted by the excavator as suggestive of a break in occupation (Todd 1981). However, this will be discussed in more detail below.

Period	CW N	LFW N	IFW N
2	34	0	0
3/4/5	136	8	22

Table 4.4: Fabric proportions from Whitwell (Sherd count: 200)

The Roman pottery assemblage contained 22 decorated Samian vessels as well as some other fine wares (see Bird 1981: 25; de Bethune 1981: 26-39). However, the report is highly selective in what has been included and the selection criteria have not been clearly expressed. There are some vessels of Gallo-Belgic inspiration present but these

are most probably of local production rather than imports from the Continent (de Bethune 1981, 26-39).

When we consider the assemblage generally, the ratio of fine wares to coarse wares is 16.1 % (see Tables 4.5 & 4.6). Coarse wares dominate the assemblage in all periods but particularly in the larger later Roman deposits. Amongst fine wares, those that are locally produced are outnumbered by imports.

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
2	100	0	0
3/4/5	100	6	16

Table 4.5: Ratio of coarse wares/ local fine ware and imported fine ware from Whitwell

Period	CW %	FW %
2	100	0
3/4/5	100	22

Table 4.6: Ratio of coarse ware/ fine ware from Whitwell

There is no evidence for the importation of food stuffs in the form of amphorae sherds or botanical remains present on the site.

1.1.8. Food Preparation

No evidence relating to this phase of the meal process has been recorded in the published reports, and it should be noted that, there are no mortaria sherds present on site.

1.1.9. Cooking

The most common vessel form present is the jar. This is the case in the Iron Age (Period 2) and in the Romano-British phases (Period 3, 4, 5). As mentioned above, coarse wares

dominate the assemblage. Although the report does not mention cooking vessels in particular, it can be suggested that jars are a multi-purpose vessel form and may have been used for cooking, as well as for storage purposes (Howard 1981; Table 1.1).

1.1.10. Serving

There is a limited variety and quantity of serving wares present on the site at Whitwell. These include platters and bowls in Gallo-Belgic inspired wares. There are also a number (22 sherds) of plain and decorated Samian sherds present. There are seven decorated sherds present: two Dragendorf 29 and five Dragendorf 37. There are fifteen plain sherds also present which include: one Dragendorf 30, four Dragendorf 18, two Dragendorf 27, one Dragendorf 31, one Dragendorf 36, one Dragendorf 42, one Dragendorf 18R, one Dragendorf 33 and three unspecified sherds.

1.1.11. Other Information

The size of animals recovered from the deposits is not recorded in the report.

There is a special context of deposition recorded in the report and that is the burial of a piglet's skeleton in F10, area 4 (Harman 1981; 40).

1.1.12. Summary

There is some evidence for pre-Roman occupation, with animal remains dominated by sheep and cattle bones, and a pottery assemblage consisting of local course ware. Whitwell in the Roman period can be classified as a rural farmstead (see Todd 1981; Cooper 2000). The architecture of the site is modest with a timbered aisled building, later succeeded by a stone-footed structure. This suggests that it was a settlement of low status (Todd 1981: 14). We see a Roman period animal bones assemblage where sheep are the most common species, followed by cattle with pig making a small contribution.

Evidence indicates that the site was operating a husbandry regime with an emphasis upon secondary products. There were some wild species present, but no evidence for the consumption of shellfish. The pottery assemblage is mostly made up of locally produced coarse wares with limited imported pottery. In terms of forms, jars (a multi-purpose vessel) and bowls were the most common. There were no recovered botanical remains, and no evidence for imported food stuffs.

As Taylor (2001) has suggested, the internal division of aisled buildings, and consequently the way in which these buildings were used, may have remained very similar to pre-Roman structures. This places the foodways of the site into a possible architectural context, suggesting that both the layout of domestic space, but also the way of life enacted in that space, remained little changed in its essential aspects. There is very little change over time, so the site's original foodways (those evident at the outset of the Roman occupation) are still to be seen into the later Roman period. Thus the foodways remain consistent even when the aisled building is replaced, suggesting continuity in the domestic life of the site.

1.2. Empingham

Location: SK 9430 0770

Plan: Figure 4.2

Reference: Cooper, N.J. 2000. *The Archaeology of Rutland Water. Excavations at Empingham in the Gwash Valley, Rutland, 1967-73 and 1990*. Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monographs No. 6.

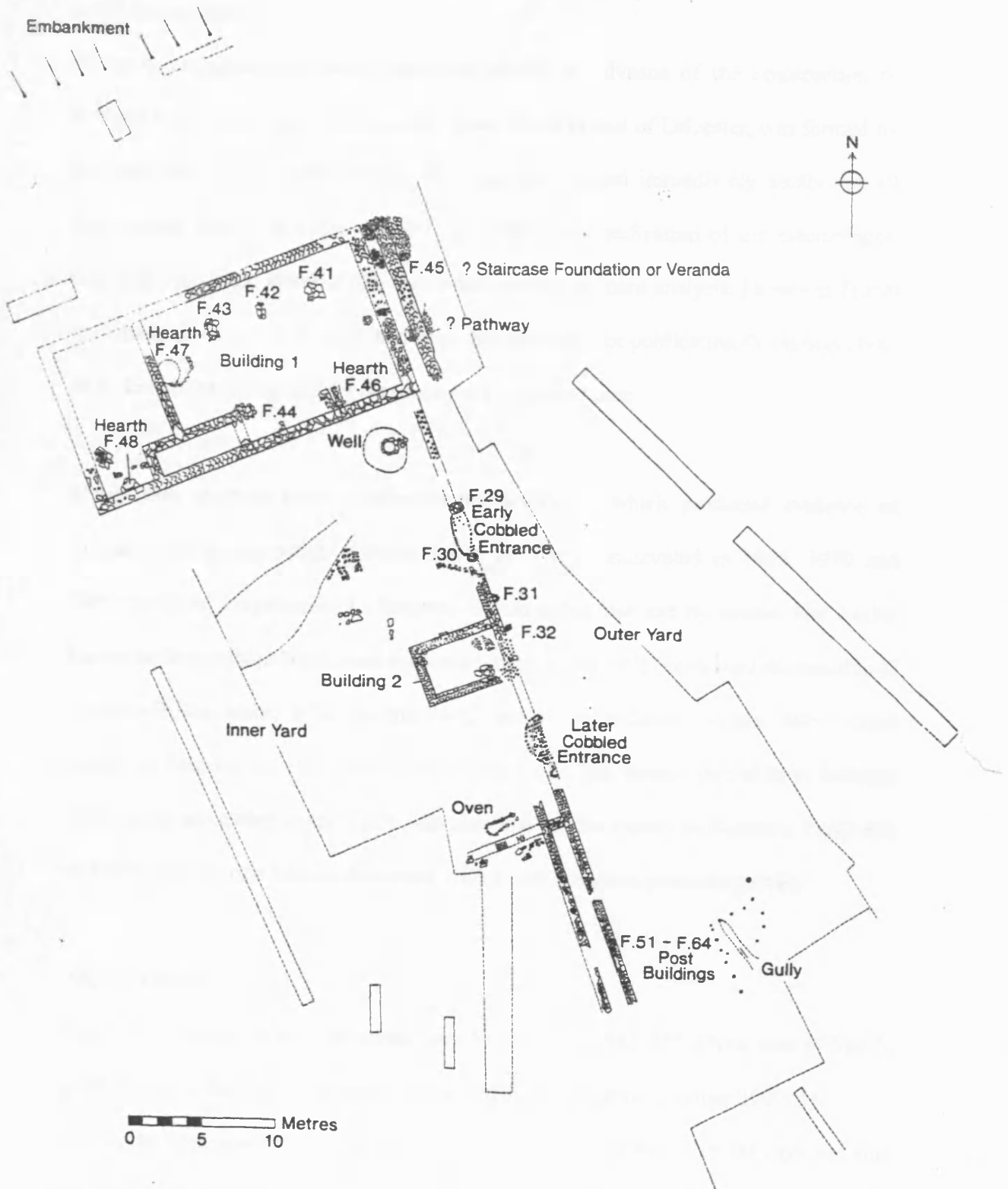


Figure 4.2: Empingham site plan. From Cooper 2000: 10.

1.2.1. Introduction

The sites at Empingham were excavated mostly in advance of the construction of Rutland Water reservoir. The reservoir, about 20 miles east of Leicester, was formed by the damming of the River Gwash. The reservoir formed immediately south-west of Empingham village (Cooper 2000: 1). Due to poor stratification of the assemblages, only site 1 produced material that was secure enough to merit analysis. However, faunal remains from sites 1, 2, 4 and 6 had been amalgamated for publication (Morrison 2000: 132), and so the site details for these sites are presented here.

There were multiple sites at Empingham, several of which produced evidence of Romano-British occupation (Cooper 2000: 2). Site 1 (excavated in 1969, 1970 and 1971) produced the remains of a Romano-British aisled barn and farmstead. Site 2 (also known as Empingham North, and excavated in 1970 and 1971) contained the remains of Romano-British aisled villa building with middle Anglo-Saxon burials. Site 5 (also known as Empingham 1968) produced evidence of a late Roman period farm building and a grain processing oven. There was also Site 6 (also known as Renner's Park) that showed evidence of a Roman farmstead with a well and grain processing oven.

1.2.2. Location

Site 1, the Romano-British farmstead, was located at SK 943 077, 150m west of Site 3, a site dating to the Early Iron Age and the Anglo-Saxon period (Cooper 2000: 4).

Site 2, the Romano-British villa, was located 400m north of Site 1, on the opposite side of the Gwash Valley (SK 942 081), and is now beneath the north end of the dam. (Cooper 2000: 17).

Site 5, a Romano-British masonry building and corn drier, was located at SK 9425 0800, just above the 60m contour (Driver and Cooper 2000: 50).

Site 6, Renner's Park Romano-British farmstead, was located north east of the north end of Normanton Hall gardens at SK 9362 0670 (Cooper 2000: 51).

1.2.3. Excavation

Site 1 comprised of a Romano-British aisled barn and farmstead. The masonry aisled barn was constructed between c. 220-270 AD. The aisled barn overlay Buildings A and B constructed in the previous phases and was on the same alignment (Cooper 2000: 4).

Site 2, the Romano-British villa, contained two main phases of activity. The first dates to the later Roman period and consists of a substantial aisled building in masonry, and probably constructed between the later third century and the mid-fourth century. Phase 2 sees a Christian cemetery in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, over the area of the Roman building (Cooper 2000: 17).

Site 5 was an area of some 100m² which was stripped to reveal a number of features. These included the remains of a Romano-British masonry building and corn drier. These were not, however, datable (Cooper 2000: 50).

Site 6, a Romano-British farmstead, consisted of a series of 'loosely associated features excavated separately which seemed to centre on a group of masonry buildings, and included a well, an H-shaped corn drier, and an ironworking furnace' (Cooper 2000: 51). No complete plan of the features was made, and only the corn drier was recorded in detail. The features were not datable.

1.2.4. Pottery

The Roman pottery from sites 1 and 2 was analysed by Martha de Bethune in 1997 (Todd 1981). A total weight of 270 kg of pottery was recovered, 83 % from Site 1. Much of the pottery was unstratified (due to high levels of plough damage).

A total of 223 kg of Romano-British pottery was recovered from the excavation of from Site 1, with 102.610 kg (46%) of this belonged to stratified groups. This assemblage was generally in good condition.

Some 32.5 kg of pottery was recovered during the excavation of Site 2 of which only a small amount, 5.962 kg was from stratified groups, and Site 2 pottery was generally plough damaged. Even some of the material described as stratified did not come from secure features, and this pottery was excluded from analysis.

There was no pottery recovered from site 4.

A total weight of 7.6 kg of pottery was recovered from the excavation of Site 6. It mostly dated to the earlier fourth century. However, due to the minimal nature of the group, it was not included in this analysis.

1.2.5. Animal Bones

The bone report for the Rutland water sites (Morrison 2000: 132-136) amalgamates the bones from sites 1, 2, 4 and 6 in a way in which they cannot be separated. This gives a total of 4,388 stratified bone fragments. Sites 3 and 5 were not included in the report due to lack of contextual information, poor preservation and small sample size.

The preservation of the bone was variable, depending upon context. However, 49 % were identifiable to species and bone type. The material from Site 1 was the most productive in terms of analysis, due to the more secure stratification encountered upon this site, and the 'greater time available for retrieval' (Morrison 2000: 132). The report also notes that: 'The occurrence of large groups of well-stratified bone coincides largely with that of the large groups of well-dated ceramic material' (Morrison 2000: 132).

1.2.6. Plant Remains

Samples of charred plant remains came from three features excavated on Site 1 (Alvey and Monkton 2000: 139 - 140). These date from later second century, the later third century and the fourth century. A subsequent sample was retrieved from the corn drier. Four cereal species were discovered, the most common was spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*), although emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), barley (*Hordeum* sp) and oats (*Avena* sp) were also present (Alvey and Monkton 2000: 139-140).

1.2.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The cattle on site 1 (two areas of the site were excavated) were under two and a half years of age at the time of slaughter, but on all sites, most individuals were over two years when culled with one being over five years of age. 53 sheep bones could be aged, these exclude some neonatal bones recovered from Site 1. Very few animals were younger than 13 months or older than three years. The majority of sheep on Site1 were killed between 18 and 21 months. Pigs, as is usually the case, were culled between two and three years of age (Morrison 2000: 132-136).

2. Species Proportions

From the mid-to late Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon period, sheep were generally the most common livestock species present with cattle and pig second and third (see table 4.16). Sheep reach a peak in period 3, which corresponds with the mid-Roman period (Morrison 2000: 132-136). However, the proportion of sheep decreases towards the later Roman period but they are still the dominant species. This picture is continued when the species identified on site are expressed as a ratio of the numbers of cattle bones present on site.

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Red	Dog	Cat	Birdd	Birdw
2	7	14	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	64	726	25	2	0	4	0	15	1
4	92	221	0	1	0	1	0	52	9
4/5	175	177	77	126	3	0	3	44	5

Table 4.7: Species Proportions from Empingham (Total Fragments Count: 1,855)

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Red %	Dog %	Cat %	Birdd %	Birdw %
2	100	200	157	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	100	1134	39	3	0	6	0	23	2
4	100	240	0	1	0	1	0	57	10
4/5	100	101	44	72	2	0	2	25	3

Table 4.8: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Empingham

In the case of pig, although the number of bones identified to this species is relatively low, it can be seen from table 4.34 that they are most important in the Iron Age (period 2) but decrease in importance during the Roman period. Horse, on the other hand, gains in importance, particularly in period 4/5 (later Roman). The relative importance of domestic fowl too should be noted. Domestic chicken and geese, gain in importance throughout the Roman period. Neither domestic bird bones nor wild bird bones were recovered in Iron Age deposits (see table 4.35), but both become more prominent in the Roman period (Morrison 2000: 132-136).

Period	Domesticates%	Bird %
2	100	0
3	100	2
4	100	17
4/5	100	10

Table 4.9: Ratios of domesticate mammals/ domestic fowl from Empingham

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Wild bird and mammal species are represented in total by eighteen fragments of bone (see table 4.33) (Morrison 2000: 132-136). These would have contributed only a little to the meat component of the diet. Most of the available meat came from farm animals and that there was some reliance on wild food perhaps to add variety to the diet, or to supplement the meat diet at times of scarcity.

The wild birds present include species such as crow, red kite, pigeon, swallow, house sparrow, song thrush, mistle thrush, woodcock, duck and water rail (Morrison 2000: 132-136). These species are indicative of open farmland and all could be consumed.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The Iron Age ceramics are represented by 717 sherds in which at least 44 vessels are represented. The vessels are coil built. The range of vessels is similar to those found at Whitwell, which is located one kilometre to the West and is discussed above. Vessels with less pronounced shoulders and plainer upright rims are common on both sites as are thick-bodied barrel shaped vessels with incurving flat or slightly beaded rims. The vessels represented are on the whole dominated by jars. There is, from Building 3, a vessel which has been interpreted by Cooper (2000b) as a cheese-making vessel.

Coarse wares dominate the Roman pottery. There are locally produced fine wares and imported fine wares present and in the later Roman period the locally produced fine

ware in particular outnumber the coarse wares. These are products from the nearby Nene Valley industries (see Cooper 2000b: 72-97).

Period	CWWt	LFWWt	IFWWt
3	42.098	1.558	1.901
4/5	3.761	4.663	2.450

Table 4.10: Fabric proportions from Empingham (Total weight in kg: 56.431)

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	100	4	5
4/5	100	124	65

Table 4.11: Ratio of coarse wares/ local fine wares and imported fine wares from Empingham

Period	CW %	FW %
3	100	8
4/5	100	189

Table 4.12: Ratio of coarse wares/ fine wares (local and imported) from Empingham

The imported fine wares are dominated by Samian ware (see tables 4.36, 4.37, 4.38).

This shiny red ware is represented by 164 sherds from sites 1 and 2 but by only two sherds from site 3. The other imported fine ware present is (in small quantities) Cologne ware (Cooper 2000b: 72-97).

The vessels present in all wares are dominated by jars. Bowls and beakers are also present in some numbers.

The supply of pottery to the site and its surrounding area has been considered in detail by Cooper (2000b) in his report on the site. He considers that the sites in the Gwash Valley would have obtained pottery from markets held in the nearby small town of Great Casterton, situated four miles downstream from Empingham. The small town

itself developed around the first-century fort, located near to where Ermine Street crossed the river. Additional potters may have visited individual sites if these lay closer to the production sites than the market.

1.2.8. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

Although this was not recorded in detail in the report, it appears that there were some changes over the period of occupation. The presence of the Roman practice of filleting was noted as well as the preparation of chops, which is indicated by two transverse knife cuts on vertebrae (see Morrison 2000: 132-136).

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

Mortaria are present but these only appear in the later phases of the site and in relatively small quantities. These are mainly the products of the local Lower Nene Valley industries rather than imported wares (see Cooper 2000b: 72-97).

There is no evidence on site for the presence of any imported food stuffs, either in the form of amphorae sherds or botanical remains (Alvey and Monckton 2000).

1.2.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

In the first and second centuries, the vessel forms present are almost exclusively jars. Although a greater variety of forms appeared on site in the third and fourth centuries, these were not connected with cooking. These new forms however, soon disappear to be replaced by the jars and bowls which were familiar in the preceding periods.

1.2.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

As mentioned above, there is a range of imported table wares present in the second and third centuries; these are mostly Central Gaulish Samian. However, beakers and flagons were also present. In the following centuries there seems to be a blurring between vessels and fabrics solely used for food preparation (grey wares and shell-tempered wares) and wares which can be used as both kitchen and table wares (colour-coated wares). This may be indicative of a shift in emphasis in the meal process and the manner of dining. Some drinking vessels are present such as flagons, beakers and cups although in the later Roman period there is a distinct lack of Lower Nene Valley beakers on site. (see Cooper 2000b: 72-97)

1.2.11. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

The only measurement recorded is of the complete skeleton of a horse, which stood at 14 hands, the size of a small horse or pony (see Morrison 2000: 132-136).

2. Context of Deposition

Two notable contexts of deposition can be discussed here. The first contained the complete skeletons of a horse and ox which were recovered from a late Roman well from Site 6. The second (mid-Roman period) context contains the carcasses of two complete animals (a calf and a horse) and various other elements comprising bones from other horses and oxen (including three skulls and 15 horn cores), which were placed on top of eight largely complete narrow-mouthed vessels. Such deposits are more usually recognised in Iron Age sites rather than Roman ones. Special deposits are now widely recognised on Iron Age sites and are considered to have been an integral part of ritual practises (see Grant 1989; Hill 1995). Because we consider Roman-period

sites to be different, special deposits are often not recognised or discussed. Increasingly though, the continuity between Iron Age and Roman-period phases of occupation is being established which has led to special deposits such as this one at Empingham are being recognised.

Although these special deposits may be considered to be 'ritual' (see Hill 1995 for a general discussion), and thus to skew the results of the analysis of faunal remains from the Empingham sites, the nature of the published report makes it impossible to exclude them. However, as assemblages, they are small by comparison to the overall sample analysed (principally site 1), and are not considered to impact seriously upon the results.

1.2.12. Summary

In the Iron Age there is evidence of occupation on this site, with an animal bones assemblage dominated by sheep, and pottery, mostly of a local coarse ware type. For the Roman period, a number of sites were excavated, but Site 1 is the principal source of finds. This consisted of an aisled barn and farmstead, other sites saw evidence for an aisled villa and later farm buildings. During the Roman period sheep remain the most common, whilst cattle increase steadily in importance. Pig decreases in importance in the early Roman period, perhaps suggesting that the status of the inhabitants of the site declined, maybe as a result of the conquest – pig often being seen as an indicator of a privileged social standing (Grant 1989). The site appears to have operated a mixed husbandry regime. Another change which is apparent is an increase in domestic fowl during the Roman period, which were not present during the Iron Age, and may indicate a change in foodways. There are high levels of fine ware present in the pottery assemblage, consisting of some imports in the early Roman period, but with local fine wares (in particular Nene Valley colour-coated wares) dominating the assemblage in the later Roman period, rather than imports from further a field. During the later Roman

period, mortaria also make an appearance on site together with an increase in drinking vessels. This would suggest that the inhabitants of the site increased in status once more, and became increasingly concerned with the serving of food in a formal context. The presence of mortaria may indicate a more complex form of food preparation being practised. There is some botanical evidence, largely consisting of spelt, but also with barley, emmer and oats present. There is no evidence on site for imported food stuffs.

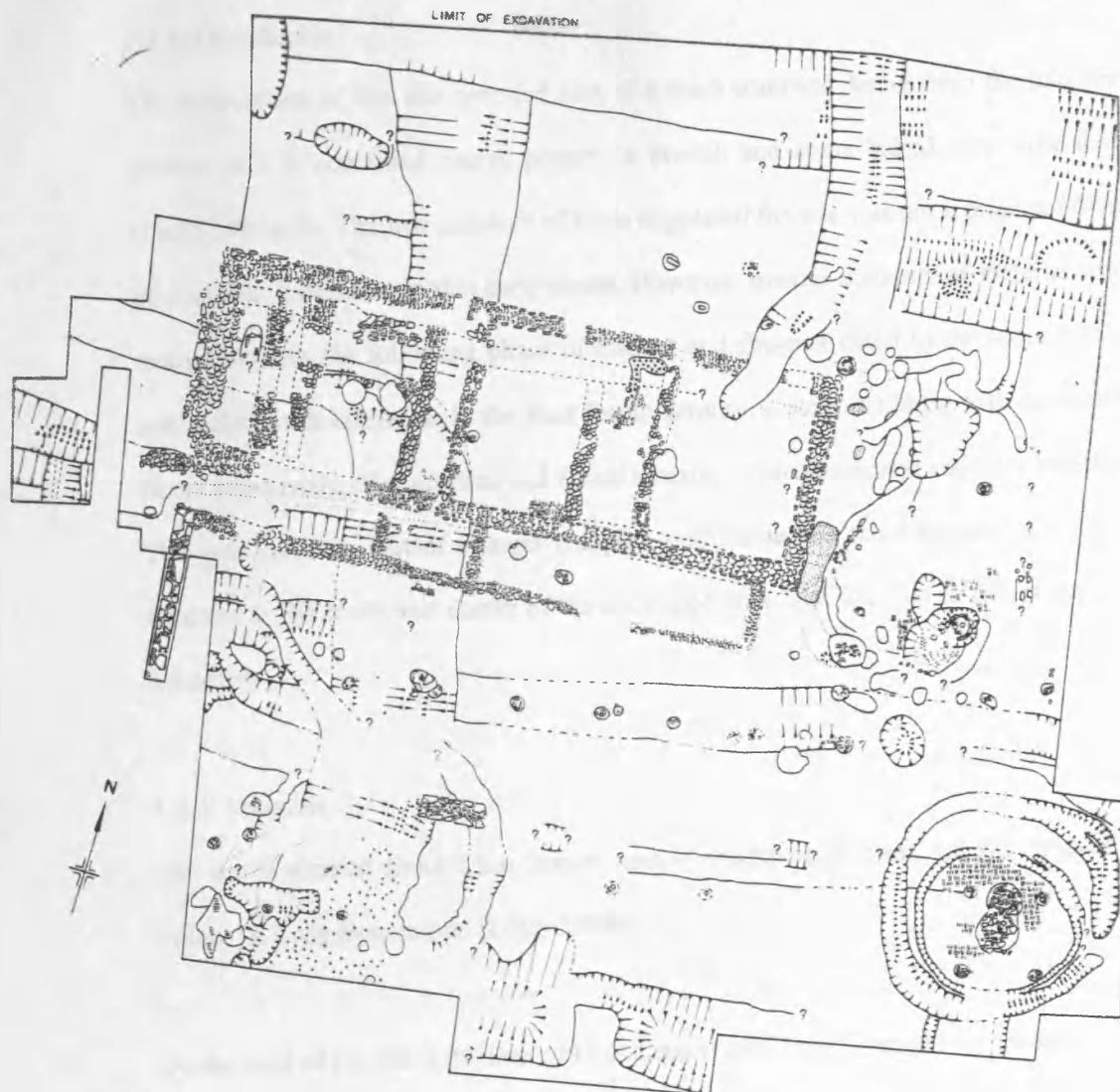
The decline of pig in the early Roman period may indicate a decline in the 'status' of the site in the aftermath of the conquest. However, the increase in architectural sophistication over time would appear to accord with the increasing elaboration in foodways – a strong suggestion of the recovery in the social status of the site and its inhabitants as the Roman period wore on.

1.3. Pasture Lodge Farm, Long Bennington, Lincolnshire

Location: SK 8290 4720

Plan: Figure 4.3

Reference: Leary, R.S. 1994a. *Excavation at the Romano-British settlement at Pasture Lodge Farm, Long Bennington, Lincolnshire, 1975-77 by H.M. Wheeler*. Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 10.



Key to conventions :

	Ditch: excavated length hachured		Faced rubble wall foundations (realistic)		Plaster
	Trench		Flat slab wall foundations (stylised)		Clay
	Pit		Rubble wall foundations (stylised)		Burnt clay
	Post-pit		Vertically-pitched rubble wall foundations (stylised)		Charcoal
	Post-pipe		Moderately-pitched rubble wall foundations (stylised), sloping up to left		Burnt stone
	Stone-packed posthole		As above, sloping up to right		Burnt soil
	Robber trench, top edge		Slab-lined, moderately-pitched rubble wall foundations (stylised)		
	Ditch or trench soil mark				
	Suggested edge of feature where line uncertain				
	Edges of feature uncertain				

0 10m

Figure 4.3: Pasture Lodge Farm site plan. From Leary 1994: 8.

1.3.1. Introduction

The excavations of this site revealed part of a ditch complex dating from the mid-first century AD. It contained coarse pottery, a brooch and some baked clay sling-shots (Leary 1994a: 5). The low numbers of finds suggested the site was not a principal focus of domestic settlement in this early phase. However, greater amounts of material were recovered from the following phase of ditches and fire-pits dated to the second, third and early-fourth centuries. In the later fourth century, a stone building with substantial floors and a range of artefactual and faunal remains, was constructed and later modified. This was probably part of a larger complex – illustrated by the discovery of a timber structure in the south east corner of the excavated area. The function of this structure is unknown.

1.3.2. Location

The site is situated about 1 km from a bend of the River Witham, 1.8 km north of the village of Long Bennington (Leary 1994a: 5).

To the west of the site is the Fosse (9 km distant) and River Trent (11km distant). To the east of the site (some 15 km) lie Ermine Street and the Ancaster Gap, which give access east to the fenlands and north to Lincoln. An east-west linear cropmark 1.4 km north may have been a road, perhaps of Roman date, possible connecting the site with the major Roman road system (Todd 1981: 108).

1.3.3. Excavation

The site was first noted in 1948 (Leary 1994a: 5). The excavation of the site began in 1975. Below the topsoil a layer of stone covered the site. Below the rubble, the excavations revealed the stone footings with associated mortar flooring and painted plaster, forming a rectangular building of two phases, a complex of ditches underlying

the building, a circular timber structure and a number of unrelated pits, post-holes and ditches.

1.3.4. Pottery

Some 12,067 sherds of Romano-British pottery were recovered from the site. The excavator suggested that this assemblage had an estimated vessel equivalent value of 837 vessels. However, this pottery belonged to well-stratified groups in only 20% of cases (Leary 1994b: 27).

1.3.5. Animal Bones

The excavators noted that preservation on this site was good, and that most of the animal remains were identifiable (though often fragmentary). A total number of 1,871 bones were identified, and most of the material recovered belonged to well-stratified groups. The circular timber building has an unusual but small assemblage of bones, in which cattle are more common, relative to sheep, than in other phases. The only dog bones are a complete skull and mandible, atlas and axis, the last being battered - it is possible that the dog's head was cut off. There are a number of complete bird skeletons but no wild animals. (Harman 1994b: 49 - 52)

1.3.6. Molluscs

A minimum of 198 oysters, nine common whelks were found. The oysters were recovered from all parts of the stratigraphic sequence.

1.3.7. Plant Remains

There were no plant remains recovered from this site.

1.3.8. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

Some cattle were killed within their first, second or third years, particularly in the first to fourth centuries and fourth century to the post-Roman period. About half of the cattle present on site survived beyond four years. Most sheep probably survived their first winter, with more sheep being culled before the age of three. Pigs were most commonly slaughtered in their second and third years (Harman 1994a: 49-51)

These data suggest that nearly half the cattle and over half the sheep were slaughtered before reaching full maturity. This slaughter pattern is indicative that meat production was probably of considerable importance.

2. Species Proportions

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Red	Roe	Hare	Dog	Cat	Fox	Rodent
3	237	289	50	13	0	1	8	10	0	6	1
4	94	113	35	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
5	470	342	104	41	1	0	9	17	1	12	0

Table 4.13: Species proportions from Pasture Lodge farm (Total fragment count: 1,859)

As can be seen from the table 4.13 and 4.14, cattle and sheep dominate the assemblage (see Harman 1994a: 49-51). An increase in the importance of cattle can be noted in the later Roman period whereas sheep decline in this phase. Pig is the third most common species, and is most important in period 5.

Period	Ox %	Sheep%	Pig %	Horse%	Red %	Roe %	Hare%	Dog%	Cat%	Fox %	Rodent%
3	100	121	21	5	0	0	3	4	0	2	0
4	100	120	37	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
5	100	855	22	8	0	0	1	3	0	2	0

Table 4.14: Ratio of all species/cattle from Pasture Lodge Farm

From this we can conclude that the meat available for consumption would have been mostly beef, with lamb a second favourite. Pork would have been consumed only occasionally, although as pigs mature more quickly they may have featured in the meals of the inhabitants of Pasture Lodge Farm.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Period	Domesticates%	Horse%	Dog %	Cat %
3	100	2	2	0
4	100	1	0	0
5	100	4	2	0

Table 4.15: Ratios of non-livestock species against domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig) from Pasture Lodge farm

The other species present on site, that may or may not have been exploited for their meat, are horse, dog and cat. Even if these were not eaten they would have played a vital role in the management and running of a rural site; horses were valuable as traction and transport, dogs for the herding of sheep and as guard dogs, and cats may have been kept to control pests. Nevertheless, we should not overlook their possible value as pets and companions.

Period	Domesticates%	Wild %
3	100	3
4	100	1
5	100	3

Table 4.16: Ratios of wild species (red deer, roe deer and hare) against domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig) from Pasture Lodge farm

There are more bones of wild species present than what are normally found on a site and in an assemblage of this size (see Table 4.10). It may be that this is the result of occasional hunting by the inhabitants. Period 4 is notably different, as a real decline in the proportion of wild animals against the domesticates can be noted. This may show a

change in the activities of the inhabitants of the site. If hunting was not a dietary necessity then maybe we can consider it as a leisure pursuit. Deer remains, as suggested by Grant (1989), particularly in the Medieval Period, may have been significant in their own right.

The assemblage also contained a fairly small number of bird bones. These were mainly those of domestic fowl.

A number of molluscs were recovered from the site (see Alvey and Leary 1994: 52). These included: 198 oysters, nine common whelks, 10 common snails, 10 grove snails, and 1 *Trichia striolata*. The oysters are represented throughout the Roman period, particularly in the early Roman period. The oysters would have contributed little in nutritional terms to the food eaten, but there are more important issues connected with food than mere nutritional value. The fact that Pasture Lodge Farm is 60 km from the sea would have increased their value as status goods and thus also have reflected upon the consumer.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3	258	6	4
4	233	6	10
5	139	5	2

Table 4.17: Sherd numbers of coarse ware, local fine ware and imported fine ware (sherd count: 663) from Pasture Lodge farm

Table 4.17 illustrates that coarse wares dominate the assemblage. Other types of fabrics are present in small amounts. Imported fine wares are particularly sparsely represented (see Leary 1994b: 27-39). It is however, useful to look at their relative proportions (see Table 4.12).

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	100	2	2
4	100	3	4
5	100	4	1

Table 4.18: Ratios of fabric types against coarse wares from Pasture Lodge farm

However, we must bear in mind the small number of sherds and the overall smallness of the pottery assemblage we are dealing with.

There is no evidence on site for the importation of food stuffs in the form of amphorae sherds. Other imported food stuffs were oysters which are discussed above.

1.3.9. Food Preparation

1. Skeletal Element Representation

The skeletal elements represented in the animal bones assemblage suggest that the animals were slaughtered and consumed on site. There is also no evidence for the differentiation of skeletal elements in terms of high meat yield and low meat yield. This can be interpreted as evidence for an egalitarian division of the carcasses or for the non-differentiated disposal of rubbish.

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There were no preparation vessels, such as mortaria included in the ceramic assemblage. As mentioned above, there was no evidence for imported food stuffs, i.e. from continental sources, present on site. This includes not only food stuffs in amphorae but also in the form of plant remains.

1.3.10. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Although a detailed break down of the forms present on site was not provided in the report, it is nevertheless clear that jars dominate the assemblage. Jars are multi-functional vessels that can be used in the storage, food preparation, and cooking and serving phases. It is therefore not unusual or surprising that these vessels should dominate the assemblages of most Romano-British sites.

1.3.11. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

As mentioned above no detailed breakdown of forms was provided. The forms present are those that would be used on a daily basis such as jars, bowls and dishes as well as drinking vessels such as beakers.

1.3.12. Other Information

1. Context of Deposition

The circular timber structure present on site contained an unusual deposit of bones of wild species (deer, hare and fox), as discussed by (Leary 1994a). This circular timber structure dates to the mid- and later Roman period and has been interpreted as a possible 'shrine', or other building with a religious use. The significance of a possible ritual deposit of this nature to our consideration of the foodways on this site (along side that of other unusual deposits from other sites) will be considered in chapter six.

1.3.13. Summary

There is no evidence of Iron Age occupation on this site, which appears to begin life in the mid-first century AD, when a modest farmstead site emerges, with later reconstruction in stone. Sheep dominate the animal bones assemblage until the later

Roman period with cattle increasing in importance, and pig making very little contribution. The husbandry regime on the site seems to focus upon meat production, with a shift towards secondary products with the rise in cattle, perhaps indicating an intensification of agricultural practice. There were some wild species present in the assemblage, and evidence for the consumption of shellfish. The imported pottery present on site is limited and the pottery assemblage is dominated by coarse wares, though the importance of fine wares increases slightly over time, and there are a few mortaria present. There is no evidence for botanical remains, or imported food stuffs.

The site architecture is initially modest, but with the construction of a stone building in the later Roman period. This would, in traditional terms, appear to be a site that, over time, was increasing in social status – though perhaps never achieving this to a great degree. Foodways in the earlier phase of this site (before the construction of the stone building), show little sign of change, illustrating a lack of external ('Roman') influence upon the foodways of the site. However, the later Roman period does see a degree of change, albeit upon a limited scale. As already noted, agricultural practices intensify, and imported wares, and mortaria, increase in importance. This may be connected with the construction of the later stone building, and suggests that more formal dining was at least occasionally practiced in the new architectural setting.

1.4. Dragonby

Location: SE 9050 1380

Plan: Figure 4.4a, Figure 4.4b and Figure 4.4c

Reference: May, J. 1996. *Dragonby: Report on Excavations at an Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement in North Lincolnshire*. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 61 (Volumes 1 and 2).

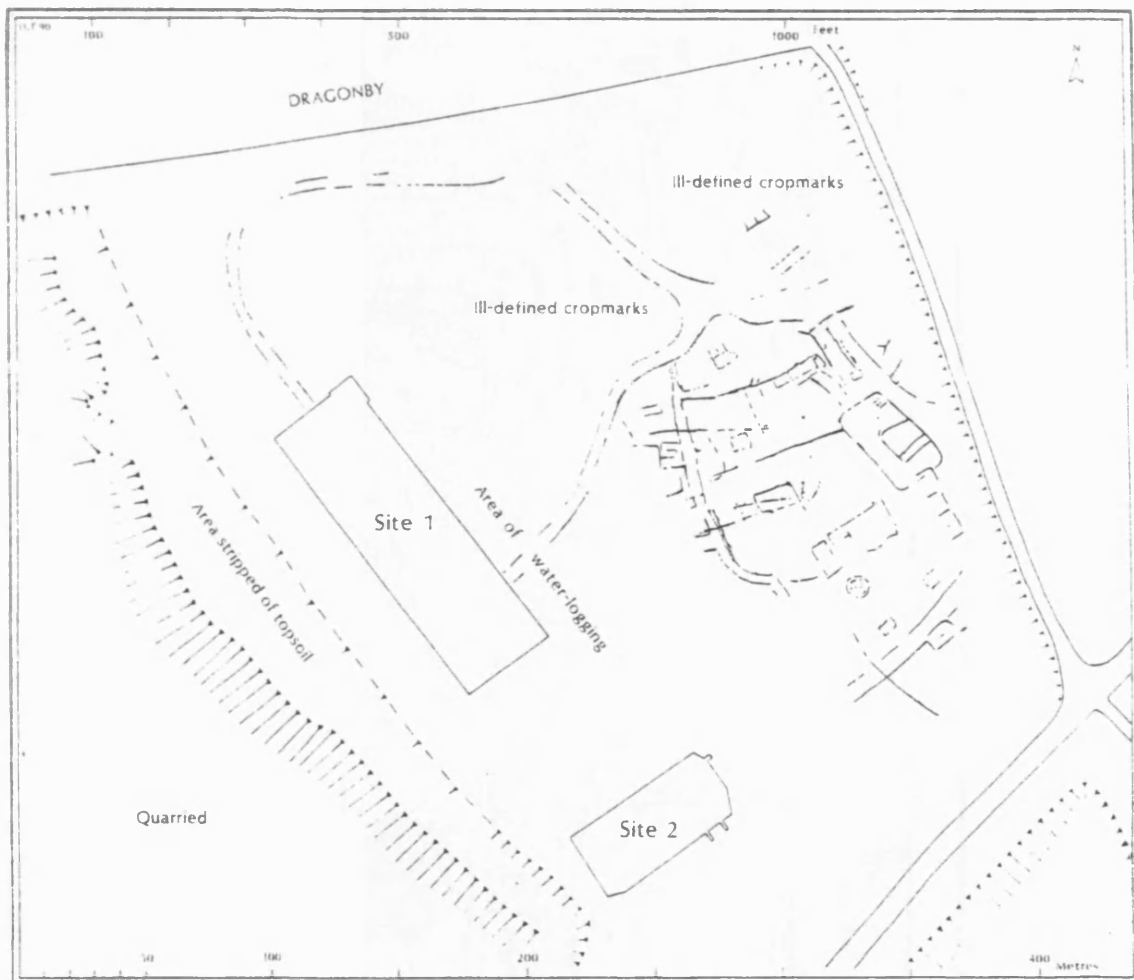


Figure 4.4a: Dragonby overview plan, showing excavations in local landscape context. From May 1996a: 11

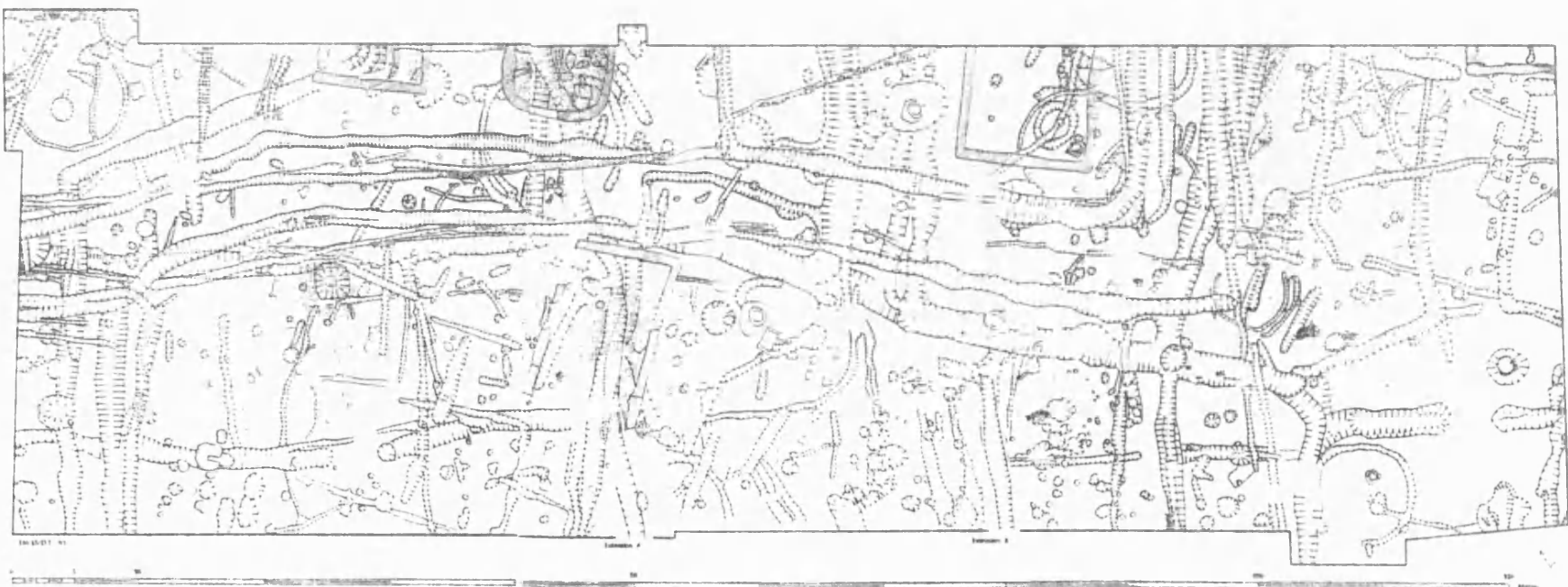


Figure 4.4b: Dragonby site plan, Site One. From May 1996a: 68.

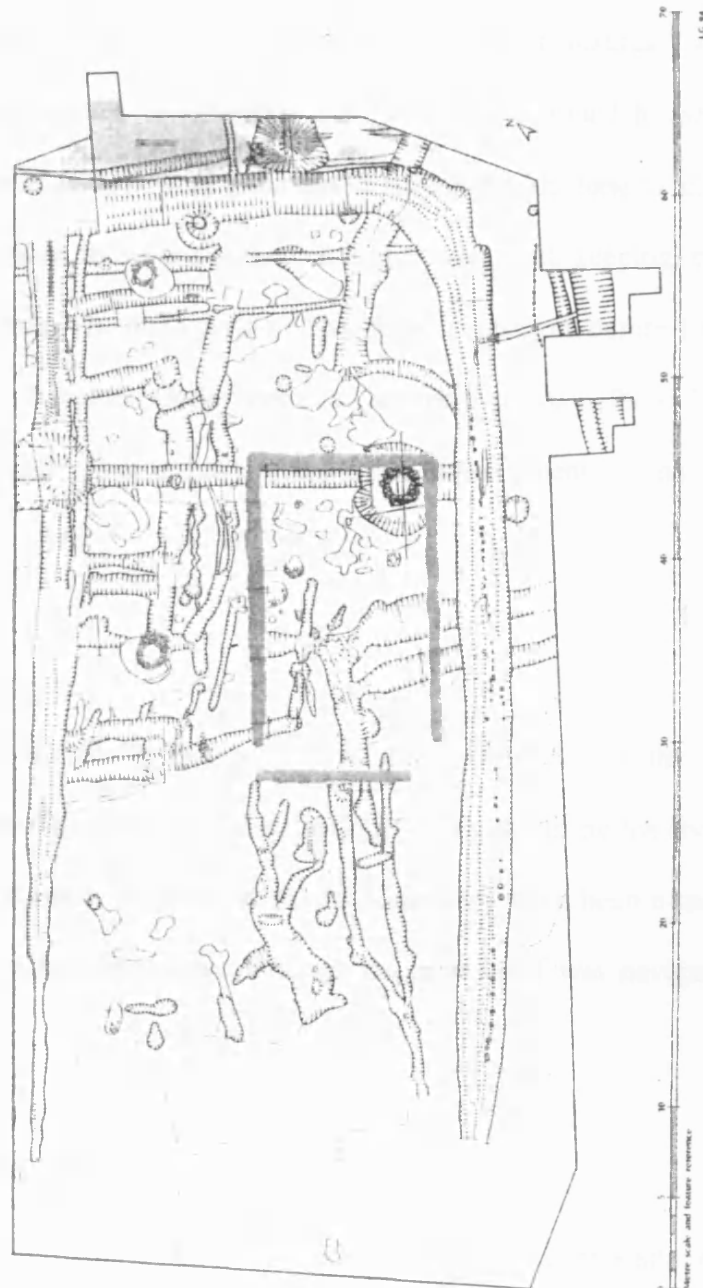


Figure 4.4c: Dragonby site plan, Site Two. From May 1996a: 50.

1.4.1. Introduction

The report describes a rescue excavation of just under one hectare at a nucleated settlement site originally of about eight hectares, at Dragonby, near Scunthorpe.

The excavation of the settlement revealed ditched enclosures, which have been interpreted as properties, an irregular pattern of streets, round houses presumably of wood in the Iron Age, and rectangular aisled buildings with stone footings in the Roman period. The inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, stock-keeping, craft or industrial activities and trade. The main period of occupation was from before 100 BC to the later fourth century AD and may have continued beyond that (May 1996a: 1). The artefactual and environmental remains have enabled the development of the settlement to be studied in some detail.

1.4.2. Location

The area where the site at Dragonby is situated, is bounded on the west by the river Trent, on the east by the river Ancholme, and on the north by the river Humber (May 1996a: 27). The valley in later prehistoric times may have been a marshy obstacle to westward land communications, although the river itself was navigable (May 1996a: 27).

1.4.3. Excavation

Some technical difficulties were noted in the excavation of this site: on an intensively occupied settlement, an area excavation of nearly 2000 m² is insufficient to understand the site. In the Iron Age, the coherent lay-out of the site demonstrates a degree of planning and control, while the large quantities of fine-quality pottery, metalwork and the occasional silver coin, suggests occupations by individuals of higher social status. A single roundhouse was identified, as were numerous ditches and wells. Little activity

was noted in the early Roman period but by the second century AD, the area was laid out again within one of a series of elongated rectangular enclosures, bordered and served on the eastern and southern sides by well-built metalled and cambered roads (May 1996a: 51). Within the enclosure was a large rectangular aisled building, together with pits and wells. Very few bricks, tiles, tesserae and wall-plaster were recovered from the excavations. The quantity of pottery which was excavated from the enclosure ditch suggests that the building served a domestic function (May 1996a: 54). There is some continuity in the lay-out of both periods of settlement. Two sites were identified and excavated at Dragonby, the one discussed above is known as Site 2 and lay on the edge of the main Dragonby settlement (Site 1) (May 1996a: 68).

Site 1, the main Dragonby settlement, consisted of an area of circa 5000 m² and was selected as the site for extensive excavation. Part of a rectilinear ditched enclosure with associated handmade pottery of fine quality represented the earliest major Iron Age feature at Dragonby (May 1996: 69). In the following period, this enclosure was enlarged, and other enclosures were laid out in a coherent pattern across the site, together with possible tracks, roundhouses and other features. The Iron Age features contained a vast number of artefacts and environmental remains which indicate intensive occupation. There was no obvious evidence of discontinuity unlike that which can be seen on Site 2 (May 1996a: 69).

Few features were excavated which contained pottery dating to the Claudio-Neronian period. The wooden roundhouses may have continued in use and a pottery kiln was established to produce high quality coarse ware. The wares produced by this kiln are however, not found on Dragonby and were therefore solely produced for export (Swan 1996: 608). The intensive occupation of the site was re-established by the end of the first century AD, and this pattern continued to the third century. In this period, metalled

roads and enclosure ditches followed the earlier Iron Age layout. Aisled buildings were also built and some of them had substantial pitched limestone footings. Cobble spreads were also excavated, these might suggest the presence of yards, as well as wells, ovens and pits (May 1996a: 599). There was relatively little evidence for activity in the fourth century AD.

1.4.4. Pottery

Over two tonnes of pottery was recovered from the excavations carried out at Dragonby between 1963-74 (May 1996b:397). All of the pottery was kept and the reports were written shortly after the excavations had finished but these were revised in the nineties to take account of further developments in the field of pottery studies. The main focus of the pottery analyses was to establish a chronology for the site and to identify the nature of the late Pre-Roman Iron Age occupation of the site. A discussion of the kilns which were also excavated was included in the published report (Swan 1996: 574).

1.4.5. Animal Remains

Over 150,000 animal bones were recovered during the excavation. Only a quarter came from stratified deposits. The bones were generally in good condition and well preserved although many were broken (Harman 1996b: 141). There is a scarcity of very small bones but this is due to the lack of sampling carried out as some small bones were recovered whilst sieving for plant remains.

The 'unidentifiable' sample revealed that a proportion of these were actually identifiable (about 5%). These were divided into large and small: those of cattle or horse size and those of sheep or pig size respectively. The fragments of ribs and vertebrae which could not be identified to species were listed separately. These were included in the final analysis of the animal bones (Harman 1996b: 141).

1.4.6. Plant Remains

A total of 10,467 seeds and other plant fragments were identified from later Iron Age and Romano-British features. No consistent sampling strategy was employed at Dragonby over the ten years of excavation. The excavated features can be divided into waterlogged and non-waterlogged, and most of the waterlogged features were sampled. A selection of non-waterlogged features was sampled to see whether plant remains were preserved. This was judged not to be the case and was therefore not continued (van der Veen 1996: 197). During excavation, where plant remains were visible to the naked eyes, sampling was carried out. However, it should be noted that the extent and scale of the environmental sampling on site was unusual and outstanding for its time (the excavations were carried out between 1963-1974). The length of time between initial collection and analysis, did however, cause problems in terms of preservation and identification. The published report should therefore be seen in that light.

The cereal crops identified were spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*), six-row hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and bread/club wheat (*Triticum aestivo-compactum*) (van der Veen 1996: 198). Celtic bean (*Vicia faba*, var. *minor*) was present in the Iron Age, and flax/linseed (*Linum usitatissimum*) in the Romano-British period (van der Veen 1996: 198). The presence of fruits and nuts suggests that the food of the inhabitants was supplemented by gathering wild resources. During the Romano-British period, three exotic plants reached the site: coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*), opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) and summer savory (*Satureja hortensis*). Woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) was also recovered from the later Iron Age context (van der Veen 1996: 199).

1.4.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The age stages were recorded using the stages defined by Ewbank *et al.* (1964). In the

report estimated ages were given for the different stages, which has helped to gain an overall picture of the kill-off pattern.

One third of cattle during ceramic stages 2-5 (circa 50 BC) survived to dental maturity, although four peaks were noted at one month, six to nine months, 24 to 30 months and 30 months. In the Romano-British period the age-at-death profile peaked at six to nine months, with some animals killed off later in life when over about two years. In the Roman period a slight shift may have occurred with more emphasis on young animals (six to nine months old) (Harman 1996b).

The sheep age-at-death profile showed that, in contrast to cattle, very few young lambs died. Several peaks were noted at six months, 18 months and 30 months, but sheep were kept into maturity. This suggests a husbandry regime which focused on secondary products (Harman 1996b).

Most pigs were slaughtered between one year and 18 months, and only few reached maturity.

The method (Ewbank *et al.* 1964) used to age the mandibles is different to the one used on the other sites discussed here (Grant 1982). However, the Ewbank stages have been related to actual ages and are thus broadly comparable with the age-at-death patterns deduced for the other sites in this study.

2. Species Proportions

The assemblage is almost entirely dominated by domesticated animals: cattle, sheep, pig, horse, dog and some goat. Sheep in terms of total number of bones dominate the assemblage throughout all periods with only slight variations in the Roman period.

Cattle in terms of total fragment count are second and do not increase significantly in importance in the Roman period (Harman 1996b).

Pigs remain fairly stable throughout, varying from 12 % to 15 %. Even in Iron Age deposits they make up 12 % to 14 % of the assemblage.

Period	Ox MNI	Sheep MNI	Pig MNI
2	214	612	139
3/4	21	45	10

Table 4.19: Minimum Number of Individuals of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby

From the MNI figures we can calculate the meat weight, i.e. the contribution an individual species could potentially have made to the meat available for consumption on site. The methods used for calculating MNI and its limitations have been discussed in chapter three.

Period	Oxkg	Sheepkg	Pigkg
2	85600	36720	16680
3/4	8400	2700	1200

Table 4.20: Meat Weight (kg) of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby

Period	Ox%	Sheep%	Pig%
2	61	26	12
3/4	68	21	9

Table 4.21: Meat Weight (%) of cattle, sheep and pig from Dragonby

Overall, beef appears the most commonly eaten meat in both periods but slight shifts can be observed. There is an increase in beef consumption in the Roman period and a decrease in the consumption of lamb and mutton. However, more pork was eaten in the Iron Age than in the Roman period.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Dog, horse, roe deer and red deer, cat, hare, mole, and fox are also represented. Fish, shellfish and birds are also present. The other mammals are usually only represented by a very few bones: deer (red and roe) are represented by five bones throughout all periods, hare by three, cat by one, fox by one, mole by one, goat by one, rabbit by five and otter by two. Hunting may not have been important in supplementing the diet but may have played an important social role.

Horse is however, well represented. Horse remains calculated as a percentage of cattle and sheep, vary from 1 % to 7 % with 4 % being its most frequent percentage. There is a slight increase at the beginning of the Roman period followed by a decline in the later period.

Most bird bones are those of domestic fowl (chicken). More domestic fowl are represented in Romano-British deposits than in Iron Age ones. A few bones of lapwing, woodcock, crane and one of larger gull were present. The remainder belonged to accipiter (eagle/ buzzard/ kite/ hawk) and corvid (crow) family. All eagle bones are from white-tailed eagles rather than Golden eagles (Harman 1996c).

13 fish bones were recovered. Most of these belong to salmon; one vertebra of pike and one of eel were also present. All these species are native to the British Isles and would have been available to the inhabitants of the site. The assemblage also contained one fin spine of *Synodontis* (Nile Catfish) dating to the second/third century (Jones 1996). It was deposited together with a sherd of African red slipware and will be further discussed below.

The assemblage also contained 1,149 oyster shells. These are all confined to the Romano-British deposits. Also present are the *Arctica islandica*, *Mytilus edulis* and *Pecten*. These would all have been available to the inhabitants of the site from the nearby Humber estuary.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Most of the Iron Age pottery was locally produced with a few Gallo-Belgic vessels arriving in the Late Iron Age. However, most of these are local imitations (Rigby and Elsdon 1996). Most of the Romano-British pottery is also locally produced with some imports of fine ware and in particular Samian ware (May 1996b; Gregory 1996). There were also some pottery kilns located on the site (May 1996b). The Samian assemblage ranges in date from the Claudian/ Claudio-Neronian period to the third century. Most of these vessels derive from the kilns in the East Gaul.

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	69	16	13
4	94		6

Table 4.22: Fabric proportions from Dragonby from Dragonby

Period	GB	IAFW	IACW	RBFW	RBCW	Total
3	31	31	108	7	47	224

Table 4.23: Fabric proportions in the early Roman period (Gallo-Belgic, Iron Age Fine ware, Iron Age coarse ware, Romano-British fine ware, Romano-British coarse ware) expressed as estimated number of vessels from Dragonby

Period	GB	IA	RB	Total
4	19	117	197	332

Table 4.24: Fabric proportions of the later Roman period (Gallo-Belgic, Iron Age style, Romano-British style) from Dragonby expressed as estimated number of vessels. *Note:*

This table illustrates the high degree of residuality in the pottery assemblage and should be treated with caution.

The early Roman assemblage shows the first occurrence of Romano-British coarse ware, although there are still a high proportion of indigenous styles present in the assemblage. Most of the RB forms owe their ancestry to Iron Age forms. The Romano-British assemblage is dominated by grey ware which was manufactured on site. The assemblage is mostly of local production. Imports include Samian, mortaria and amphorae, some colour-coated wares, but the fine wares present are mostly local British copies of Roman forms.

It took quite a long time for the new 'Roman' pottery styles to take hold in Dragonby, this in contrast to Lincoln where even in the Claudian/Flavian period the indigenous styles were partially replaced by Roman types. The Samian ware shows a considerable degree of wear on many rims and foot rings. Some sherds appear to have had second uses, e.g. as smoothers and scrapers. A fairly high proportion was riveted which suggests that Samian pottery was valuable enough to be taken care of, but was also used frequently.

A variety of amphorae are present on site including: Dressel 20, Dressel 2-4, Gauloise 4, Southern Spanish and Rhodian style (Williams 1996). These are indirect evidence for the presence of imported food stuffs in Dragonby. Amongst the food stuffs would have been olive oil and wine.

The plant remains are mainly confined to cereal crops which included spelt wheat, six-row hulled barley and bread/club wheat. Food plants present in the assemblage include Celtic bean (Iron Age) and flax/ linseed (Romano-British). Blackberry, sloe, hawthorn,

crab apple, hazelnut and elderberry were also part of the assemblage and represent food which was gathered from the surrounding countryside. The number of grains belonging to the three cereal crops does not change from the Iron Age to the Romano-British period (van der Veen 1996).

There are also a number of exotica included in the assemblage, coriander, summer savory, opium poppy and woad. These four species are not native to Britain. The first three originate from the Mediterranean, and woad from South Eastern Europe. The two herbs (coriander and summer savory) and the poppy seeds were first imported into Britain by the Romans, although there is some record of coriander being present in Bronze Age deposits (van der Veen 1996). Once introduced into Britain, all could have been cultivated. Woad was represented by eighteen fragments and was recovered from waterlogged deposits. It is a dye plant to which Caesar refers in *Commentarii De Bello Gallico* (Book V, 14), which the Britons used to dye their skins with before going into battle. This is the earliest known example of it in Britain and the deposits have been dated to the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age.

There is evidence for large-scale human interference in the natural vegetation in the early Iron Age (BC 516-174). This has been noted through three pollen cores taken in the vicinity of the site (van der Veen 1996). Pollen data also suggests that both crop production and animal husbandry were practised near where the pollen cores were taken, circa 1 kilometre SSE of the site.

Overall no major changes both in the agricultural regime practised and the cereal crops cultivated were noted. The Roman period is marked by the introduction of exotic herbs and possibly flax/ linseed although these exotic herbs were only present in small

quantities. It is difficult to estimate the impact they would have had on the flavour of every day cooking.

1.4.8. Food Preparation

1. Skeletal Element Representation

Overall the meaty parts (humerus, radius/ulna, femur, tibia, pelvis and mandible) are the best represented in all periods. There is little if no change between the Iron Age and Roman periods. The only change noted over time is that the meaty parts of the pig are better represented after the earliest Iron Age, which might indicate an increased importance of pork in the diet, or a change in butchery or depositional practices. The only missing parts in sheep and cattle are the scapulae.

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There is no evidence during the Iron Age for pottery preparation vessels. During the Romano-British period a total of 191 mortaria sherds were present on the site:

Period	Local	Imported	Total
3/4	168	23	191

Table 4.25: Number of sherds of local and imported mortaria from Dragonby (N: 191)

The earliest mortaria date to the mid-first century and the latest to circa AD 400. The condition of the mortaria suggests considerable usage. Many vessels had discolouration due to heating or burning, often prior to breakage.

	Dr20	Dr2-4	Gauloise4	Spanish	Rhodian	Total
Weight (kg)	69.687	0.896	0.203	0.317	0.150	71.253
Sherd Count	402	9	4	5	2	422
%	95	2	0.9	1.1	0.4	

Table 4.26: Quantification of different types of amphorae from Dragonby (Kg: 71.253 and N: 422)

Dressel 20 contained Baetican olive oil and dominates the assemblage. Dressel 20 is the most commonly found amphora on Romano-British sites and can also be found on high status Late Pre-Roman Iron Age sites. They were imported into Britain for about 250 years. At Dragonby most of the assemblage can be dated to the second century AD, although an earlier type of Dressel 20 is dated to AD 30-50 in the Late Iron Age deposits from around the Conquest period. Four other amphora types are present; Dressel 2-4 which normally carried wine, dated to the later first century BC to first century AD. The assemblage also contains two spikes from Rhodian-style amphora. These are dated to the late first century BC to the early second century AD. The Southern Spanish amphorae contained fish-based products such as garum. Gauloise 4 amphorae contained wine from the Languedoc region in France. This form arrived on British sites shortly after the Boudiccan revolt. An estimate of 40 separate vessels is represented on site; this equals one amphora per decade. This is however, three times as many as at Old Sleaford from both Iron Age and Romano-British deposits. At Old Sleaford there is a minimum of 14 vessels of which 11 were Dressel 20. The range of types was also smaller: two types here in contrast to five at Dragonby. The two types represented at Old Sleaford are Dressel 20 and Dressel 2-4.

1.4.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The Iron Age assemblage starts with hand-made pedestal urns and S-profile jars and bowls all with elaborate curvilinear decoration. As the Iron Age progresses the

decoration becomes restricted to cordons around the necks of jars and loses some of its earlier spontaneity. The pottery in the later phases also becomes wheel-made. Some Gallo-Belgic imports are present but mostly they are local imitations of Gallo-Belgic vessels. The principal forms are a variety of jars (diameter: 140-180 mm/ 200 mm), bowls (large, medium and small), and cups (diameter: 80-85 mm and up to 120 mm). Most of the vessels are made from coarse ware although some fine ware is present; all the wares are locally produced. Some forms merge into Romano-British forms as most forms have a relatively long life span.

1.4.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The pottery assemblage is mostly made up of jars, cups, and bowls, dishes and cooking pots. Bowls varied in size from small, medium to large. There are also a few flagons and platters present. The most common Samian form is the large bowl, Dragendorf 37, and these were well used and some had sooting on them too, which might suggest that they were not necessarily used for serving but also for cooking. Jars range from 140-180 mm to 200 mm, whereas cups were mostly small, i.e. 80-85 mm to 120mm). These cups may have been used for social drinking as they are finely made and fit into the hand. A variety of dining habits may have been taking place: possibly everyday eating out of the larger bowls whereas at special occasions the smaller bowls may have been used.

1.4.11. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

The cattle measurements indicate a slight size increase in time from the Early Iron Age to the later Roman period. Withers height calculated from total lengths of selected long bones using the formulae of Foch (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970) and Matolski

(von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970) indicate animals that ranged from 1.09 to 1.13 m.

These measurements suggest that even though there might have been a slight size increase, the animals were not very large.

Within the sheep assemblage there is no evidence for size increase. The sheep are about the same size as modern-day Soay sheep. As few pigs reached maturity it was not possible to take any measurements.

The withers height of the horses present was calculated from lengths of long bones using Kiesewalter's formulae (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970, 334). Most were ponies between 11.5 and 14.5 hands.

The withers heights of dogs were calculated using Harcourt's formulae (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970, 154); they varied between 27.6 cm and 64 cm.

2. Context of Deposition

There are many partial and complete skeletons of piglets, calves, sheep, horse, dog and birds which were recovered from pits, wells and ditches throughout both the Iron Age and Romano-British periods.

The interpretation put forward in the site report suggests that these bird skeletons may have been pests or else kept as hunting birds. It has to be noted that as at Stonea partial and complete skeletons of white-tailed eagles have been recovered in what can be interpreted as structured deposits; other bird skeletons were also found. These depositional practices continued into and throughout the Romano-British period.

The Nile Catfish fin spine was deposited in the corner of rectangular building 2 with a rare colour-coated sherd dating to the third century AD. This was possibly brought back as a curio or talisman by somebody who had travelled and deposited it in their house.

1.4.12. Summary

Dragonby was a nucleated settlement of about 8 ha in size. Two areas were excavated both of which contained wooden roundhouses in the Iron Age. The animal bone assemblage was dominated by sheep, and there were some imports present, including Roman pottery. The Roman period saw metalled and cambered roads and stone footed aisled buildings from the second century onwards. The site suggests an air of prosperity with well-built stone buildings and yards, but, the buildings were not luxurious; there is no evidence for hypocausts, wall plaster, roof tiles or *tesserae*. In terms of the Roman period faunal remains, sheep are the most common species throughout, with little change in the representation of either cattle or pig. Pig is well-represented both in the Iron Age and Roman period which suggests that the inhabitants of Dragonby were always relatively well-off. Cattle were culled young, suggesting the primacy of meat production, whilst sheep were culled late, indicating a focus upon secondary products. There was evidence for fowl, wild species and shellfish. Pottery from the site contained some imported fine ware, in particular Samian vessels. In the range of vessels present, however, the assemblage was relatively modest, perhaps indicating the dining would have been an occasional feature of the foodways of the inhabitants of the site. Botanical remains included a range of cereals such as bread wheat, emmer, and spelt. There was a wide range of imports present such, as opium, summer savory and coriander as well as olive oil and wine.

It can be suggested that Dragonby was a large settlement, with its inhabitants engaged in farming and industrial activities (there are some pottery kilns present on site) who

enjoyed a fairly prosperous lifestyle, with well-built but modest buildings and foodways which contained the occasional luxury item. Such luxuries might be interpreted as evidence of 'conspicuous consumption', perhaps obtained at great expense to enable the consumers to demonstrate their status to their neighbours, evidence of a genuine desire to be Roman, but without the wealth (or the knowledge) required to translate this aspiration into a full reality, or simply the acquisition of occasional exotic items out of novelty. In any of the scenarios outlined for such imports, they do not occur in sufficient quantities to affect the actual foodways practiced, and in everyday terms, the site should still be considered as conservative.

1.5. Dunston's Clump

Location:

Plan: Figure 4.5

Reference: Garton, D. 1987. Dunston's Clump and the Brickwork Plan Field Systems at Babworth, Nottinghamshire: Excavations 1981. In *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Vol. XCI, 16-73.

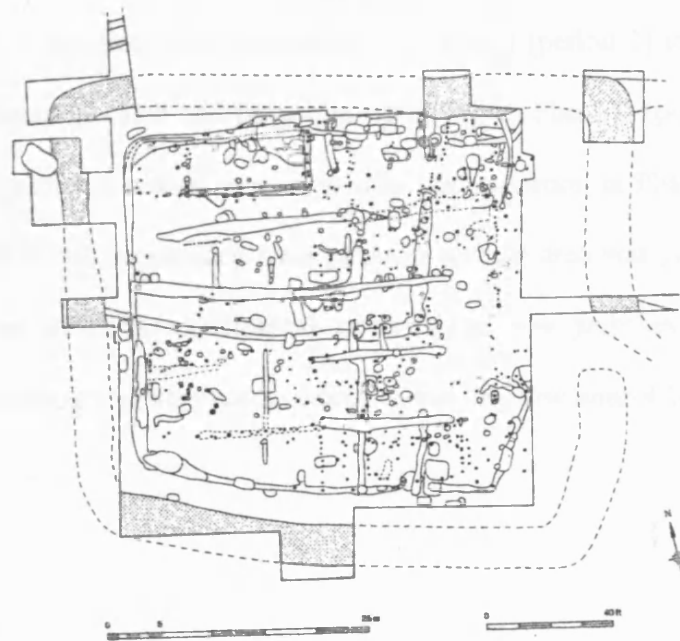


Figure 4.5: Dunstons Clump site plan. From Garton 1987: 21.

1.5.1. Introduction

A cluster of enclosures which are attached to the brickwork plan field systems was sampled with one enclosure and the intersection of the main field ditches with the enclosures were excavated.

Three phases of occupation were established. In Phase I (period 2) the enclosure was defined by a substantial ditch and large pits were dug; in Phase II (period 3), a timber building was constructed within its own yard in the enclosure; in Phase III (period 4), the enclosure ditch was superseded by a palisade and the area was partitioned with at least three timber buildings constructed within these new partitioned areas (Garton 1987: 16). The subsoil was very acidic which meant that few animal bones survived on site.

1.5.2. Location

The brickwork plan fields which include Dunston's Clump lie on a broad north to south ridge between the rivers Ryton and Idle (Garton 1987: 17). This ridge is dissected by streams and the landscape is undulating. Enclosure 1 was located on the top of a small knoll half way down the slope, and Enclosure 2 was on level bench just below enclosure 1. The crop marks revealed two ditched enclosures, a small square enclosure which was located just to the north of enclosure 2, and a series of enclosures to the east. Enclosures 1 and 2 probably formed the focus of the farmstead (Garton 1987: 19). The eastern enclosures had smaller ditches which are similar to field system ditches and have been interpreted as small fields or paddocks. A small enclosure (4) with a circular cropmark just to the south west of the two enclosures may have been part of another farmstead (Garton 1987: 19).

1.5.3. Excavation

Enclosure 2 formed the focus of the excavation and was almost completely excavated. Two other smaller areas were also excavated (Garton 1987: 19). An area of 20 x 20 m was stripped of topsoil and the features were planned in detail and a number of these were sampled as full excavation was not possible due to time constraints (Garton 1987: 20).

Enclosures 1 and 3 were chosen for excavation to determine the relationship between enclosure 1 and the brickwork plan field system (Garton 1987: 40). The aerial photographs suggested that enclosure 1 was earlier than the field system and this was confirmed by the excavation. Enclosure 3 was also excavated and was not contemporary with enclosure 1 but there were few finds present which could enable a correct dating.

1.5.4. Pottery

The pottery assemblage contained 942 sherds from a minimum of 101 vessels spanning some 150-200 years of occupation. The assemblage is mostly derived from the excavations of enclosure 2 as enclosure 1 and 3 contained very little pottery (Leary 1987: 43).

1.5.5. Animal Remains

Bones in the Trent Valley sands and gravels are generally poorly preserved and the bones from Dunston's Clump are no exception. Very little bone survived on the site apart from rare calcined fragments, and a few teeth (Harman 1987: 61).

1.5.6. Plant Remains

Soil samples were taken from Enclosure 2 where charred material was visible during excavation. These samples were processed for plant remains by flotation on site (Jones

1987: 58). Cultivated cereals were recovered and these included six-row hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), rye (*Secale cereale*), spelt (*Triticum spelta*), bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and possible emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*) (Jones 1987: 58).

1.5.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The animal bones from this site in Nottinghamshire were poorly preserved and therefore no details about the husbandry regimes practised on site could be recorded (Harman 1987: 61-65).

2. Species Proportions

As mentioned above, the animal bones were poorly preserved. There were also insufficient bones, which could be analysed to form the basis of any kind of interpretation. It was possible to determine that all large farm animals (cattle, sheep and pig) were represented (Harman 1987: 65). The assemblage however, contained no bones belonging to dog.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Due to the poor preservational conditions in this area, the bones were in too poor a condition to determine species. There was no evidence for the exploitation of marine resources such as oysters on site.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The assemblage was relatively small, containing 942 sherds, which are derived from a minimum of 101 vessels spanning some 150-200 years of occupation. The fabrics represented are mostly locally produced and can be assigned to the category of coarse wares. The assemblage did contain one burnt sherd of Samian, and one sherd of a

mortaria from Mancetter-Hartshill. There are no colour-coated wares included in the assemblage (see Leary 1987: 43-58).

1.5.8. Food Preparation

1. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There were no sherds belonging to amphorae present on site. This would suggest that imported food stuffs did not find their way onto the site.

The remains of cereals dominated the plant remains; six-row hulled barley, rye, spelt, bread wheat and possibly emmer were represented in the assemblage. Of the cereals only spelt occurred in quantity, emmer and bread wheat were present in small quantities. Other plants present were oat and flax (see Jones 1987: 58-60).

There is only limited evidence for the use of mortaria. One burnt mortarium sherd from Mancetter-Hartshill was included in the assemblage (see Leary 1987: 43).

1.5.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The vessels that are present are all long-lived types and in general the pottery types present are limited in range. The mortarium may have been adopted as an improvement on the large bowls already in use. Otherwise the range of vessels remained consistent in size and shape throughout occupation. There is a level of conservatism, demonstrated by the consistency of the assemblage, in terms of size, and form, which may match conservatism in function.

1.5.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

There are no fine wares represented in the assemblage. The main form is the jar, whereas vessels that could be used exclusively for serving are not present. Platters, dishes and bowls are present but these could equally have been used for eating. The lack of serving vessels and fine wares would suggest that the inhabitants of this site did not practise the habit of formal dining.

1.5.11. Summary

The sites excavated are part of a larger field system which has been revealed in aerial photography, and were limited due to time constraints. They nevertheless reveal a rural farmstead sitting within a field system which dates back to the Iron Age, and although the evidence from this site is consequently quite limited due to the small pottery assemblage, and the lack of animal bones, some broad patterns in the foodways may be observed. The site was occupied in the Iron Age, but we have little specific information for this period. There is a definite growth in the settlement with the construction, in the early Roman period, of a timber building, which is followed by the construction of three timber buildings in the mid-later Roman period. The food related material culture of the site modest. Very little can be said about the meat component of the foodways of the inhabitants, as the animal bones have not survived well due to the acidic soil conditions. However, the information that we do have seems to indicate a diet which consisted of beef and lamb/mutton with pork making an occasional contribution. The pottery assemblage is dominated by locally produced coarse wares. The cereals too reveal a conservative choice, spelt is the most common species recovered from the small assemblage with flax also being present. There are no imported food stuffs.

The site does grow in size and this is presumably reflected in the number of inhabitants on the site. This is however, not reflected directly in the foodways, and it would seem that the site, which started in the Iron Age, continued much as it had done throughout the Roman period. This is in accordance with the consistently simple architecture of the sites buildings – remaining, as they did, as wooden structures, never rebuilt in more substantial fashion. The inhabitants may have lived in relative poverty, and seem, judging from the material culture present, to have had little opportunity, or inclination to trade with the outside world, aside from supplies of basic ceramics.

1.6. Clay Lane, Earls Barton, Northamptonshire

Location:

Plan: Figure 4.6

Reference: Windell, D. 1990. *Excavations at Clay Lane 1980. Level III: The Finds*. Northampton: Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit.




Figure 4.6: Clay Lane site plan. From Dark and Dark 1997: 57.

1.6.1. Introduction

The excavation in 1980 of an Iron Age and Roman rural settlement, covering circa 18 ha of gravel terrace of the River Nene, at Clay Lane, Earls Barton, Northamptonshire yielded large quantities of ceramic and other finds.

1.6.2. Location

The site is located on a gravel terrace of the River Nene in Northamptonshire.

1.6.3. Excavation

The excavations of the site have never been fully published so little is known about them. The site excavated was quite extensive (circa 18 hectares).

1.6.4. Pottery

The Iron Age pottery recovered amounted to 54.6 kilograms from stratified deposits and were analysed for the purposes of the Level III finds report.

The Romano-British wares amounted to 40 kilograms, of which nearly 15 kilograms were unstratified. The large amount of unstratified material discouraged a very elaborate fabric analysis.

1.6.5. Animal Remains

Animal bone was collected by hand during the excavation. The data derived from the bone is subject to some major caveats: 1) the selection of features for excavation was based on structural/stratigraphic criteria not on the need for an unbiased faunal assemblage; 2) exigencies of the excavation and restraints on resources led to the decision not to attempt to retrieve representative faunal collections. At each stage, little

effort was made to ensure complete or undamaged recovery; and 3) the assemblage was entirely hand-picked with no sieving.

The report thus describes a very badly fragmented collection of 4,375 bones from a pre-Belgic/late Belgic enclosure and Romano-British farmstead of which only 2,944 were identifiable to species.

1.6.6. Plant Remains

Environmental evidence in general was poor from the site of Clay Lane and limited to hand-picked animal bone assemblages. This was caused by two factors: 1) the nature of the site, in that the preservation of organic materials, other than bone, was extremely poor. The gravel terrace was well-drained and no waterlogged deposits nor other circumstances likely to lead to improved preservation were found. The presence of non-bone organic residues was tested by sieving and flotation on several of the contexts but no significant results were obtained; and 2) the recovery of general environmental evidence was not a highly placed objective in the research brief of the site.

1.6.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The age-at-death profile for the animals on site has not been published in any detail. The cattle were mostly kept until mature and in some cases well beyond mature. There were some sheep which were culled before they were two years of age but most survived into adulthood. Pigs were all culled before three years of age, at which point they are likely to produce the optimum amount of meat (see Jones, Levitan, Stevens, Malim, Hocking 1990: 56-60).

2. Species Proportions

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Red	Dog	Birdd
2	642	516	64	141	2	9	4
3/4/5	706	599	77	170	3	11	0

Table 4.27: Species proportions (total fragment count: 2,944) from Clay Lane, Earls Barton

As table 4.27 illustrates, cattle dominate the assemblage both in the Iron Age and throughout the Roman period. Sheep proportions remain stable through to the Roman period. Pig is not, as is commonly the case, the third most common species. Pig numbers are low even though they show a slight increase in the Roman period. The third most common species is horse which also increases in the Roman period (see Jones, Levitan, Stevens, Malim, Hocking 1990: 56-60).

We can also look at the figures in relative terms.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse%	Red %	Dog %	Birdd%
2	100	80	10	22	0	1	1
3/4/5	100	84	11	24	0	2	0

Table 4.28: Ratio of cattle/sheep, pig, horse, red deer, dog and domestic bird from Clay Lane, Earls Barton

3. Exploitation of Other Species

There are only limited numbers of species present other than the three main domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig). These are horse, dog, red deer and domestic birds. The most common of these is horse which is actually the third most common species on the site. It should be noted that domestic bird bones are only found in the Iron Age and have not been recovered from any of the Roman deposits. This is unusual as on most of the other sites analysed, domestic bird bones first appear in the assemblages during the

Roman period. The numbers are however, very small and the sampling strategy needs to be borne in mind as do the preservational biases, i.e. bird bones are smaller and more fragile than the bones of large mammals and are therefore recovered less frequently.

Period	Domesticates %	Horse %	Dog %
2	100	12	1
3/4/5	100	12	1

Table 4.29: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from Clay Lane, Earls Barton

We can see that horse does make significant contribution to the overall make-up of the assemblage. Dog however, is represented by less than one percent and remains stable throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW Wt
2	28.365
3	10.065
4	8.295
5	0.495
9	47.220

Table 4.30: Fabric proportion (Weight in kg: 47.220) from Clay Lane, Earls Barton

There were no imported or local fine wares present on the site, as is illustrated by table 4.29. The pottery assemblage was entirely made up of locally produced coarse wares. These are dominated by calcite gritted wares and grey wares (Aird 1990a: 2-28 and 1990b: 28-51). There is little evidence for any Roman influence on the assemblage as there is no discernible difference between the pottery dating to the Late Iron Age and that dating to the early or later Roman period.

1.6.8. Food Preparation

There is no evidence in the animal bone assemblage or in the ceramic assemblage for the food preparation stage. There are no mortaria present on site. The animal bone assemblage merely gave a breakdown of the species present.

1.6.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Although there was no actual breakdown of the forms present on site, a general impression can be gained from the report. The assemblage is dominated by jars. There is a limited number of forms present: there are only jars and bowls in varying sizes. Most of the jars are large and some have sooting on them which suggests their use as cooking vessels (Aird 1990a: 2-28 and 1990b: 28-51). The bowls are mostly large with some smaller ones present.

1.6.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The only wares present on site are locally produced coarse wares; there are no fine wares present within the assemblage at all. The limited range of forms does not include specific serving vessels. The bowls are mainly large and it could be suggested that the consumption of food occurred in an informal, familial setting. Food may have been served straight from the cooking pot into the bowl.

1.6.11. Summary

As the site has never been fully published it is hard to judge its exact nature of the site apart from at a general level – a site which was occupied in the Iron Age, and which developed into a Roman-British farmstead covering an extensive area (18ha). The assemblages from Clay Lane are subject to many caveats; the pottery assemblage

contained many unstratified sherds and the animal bones were not collected to form a representative assemblage of the site. However, a few broad conclusions can be suggested. Sheep dominate the animal bones assemblage through out the life of the site, with cattle second. Sheep seem to have been reared for meat production, whilst cattle were valued for their secondary products. There is no imported or local fine ware present on site, the assemblage being principally of local coarse ware. There is no evidence for botanical remains, nor are there any imported food stuffs.

There is little indication of any great elaboration of the architecture over time, or of change over time in the sites foodways, suggesting that the foodways that were current at the time of the conquest, and therefore representative of 'native' styles of eating, remained unchanged through the Roman period. It can be suggested on the basis of this that the site itself was modest in nature and that the inhabitants survived on at a subsistence level, with little indication towards either elaborate dining or food.

1.7. Maxey (Plant's Farm)

Location: TF 1150 0800

Plan: Figure 4.7

Reference: Pryor, F.M.M., French, C.A.I. *et al.* 1985. *The Fenland Project, Number 1: The Lower Welland Valley, Volume 1*. East Anglian Archaeology 27.

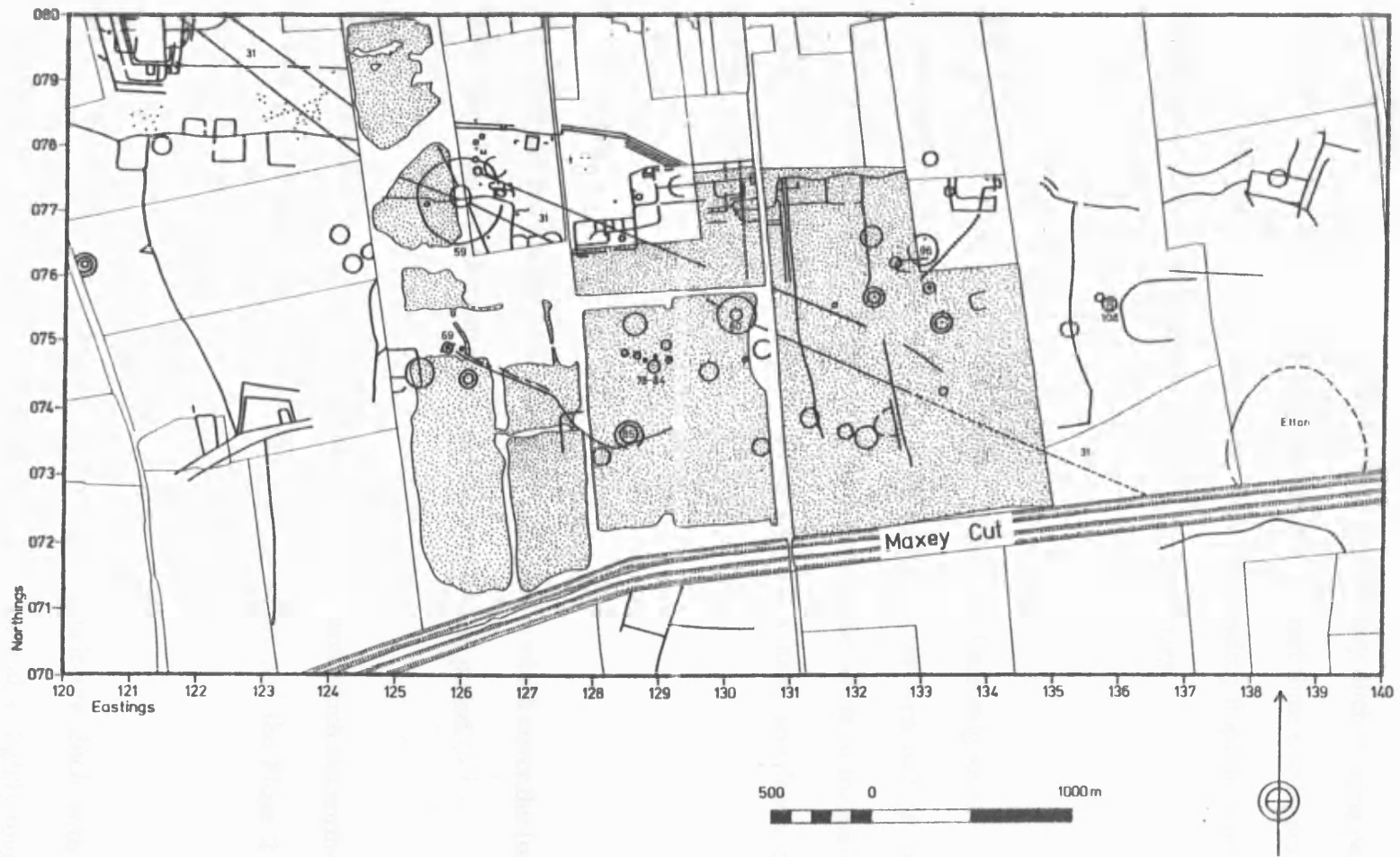


Figure 4.7: Maxey (Plant's Farm) site plan. From Pryor, French, et al. 1985: 27.

1.7.1. Introduction

The site at Plant's Farm is part of a series of cropmarks which have been identified from aerial photographs. The following features were identified at Plant's Farm: a ring ditch which suggests a Bronze Age burial mound; a boundary ditch running east-west; a pit alignment of Iron Age date running north-south; at least three overlapping rectangular enclosures of Roman date; and a ditched driveway leading from the north-west corner of the churchyard to the north-east corner of the enclosures.

1.7.2. Location

The site is located at Plant's Farm, Maxey in Cambridgeshire. The site lies approximately 500 metres west of Maxey Church at the west end of field OS7 and formed part of a series of crop-marks which covered the whole of the parish and much of the surrounding area. Most of these crop-marks have now been destroyed by quarrying activity.

1.7.3. Excavation

The activity on the site has been assigned to four phases which cover the Iron Age, Late Pre-Roman Age, early Roman period and the later Roman period.

Period 1 (the Iron Age period) consisted of a pit alignment which ran north-south along the east side of the large, possible Iron Age, enclosure and the Phase 2 rectangular enclosure.

Period 2 consisted of five features: a rectangular enclosure ditch with a possible entranceway two-thirds of the way along the north side and a slightly rounded north-east corner; a large pit; a ditch; an eaves-drip gully located in the centre of the ditched

enclosure with an eastern entrance; and, to the south-east of the eaves-drip gully, also in the interior, a grave with an infant burial.

Period 3, the mid-late first century-early second century AD: the areas excavated were relatively small and the information on the excavated features is scarce, however, when the information is drawn together some patterns do emerge. In this period, all the earlier features from Phase 2 appear to have gone out of use. A new ditch, possibly a boundary ditch, was cut immediately east of, and parallel to, the Phase 2 ditch. Later in this period a new enclosure ditch appears and the ditches were also recut.

Period 4 sees the presence of new ditches as the Period 3 boundary ditch had gone out of use. Later in this phase ditches were recut again. A corn-dryer and a kiln were also located. This Period sees possible signs of increased elaboration upon the site with the discovery of a stone column fragment and a gilded brooch (Pryor 1985 *et al.*: 244)

1.7.4. Pottery

In total, 87 kg of pottery were excavated from the two phases of Romano-British occupation. Phase 3 can be dated from the mid-first century AD to the mid-second century and Phase 4 to the mid-third to the mid-fourth century. Phase 4 accounted for approximately 71 % by weight of the Romano-British pottery assemblage, and Phase 3 12%. Undated features contained 2% by weight and the topsoil 15% (Gurney 1985: 89). An added problem with the make-up of the assemblage is that at least 50% of the Iron Age pottery was residual. This has an effect on how well-stratified the remaining Romano-British material is. The main focus of the pottery report was to enable phasing of the site rather than a detailed interpretation of the pottery consumption patterns of the inhabitants of the site.

1.7.5. *Animal Bones*

Most of the animal bone assemblage came from features of Romano-British date but the residuality of Iron Age pottery on site (at least 50%) would suggest that some of the bones are likely to be residual too. All parts of the body are represented but the smaller elements such as carpals, tarsals, phalanges, vertebrae and skull fragments were under-represented; this is due to the recovery methods which were employed. This suggests that the assemblage is likely to be biased (Halstead 1985: 219-224).

1.7.6. *Plant Remains*

There was no systematic sampling of the site and therefore there is a paucity of botanical remains. A soil sample taken from the stokehole of the Romano-British corn-dryer produced 120 spikelet parts of wheat (*Triticum spelta*) and one wild oat seed (*Avena* sp.). Pollen samples from an Iron Age pit showed evidence for some cereal pollen and pasture-type weeds (Green 1985: 222-232).

1.7.7. *Molluscs*

A number of oyster shells (*Ostrea edulis*) were recovered from a Romano-British pit context. 46 examples of the mollusc *Caciliodes acicula* were also recovered (French 1985).

1.7.8. *Food Procurement*

1. Husbandry Regimes

The age-at-death profile for sheep suggests a cull of lambs at six to twelve months. There are many bones of young and in particular of weaned individuals (six-eight months to three years). This is suggestive of meat production. However, some of the culled animals would already have supplied some wool, milk and manure. The emphasis of the husbandry regime would have been on meat and fleeces, rather than

milk and wool, because of the low age of death of the individuals (there is a paucity of adult deaths) (see Halstead 1983: 219-224).

Amongst the cattle bones there is a higher proportion of old animals. These may have served as traction animals, as well as used for dairy production and breeding stock.

2. Species Proportions

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog
9 (All periods)	43	99	13	4	11

Table 4.31: Species numbers (total fragments count: 170) from Maxey.

Although each phase cannot be discussed separately, mostly because of the small number of bones recovered from the site, the overall number of bones does give some interesting insight into the food procurement and the food consumed on site (see Table 4.31) (see Halstead 1983; 219-224). Sheep dominate the assemblage, with cattle being represented by half the number of bones as sheep. Pig is not well represented, there only being three more pig bones than dog bones.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Dog %
9	100	230	30	9	23

Table 4.32: Ratio of all species/cattle from Maxey

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Horse and dog are the only two species present which are not normally classed as 'food species'. Dog is of the two the most numerous but the smallness of the assemblage must be borne in mind.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The assemblage is essentially local, with a wide range of utilitarian forms in local coarse wares with very few imported wares. There is a small group of fine colour coated and Samian vessels present (see Gurney 1985: 121-151).

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
2/3	3	1	0

Table 4.33: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 4) from Maxey

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3/4/5	113	2	1

Table 4.34: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 116) from Maxey

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3/4	45	14	0

Table 4.35: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 59) from Maxey

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
4/5	93	61	0

Table 4.36: Fabric numbers (Total sherd count: 154) from Maxey

In total, there are 100 Samian sherds included in the assemblage (see Wild 1985: 123).

These span a wide date range but the greater proportion of the vessels were made during second and third quarters of second century AD and are associated with phase 8 and 9 of the settlement, i.e. are residual. Of the 100 sherds, 83 have been identified to form; 19 are of South Gaulish manufacture and 63 of Central Gaulish and one of East Gaulish manufacture.

The range of Samian forms present is limited although no specific details of the actual forms present was provided in the report. Only standard bowls, cups and dishes were recovered from the site, there are also no decorated bowls included in the assemblage.

There is no evidence of amphorae sherds suggesting imported food stuffs.

1.7.9. Food Preparation

1. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There are in total 10 or 11 different mortaria present: two/three from the nearby Lower Nene Valley industries (seven), two from Mancetter-Hartshill and one from the Verulamium region. They are dated to no earlier than AD 135 and no later than AD 350 (see Hartley 1953: 124).

1.7.10. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

In this transitional phase, late pre-Roman Iron Age to early Roman, the assemblage is very small. However, jars are still the most common form present on site.

Period	Jar	Platter
2/3	3	1

Table 4.37: Number of forms from Maxey

Period	Jar	Lid	Bowl	Dish	Platter	Beaker	Flagon	Cup
3	75	8	14	6	1	16	1	1

Table 4.38: Number of different forms present from Maxey

In period 3, the early Roman period, the assemblage is dominated by jars. Bowls and beakers are also present. However, forms, which are associated with serving, i.e. dishes and platters, are represented by fewer vessels. Flagons and cups are also uncommon. Calcite-gritted wares dominate the fabrics, Fabric 7, which is a local brownish-orange ware. Nene Valley Grey Ware is also present in some numbers. Samian however, is the only imported ware present on site and is only represented by one sherd.

Period	Jar	Bowl	Flagon	Dish	Beaker	Flask
3/4	25	20	1	6	5	1

Table 4.39: Number of forms from Maxey

In the early to mid-Roman period jars dominate the assemblage, closely followed by bowls. Dishes are represented by six vessels and beakers are also relatively common. In this period, Nene Valley grey ware is the dominant fabric on site. Nene Valley colour-coated wares are the second most common fabric on site.

Period	Jar	Bowl	Beaker	Lid	Colander	Flagon	Cheese press	Cup	Dish	Castor Box
4/5	74	32	12	3	1	4	1	2	4	1

Table 4.40: Number of forms from Maxey

In the mid-to late Roman period jars and bowls continue to dominate the assemblage. Beakers too remain common. The presence of beakers (and flagons) suggests that drinking too was an increasingly common activity in the mid-to later Roman period. It can be suggested that beer (or wine) may have been consumed. Although there are a larger variety of forms present, these other forms are sparsely represented; only flagons and dishes are represented by more than three vessels. The presence of a colander and a cheese press can be tied in with the age-at-death profiles discussed above, which suggested cattle husbandry regime focused upon dairying and the exploitation of secondary products in general. Sheep too can be used for dairying. The most common fabric represented is the Nene Valley colour-coated ware. These can be used as kitchen to table wares thus obviating the need for utilitarian grey wares and finer wares for the table. It is clear from the large number of jars present that these were a multi-purpose vessel which may have performed many different roles in food preparation, including storage, mixing, and cooking.

1.7.11. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The only vessels associated with serving that are present in any quantity are dishes. However, these vessels are also associated with eating. Platters are rare and not present in all phases.

1.7.12. Summary

This site was occupied in the Iron Age, with an animal bone assemblage dominated by sheep. The Iron Age pottery was typical for that area and consisted of both hand and wheel made pottery. The architectural context of the site is modest, with simple rectangular stone structures being constructed during the Roman period (the first in the early Roman period). This situation is made more complex by the apparent period of (relatively) greater wealth in the late third and early fourth centuries, although it must be stressed that the evidence of the architectural development of this site at this period rests upon the discovery of a single column fragment. Sheep dominate the animal bones assemblage throughout the Roman period, though cattle increase in importance over time. Pig is poorly represented. Sheep were culled when young, suggesting a focus upon meat production, whilst cattle seem to have been kept for secondary products. There is no evidence for fowl, or wild species from the site, though some shellfish were recovered. In terms of pottery, there are a limited number of imported fine wares on site, with local fine wares increasingly common in the later Roman period. The range of vessel forms appear to be conservative (jars dominate the small assemblage), but there is some evidence for the serving of food due to the presence of dishes. Drinking vessels are common (the second most common form after jars). Botanical Remains are limited, with spelt dominating. There is no evidence for imported food stuffs.

As has been suggested by the excavator, Maxey was a poor site that operated on a subsistence basis (Pryor 1985b: 310) and should therefore be placed at the lower end of the social scale. This is compatible with the foodways, showing only limited change over time that suggest a site that experienced limited external influence. However, we should note that in the late third century to early fourth there are limited signs of greater wealth upon the site, in the form of a column fragment and a gilded brooch (Pryor 1983 *et al.*: 244). *If* we accept that this limited evidence indicates a wealthier site, such wealth does not appear to impact upon the foodways practiced by the sites inhabitants.

1.8. Haddon Farmstead

Location: TL 1374 9390

Plan: Figure 4.8

Reference: French, C.A.I. 1994. *The Archaeology along the A605 Elton-Haddon Bypass, Cambridgeshire*. Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council.

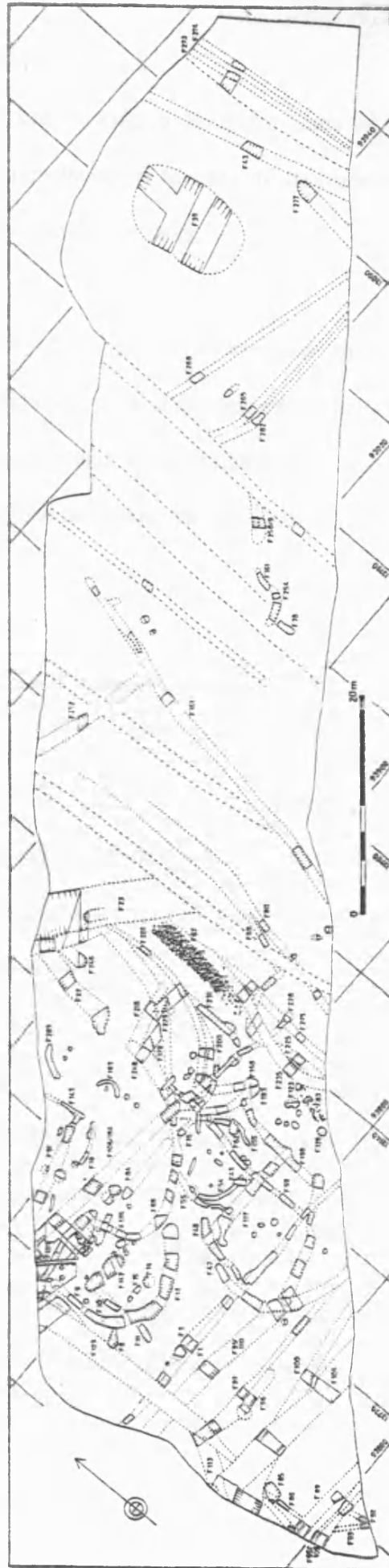


Figure 4.8: Haddon site plan. From French 1994: 30.

1.8.1. Introduction

The survey and excavation along the route of the A605 Elton-Haddon bypass was conducted immediately in advance of the commencement of road construction during the spring and summer of 1989.

Although very little of the archaeology along the route was previously known, significant discoveries of prehistoric settlement and field systems were discovered on the Elton Estates' land. At the Haddon end of the bypass route, about one-quarter of an extensive Roman farmstead was intensively examined.

1.8.2. Location

The Haddon site is located just west of the A1/A1139 roundabout.

1.8.3. Excavation

Fieldwalking survey of the whole area of the site had been previously completed, as well as a magnetometer survey. Less than one-fifth of the total area of the site was cleared and excavated.

1.8.4. Pottery

In total, 160,285 kg or 120.77 rim equivalents of Roman pottery was recovered from the excavation at Haddon Farmstead. The excavated area uncovered only a small amount of a site which fieldwalking and resistivity survey revealed to cover at least 1.5 ha. The excavation therefore assumed the nature of a 'linear keyhole' investigation. Although evidence existed for structures nearby, the main areas of occupation were not located within the stripped sector. These factors place severe limitations on the value of the material recorded.

There were two main phases of activity. First, until the end of the second century, the site was used as the immediate yard area for at least one or more farmsteads, the structural evidence for which is thought to lie immediately adjacent to the southern edge of the excavation. As a yard area it is probable that open features were used to deposit primary and secondary refuse so the pottery could be a reasonably accurate reflection of contemporary ceramic consumption patterns (Rollo 1994: 89). At the end of this phase, there is a strong possibility that the nature of the occupation of the site changed or that domestic activity ceased altogether, as a large amount of pottery was disposed of in one go (Rollo 1994: 89). There is little indication of contamination of these assemblages by later material.

After the second century, the site gradually evolved a new layout. The area that was of excavated was incorporated into a system of drove ways and fields. The pottery in these later phases is thus not perhaps as representative of the settlement as is the case with earlier phases.

1.8.5. Animal Bones

Some 6,000 fragments of animal bone were recovered (Collins 1994: 142). Some 1388 bones were identified.

1.8.6. Plant Remains

Sampling of the Romano-British contexts for archaeobotanical remains was undertaken where features were datable. One aim of this was to use material gathered from the system of field boundary ditches and pits spanning the period of occupation to examine agriculture of the Roman period (Scaife 1994: 154).

Apart from *Pisum sativum* (pea), the only food crops recovered were cereals. These included *Triticum spelta* (spelt), *Triticum dicoccum* (emmer), *Triticum aestivum* type (hexaploid bread wheat), *Avena* (rye) and *Hordeum vulgare* (barley).

1.8.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

In the early Roman period over 50% of cattle were culled before they were 18 months old (see Collins 1994: 142-153). There are some neonatal deaths which are probably underrepresented but these are not high enough to indicate a predominantly milk producing economy. It is more likely that these animals were killed for young meat with a small proportion of the herd being kept for breeding and possibly traction.

In the later Roman period, over half of the animals survived into adulthood, with 30% still alive as old adults. This suggests an emphasis on traction, although meat, milk and hides would also have been products that may have been exploited.

The mortality pattern for sheep is similar for both periods. The figures suggest a predominantly meat producing strategy with half of the animals being culled by their second year, although the proportion killed in their third year is not as high in the later phases as it was in the earlier ones (see Collins 1994: 142-153). By this stage, animals would have reached optimum meat weight and those kept alive thereafter are likely to have been used for breeding stock, producing wool, manure and mutton.

2. Species Proportions

Sheep dominate the assemblage in both the early and late periods. Pig is the third most common species after sheep and cattle, but in the mid-Roman period its importance diminishes (see Collins 1994: 142-153).

3. Exploitation of Other Species

There is a variety of other species apart from the three main domesticates present within the assemblage. Horse is more important in the later phases than pig. Dog was of minimal importance and may have been kept for hunting, guarding and herding sheep. Three dog bones have butchery marks on them; the excavator suggests that these are the result of skinning rather than preparing the carcass for consumption (see Collins 1994: 142-153).

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The total assemblage contained 160,285 kg of ceramics or 120.77 rim equivalents. There are two main phases of activity: the first is up to the end of Phase 2. During this period the site was used as a yard for at least one or more native farmsteads. At the end of Phase 2 there is a strong suggestion that the nature of domestic activity changed or may have ceased altogether. The pottery from this period includes a suite of vessels, which must have been contemporary in use (see Rollo 1994: 89-131).

The Samian ware present consisted of 79 sherds from approximately 61 vessels, 32 of which were South Gaulish, and 29 were produced in Central Gaul. The earliest sherds date to the pre-Flavian period, the latest to the second half of the second century. The assemblage included five decorated sherds probably from four bowls and one sherd with a legible potter's stamp (see Rollo 1994: 129-131).

1.8.8. Food Preparation

1. Botanical Remains

The first-century assemblage contained two samples from pit F104. There were only a few weed seeds and no cereal chaff. The cereals, which were represented included: spelt, bread wheat, indeterminate wheat and oats (Scaife 1994: 158-165). Due to the

lack of chaff, the samples probably represented food debris rather than crop-processing activities.

A sample from F22, dated to the late first to later second century, was analysed. This sample contained a substantial number of cereal caryopses (320), chaff debris including wheat glume bases and spikelet forks, barley rachis and cereal stems, culm nodes and awns. Pea was the only non-cereal cultivated plant present in the sample. It also contained a diverse weed assemblage (Scaife 1994: 158-165).

The crop (non-cereal) plants present on site are limited, apart from pea found in the first century and late first- and second-century contexts, the only food crops recovered were cereals. The cereals recovered were spelt, emmer, hexaploid bread wheat, rye, and barley (including six-row barley). Spelt is the most abundant species with bread wheat and emmer present in lesser quantities (Scaife 1994: 158-165). Experimental archaeology has suggested that spelt makes very good bread but rather poor porridge (Hillman 1981).

1.8.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Although a detailed quantification was not included in the pottery report, it is nevertheless clear from the evidence provided in the report that the suite of vessels used was conservative. The most common vessel form was the jar, a multi-functional and therefore highly useful vessel. Bowls and dishes were also present as were beakers.

1.8.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The only fine ware (the fabric which can be associated with serving) fabric is Samian. This is present in relatively small quantities (79 sherds in total). The vessels all belong to the early Roman period and there is no evidence for the later importation of this fabric. The vessels represented in the Samian assemblage are mostly bowls and dishes, which may have been used in both serving and consumption.

1.8.11. Other Information

1. Context of Deposition

Some pits, particularly F9, contained largely unbroken ceramic vessels and very few animal bones including two cattle skulls. This could be indicative of a 'special' deposit as have been discussed for the Iron Age by Grant (1989) and Hill (1995b).

1.8.12. Summary

There is little indication that the site at Haddon was occupied in the Iron Age. However, the excavations and the field walking survey here revealed an extensive Romano-British farmstead. A significant change over time can be noted in the use of the site; in the early Roman period the area excavated formed the yard to at least one or more farmsteads, whereas in the mid-to later Roman period the site was incorporated into a system of drove ways and fields. The later assemblages are therefore less representative of the settlement than the earlier ones, making it hard to draw conclusions about foodways following this re-organisation. The animal bones assemblage was dominated by sheep, though with cattle increasing throughout the Roman period. There appears to have been a general focus upon meat production on this site, with animals generally being culled young. There was no evidence for wild species, fowl, or shellfish. The pottery assemblage was principally made up of coarse ware, with some Samian imports, but

drinking vessels were present. The botanical remains contained barley, bread wheat, emmer, pea, rye and spelt. There were no imported food stuffs.

From the limited evidence available, it can be suggested that the inhabitants, despite their proximity to Ermine Street and Longthorpe (see Figure 1.1) lived a simple lifestyle, little influenced by exotic imports. It would broadly appear that the inhabitants choose (or were forced into through poverty) a conservative lifestyle with little of the trappings of Roman-style material culture.

1.9. Orton Hall Farm, Cambridgeshire

Location: TL 1765 9555

Plan: Figure 4.9

Reference: Mackreth, D. 1996b. *Orton Hall Farm: A Roman and Anglo-Saxon Farmstead*. East Anglian Archaeology 76.

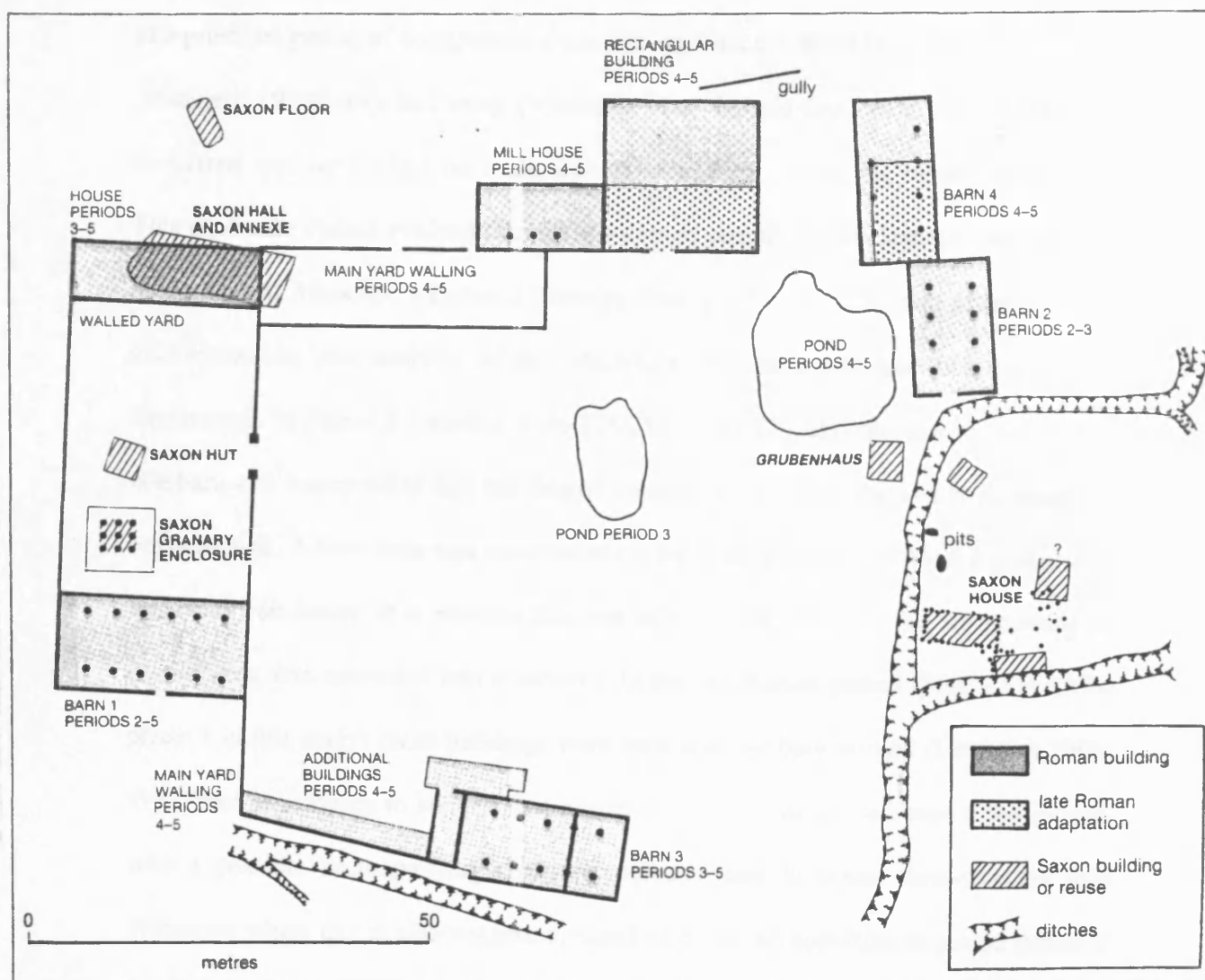


Figure 4.9: Orton Hall Farm site plan. From Jones and Mattingly 1990: 249.

1.9.1. Introduction

The principal period of occupation of the site ran from the first to the sixth century AD (Mackreth 1996b: xv). In Period 1 (running from the mid-first century to c. 175), the excavated area lay beyond the main area of occupation, containing mostly enclosures. This enclosure system evolved through the second century. In the later second century, at the start of Mackreth's Period 2 (running from c.175 – 225/250, and phase 3 in the site discussion and analysis of this study), a new enclosure and two barns was constructed. In Period 3 (running from 225/250 – 300/325, and phase 4 in this study), one barn was incorporated into the side of a small yard and a house was built along the opposite side. A third barn was constructed on the south side of the Period 2 (phase 3 in this study) enclosure. It is possible that one of the barns, indicated by the presence of corn-dryers, was converted into a brewery. In the late Roman period (300/325 – c.375, phase 5 in this study) more buildings were built and one barn moved (Mackreth 1996: xv). There is evidence to suggest that one of the new buildings had been a mill-house, with a possible accompanying structure, perhaps used to house farm-workers (see Winterton where this is also suggested, Stead date). In the post-Roman period (phase 6 in this study) Anglo-Saxon occupation spread across the whole site. The site was abandoned sometime in the early sixth century.

1.9.2. Location

The site was located in the parish of Orton Longueville, and lies immediately west of the junction of the Soke Parkway with the Fletton Parkway. The site was excavated in advance of these road works (Mackreth 1996b: xi).

1.9.3. Excavation

Excavation began in 1971 when the construction of the Soke Parkway was commenced. The area uncovered was 14 725 m² in extent, excluding any trial trenching. (Mackreth 1996: xi)

1.9.4. Pottery

Features assigned to the five main dating phases during the excavation contained over 32,000 sherds of pottery weighing almost 560 kg (Perrin 1996: 114). This provided a combined rim length amounting to the equivalent of some 426 vessels, although a possible 3,777 different vessels were noted as the pottery was catalogued. An extra 12,000 sherds weighing more than 183 kg belong to undatable contexts, or were surface clearances (Perrin 1996: 114), and were thus excluded from the analysis.

1.9.5. Animal Bones

The bones discovered in the site were in a good state of preservation, as well as being numerous (King 1996: 216). There were 12,153 identifiable fragments of animal bone from both domestic and wild mammals.

Analysis of the bones for the published report was detailed: bones from individual layers were sorted and modern breaks united. Fragments that could be identified were sorted by species, anatomical position determined, and measurements of mature bones made. Age-at-death was also assessed (King 1996: 216).

The common domestic animals predominated: cattle, sheep, pig, horse, dog and cat were all present. A limited number of wild species were also identified: hare, deer and rodent.

1.9.6. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

An actual age-at-death profile was not provided in the report but merely a summary of the findings. Cattle, it is suggested, were kept for milk, beef, hide and horn with some younger animals culled before eighteen months for meat. No newborn animals appeared in the assemblage until period 2. Cattle seem to have been kept until they were between eighteen months and four years of age when about one third of individuals were culled (King 1996: 216). This suggests a strategy where the maximum utility was gained from the livestock present on site. The meat available would have come from sub-adult animals. The majority of cattle however, were culled when mature, i.e. over four years of age, no doubt having been used for milk production, traction and breeding purposes.

There was a change in the kill-off pattern of sheep over the lifetime of the site: during periods 1, 3 and 5 the sheep were kept for breeding and wool production, thus meat production was not the primary focus of the husbandry regime; during periods 2 and 4 a higher proportion of young sheep were being culled and consumed on site suggesting a shift from a secondary products based regime to a meat producing one (King 1996: 216). Pigs were culled before maturity, as is commonly the case.

2. Species Proportions

Cattle are numerically the largest group except during period 3 when sheep dominate the assemblage.

Sheep were the second best represented species, although their numbers fluctuate throughout the Roman period (King 1996: 216).

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog	Birdd	Birdw
3	290	295	23	14	14	10	4
4	432	197	16	9	2	9	1
5	495	228	22	21	Best 6	13	1
6	597	285	34	41	8	17	2

Table 4.41: Species numbers (Total fragment count: 3,086) from Orton Hall Farm

Pig is the third most common species in some periods but in the late Roman period horse becomes the third most common species (King 1996: 216). It needs to be borne in mind however, that the number of bones belonging to pig are very small in comparison to sheep and cattle.

Relative increases and decreases during the Roman period are highlighted by ratio calculations in table 4.42.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Dog %	Birdd %	Birdw %
3	100	101	7	4	4	3	1
4	100	45	3	2	0	2	0
5	100	46	4	4	1	2	0
6	100	47	5	6	1	2	0

Table 4.42: Ratio of cattle/sheep, pig, horse, dog, domestic bird, wild bird from Orton Hall Farm

This table illustrates very clearly the decline in the mid-Roman period of sheep in favour of cattle. Sheep numbers remain fairly stable throughout the rest of the Roman period. Pig (at 7%) also decline after the mid-Roman period, and, as with sheep, remain fairly stable for the rest of the Roman period (at 3-5%).

3. Exploitation of Other Species

There are a limited number of species present in the animal bone assemblages, these are mostly made up of the three main domesticates, discussed above, i.e. cattle, sheep and pig. The other species include horse, dog, domestic birds and wild birds (see table 4.43).

Period	Domesticates %	Bird %
3	100	2
4	100	2
5	100	2
6	100	2

Table 4.43: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/domestic and wild birds from Orton Hall Farm

This table illustrates that birds, both domestic and wild, make a relatively small contribution to the assemblage throughout the Roman period (Harman 1996: 218).

Period	Domesticates %	Horse+dog %
3	100	5
4	100	2
5	100	4
6	100	5

Table 4.44: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from Orton Hall Farm

Horse and dog together are the most common non-livestock species present on site and as mentioned above in the late Roman period, horse bones are actually more numerous than pig bones (King 1996: 216).

The meat component of the food would however, have been dominated by beef for most of the time with much less lamb or pork consumed.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW%	IFW%	LFW%
3	85	5	11
4	65	3	32
5	65	0	35

Table 4.45: Fabric proportions (percentage of sherd count) from Orton Hall Farm

The pottery assemblage was made up of mostly coarse ware with local fine wares making an increasing contribution over time. There is some imported fine ware present in the form of Samian ware. Nevertheless, the assemblage remains dominated throughout all periods by coarse wares. From the mid-Roman period onwards the locally produced fine wares, in the form of colour-coated wares from the Lower Nene Valley industries, become more important (Perrin 1996: 114). They replaced some of the utilitarian wares; they could be used both in the kitchen and on table.

When the assemblage is looked at in relative terms we can see the increases and decreases more clearly.

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	100	14	6
4	100	49	5
5	100	54	0

Table 4.46: Ratio of coarse wares/local fine wares and imported fine wares from Orton Hall Farm

This illustrates the steady increase of the locally produced fine wares whereas the imported fine wares remain fairly stable throughout the Roman period until they eventually disappear in the late Roman period (Perrin 1996: 114).

The decline in particular of the local grey ware mirrors the rise of the local Nene Valley industry pottery.

1.9.7. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

The report indicates that signs of butchery were present on 30 % of the bones within the assemblage. Most of the long bones of cattle had been chopped through, possibly to cut them down to size or for marrow extraction. The femur and humerus were broken roughly across the shaft. The tibia and radius were chopped near the proximal end. A few bones were left whole; these were mostly metapodials (King 1996: 216). One scapula had a hole through the neck and many others had cuts around the articular joints. Scapulae with holes have been interpreted as evidence for smoking or curing (see Dobney *et al.* 1996). Most of the ribs were cut in half which is the butchery practice today for making rib and brisket joints (Michael Wood, a local butcher, pers.comm.). These cuts of meat would have been most suitable for slow cooking especially in casseroles and stews.

Sheep showed marks from having been decapitated by chopping across the axis vertebrae and some skulls were cut in half to remove the brain. Many thoracic vertebrae were cut in half and the ribs were cut across as in present-day butchery practice for rib-joints (Michael Wood pers.comm.).

There were not enough pig bones present to warrant a detailed analysis of the butchery techniques practised. Many of the bones did show evidence of gnawing which may suggest that the dogs present on site scavenged them. It also tells us something of the disposal of refuse on site. These bones must have put somewhere where dogs could

have scavenged them and thus suggests that these bones were not immediately buried or disposed of.

2. Skeletal Element Representation

Most parts of all the domestic animals were represented which suggests that the animals were raised, butchered and consumed on site (King 1996: 216).

3. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Imported Food stuffs

There are some mortaria sherds present in the assemblage (Perrin and Hartley 1996: 191).

Period	Mort N
3	67
4	36
5	92

Table 4.47: Number of sherds belonging to mortaria from Orton Hall Farm (N: 195)

It is clear from this that mortaria are present in the early Roman period, but decline in the mid-Roman period, and increase again in the late Roman period.

There is no evidence for the presence of imported flavourings either in the form of amphorae sherds or botanical remains.

1.9.8. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The published report has provided us with a detailed breakdown of the proportions of different forms present on site (Perrin 1996: 181).

Period	Jar	Bowl	Dish	Bowl/dish	Beaker	Mort	Sam	Tot
3	874	160	248	431	102	67	167	1600
4	286	83	106	195	31	36	22	589
5	859	236	257	497	40	92	57	1588

Table 4.49: Forms present (whole pots) at Orton Hall Farm

Here we can see that jars dominate the assemblage throughout all periods. The next most common forms are the bowls and dishes. The remaining vessels forms, beakers and mortaria are less well represented.

The following table illustrates the relative proportion of the vessels over time.

Period	Jar %	Bowl %	Dish %	Bowl/dish%	Beak %	Mort%	Sam %
3	100	18	28	49	12	8	19
4	100	29	37	68	11	13	8
5	100	27	30	58	5	11	7

Table 4.50: Ratio of jars/bowl, dish, bowl/dish, beaker, mortaria and Samian from Orton Hall Farm

This table shows the increasing importance of bowls, dishes and bowl/dishes, these are vessels which straddle the bowl and dish criteria. This probably indicates that they are rather wider and deeper than ordinary bowls or dishes. Beakers also become more important and reach their peak in the mid-Roman period. Mortaria however, show a sharp increase in the mid-Roman period but remain at a stable level for the rest of the Roman period. Samian on the other hand declines sharply after the early Roman period but then remains stable into the late Roman period (Perrin 1996:181).

The forms likely to be involved in the cooking process are jars. Thus kitchen wares dominate the assemblage throughout the Roman period, and their importance remains unrivalled into the late Roman period; this is probably due to their versatility and

general usefulness, although, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, it might be argued that the heavier, and perhaps more regular use to which such wares would be subjected would have led to a higher rate of breakage, and a consequent over representation in the assemblage.

1.9.9. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The forms associated with serving are dishes, platters, flagons and bowls. In the assemblage from Orton Hall Farm the only serving vessels present are dishes and bowls (Perrin 1996: 181). Bowls can be used for eating from, as well as in the food preparation process.

Period	Jar %	Serving vessels %
3	100	96
4	100	134
5	100	115

Table 4.51: Ratio of jar/serving vessels (bowl, dish and bowl/dish) from Orton Hall Farm

This table clearly illustrates that serving vessels become increasingly important over time. They in fact take over in terms of relative numbers from jars. This may indicate that the serving of food may also have become a more important part of the food process. It should be noted that most of the serving vessels are made out of locally produced colour-coated wares rather than imported fine wares. The range of serving vessel is also limited and may suggest an attempt at more formal dining without the inhabitants achieving the finer points.

A number of beakers are also present. These were mostly made in the nearby Nene Valley kilns. There are also some cups present and these were mostly Samian ware. The beakers are plain and there are only a few highly decorated ones present. There are no serving jugs or flagons present in the assemblage. The botanical evidence would suggest that beer was brewed on site, this combined with the lack of amphorae sherds would suggest that beer was the favoured drink of the inhabitants of the site.

1.9.10. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

The cattle were small and similar in size to other cattle which have been found in the Nene Valley (Mackreth 1996a). They were similar in size to those cattle from Monument 97 (Mackreth 1996a), but were slightly larger than the majority at Longthorpe. Withers heights were not actually included in the published report.

The sheep were small slender-horned animals showing little variation in size during the Roman period. They ranged in withers height between 0.52m-0.58m.

Dogs varied a great deal in size. There was one complete skeleton of a very small house dog recovered, the withers height being only 0.27 m. Other dogs are from the medium and larger range of Roman dogs (see von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970). The larger dogs measured an average of 0.60 m whereas the medium dogs measured 0.51 m.

1.9.11. Summary

There is no evidence for Iron Age occupation on this site, although the site is located within a pre-existing farming landscape. Orton Hall Farm, founded in the first century, is a farmstead which increases in size (and importance) during the Roman period. It initially starts life as a small farm building with a yard and a barn, becoming in the mid-

Roman period a developed farmstead with three barns, a yard, a possible mill structure and associated farm workers housing nearby. Looking at the faunal remains we see that cattle are the most commonly represented in all periods followed by sheep, indicating that the meat component of the sites foodways would have been dominated by beef products. Pig, on the other hand, is consistently poorly represented. There was no evidence for wild species or shellfish, but domestic fowl was present. The pottery assemblage was varied, with imported Samian in the early period, and a later sharp increase in local finewares. When local finewares become more common we see an increase in importance in serving and drinking vessels. Botanical remains are dominated by barley and spelt. There is no evidence for imported food stuffs.

It can be suggested that Orton Hall Farm is typical of a prosperous working farm, with dining becoming increasingly important. The food served may have become more elaborate (requiring preparation using mortaria) but the taste of it was not enhanced by imported food stuffs. There is little change over time in terms of the meat consumed, and that pig, often considered to be a sign of a Romanised diet (King 1978), did not increase in significance as dining became more elaborate. Drinking too was becoming more popular with the presence of beakers, although beer would have been the favoured drink rather than wine. Beer would have been locally produced (there is evidence on site for corn driers) and would fit in well with the locally produced fine ware present. In essence, the inhabitants of Orton Hall Farm during the mid-to later Roman period liked the idea of drinking and dining but did so on their own terms, consuming the foods they enjoyed. This might be interpreted as an example of creolization (see Hawkes 1999).

1.10. Stonea Grange

Location: TL 4490 9370

Plan: Figure 4.10

Reference: Jackson, R.P.J. and Potter, T.W. 1996. *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980-85*. British Museum Press.

1.10.1. Introduction

The sites excavated at Stonea and its surrounding area were first revealed through aerial photographs in the 1930s, however, less attention was paid to the Romano-British landscape. The excavations at Stonea Grange were the first (and so far only) large scale excavations of a Roman period site in the Central Fenland and therefore is of great importance in shaping our understanding of this area in the Roman period.

1.10.2. Location

The main site was situated in a large field to the south of Stonea Grange Farm (Jackson 1997: 61). The site was located on the Central Fenland gravel island of March and was located close to the main Roman road which crosses the Fens, the Fen Causeway.

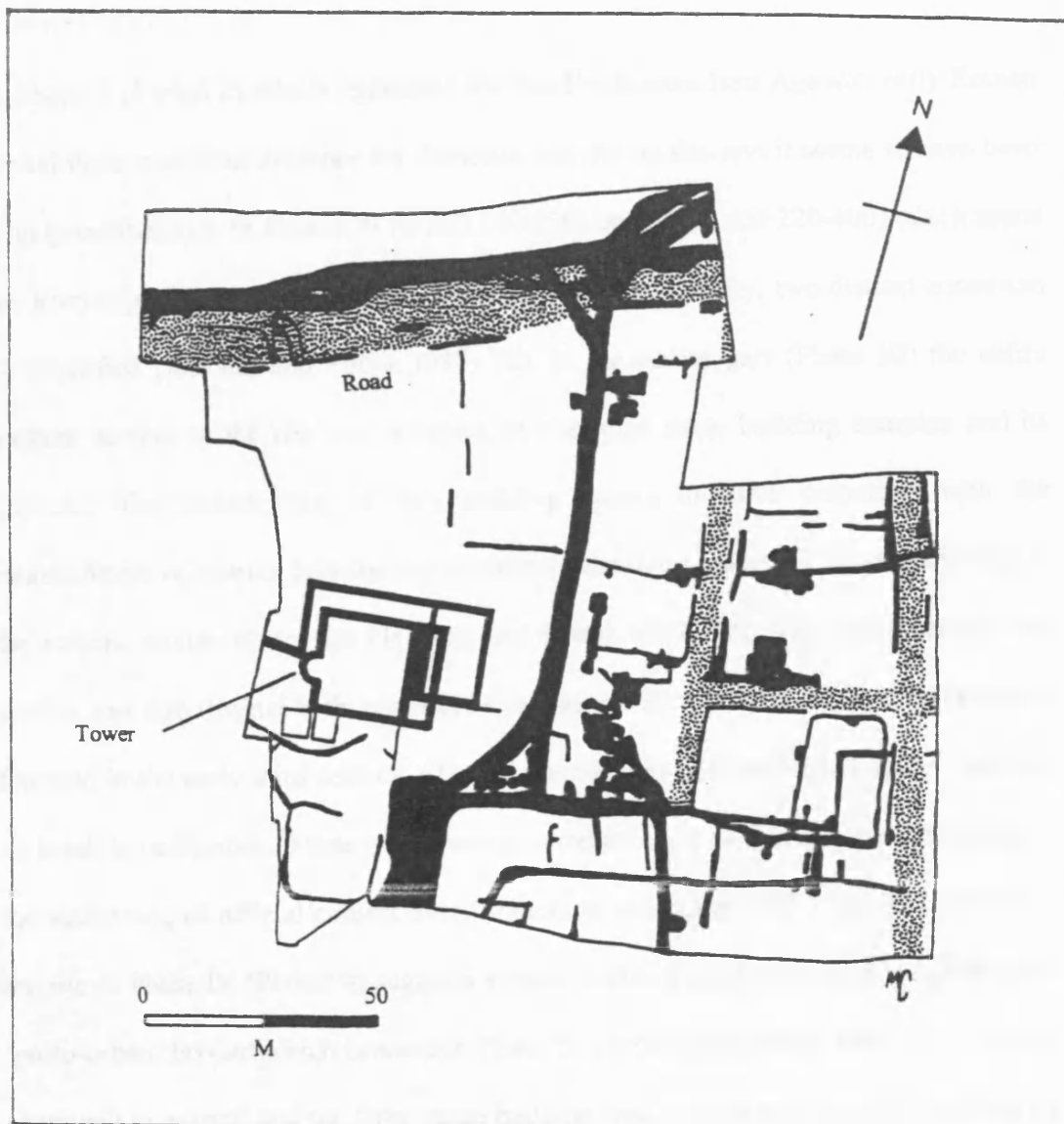


Figure 4.10: Stonea Grange site plan. After Jackson and Potter 1997: 63.

1.10.3. Excavation

The site revealed extensive evidence for Roman occupation and was excavated over five years. There was limited evidence of prehistoric settlement.

In Phase II (Period 2) which represents the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman period there was little evidence for domestic activity on site and it seems to have been largely uninhabited. In Phases III (c. AD 140-220) and IV (c. AD 220-400) which spans the Roman period of occupation and the main period of activity, two distinct zones can be identified (Jackson and Potter 1997: 72). In the earlier part (Phase III) the entire western section of the site was occupied by the large stone building complex and its grounds. The construction of this building seems to have coincided with the establishment of a street grid and the construction and occupation of timber buildings in the eastern sector of the site (Jackson and Potter 1997: 72). The nature of the two sectors was also distinct both in character and longevity: the official complex ceased to function in the early third century AD whereas the domestic settlement to the East saw no break in occupation. There was however, a reduction in its size and the indications of the slackening of official control over it (Jackson and Potter 1997: 72). The lay-out of the site in Phase IV (Period 4) suggests a more scattered rural settlement rather than the 'proto-urban' lay-out which is noted in Phase III (Jackson and Potter 1997: 72). The site continued to expand and the large stone building was levelled and possibly replaced by an even larger building. The plough damage, however, has limited the information available for the Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition, but there is no evidence to suggest a break in occupation.

An important feature which was excavated on site was the sump. The feature was identified in 1982 and was located at the south end of the site. It was sub-rectangular in shape (Jackson and Potter 1997: 87). This feature contained many waterlogged remains

and has been significant in throwing light upon the nature of the site. It contained plant remains but also possible writing tablets (which have as yet not been deciphered).

The excavations of wells and pits suggests that the disposal of rubbish in Phase III was organized with some care (Jackson and Potter 1997: 94). The impression gained is that pits were not haphazardly placed as they tended to occupy particular areas of the site. Pits were found in linear clusters along the boundaries of blocks and buildings, pits were also dug in vacant plots (blocks 5 and 5a) as well as between buildings in blocks 2-4 and 8-9.

1.10.4. Pottery

The published report, though very comprehensive, is a selection of the pottery recovered from the site. The pottery (other than Samian, amphorae and mortaria) were quantified by weight. It is notable that the products of the Nene Valley industries are very well represented at Stonea Grange (Johns 1997: 440).

1.10.5. Animal Remains

Most of the animal bones were recovered by hand during the excavation. In addition to this some more fragments were recovered through wet sieving. The assemblage was large and was divided into two sections: the detailed sample (8,580 fragments) was recorded individually for archaeological (preservation, fragmentation and butchery) and zoological (tooth wear and eruption, epiphyseal fusion, and metrical data) traits; the selective sample (10,096 fragments) recorded only the zoological data (1,438 fragments) (Stallibrass 1997: 587).

The largest part of the assemblage is derived from contexts belonging to Phases III and IV (second/third century AD and third/fourth century AD) (Stallibrass 1997: 588). In

the analysis presented below both samples were amalgamated as was the case in the published report.

1.10.6. Molluscs

83 samples contained molluscan material and these formed the basis for the published report (French 1996: 639). The samples were derived from 55 contexts (out of a total of 422 contexts) and contained approximately 35,600 molluscs. A small number of oysters and mussels were present and brought to the site for food. The largest part of the assemblage is taken up with freshwater and brackish water snails rather than with species which would have been consumed.

1.10.7. Plant Remains

The site was well-sampled from 1981 onwards and therefore there is much information for the presence of plant remains, small animals and molluscs (van der Veen 1997: 617). The assemblage of plant remains consisted of carbonised grains as well as waterlogged material from the sump. A total of 2,654 seeds were recovered from Phase III and the assemblage was dominated by plants of wet ground. The cereals remains from this period were dominated by spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*) with some emmer wheat (*Triticum Dicoccum*) present as well (van der Veen 1997: 620). The plant assemblage for Phase IV is very similar to that of Phase III. Other food plants present are flax, peas and lentils and a large number of legume fragments; these also occur in Phase III (van der Veen 1997: 622).

Although the sump did contain a large quantity of organic material not all of them had been preserved in an anaerobic condition and therefore had deteriorated badly. There were only a few samples for each phase and none for Phase I/II. The results are comparable to those of the carbonised remains discussed above.

1.10.8. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The sheep assemblage suggests that only 40 % of the death assemblage is older than two years. There are several peaks of death: neonatal, during the first summer and autumn, during the second spring, summer and winter. The data suggest that the assemblage is dominated by young animals (Stallibrass 1997). From this pattern it can be concluded that there was a mixed husbandry regime, with the capacity to produce meat, wool and milk.

Cattle were generally kept into old age and were therefore most probably exploited for traction, breeding and milk (Stallibrass 1997). It seems likely that whatever the main focus of the husbandry regime, meat was the end product but was only exploited after the animals were no longer useful for other purposes.

All the pig bones recovered belonged to very young animals, some of which were foetal or neonatal. On the site there is a general lack of old breeding sows. This may be because pigs were not actually kept on the site and piglets were brought in. On the other hand it might suggest that the inhabitants had a taste for young piglets and that the older breeding sows were sold at a certain age and were therefore not present on site or disposed in an area not excavated.

2. Species Proportions

Most of the animal bones present on site belong to the three main domestic species: sheep, cattle and pig. Other species were also present including horse, dog, hare, deer, cat, domestic fowl (chicken), wild and domestic geese, ducks and various species of wild birds.

Sheep bones predominate in period 3, and are found in equal numbers to cattle in period 4 in the total fragment count.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %
3	40	48	12
4	45	44	12

Table 4.52: Species proportions (in percentage) of the three main domesticates from Stonea Grange

Sheep proportions decline over time but in the mid-to late Roman period cattle and sheep are equally represented. Pig proportions remain stable throughout the Roman period. Ratio calculations clarify the changing relationships of the three domesticates (see table 4.52).

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %
3	100	120	30
4	100	98	27

Table 4.53: Ratio of cattle/sheep and pig from Stonea Grange

Ratios of sheep and pigs relative to cattle reiterate the decline of sheep relative to cattle in the third to fourth century and show a slight drop in the proportion of pigs relative to cattle in period 4.

Cattle, as is to be expected, contributes most to the meat available on the site. Thus at Stonea Grange in period 4, although sheep are the most commonly represented species in the total fragment count, they did not contribute a lot of meat in comparison to cattle. The meat diet at Stonea Grange would have been dominated by beef, as would have been the case on many other Roman-period sites.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Other species were present on the site apart from the three main domestic species. At Stonea Grange horse bones are present all over the site but not as articulated skeletons. Three horse bones bear butchery marks: two are located on scapulae, which may be associated with filleting, and the other is located on the proximal metatarsal, which may have occurred during the dismembering or skinning process. This may indicate that horse was still consumed very occasionally even in the Roman period.

Dog bones have been recovered from general rubbish deposits as well as partial and complete skeletons. All ages are represented; both animals which may have died of old age as well as young puppies. There are no butchery marks recorded on the dog bones.

Bird bones in the form of both domestic and wild species are also present. Although domestic fowl such as chicken and geese may have played a part in the nutritional element of food, the wild species, often marshland birds that could have been caught nearby, could have offered very little in the form of food. The bird skeletons, most of which are complete, have been recovered from the sump together with other objects which have been associated with ritual, such as bronze statuettes of Minerva and complete Samian bowls.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
9	86	13	2
3	95	3	
4	86	10	0

Table 4.54: Fabric proportions (%) from Stonea Grange

The assemblage is dominated by coarse wares which were mostly produced in the Lower Nene Valley industries. Stonea Grange has traditionally been considered as a

market for Nene Valley wares, possibly supplying the central fens. There is a general scarcity of amphorae and other imported wares, except Samian, in the Fens.

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	100	3	0
4	100	12	0

Table 4.55: Ratio of coarse ware/ local fine ware and imported fine ware from Stonea Grange

Fabric numbers expressed as a ratio of coarse ware show a significant increase over time in locally produced fine ware. The coarse wares are mostly from the Lower Nene Valley industries in the form of colour coated wares. Imported fine wares contribute an insignificant amount to the total assemblage.

1.10.9. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

The butchery marks were not recorded or published in detail. However, two types of butchery were recorded, i.e. fragments of bone chopped through and cut marks on the surface. Sheep bones in general had very few butchery marks on them whereas cattle had more butchery marks present. The carcass would need more subdivision in order to get suitably sized joints for cooking, and more filleting marks would also be present. Pig displayed the same butchery pattern as cattle which again may be related to its larger size. Three horse bones bore butchery marks as has been discussed above.

2. Skeletal Element Representation

In the early Roman period, sheep mandibles were the most commonly represented element, closely followed by the proximal metapodial and distal tibia. Not many of the main meat-bearing elements were present: and it has been suggested that the sheep may

have been butchered on site, hence the predominance of heads and metapodials, and the meat consumed off site, possibly at the nearby small town of Durobrivae (Stallibrass 1997).

This kind of evidence is of course open to other interpretations. The limitations of this particular interpretation are that of transportation and keeping the meat fresh. If meat were sold on other sites, then it would seem much more likely that the animals were taken there rather than the meat. The place of consumption also needs to be considered. It may be that the meatier parts of the carcass were consumed by the richer inhabitants of the site, and therefore the skeletal parts may be distributed in other areas of the site. There may also be different areas associated with butchery and where the meat/food was actually consumed. An alternative interpretation is that the meat may have been salted and then transported to other sites. The salting of meat was one of the few ways in which meat could be preserved for any length of time (Alcock 2001: 38). There is extensive evidence to suggest salt production in the Fenland and therefore there would have been no lack of salt or brine available for the salting process. However, as has been suggested by Dobney (2001) there are usually tell-tale signs present on the bones which would suggest salting and these have not been recorded in the site report.

Cattle show a similar pattern in this phase, mandible is also the most commonly represented element, together with the proximal radius, proximal metapodial, distal femur and distal tibia. The missing parts are again the main meat-bearing elements. Again the writer of the report suggests that these were consumed off-site. However, again the issues raised above need to be borne in mind.

Pig mandibles are the most commonly represented element. There are some missing parts but the main meat-bearing joints are well represented. Stallibrass (1997) puts

forward the interpretation of consumption on site, as there are fewer missing parts in contrast to sheep and cattle.

In the mid Roman period, a different picture emerges, which was not noted by the Stallibrass (1997). In this later phase there are fewer missing elements and the meatier joints are present in almost equal numbers as the less meaty joints. Although mandibles and proximal metapodials are still the most commonly represented element for sheep, there are no ‘missing parts’. This issue will be further discussed in the interpretation section.

3. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Imported Food stuffs

The assemblage present on site represent a second-century supply, which stops at the end of the century, to coincide with the ending of the administrative function of the site in the Hadrianic period. Stonea however, continued to be occupied until the fourth century, but there are no further signs of imports of amphorae. The most common types present are Dressel 20, which habitually contain olive oil from the southern Spain and Gauloise 4 which contain wine from the Languedoc region in France. However, the quantities are very small considering the assemblage spans 100 years.

	Weight	EVE
Dressel20	0.077	94
Gauloise 4	0.008	204

Table 4.56: Amphorae in weight (kg) and EVE from Stonea Grange

The use of imported food stuffs and its impact on foodways may therefore have been limited. However, their presence should not be ignored, especially as they are not present on neighbouring sites. Their presence and consumption will be discussed in more detail in the discussion section.

Mortaria are not present until the third/fourth century and then in small quantities (2 %); they may have played only a small role in food preparation.

1.10.10. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Although no detailed breakdown of forms was recorded, a rough estimate can be suggested by analysing the catalogue. The assemblage was made up mostly of bowls, storage jars and cooking pots. The average size of cooking pots was calculated by measuring the diameter of the illustrated types in the report. Eighteen centimetres was the average size for both storage jars and cooking pots, which is relatively large.

Most of the fabrics were locally produced in the Nene Valley kilns, with imported wares making a limited appearance and contribution. Most of the Samian forms present were also bowls, which will be considered below.

1.10.11. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Although size was not specifically recorded and no breakdown was given of the percentages of the different types of forms represented, an approximation was established by measuring the rim diameters as presented in the published drawings of well-known Samian and Nene Valley fabrics.

The most common form of Samian represented in the assemblage was the Dragendorf 37, a largish decorated bowl with a rim diameter of 23 cm. The second most common form of Samian was the Dragendorf 30, a slightly smaller bowl with a rim diameter of 18 cm.

Overall the average size of bowls from all the different Nene Valley type fabrics represented was 19 cm, thus largish bowls. Dishes were also present and their average size was 21 cm, these may represent serving platters or they may have been used to eat out of, as most that are represented are deep. The jars were all fairly large, in particular the shell gritted wares which appeared in the third/ fourth century; their average size was 20 cm. The cooking pots represented were of an average size of 18 cm which again is fairly large.

1.10.12. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

Measurements of a variety of bones were taken and recorded in the report; however, of interest to this study are the withers heights of the main domestic species. On the whole there are no large-scale increases in size for any of the three main domestic species, although no withers heights could be calculated for pig, as all the bones were from immature animals. Cattle in period 3 (second/third century) had a withers height range of 1.05 cm to 1.17 cm whereas in period 4 (third/ fourth century) a slight increase can be noted: 1.08 cm to 1.22 cm. For sheep no general size increase was noted.

2. Context of Deposition

Some complete skeletons of cattle and other domestic species which had not been eaten have been recovered from pits and gullies. This has been interpreted by Stallibrass (1997, 1991b, 1993) as evidence of diseased animals. In the light of recent work on ritual and structured deposition these may have been offerings made at important social events such as feasts or other gatherings. Pit P10 has been interpreted by the excavator (Jackson and Potter 1997) as a 'votive' pit. It contained what has been seen as general food debris together with complete Samian bowls and a bronze statuette of Minerva. It can be suggested that these objects formed part of ritual deposits, much in line with the

complete skeletons of uneaten domestic animals. Foetal pig bones have also been recovered from the same context as foetal and neonatal human infant bones (Pit 1577). Although these were recorded in the report they were not linked to each other nor was an interpretation put forward. The presence of foetal pig with neonatal human bones may be indicative of an association of certain animals with humans as has been suggested by Hill (1995b) in the Iron Age in Wessex. Dogs have been recovered as both partial and complete skeletons. The deposition of dogs was a practice common in the Iron Age, this may have continued into the Roman period without the dogs actually being consumed before burial as none of the dog bones bear any butchery marks. Horses are represented on site as partially articulated skeletons and three horse bones bear butchery marks as has been discussed above. Again the deposition of both complete and partial skeletons has been noted from Iron Age contexts (see Grant 1984), however, this practice has often been ignored in Roman contexts as it is not considered that 'Romans' did such things as has been mentioned above. From the site at Great Holme Street in Leicester (Hawkes 1998), there is evidence for structured deposits in the form of partially articulated horse bones deposited with a complete shell-gritted storage jar and a brooch. The presence at Stonea of complete wild bird skeletons at the bottom of the sump may also be connected with the ongoing rituals of everyday life (see Bourdieu 1977 and MacClancy 1992) reminiscent but slightly altered of the previous period.

1.10.13. Summary

There is no direct evidence for Iron Age occupation on this site, but it is set in the context of a well-developed pre-Roman landscape. Stonea Grange is an unusual site, not least as it is one of the few Roman period sites excavated in the Central Fenland. It can be suggested that it is a 'failed' site (Jackson and Potter 1997: 2): the Roman or official presence can be clearly noted in the early Roman period (period 3) due to the presence

of a large stone tower with many windows. The nature of the site at that time was quite distinctive, on the one hand the stone tower and a street grid of a proto-urban planned settlement, but on the other a number of architecturally low key timber buildings of a domestic settlement, belonging to a different, perhaps indigenous, architectural tradition (Fincham 2002). Yet in the later Roman period (period 4) when the stone tower was abandoned, the domestic settlement continued, the proto-urban nature evaporated and the settlement became more scattered.

There are significant changes in the faunal assemblages over time, which may also be linked to the changing nature of the site. Sheep are the most common species but cattle increase during the lifetime of the site, and are equally represented by the later Roman period. There is also a change in the skeletal element representation; in period 3 the meatier parts are not found on site but are found in period 4 which is either indicative of differential rubbish deposition or consumption. It can be suggested that the meatier parts may have been requisitioned by the official presence in period 3 and consumed or off site whereas in period 4 the inhabitants were left to their own devices. Stallibrass (1997) suggests that the animals are taken off site to Durobrivae in period 3, but this is doubtful, as Durobrivae only really takes off as a market in the later Roman period. The site is perhaps associated with military supply, and it may be that such cuts were preserved by smoking or salting, and taken off site to feed the army (Fincham 2002). Wild species, domestic fowl and shellfish are all present.

The material culture of the site is not what we might expect it to be, given the highly developed architecture of some of the structures present. There is limited imported fine ware from the site, even during the 'official' occupation, but what there is, completely ceases in the 'native' period, after the planned tower like structure has been demolished. The same can be noted for imported goods; the olive oil and wine present were only

consumed during the lifetime of the elaborate building, and not by the natives – supply ceases when the official presence disappears.

The best interpretation of the site is probably that the authorities constructed the settlement to assist in controlling and administering the central fen area, and to assist in gathering supplied for the army. The inhabitants at Stonea, however, did not absorb the Roman urban site into their way of life, and during the lifetime of the tower, elaboration of foodways may have been confined to the ‘official’ element of the settlements population. When the official presence was withdrawn, the more extreme manifestations of that presence, like the tower, failed, and the more exotic imports ceased. What continued, then, was the unelaborated foodways of the domestic settlement. The history of this site, therefore, *could* be seen as a victory for rural conservatism, over intrusive, non-indigenous practices (Fincham 1999), and the experiment of imposing a new style of settlement upon the area appears to have failed, perhaps due to the non-cooperation of the local population – a good possible example of passive resistance to Roman rule, and the conservative nature of rural life.

2. Summary of Corieltavian Sites

Having examined a range of sites in this chapter, we can now begin to consider the information gathered in a way that allows us to compare what is happening in different settlements. Firstly, we need to consider the contextual information on individual site architecture, to put our comparisons into some sort of framework. When we consider these sites they form a range of architectural types from the humble, to the highly elaborate. The first class of sites is the simple farmstead. This marks the lower end of the architectural spectrum represented in these sites. The ‘farmstead group’ includes Dunstons Clump, Clay Lane, Haddon and Whitwell At the ‘high’ end of this scale (the ‘elaborate group’) are the well-developed sites of Empingham, Orton (Hall farm and

Stonea Grange. These sites consist of substantial buildings in stone (or at least develop in this fashion as the Roman Period wears on), buildings we describe as ‘villas’, or unusually elaborate sites like Stonea Grange. However, between these extremes is a third group of sites which, whilst not remaining simple farmsteads, show some form of architectural development, the ‘transitional group’. Here we place sites like Pasture Lodge Farm, Dragonby – by no means a poor site, but never fully ‘taking off’ in ‘Roman’ style, and Maxey, a farmstead, but with a stone column fragment, or. Thus we have a framework for considering the foodways of the sites considered, created by the architectural ranking of those sites. What this does is provide a de facto ranking in terms of the status of site as it would traditionally be considered, and we will now consider foodways against this ranking.

Group One: Simple Farmsteads

Clay Lane	Farmstead, covering 18ha. Little evidence of elaboration over time. Architecture: Group One
Iron Age	Iron Age occupation which developed into the Roman period.
Animal Remains	Sheep dominant throughout. Cattle mostly mature at time of death which suggests the importance of secondary products. Some sheep were slaughtered before adulthood but most also mature. This suggests some emphasis on meat production. Some wild species present but little evidence for domestic fowl.
Pottery	No imported or local fine ware present
Botanical Remains	No evidence for plant remains.
Imports	No known imports
Foodways	Simple, unelaborated foodways with little indication of change over time. No serving vessels or drinking vessels present. Food Procurement: Rank One Food Processing: Rank One

Table 4.57: Summary table for Clay Lane, Earls Barton

Dunstons Clump	Rural farmstead set in a field system. Timber building in the Early Roman period, three timber buildings constructed in the mid-Roman period. Architecture: Group One
Iron Age	Evidence for Iron Age occupation: the site develops into Roman period.
Animal Remains	Dominated by cattle and sheep with small amounts of pig.
Pottery	Dominated by local coarse ware
Botanical Remains	Cereals including spelt, barley, rye, bread wheat and emmer
Imports	No known imports
Foodways	The site grows over time but foodways appear to remain simple throughout the lifetime of the site. No serving or drinking vessels present. Food Procurement: Rank One Food Processing: Rank One

Table 4.58: Summary table for Dunstons Clump

Haddon	Extensive farmstead. Site nucleus shifts away from excavated area in later Roman period. Architecture: Group One
Iron Age	Little evidence for Iron Age occupation.
Animal Remains	Sheep dominated with cattle increasing through the Roman period. Cattle mostly kept for meat production with some kept for traction and breeding. Sheep kept predominantly to produce meat. The only non-domestic species present are horse and dog.
Pottery	Little evidence of imported pottery (only Samian present)
Botanical Remains	Cereals represented by spelt, emmer, bread wheat, rye and barley. The only other food crop represented is pea.
Imports	Samian ware but no food stuffs
Foodways	Little evidence for elaborated foodways. Drinking vessels are present. Food Procurement: Rank One Food Processing: Rank One

Table 4.59: Summary table for Haddon

Whitwell	Farmstead. Modest timber building, later succeeded by a structure, more complex, but stone <i>footed</i> only.. Architecture: Group One (possibly Two, given the late structure)
Iron Age	Some evidence for late Pre-Roman Iron Age occupation. Animal bone assemblage principally sheep and cattle. Locally produced coarse ware with no Roman imports present.
Animal remains	Sheep most common, with cattle second most common and pig the least well-represented. Animals mature at time of death indicating the importance of secondary products. Some wild species present (horse and dog).
Pottery	Principally locally produced coarse ware. Jars and bowls the dominant forms.
Botanical Remains	No evidence of plant remains
Imports	No evidence for imported food stuffs
Foodways	Unelaborated dining with little change between Iron Age and Roman periods, or within the Roman period. No evidence for drinking present. Food Procurement: Rank One Food Processing: Rank One

Table 4.60: Summary table for Whitwell

Group Two: Transitional Sites

Dragonby	Nucleated settlement ca. 8ha in extent. Wooden round houses succeeded by stone and stone footed rectangular buildings. Oppidum in the Iron Age period. Architecture: Group Two
Iron Age	Oppidum site of considerable size and importance with imported and locally produced imitations of Gallo-Belgic pottery. Very little Roman imports until first century AD. Woad has been recovered from Iron Age contexts. Sheep most common species.
Animal Remains	Sheep most common species but pig well-represented. Cattle are the second most common species. Shellfish/oysters present. Emphasis on the culling of young cattle suggests importance of meat production. Sheep were kept into maturity suggesting importance of secondary products. Wild species present. Domestic fowl

	increase in importance during the Roman period. Fish and oysters also present.
Pottery	Early imports of Samian. Moderate range of vessels indicating some elaboration, including drinking vessels.
Botanical Remains	Cereals such as spelt, emmer and bread wheat present. Imported plant remains: coriander, summer savory, poppy and woad.
Imports	Some imported food stuffs including seasonings, olive oil and wine. Imported fine ware in particular Samian.
Foodways	Some elaboration of foodways evident with the acquisition of the occasional luxury and possible occasional dining. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Two Food Processing: Rank Two

Table 4.61: Summary table for Dragonby

Maxey	Farmstead, limited evidence for expansion over time, but late column fragments recovered. Architecture: Group Two
Iron Age	Evidence for continuity of occupation from Iron Age to Roman period.
Animal Remains	Sheep dominate throughout with cattle increasing throughout the Roman period. Pig poorly represented. Cattle culled when mature suggesting importance of secondary products. Sheep were culled before adulthood suggesting meat production. Oysters present but no wild species or domestic fowl.
Pottery	Few imports, some dishes, perhaps indicating serving but jars dominate. Local fine wares are increasingly common in the later Roman period.
Botanical Remains	Spelt only cereal crop present
Imports	Samian ware but no food stuffs.
Foodways	Little evidence for elaborate foodways except for the presence of oysters in the Roman period. Drinking vessels are also present (second most common form after jars). Food Procurement: Rank One Food Processing: Rank Two

Table 4.62: Summary table for Maxey

Pasture Lodge Farm	Modest site with later construction of a stone building. Architecture: Group Two
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation, the site starts in the mid-first century AD.
Animal Remains	Sheep dominate until the later Roman period when overtaken by cattle. Pig only a marginal presence. Animals were culled before adulthood and when mature indicating a mixed husbandry regime. Meat production was of considerable importance. With cattle becoming increasingly important a shift can be noted towards dairy production. Wild species present but no bird bones. Oysters and whelks are present.
Pottery	Limited imports, assemblage dominated by local coarse ware.
Botanical Remains	No evidence for plant remains.
Imports	Minimal imported pottery, increasing slightly over time. Some mortaria present, but no imported food stuffs.
Foodways	Modest foodways, slightly elaborated over time, perhaps in connection with the later stone structure. Evidence for increasing intensification of food production and increasing importance of dairy products. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Two Food Processing: Rank Two

Table 4.63: Summary table for Pasture Lodge Farm

Group Three: Elaborate Sites

Empingham	Aisled villa, farmstead, other farm buildings. Increasing complexity of architecture over time. Architecture: Group Three
Iron Age	Some evidence for Iron Age occupation. Sheep most common species in Iron Age with pig second most common species.
Animal Remains	Sheep most common species during the Roman period, with cattle increasing as well. Most animals were mature when killed with some younger animals present. This indicates a mixed husbandry regime. Wild species and birds present with birds increasing in importance during the Roman period.

Pottery	Some imported fine ware. Assemblage dominated by local fine ware in the later periods. Mortaria, tableware and drinking vessels increasingly present.
Botanical Remains	Spelt most common cereal with emmer wheat, barley and oats also present.
Imports	Early imports of pottery but no imported food stuffs.
Foodways	Some evidence of decline in Early Roman period with a later increase in complexity and a concern for more elaborate 'formal' serving. Evidence for drinking (flagons, beakers and cups). Food Procurement: Rank Three Food Processing: Rank Three

Table 4.64: Summary table for Empingham

Orton Hall Farm	Major farmstead that increases in size in later Roman period. Later stone buildings are added. Architecture: Group Three
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation. The site starts in the first century AD.
Animal Remains	Cattle most common, followed by sheep, in all periods pig makes a marginal contribution. Cattle important for secondary products with some kept for meat. Sheep in the early Roman period were kept for secondary products whereas in the later Roman period they were kept for meat production. Domestic fowl present.
Pottery	Serving vessels, preparation vessels and drinking vessels all of increasing importance as the Roman period progresses. Corresponds with the sharp increase in Nene Valley ware. Imported Samian present.
Botanical Remains	Cereals present such as spelt and barley.
Imports	Samian but no imported food stuffs.
Foodways	'Dining' – the serving of food, becomes more important but what was consumed appears to remain the same. Drinking of beer increasingly popular. Evidence for food preparation in separate kitchen building in the later Roman period. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Two

	Food Processing: Rank Three
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Table 4.65: Summary table for Orton Hall Farm

Stonea Grange	Proto-urban site, probable official centre. Stone tower complex from second to third century AD. Architecture: Group Three, declining
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation.
Animal Remains	Sheep most common with cattle increasing. Meatier parts of animals not common on site during the lifetime of the tower but became so after its demolition. Evidence for differential consumption. Cattle kept for secondary products. Sheep were kept for secondary products and meat production. Wild species present as are domestic fowl. Oysters and mussels are also present.
Pottery	Limited imported fine ware (principally Samian), but in a reasonable array of forms. This ceases after the end of the official phase, with some local fine ware, but in a limited range of forms. Drinking vessels present in both phases.
Botanical Remains	Assemblage dominated by spelt with some emmer wheat present. Other food crops present include flax, peas and lentils
Imports	Imports cease after the demolition of the tower. During the lifetime of the tower olive oil was imported in large quantities of this region.
Foodways	Elaborate foodways becoming simpler after the demolition of the tower. Evidence of drinking present. Food Procurement: Rank Three, declining Food Processing: Rank Three, declining

Table 4.66: Summary table for Stonea Grange

Tables 4.57-4.66 provide a summary of the key features of each of the sites discussed above. The key features included in the tables are those that have been identified in chapter three, for example, species proportions (including change over time), the presence/absence of wild species and birds, the age-at-death of the three main domesticates, the presence/absence and relative quantity and change over time for

imported and local fine wares and coarse wares, presence/absence of mortaria and amphorae and the types of vessels present. The entry on 'foodways' for each site is a basic summary of the general trend seen within the overall picture of the site during its lifetime. As noted above, they have been ordered in accordance with a three-fold division based upon the architectural complexity of each site. The ranks of complexity identified in Food Procurement and Food Processing are discussed in chapter seven.

Firstly we should note a general point. On all sites except Dunston's Clump and Orton Hall Farm animal bones assemblages are dominated to a greater or lesser degree by sheep. Dunstons Clump has a poor assemblage, and whilst the dominance of cow may be real, it might quite possibly be not. The dominance of cow found at Orton Hall farm is real, and provides an interesting contrast with the other sheep dominated sites. If, as the excavator believes, the rapid expansion of the settlement was due to it becoming involved in supplying the Roman authorities, this may explain the importance of cattle hear, beef and leather being important commodities associated with army supply (Davies 1971). The exception, then, would re-enforce the strong perception that the native foodways of the area were actually dominated by sheep, though we need to bear in mind that the higher meat weight of cattle would always tend to make them a significant contributor to the local consumption of meat.

We should also note that the pottery assemblage becomes more sophisticated, the more elaborate the physical surroundings become, with, for example serving vessels being more common on sites like Orton Hall (farm and Stonea, but a group two site like Pasture Lodge Farm had access to mortaria, but had no obvious tradition serving, whilst Whitwell, a simple farmstead had an assemblage dominated by jars and bowls.

In terms of plant remains, where present, they seem to have little direct link with the architecture of a site, with even a simple farmstead like Haddon having access to a wide range of plant foods. Sites in the region seem to have utilised a wide range, including barley, bread wheat, emmer, oats, pea, rye and spelt. Spelt is found on all sites where botanical remains were recovered. Emmer too is common, and found on all classes of site. Bread wheat, suggested as a cereal which was superior to other forms of cereal on account of being easier to thresh (Alcock 2001: 17), was actually on less sites (three) than either spelt (seven), or emmer (five), and is also found across different architectural groups. Barley, identified as good for making beer (Alcock 2001: 18) is found on three sites, one of which, Orton Hall Farm, has numbers of corn driers (Mackreth 1996a: 75), which may have been involved in beer production.

Wild food appears upon five of the ten sites examined in this chapter, one of a 'low status' (group one), Clay Lane, two of group two, Dragonby and Pasture Lodge farm, and two of group three, Empingham and Stonea Grange, perhaps suggesting that wild food was more widely consumed upon wealthier sites. The same is true of birds, with Clay Lane (a farmstead) being the only non-elaborate site to have bird remains recovered from it. Shellfish also seem not to have feature in 'low status' diet, only being recovered from Dragonby and Maxey (both transitional group, group two, sites), and Stonea Grange.

Finally, we should consider the issue of drink. Although peripheral to food proper, we have noted widespread evidence for its consumption. Haddon a farmstead, Dragonby and Maxey (architectural group two) and Orton Hall Farm and Empingham (architectural group three), all had evidence for dinking. However, the direct evidence for the consumption of wine is confined to Stonea and Dragonby. Wine could not be produced in Britain, and so all wine drunk will have been in the form of imports. This

would necessarily have kept wine consumption in the realm of 'luxury'. Beer, however, as a local product, would probably have remained the staple alcoholic drink of most natives. Indeed on some sites, like Orton hall Farm, we encounter 'corn dryers', which have a possible connection to beer production (Mackreth 1996: 75 & 230-231).

Thus we have extracted some major trends visible in the data for rural Corieltauvin sites. The significance of these trends, however, we can only establish by placing them in a wider context, and we shall return to then in chapter seven. First, however, we must examine the rest of our sample, namely non-Corieltauvin rural sites and a range of urban sites both inside and outside Corieltauvin tribal territory.

Chapter Five: Rural Sites: Sites outside the Corieltauviian Territory

1. Introduction

In chapter four we looked at rural sites within the territory of the Corieltauvi. To understand whether or not these sites have a character of their own as Corieltauviian settlements, we must examine a number of sites from outside the boundaries of this tribal area, in order to establish a comparison, discussed in chapter seven. Several factors structured the selection of sites for this comparative exercise. Firstly, they had to be sites that were broadly comparable with those examined in the Corieltauviian territory. Thus, only sites from the lowland 'civilian' zone were selected. Such sites will have faced broadly a broadly similar cultural and physical context as those from the core study area – being located in a rural low land landscape, which was not subject to a significant military period, with the exception, perhaps, of the immediate post-conquest period. Secondly, as with the sites selected for examination in chapter four, they had to be well excavated, published, and contained the categories of information required to allow the material stages processed to be examined. The same issues addressed in the introduction to chapter four, touching upon how we understand pottery and wild, hunted meat in particular, are common also to the sites considered here.

1. 1. Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire

Location: Between grid points SP 2160 0090 to 2210 0050

Plan: Figure 5.1

Reference: Allen, T., Darvill, T., Green, S., and Jones, M. 1993. *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: A Prehistoric and Roman Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

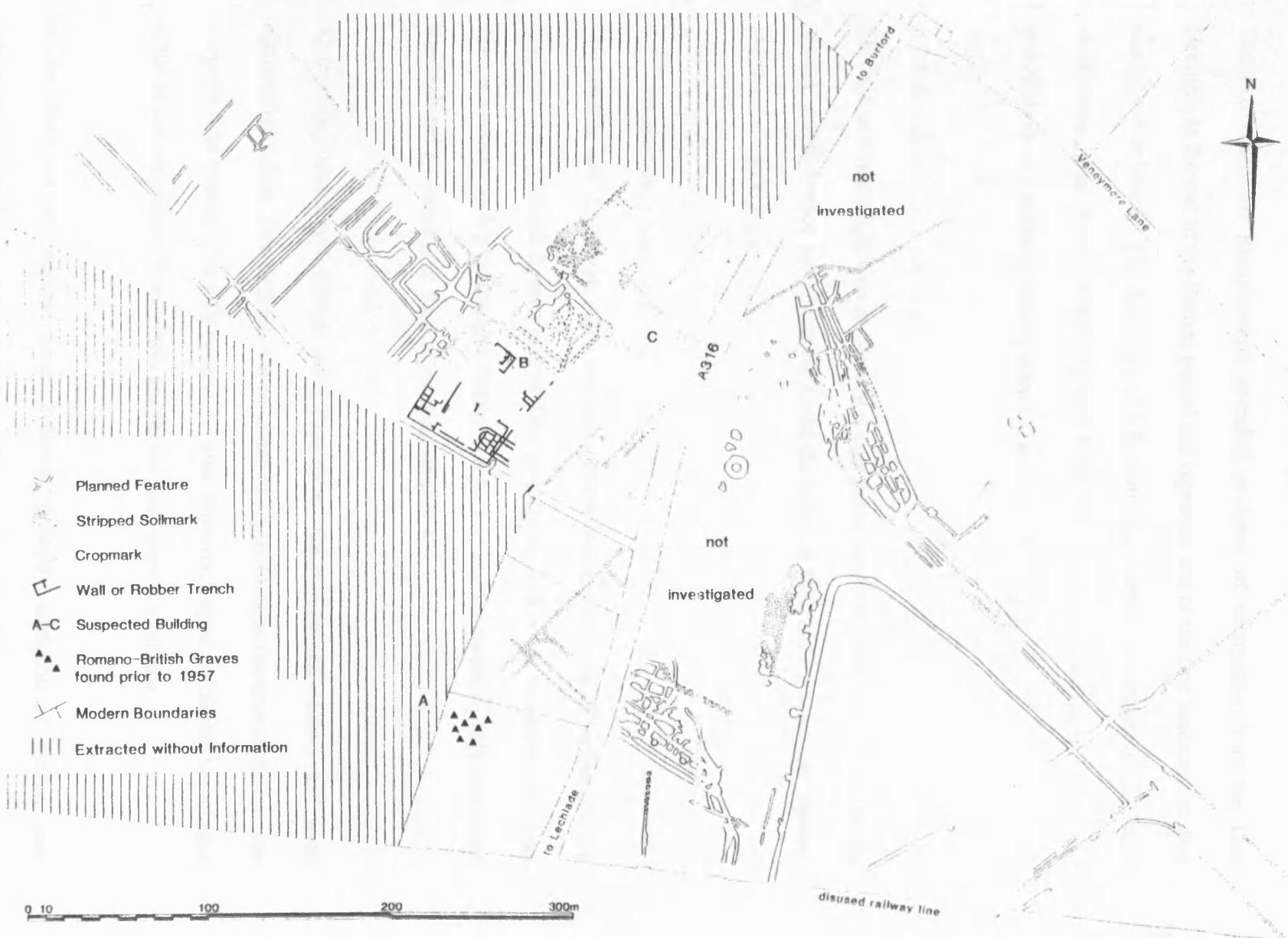


Figure 5.1: Roughground Farm site plan. From Allen, et al. 1993: xx.

1.1.1. Introduction

The excavations at Roughground revealed evidence of occupation from the Late Neolithic to the end of the Roman period and represent one of the first landscape studies carried out in Britain. The discovery of a Roman villa (partially excavated in 1957 and 1959) drew initial interest to the site, with further excavations carried out in 1981-2 and in 1990 prior to a housing development (Allen *et al.* 1993: xxi).

1.1.2. Location

The archaeological remains at Roughground Farm cover an area of c. 8 ha on the second gravel terrace just north of Lechlade between the rivers Leach and Thames (Allen *et al.* 1993: 3).

1.1.3. Excavation

The Middle and Late Iron Ages are only poorly represented, but a settlement was established in the Early Roman period. This included an oval house enclosure and small stock enclosures with pens located within a larger rectilinear enclosure. This settlement was replaced by the villa in the early second century AD.

At least two masonry buildings were constructed the mid-second century and were enclosed by a ditch. One of these was an aisled building. Outside the core enclosure was a regular field system. The villa occupation area, however, stayed within the boundaries of the earlier settlement. Track-ways and drove-ways were in evidence.

In the third century another large building, probably domestic in nature, was constructed, whilst land to the east of the villa was re-organised to create two groups of enclosures facing each other across a yard. The excavator suggests that these were ‘used for various agricultural and semi-industrial activities and may also have been occupied’

(Allen 1993: xxi). By the fourth century, yet another domestic building was added to the complex. The site seems certainly to have been abandoned by the end of the fourth century.

1.1.4. Pottery

The sample of pottery analysed for the report was incomplete, many sherds from the 1957-59 sites being subsequently discarded (mostly body sherds). Because of the difficulty in correlating the fabrics and in some cases the forms, it was not possible to compile a complete catalogue of the pottery originally recovered (Green 1993: 113).

The pottery used for the discussion which follows is from the 1990 excavation, the material from the excavations of 1957-59 was not used as no quantification of it was provided in the report. In total some 3,000 sherds were recovered.

1.1.5. Animal Bones

There were three main groups of animal bones that were incorporated in the report:

The 1982 excavations from Building IV and from the courtyard between it and Building III; the 1957-59 excavations of the villa buildings I, II and III; and the 1961-65 excavations of track-ways, field ditches and enclosures east of the villa. (Jones and Levitan 1993: 171).

A total of 526 animal bone fragments were recovered in the excavations carried out between 1957-82, however, it should be borne in mind that the retrieval methods used in the earlier excavations may have been less thorough. In total, 60 % of the fragments were identifiable.

The excavation carried out in 1990 revealed 764 bones of which 60 % were also identifiable. These bones were recovered through hand-digging (Jones and Levitan 1993: 173).

1.1.6. Plant Remains

A small sample of plant remains was recovered from the 1990 excavations and these included cereals as well as weeds which indicated an arable landscape.

1.1.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The cattle bones present on site mostly belonged to individuals that were five years old or more at the time of death. This suggests that these were kept as breeding stock, for dairying and for traction. There were some very young animals present which were culled in their first few months but very few that had died between the ages of one year and five (see Jones and Levitan 1993: 171-175)

Evidence from sheep bones indicates that most individuals may have been kept into adulthood which might suggest that wool production was of importance. Dairying might also have been an important secondary product. According to Jones and Levitan (1993: 171-175) there is a peak of in the mortality profile between 30 and 40 months.

The pig bones all belonged to immature animals. All the pigs had over wintered once.

2. Species Proportions

Two excavations were carried out on the site of Roughground Farm, one between 1957 and 1982 and a smaller one in 1990. The results of both have been considered together here (Jones and Levitan 1993: 171-175).

Per	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Hors	Red	Ro	D	Cat	Fox	Har e	Bird d	Oyst	Fish	Unid
2	263	44	14	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	0
3	415	36	27	15	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	91
3/4	61	23	5	15	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	353	103	45	17	3	1	5	1	0	1	8	2	0	390
9	1092	206	91	50	9	1	6	1	1	1	12	3	1	481

Table 5.1: Species proportions (total fragment count: 1,955) from Roughground Farm (1957-1982 and 1990)

Cattle on this site are by far the most common species. Sheep are second but are not well represented even in the Iron Age. Pig is third but again is poorly represented even though proportions increase in the Roman period. The scarcity of pig remains may suggest a low meat diet. When we look at these figures expressed as ratios of cattle, we can start to appreciate the relationships and relative increases and decreases of the other species through time.

Per	Cattle %	Sheep %	Pi g s %	Hor s %	Red %	Ro e %	Dog %	Cat %	Fox %	Har e %	Bird d %	Oyst e %	Fis h %	Unid %
2	100	17	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
3	100	9	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	22
3/4	100	37	8	25	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	100	29	1 3	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	108
9	100	19	8	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	44

Table 5.2: Ratio of cattle/ other species (%) from Roughground Farm

Table 5.2 indicates that sheep show an increase in the mid to later Roman period. Pig is poorly represented in all periods. It should be borne in mind that the assemblages are small.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

A variety of species other than the three main domesticates are represented, albeit in small quantities. The only species represented in any great number is horse. The other species include wild animals such as red deer and roe deer, hare and fox. Dog and cat may have served dual purposes, acting as both working animals and as companions and pets. Horse may have played a major role in traction. There is one fish bone present in the assemblage; this could not be assigned to species or family. There are in total three oyster shells present, which would have been transported over quite a distance to reach the site. It seems however, clear that these did not form a major part of the food of the inhabitants of the site.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
2	908	0	0
3/4	1833	53	147

Table 5.3: Fabric proportions (sherd count: 2,941) from Roughground Farm

The Iron Age assemblage solely comprised coarse wares. The assemblage has been described by Hingley (1993: 40-44) as a decorated ware assemblage which is common in sites on the Upper Thames Gravels.

The pottery included in this table was excavated from the 1990 excavations, as the pottery assemblage from the previous excavations was not recorded in detail. We can see that coarse wares, in particular reduced, oxidised and BB1 (Black Burnished Ware 1) wares dominate the assemblage both in the Iron Age and throughout the Roman period. Local fine wares are not as well represented as imported fine wares, the bulk of which belongs to Samian ware, which are well-represented. From the pottery report of

the 1957-1982 excavations, grey wares, BB1 and Oxfordshire wares are the most common (see Green and Booth 1993: 113-142).

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
2	100	0	0
3/4	100	3	8

Table 5.4: Ratio of coarse ware/ local and imported fine ware from Roughground Farm

In relative terms the fine wares, both local and imported are fairly insignificant. The bulk of the assemblage is made up of coarse wares.

1.1.8. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

There is no specific information recorded on the butchery marks, but a large proportion of cattle bones bore butchery marks (see Jones and Levitan 1993: 171-175). Only three sheep and three pig bones bore butchery marks. One definite butchery mark can be seen on the metacarpal of a horse; however, the horse bones were recovered together with those of other bones which would suggest that they were food debris too.

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

At least 81 vessels were represented in the sample from the 1957-1982 excavations. After circa AD 140 the Oxfordshire potteries become the main suppliers. The earliest example present comes from the Verulamium region and dates to circa AD 80-120. The largest number of mortaria are used in the period between AD 240 and AD 300 with a substantial number still in use in AD 300 to 350 (see Hartley 1993: 114)

There are no amphorae present in the earliest Roman phases. Later 32 sherds in total represent them (see Williams 1993: 114).

Period	Dr20	Pel47	Unid
3/4	17	10	5

Table 5.5: Amphorae sherds (sherd count: 42) from Roughground Farm

The best-represented amphora is the Dressel 20, which normally contained olive oil from Southern Spain. The other amphora present is the Pelichet 47 (also known as the Gauloise 4) and the *tituli picti* on those recovered from shipwrecks suggest that they contained wine from Southern France (Tyers 1996).

There are no imported plants present in the assemblage. The botanical assemblage is suggestive of an arable landscape with a weed assemblage which would have been present in wheat fields. The cereals present are: spelt wheat, bread wheat, barley and oat. The most common species is barley followed by bread wheat. The other plants in the assemblage belong to weeds (see Letts and Robinson 1993: 175-176). However, these do not need to be discounted and used merely as environmental indicators as they may have been used for their nutritional or healing properties. Plants such as clover may also have been fed to the livestock. Elderberry is present and is likely to have been eaten.

1.1.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

A detailed analysis of the forms was provided in the report and gives us a further, and for the purposes of this thesis, more informative picture of ceramic consumption at Roughground Farm.

Period	Jars	Bowls	Beaker	Flagon	Cups	Lids	Cooking pots	Dishes
3/4	55	17	5	2	2	2	11	7

Table 5.6: Pottery forms represented as percentages of estimated vessel equivalents

(EVE) from Roughground Farm

From the table 5.6, it is clear that the multi-purpose jar dominates the assemblage throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods. There are also a number of cooking pots present (11.3% of EVEs).

A further breakdown can be provided too: jars make up 70% of the oxidised coarse wares and 75% of reduced coarse wares. Most of the bowls are made of BB1, as are the dishes. The beakers are mostly out of fine wares; the cups are the Samian forms Dragendorff 27 and 33. The lids are solely made of reduced coarse wares.

1.1.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The pottery assemblage from the 1957-1982 excavations reveal in terms of quantity and quality of table and fine wares, a site which has some elements of wealth but may be not exceedingly wealthy. There is a reasonable quantity of Samian forms present, although there are no glazed or colour-coated pre-Flavian table wares. The number of imports of fine and table wares dwindles in the second and third centuries.

The pottery assemblage of the 1990 excavations shows that reduced coarse wares in particular dominate the second-century assemblage. The assemblage had a fine and specialised component which amounted to 7.3% of the total sherds present. In the third and fourth century the reduced coarse wares are less important and are increasingly replaced by black burnished wares. In this period the fine and specialised component of

the assemblage grew to 11.1% of the total assemblage. In terms of vessels used for serving it is only bowls and dishes which are represented. Vessels associated with drinking are not well represented apart from beakers which amount to 5% of EVEs. This assemblage is not indicative of a site which practised elaborate or formal dining on any large scale or regularly.

1.1.11. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

The cattle are on average larger than the average Iron Age cattle. The withers heights range from 1.10 to 1.27 m (using the method devised by Boessneck (1969)). The sheep are of an average size for the period. The sheep measurements do not suggest significant size increases during the Roman period. Those horse bones that could be measured indicated ponies ranging between 11.5 and 14.5 hands (using the method devised by Kiesewalter (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1970)).

2. Context of Deposition

There is evidence for differential rubbish disposal at the site. The aisled building excavated (building IV) contained several ovens and may have been used for cooking, the domestic building which contained a hypocaust and living rooms (building III) showed some difference in the animal bone assemblages. There is very little difference in the way sheep are represented but cattle were more common in the assemblage from building III than from building IV, whereas pig was more common in building IV than building III. It is unclear however, how much importance should be placed on this as it is unlikely that these bones would have been deposited in buildings that were still in use.

1.1.12. Summary

There is only limited evidence for Iron Age occupation on this site. However, the excavations revealed a simple farmstead, which developed into a villa in the second century. It expanded further in the mid-second century with the addition of two masonry structures, one of which is an aisled building, and with a further domestic building added in the third/fourth centuries. The animal bones assemblage was dominated by cattle, with both sheep and pig poorly represented. The focus of the sites husbandry regime appears to have been secondary products. There was evidence on the site for wild species, fowl, shell fish and fish. The pottery assemblage, considered in detail in the above discussion, is based upon the pottery assemblage recovered from the 1990 excavations and is rather small. However, the 1957-1982 assemblage was larger, and some observations have been included. In general, the pottery consumption on the site suggests a limited amount of serving and dining did take place with Samian being well-represented in the early in the life of the site, and significant use of local fine wares in the mid to late Roman period. In terms of forms, the assemblage is dominated by jars, bowls and cooking pots with some drinking vessels being present, suggesting only a limited interest in serving. Botanical remains are dominated by include bread wheat, emmer, spelt and also elderberry. There are some imported food stuffs present in the form of olive oil and wine in the mid-to later Roman period.

On the whole the site is, in architectural terms at least, relatively wealthy and large. The foodways do become more complex over time, with interest in serving, but perhaps only on a limited scale, suggest that the serving of food took place occasionally. Imports do occur, but relatively late in the life of the site. Overall we can say that whilst all aspects of the site became more complex, the elaboration of the foodways did not keep pace with developments in the sites architecture. In terms of the meal stage process, we can

detect some change in the procurement phase, seen in the limited amounts of imported food stuffs on the site, and change in the later preparation phase, evidenced by the slightly wider range of vessel forms recovered. Change, however, would have been limited.

1.2. Asthall, Oxfordshire

Location: Area A, SP 2887 1116; Area B SP 2899 1112

Plan: Figure 5.2

Reference: Booth, P.M. 1997c. *Asthall, Oxfordshire: Excavations in a Roman 'Small Town', 1992*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

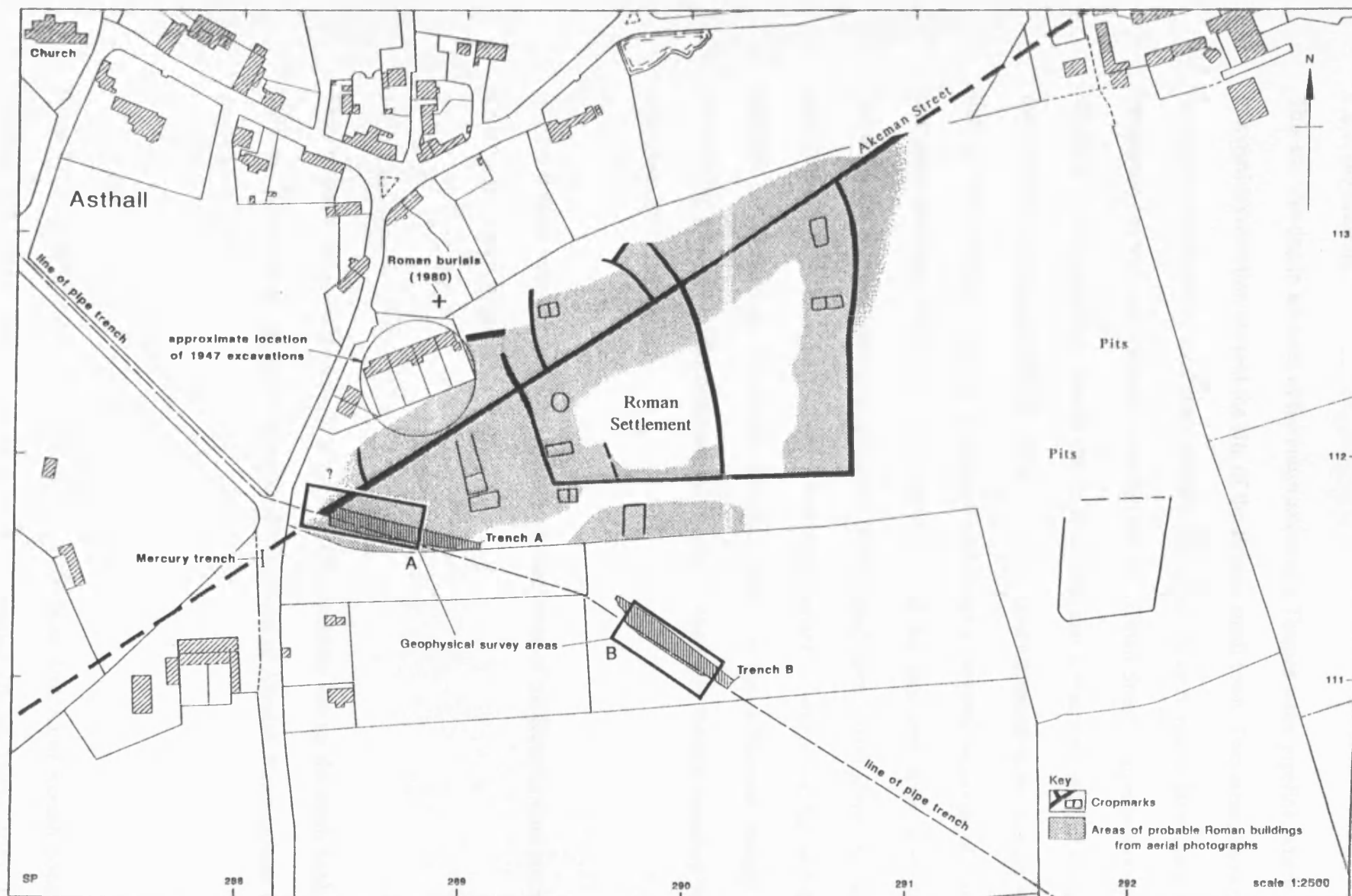


Figure 5.2: Asthall site plan. From Booth 1997: 4.

1.2.1. Introduction

This site was dug in advance of the construction of a Thames water pipeline, where the proposed construction crossed the site of the Roman small town. Two areas, known to be within the settlement area, were partially excavated. Area A was c. 60 m long and between 6-9 m wide and extended from the line of Akeman Street in an east-south-east direction. To the southeast, Area B was c. 50 m long and 8-9 m wide and lay towards the limits of the settlement (Booth 1997c: 1). The excavation straddled the Roman road through the settlement (Akeman Street) and uncovered a complex sequence of timber and stone structures. Most of these structures faced the road with their short axes fronting onto Akeman Street, though some were aligned upon a side street. All were only partially revealed. The structures discovered ranged in date from the mid-first century AD through to the fourth century. Closer to the settlement margin an ironworking area and a later enclosure containing a small late Roman cemetery were examined (Booth 1997c: ix).

In Area B there was relatively little stratigraphy and most of the features were cut into the subsoil (Booth 1997c: 47).

1.2.2. Location

The Roman 'small town' at Asthall in northwest Oxfordshire lies on the south bank of the River Windrush, at the point where the Roman Road of Akeman Street crosses the river (Booth 1997c: ix)

1.2.3. Pottery

Some 11,399 sherds (3,375 from Area B and 8,024 from Area A) of Roman pottery, weighing 144.149 kg, were recovered from the excavation (Booth 1997a: 105). The Roman material, mostly dating between the later first and the mid-to late fourth

centuries, included five handmade sherds which may have been prehistoric date (but all occurred in late Roman contexts). The general condition of the recovered pottery good (Booth 1997a: 105). Most of the ceramics, particularly in Area A, was well-stratified.

1.2.4. Animal Bones

A total of 2,359 animal bone fragments were recovered, 1,514 from Area A and 840 from Area B (Booth 1997b: 140).

1.2.5. Plant Remains

32 samples of sediment were passed through a 0.5 mm mesh in order to recover charred plant remains (Robinson 1997: 147). Samples were taken from Area A and the metalworking location in Area B. The samples from the roadside settlement (Area A) contained less charcoal, otherwise there seems to be very little difference between the two areas. Grain, (especially *Triticum spelta* or spelt wheat, and *Hordeum vulgare* (hulled six-row barley), is more common than chaff, and there are only a few weed seeds. It seems likely from these results that there was domestic activity in the metalworking area (Area B) as well as in Area A.

1.2.6. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

Only a small number of cattle mandibles were available for ageing purposes. There was a relatively high neonatal mortality rate. 21% died at less than one month and 32% at less than three months. No mandibles or loose teeth were recovered which belonged to animals aged between three and 15 months. 26% were culled in their third year and animals which were aged between six and eight years old made up 26% of the assemblage. The epiphyseal fusion data however, reveals a different picture: most

individuals were surviving past two to 3 years (82%). By the age of four though, this had dropped to 23% (see Powell *et al.* 1997: 141-146).

The epiphyseal fusion data for sheep suggests that 8% of the material came from animals aged less than six to ten months at the time of death. Some neonatal sheep were present in the assemblage, but most animals seemed to have survived their first year. A steady kill-off pattern can be noted in their second and third years, with 43% surviving to 30 to 40 months. The tooth wear data however, do not contain any evidence for sheep mortality below one year. A mortality peak can be seen between one and two years, with a steady kill-off with no survivors beyond eight years. This husbandry regime suggests the slaughter of some young animals for meat with others being kept for secondary products such as milk and wool (see Powell *et al.* 1997: 141-146).

There are few ageing data available for pig, but these indicate that most were killed in their first year, with some surviving beyond two to five years.

2. Species Proportions

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog	Bird	Other	Unid
2	20	36	6	1	0	0	0	48
3	19	51	17	2	0	0	0	90
4	58	97	25	2	3	2	0	178
5	156	177	53	7	2	5	2	462

Table 5.7: Total fragment count from Area A (N: 1,519) from Asthall

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog	Bird	Other	Unid
2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
4	16	17	5	2	6	0	0	66
5	135	115	11	19	11	5	0	421

Table 5.8: Total fragment count from Area B (N: 840) from Asthall

In total, 2,359 (including unidentified bones) fragments of animal bone were excavated from both Area A and Area B (see Powell *et al.* 1997: 141-146). 94 fragments from a partially articulated dog skeleton were also recovered. Sheep are the dominant taxa at Asthall with 459 fragments (45 % of the identifiable assemblage). Cattle are the second most common species, represented overall by 409 fragments (38% of the identifiable assemblage). Cattle are outnumbered overall by sheep but the difference decreases over time. Pig is a relatively minor species throughout all phases ranging from 9% to 18 %. Some differences can be noted between Area A and Area B. Pig is less well represented in the industrial area of the small town (Area B) than in the actual settlement (Area A). This may suggest a difference in status and foodways between the inhabitants of these areas. Such a pattern has also been observed at Great Holme Street in Leicester, an extramural area. Here sheep were also the dominant species with pig making only a minor contribution to the assemblage (Hawkes 1998) This is in contrast to the areas of Leicester within the town where cattle and pig are well-represented (Connor *et al.*, 1999).

We can also look at these two separate areas in relative terms.

Period	Cattle %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Dog %	Bird %	Other %
2	100	180	30	5	0	0	0
3	100	268	89	11	0	0	0
4	100	167	43	3	5	3	0
5	100	113	34	4	1	3	1

Table 5.9: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Asthall. Note that the unidentified bones have not been included in this calculation

From the table above, we can see that although sheep remain dominant throughout the Roman period, a marked decline can be noted. Sheep however, also increase in the early

Roman period and decrease from there. Pig also shows a marked increase in the early Roman period, as do horses. A sharp decline can be noted in both these species during the mid- and late Roman period.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Dog is represented by 116 fragments, most of which derive from a partial skeleton from the mid-Roman period. The remaining twenty-two bones were associated with a human burial dated to the late Roman period. Cut marks were noted on the medial and lateral aspects of the proximal right astragalus and on the proximal articular surface of the scapho-lunar carpal (Powell *et al.* 1997: 145). This is indicative of the removal of the feet with a knife. The other partial skeleton belonged to a Jack Russel-type dog. The remaining canine material belonged to a variety of both large and small terrier-type dogs.

The other mammals present included horse, which was present in very low numbers and was most common in the late Roman period. Roe deer and hare were represented by very small numbers and were the only evidence for the exploitation of wild animals. Bird bones are not well-represented either, only being present from the mid-Roman period onwards. Bones of domestic fowl were the most frequent (four), with duck raven and crow/rook also being present (see Powell *et al.* 1997: 141-146).

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The total pottery recovered from both sites amounted to 11,399 sherds, 144.149 kg and 149.61 EVE. The ceramic assemblage from Area A included 8,024 sherds, 114.125 kg and 113.46 EVE. The assemblage from Area B was considerably smaller and contained only 3,375 sherds, 30.024 kg and 36.15 EVE. There were 265 sherds of Samian ware present in the pottery assemblage from Area A whereas Area B produced slightly more

sherds (356). The range of forms from Area A is fairly standard for the date of the assemblage (see Booth 1997d: 105-135). There are very few mortaria present and the ratio of decorated ware to plain ware is low (1:10 in Area A and 1:16 in B). A number of imported fine wares are present but in small quantities; Samian is the only imported represented in even moderate quantities. The Oxfordshire products dominate British fine wares. The Nene Valley and new Forest industries are also represented by in small numbers. The most important fabric after Oxfordshire colour coated ware was F65, which has been described as a red-brown colour coated ware which was also locally produced (Booth 1992d: 115). Coarse ware dominated the assemblage, as has been noted on all sites discussed. The dominant coarse ware fabric is the reduced fabrics which account for 58% of the total assemblage. BB1 increases in importance from the second century onwards (see Booth 1997d: 105-135).

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3/4/5	136.2	5.78	5.47

Table 5.10: Fabric numbers (expressed as EVEs) from both sites from Asthall

The cereals present in the samples analysed were *Triticum spelta* (spelt wheat) and *Hordeum vulgare* (six-row barley) (see Robinson 1997: 147-149). There were no other food plants present in the samples.

1.2.7. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

Chop marks outnumber cut marks on cattle bones. Some shaft fragments of cattle humeri and femora show marks that may be indicative of stripping meat longitudinally from the bone. Similar marks have been noted at the neighbouring semi-urban site of Wilcote (Powell *et al.* 1997: 146). These marks are suggestive of intensive carcass processing on urban sites (Maltby 1989), and may be more unusual on rural sites.

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There are very few mortaria sherds present on the site, although exact numbers were not quantified.

The only amphorae sherds present belong to the Dressel 20 which contained olive oil from Southern Spain. These are however, present in minimal numbers.

1.2.8. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The assemblage is dominated by jars (61 % by EVEs), the second most common form are bowls (9 %), followed by dishes (7 %) and lids (6 %). These are the only forms, except for jars, to exceed five percent representation. All other forms such as amphorae, flagons and jugs, beakers, cups, tankards and mortaria are of minor importance (see Booth 1997: 105-135).

Period	Flagons %	Jars %	Jars/bowls %	Beakers %	Cups %	Tankards %	Bowls %	Bowls/dishes %	Dishes %	Lids %	Misc %	Unid %
2	2	80	1	5	0	0	1	0	11	0	0	0
2/3	0	75	5	0	2	2	3	3	6	3	0	0
3/4	2	63	7	2	1	2	9	3	5	7	0	0
4/5	2	61	5	4	3	0	12	2	1	11	0	0
5	2	58	2	2	2	1	12	5	9	5	0	1

Table 5.11: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Asthall

Period	Flagons %	Jars %	Jars/bowls %	Beakers %	Cups %	Tankards %	Bowls %	Bowls/dishes %	Dishes %	Lids %	Misc %	Unid %
2	2	80	1	5	0	0	1	0	11	0	0	0
3	0	71	6	0	3	3	3	3	6	3	0	0
4	2	62	8	1	1	1	9	3	4	8	0	0
4/5	0	71	9	5	0	0	5	4	2	6	0	0
5	3	65	2	2	1	1	8	4	8	4	0	1

Table 5.12: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Area A from

Asthall

Period	Flagons %	Jars %	Jars/bowls %	Beakers %	Cups %	Tankards %	Bowls %	Bowls/dishes %	Dishes %	Lids %	Misc %	Unid %
2/3	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3/4	5	63	1	5	4	3	7	4	6	4	0	0
4/5	6	45	1	3	3	0	24	0	1	19	0	0
5	0	42	2	3	6	0	20	6	11	8	0	2

Table 5.13: Vessel classes by phase (expressed as % of EVEs) from Area B from

Asthall

Jars occurred principally in reduced coarse wares, supplemented from the mid-Roman period by BB1, oxidised and shell-tempered wares. The author of the report subdivided the jars into nine different subtypes of which 'cooking pots' (17% of jar EVE) were the most common subtype (Booth 1997d: 105-135). These were mostly made from BB1 and reduced fabrics.

1.2.9. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

A relatively wide range of fabrics was used for bowls and dishes. The former was most commonly made out of Samian and other fine wares, in particular Oxfordshire colour coated ware. Most however, were made out of reduced and BB1 wares (38%). Dishes were mostly made from coarse ware fabrics, 60% were made from BB1. Samian and other fine wares were also used for dishes but to a much lesser extent than for bowls (see Booth 1997d: 105-135).

Some of the less common vessels types, such as flagons and beakers, occurred in a wide range of fabrics. Flagons were most commonly made from oxidised fabrics (52%). Beakers were mostly made from fine wares. The range of fabrics used for cups and tankards is narrower than for flagons and beakers. Cups were mostly made from Samian ware whereas tankards, which are rare, are exclusively made out of oxidised coarse

wares. This might suggest that drinking played an important role in the foodways of the inhabitants of the site.

Chronologically, a decline in the representation of jars can be noted: from 80% in the first to second century there is a decline to 58% from the third century onwards. This is compensated in part by an increase in bowls with a slight peak in phase 5, but this increase occurred at fairly consistent levels from the mid-Roman period onwards. The third most common vessels, dishes, were particularly well represented in the first and third centuries and declined in the second and fourth centuries.

A number of contrasts can be noted between Area B, an area associated with industrial activity, and Area A, an area associated with domestic activity. The overall representation of jars is slightly less and bowls are twice as common in Area B. Lids and cups are also more common in Area B, whilst flagons, beakers and mortaria are less common in Area A. If Area B was associated with industrial activity, the lack of jars might be associated with the lack of cooking carried out on the site. Food may have been brought to the workers who consumed it from bowls, of which there are more than on Area A, whereas in Area A, more people may have been cooking and eating out of the same bowl. The phase 5 (later Roman period) assemblage from Area B is interesting in its composition: jars total 42 % and bowls and dishes total 37 %. This is almost equal to the proportion of jars. Cups at 6 % are also better represented than in other places or on Area A. All the cups and 70% of the bowls and dishes are made out of Samian ware.

1.2.10. Summary

Asthall was a 'small town' located along Akeman Street. There is no evidence for Iron Age occupation on the site, and it appears to have been founded in the mid-first century AD. Two distinct areas were excavated: Area A which was primarily domestic in nature

and Area B which was industrial. Excavations revealed a complex sequence of buildings (mostly strip buildings) in timber, then later reconstructed in stone. Sheep were the most common species with cattle increasing during the Roman period. Pigs are poorly represented in particular in Area B. A husbandry regime emphasising meat production appears to have been practiced. There was also evidence for the consumption of wild species and domestic fowl. Turning to consider the sites pottery assemblages, we see that coarse wares dominate, with imported fine ware present in moderate quantities in the earlier Roman period, and local fine wares increasing in importance in the later period. In terms of forms, the number of jars decreases over time with bowls, dishes and lids becoming more important particularly during the mid-to later Roman period, perhaps indicating an increased interest in serving. Drinking vessels are also present. There are very few mortaria which suggests that the food consumed did not require grinding or pounding. The evidence for botanical remains on this site includes the cereals barley and spelt. There is also evidence for imported food stuffs, some amphorae sherds being present belonging to Dressel 20 which contained olive oil.

This site exhibits limited increases in complexity in terms of both architecture and foodways. There is evidence for some interest in serving, and occasional imports, but the lack of mortaria on this site may hint at engagement with 'Roman style' foodways being only superficial – as preparation of food may have remained relatively unchanged. Thus we see limited change in both the food procurement phase of the meal stage process, seen in the small amounts of imports, and in the preparation phase, suggested by the slight evidence for serving.

1.3. Watkins Farm, Northmoor, Oxfordshire

Location: SP 4260 0350

Plan: Figure 5.3

Reference: Allen, T.G. 1990a. *An Iron Age and Romano-British Enclosed Settlement at Watkins Farm, Northmoor, Oxon.* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

1.3.1. Introduction

Excavations of a Middle Iron Age enclosed settlement and Romano-British enclosures were carried out in advance of gravel extraction over three seasons between June 1983 and January 1985 (Allen 1990a: xiii). The site had not previously been identified on aerial photographs, and was first noticed during the removal of topsoil. Site A, which is an Iron Age settlement was made up of a minimum of four small penannular enclosures, which probably surrounded houses. These enclosures were all in use for more than one phase and some may have been in use contemporaneously. The excavation did not reveal any pits and there were no positive identifications of four-post structures. A break in the occupation of the site was noticed but the site was re-occupied or re-used in the late first/early second century AD. A new series of ditch enclosures was constructed which followed the boundaries of the main enclosure, a track-way and field system which incorporated a sub-rectangular enclosure was also constructed during this period. There was a clear succession of sub-rectangular enclosures, which can all be dated between the early third century and mid-fourth century AD (Allen 1990a: xiii).

Very few features were identified during the excavation of the Romano-British enclosures, the ones which were excavated were a small number of shallow pits and short lengths of gully, a scatter of postholes and two wells. The density of Romano-British pottery suggests that domestic occupation lay close by, but the site which was actually excavated was not the main focus for occupation (Allen 1990a: xiii).

Further away from Site A (approximately 200 m north east), another area of Romano-British activity was identified (Site B). The pottery indicates that this site was in use during the second century but again this was not the main focus for occupation. Activity continued on the site on a much smaller scale during the third and fourth centuries AD than on Site A. During this period, there was no evidence for structures but one structure which may have served a domestic purpose was identified and recorded (Allen 1990a: xiii).

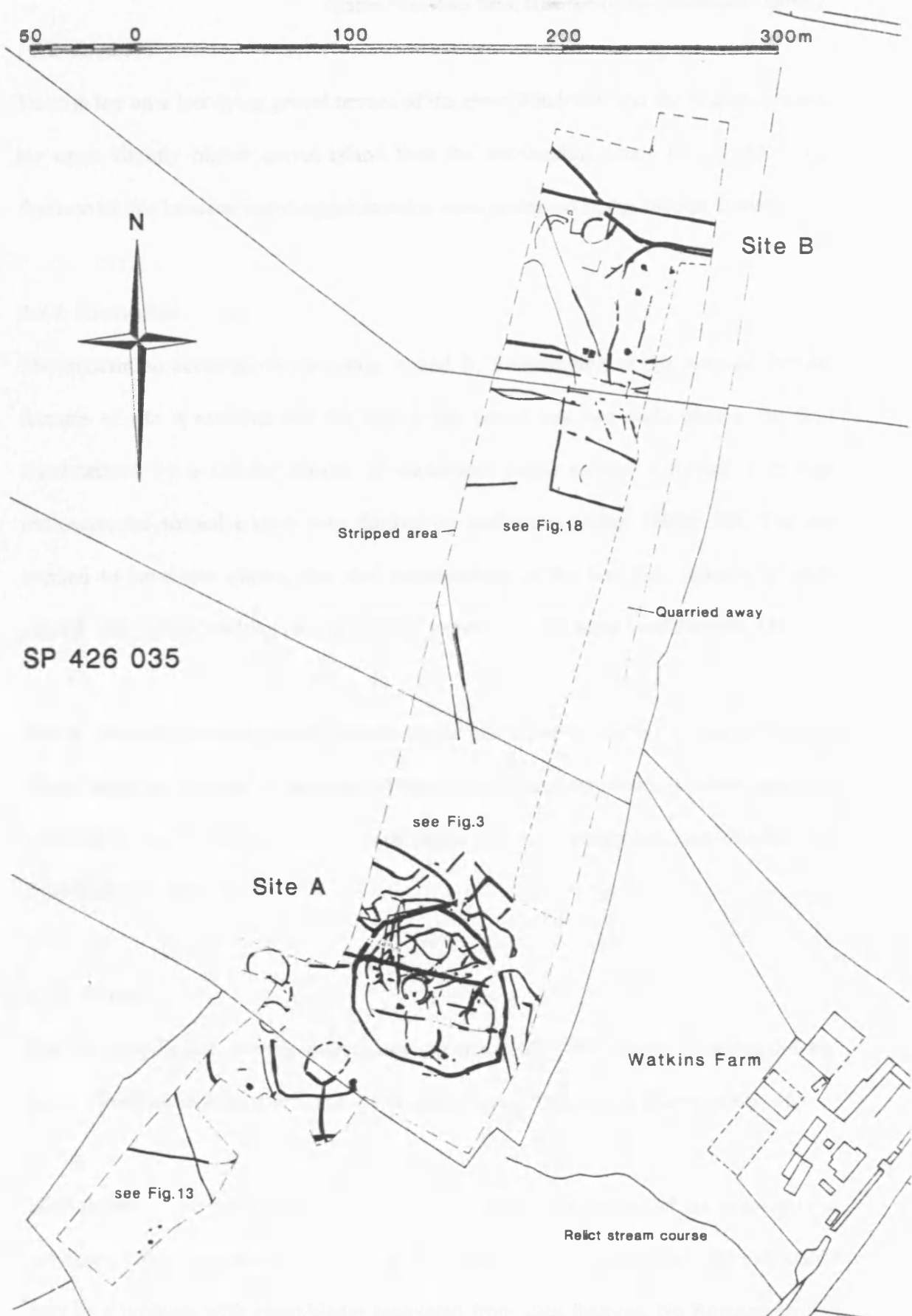


Figure 5.3: Watkins farm site plan. From Allen 1990: 3.

1.3.2. Location

The site lay on a low-lying gravel terrace of the river Windrush, and the occupied areas lay upon slightly higher gravel island than the surrounding land (Allen 1990a: 1). Because of this location waterlogged remains were preserved in the deepest features.

1.3.3. Excavation

The excavation occurred on two sites, A and B. Examination of the Romano-British features of site A revealed that the site in this period had two main phases, the first characterised by a cellular cluster of enclosures based around a former Iron Age enclosure, the second a track way flanked by enclosures (Allen 1990a: 20). The site seemed to have two phases, the first commencing in the late first century or early second century AD, and the second starting certainly by the early third century AD.

Site B consisted of occupation bounded north and south by ditches (Allen 1990: 28). There were two phases of boundary ditches, the first phase had a smaller enclosure attached to the N boundary; the second phase saw the occupation zone divided east from west by a third ditch.

1.3.4. Pottery

The Romano-British pottery assemblage consisted of 3,393 sherds weighing 34 kg. 2,255 sherds came from Site B and 1,138 sherds came from Site A (Raven 1990: 46).

Most features were poorly sealed, and in some cases it is possible that the deposition of the pottery may have occurred over a long period of time – suggesting that residuality may be a problem with assemblages recovered from such features. No Romano-British structures were recognised, so the pottery gives broad indication of the date of occupation.

1.3.5. Animal Bones

Some 8,200 bones and fragments were collected from the features (of both Roman and Iron Age date) on Site A and nearly 1,000 bones (Roman period features) on Site B (Wilson and Allison 1990: 57). There were many new breaks in the recovered remains – the excavators rating the preservation of the bones as poor. The Romano-British assemblages are small and could not be linked to a centre of domestic activity, so only broad messages can be drawn from the evidence included in this report.

1.3.6. Plant Remains

Samples of charred plant remains were recovered from both Iron Age and Romano-British phases (Moffett 1990: 61). An aim of this sampling was to identify any changes between these two phases. No significant change was detected, suggesting that there was a large degree of similarity between practices in the two periods (Moffett 1990: 63).

1.3.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The mortality profiles for cattle show that there is an emphasis on dairying or traction with the culling of calves before their first winter (see Wilson and Allison 1990: 57-61). Cattle were generally kept into adulthood and were exploited initially for secondary products.

Sheep showed strong peaks in the mortality profile in their first year and then in old age (see Wilson and Allison 1990: 57-61). This is a very similar pattern to that of cattle outlined above. This suggests that wool production, breeding and dairying were of greater importance than meat production. Male lambs were culled, just as male calves, before their first winter. Pigs were not kept beyond adulthood, as is frequently the case.

There is little difference in the husbandry regime practised with other sites in the region (see Wilson and Allison 1990: 57-61). The animal husbandry suggests a regime which was concerned with animal rearing, dairying, with sheep playing a secondary role to cattle in meat and wool production. There is a strong continuation from the Iron Age right through into the later Roman period.

2. Species Proportions

In total 8,200 fragments of animal bone were recovered from Iron Age and Romano-British deposits on Site A and 1,000 from Romano-British deposits from Site B (see Wilson and Allison 1990: 57-61). The domestic species dominate the assemblage. Sheep bones are the most common in the Iron Age assemblage but cattle are almost equally represented. Cattle dominate in the Romano-British assemblages but the small size of these assemblages should however be noted.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Wild species are represented by occasional bones of red deer, hare, cat, which may have been wild, water and field vole and frog. A group of pike bones was recovered from an Iron Age well, F60. Single bones of mallard and heron were identified from the central gullies of the main roundhouse. One buzzard bone was recovered from the main enclosure ditch and two bone of greylag (domestic goose) were excavated from a Romano-British ditch (162) (see Wilson and Allison 1990: 57-61). Although the incidence of wild animal bones is low, their presence does suggest that hunting and fishing was part of Iron Age life. It should also be noted that in comparison with other Iron Age deposits, horse is much better represented. As a species it is still prominent in the Early Roman period, being actually more numerous in the total fragments count than sheep.

4. Pottery: Supply and Imported Food stuffs

Approximately 31 kg of pottery, amounting to 1,450 sherds were recovered from Middle Iron Age deposits. The assemblage consisted of largely plain, coarse jars and mostly plain bowls. The manufacture was identifiable local (Allen 1990b: 32). As the table below illustrates, the trend over time is an increase in sandy wares. All the vessels were hand made; some were clearly pinched, others coil built, 21% of the vessels were burnished and another 14% were smoothed both inside and outside (Allen 1990b: 37).

34 kilogrammes, 3,393 sherds were recovered from Romano-British contexts; 2,255 sherds from Site B and 1,138 from Site A. The very high percentage of fine wares from Site B can be explained by the very large number of small white ware sherds which most probably derived from one vessel (Raven 1990: 47). Only eight major vessel forms were defined whereas the Site B assemblage shows a slightly greater diversity of forms and a higher proportion of fine ware vessels. There is only a very small amount of continental imports present. Apart from one Dressel 20, thirty-five Samian sherds represent the only foreign imports. The Samian assemblage comprises of Dragendorf 33 cups, Dragendorf 37 bowls, Dragendorf 18 and 18/31 dishes and Knorr 78 bowls (Raven 1990: 47-48).

The plant assemblage was dominated by cereal remains (see Moffett 1990: 61-64) and (Robinson 1990: 64-72). The cereal assemblage consisted of spelt, possibly club wheat and six-row hulled barley. Many of the non-cultivated plants are indicative of arable and disturbed habitats. Edible plants included in the assemblage are stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*), elder (*Sambucus nigra*) and hawthorn (*Crataegus cf. monogyna*). Most of the plant remains were located in the north western side of the central house enclosure. This suggests that this was the place where the seeds came into contact with fire. It is important to note that this did not appear to change in the Roman period. There

is on the whole very little difference between Iron Age and Romano-British deposits. The assemblage suggests the processing of cereals on a small, domestic scale (Moffett 1990: 64).

1.3.8. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

Skinning, meat removal and bone working are all evident from horse bones as well as skinning and meat removal from dog bones from Iron Age and Romano-British contexts. Butchery during the Roman period essentially followed an Iron Age pattern as can be seen as well at nearby sites such as Abingdon, Ashville (Grant 1987). It has been suggested that during both periods, butchery of large carcasses was carried out on the ground (Wilson 1990: 59). A cattle sacrum was chopped through the side from the anterior, this is evidence that it was not practice on this site to hang carcasses by the back legs and then cut them down the middle from the posterior end (Wilson 1990: 60).

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

Only eight sherds of mortaria were excavated on both sites A and B. These were all manufactured in the local Oxfordshire industry (see Allen 1990b: 48-49).

Only one amphora sherd belonging to a Dressel 20 was recovered from the Romano-British assemblage (Williams 1990: 48). This type of amphora usually contains olive oil from Southern Spain.

1.3.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

As mentioned above, eight major forms, from closed to open vessels, were defined according to the criteria set out in the report on Roughground Farm (Green 1993). Jars

dominate the assemblage on both site A and B. The second most common form are the bowls and dishes. The other forms such as flagons and jugs, beakers, cups and tankards, lids, mortaria and amphorae are represented by less than 5% each. Although the report states that the Site B assemblage shows a greater diversity in terms of vessel forms, the differences are very small as both the relative and absolute numbers we are dealing with are very low.

1.3.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The Middle Iron Age Upper Thames Valley is characterised by a small range of vessel types which are generally simple in form (Allen 1990b: 38). Jars dominate both the Iron Age and the Romano-British assemblages. Bowls are however, better represented in the Middle Iron Age than in Romano-British deposits. There are no specific serving vessels apart from dishes.

1.3.11. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

On the whole, the livestock is small and resembles the slender bones of Iron Age cattle and sheep. Slight size increases can be noted over time (see Wilson and Allison 1993: 57-61).

1.3.12. Summary

Watkins Farm dates back to the Middle Iron Age with a break in occupation in the later Iron Age, the site being re-occupied in the late first-early second century AD. There is a clear correspondence between the Iron Age layout of the site and that of the Roman period - a clear succession of sub-rectangular enclosures can be noted, although the focus of domestic occupation is different. The site remains architecturally simple

throughout the Roman period. It should also be noted that the assemblages from the sites are rather poor, and small in scale, possibly because the real focus of domestic settlement was missed by the excavation, but lay nearby. Sheep were the most common species present in the animal bone assemblage, with both cattle and pig being poorly represented. The sites husbandry regime indicates a focus upon secondary products. There is evidence for the consumption of wild species, birds and fish. Turning to pottery, we see an assemblage dominated very strongly by coarse ware – there was a limited amount of Samian (only 35 sherds), and moderate amounts of local fine ware. In terms of forms, the assemblage is dominated strongly by jars, with some bowls and dishes. Drinking vessels were present, but were rare. The botanical remains consisted of bread wheat and barley, with nettle, hawthorn and elder. Imports are an interesting aspect of the assemblage at Watkins Farm – the site appears to be relatively poor, but there is evidence that the inhabitants may have had aspirations to acquire Roman Material culture – there is a single sherd belonging to an amphora.

The assemblages and the architecture tell a story of a low status site which engaged little with the outside world in terms of trade and imports. The site, with its Iron Age beginnings, continues into the Roman period, and the foodways current at the time of the conquest continue relatively unchanged. The one contradiction to this appears to be the amphora sherd noted above. In general the meal stage process seems to have remained unchanged, with the exception of possible (very) limited experimentation with imports.

1.4. Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn

Location: SU 2862 2962

Plan: Figure 5.4

Reference: Hostetter, E. and Noble Howe, T. (eds), 1997, *The Romano-British Villa at Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn*. Bloomington and Indianapolis.

1.4.1. Introduction

The villa at Castle Copse has been known about for many centuries and was excavated between 1936-37 and again between 1983-86. The excavations have revealed a large masonry villa in the fourth century benefiting from heated rooms, mosaics and wall paintings.

1.4.2. Location

The ruins of the Roman villa at Castle Copse lie on the western brow of the three-kilometre-long wooded ridge known as Bedwyn Brail, immediately south of the village of Great Bedwyn. The villa is somewhat unusually sited on a hilltop, a position occupied by relatively few villas in the southwest. It is doubtful that defence was a consideration, the site dominates the primary passage to the southwest along the valley of the Bedworth Brook. The villa was built across the Bedwyn Valley from Chisbury Hillfort. The villa is also located close to the regional and local road systems. It is suggested that a secondary track way ran from the site along the Bedwyn Brook and may have joined the road between *Cunetio* and *Venta Belgarum*, less than two kilometres from the site.

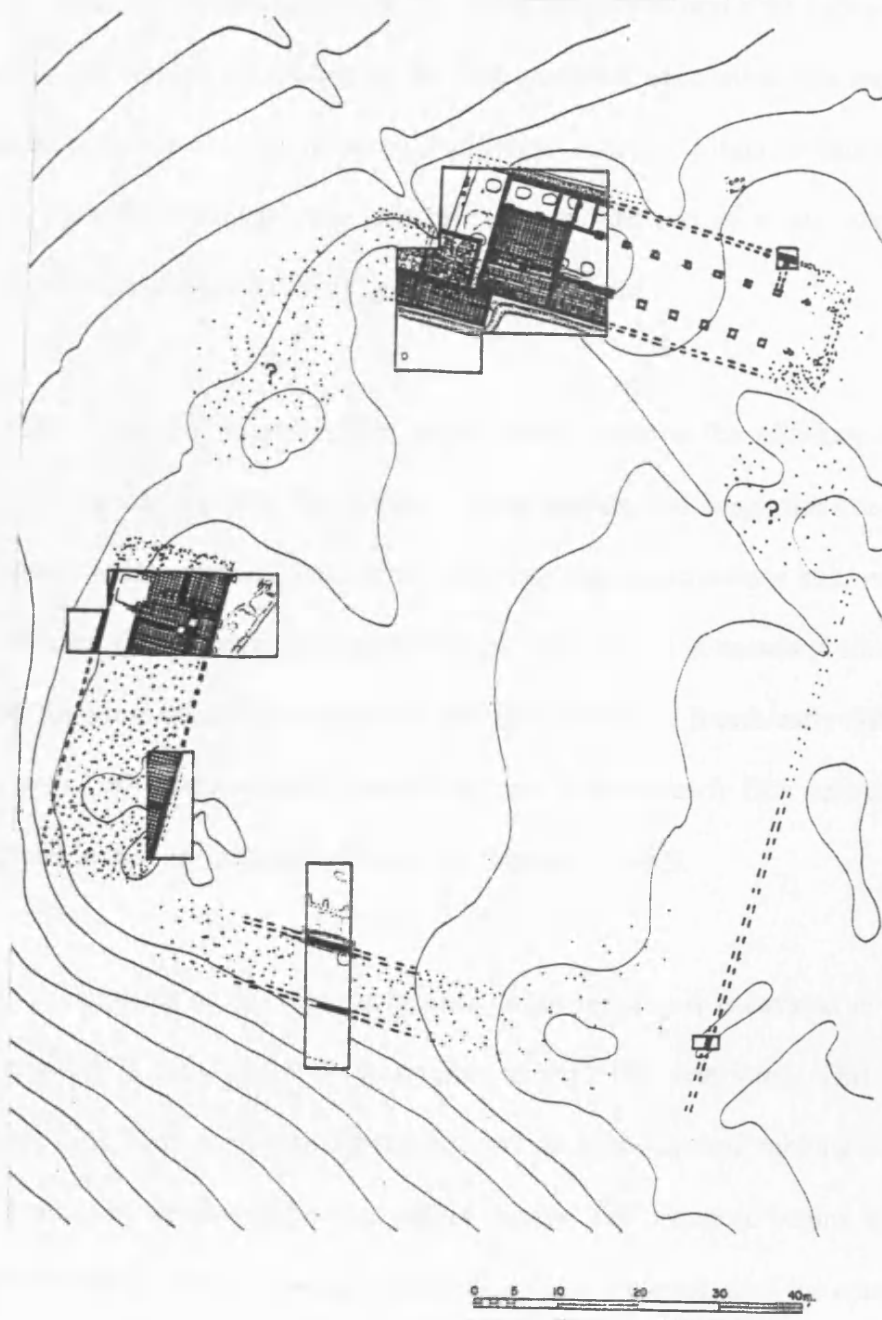


Figure 5.4 Castle Copse site plan. From Hostetter, et al. (eds) 1997: 165.

1.4.3. Excavation

The earliest mention of the villa at Castle Copse was in the sixteenth century. The most recent excavations (those discussed in this summary) were conducted between 1983-86 by Indiana University. After clearing the villa platform, excavation was carried out in four sectors and in a series of small evaluation trenches. Slight remains of earlier, possibly Iron Age, remains were also revealed, as was part of a late structure post-dating the Roman villa and extending into the courtyard.

The Castle Copse site possesses four major phases between the mid-first century AD and the fourth century AD. These are: 1) early ditches and beam slot structures (late first through to late second century); 2) earth fast post constructions built on a levelled gravel terrace (late second through mid-third century); 3) a masonry courtyard villa built on the same alignment (mid-third through end of the fourth/early fifth century); and 4) late or sub-Roman squatter habitation (end of fourth/early fifth century). Mosaics were found in the Castle Copse villa in both Sectors A and B.

Sector A comprised of the villa north wing. This sector was excavated to the natural over most of its area. Sector B comprised of the villa west wing. This sector was excavated only to the top of the Roman occupation levels, several robbing cuts and two small evaluation trenches did reveal earlier phases. The sequence begins with a beam slot structure and a dump of terrace gravel; then there is a break until the construction of the masonry building. The masonry building is then structurally altered; after that alteration, there seems to be another arrangement (hypocausts are backfilled and the final mosaics laid). There follows a clear change of use of these heated and decorated rooms with the insertion of industrial activities. Finally, squatter structures are built in the courtyard after robbing of part of the masonry building. Sector C comprised of the villa south wing and the sequence shows early ditches dating to AD 50-70, followed by

a terrace gravel dump dating to the later second and early third centuries, this is followed by the construction and use of the masonry building which dates to the fourth century, in the early fifth century there is the partial dilapidation of the building followed by its abandonment, collapse and robbing in the later fifth century. Sector D comprises of the villa west wing (southwest corner). Sector D was laid out over part of the area of excavations conducted in 1936-1937, at the southeast corner of the villa platform. These showed a similar sequence of occupation and usage.

1.4.4. Pottery

The pottery assemblage from Castle Copse was generally small and of poor quality. This was to be expected due to the nature of the excavation and the collection strategy employed. Sectors A and D coincide with areas previously excavated in the thirties. The aim of the excavation of Sector B was to examine the villa at its height therefore very little pottery was recovered from these excavations and the pottery recovered was mostly residual. Sector C provided some of the best assemblages of the site. This is despite the fact that only a small part of the sector was totally excavated. The pottery from Sector D was previously sorted material from the thirties' excavation and was not included in the report.

The report does not produce a vessel form type. Quantification has been based on the assessment of the minimum number of vessels represented. The weight of the pottery was not included in the report as much of it was Savernake ware.

1.4.5. Animal Remains

Animal remains were found throughout the Castle Copse excavations, but in particularly large concentrations within the second aisled building in Sector A. The animal bone report is therefore largely based on these remains. The majority of bones

were hand recovered with some material being dry and wet sieved. The bulk of the bone was mammal bone with bird bones being relatively scarce as were fish remains. Oyster and seashells were common especially in Sector A.

1.4.6. Plant Remains

Excavations at Castle Copse villa produced assemblages of plant remains from phases spanning early Roman to at least fifth century AD, primarily from building interiors. The evidence preserved consists almost entirely of charred plant remains. Occasional mineralized remains were encountered, and no waterlogged ones. The plant remains from Sectors A and B are, on the whole, poorly preserved, preventing complete identification. In all sectors, cereal grains are the most distorted and fragmented; in Sectors A and B, weed seeds are in similarly fragmentary condition, but are better preserved in Sector C. While most of the cultivated cereal remains are indeterminate, wheat and associated chaff are regularly present in the samples. Glume bases are most readily identified, the majority belonging to emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*).

1.4.7. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

In Sector A, the age-at-death evidence for cattle suggests that most were killed as sub adults and young adults. The youngest individual was culled at approximately two to four months however, a peak in the mortality profile can be noted between two and five years of age. The epiphyseal fusion data suggests that few animals were culled before the age of eighteen months, while over a third of the late fusing bones were unfused which suggests a kill-off pattern before three to four years of age (Payne 1997).

The age-at-death for sheep suggests the consumption of sheep mostly less than five years old, especially in the late Roman period where we can see the frequent consumption of lamb, aged less than six months.

Adult pigs are, as usual, relatively scarce. Milk teeth of piglets of only a few weeks old are fairly common especially in the late Roman period.

2. Species Proportions

A marked difference is directly obvious between the early and mid-Roman period in which about 40% of identifiable bones belonged to cattle and 30% to sheep, and the late Roman period in which 70% of bones are from pig (Payne 1997).

The early to mid-Roman period assemblage is not very large: in total only 200 bones were identified to species, 40% belonged to cattle, 30% to sheep and 20% to pig, with only a few horse, red and roe deer, hare and dog bones present.

The late Roman assemblage however, contains 1,600 identifiable fragments of which nearly 70% are pig bones, 20% cattle and 7% sheep, together with small numbers of horse, red and roe deer, hare, dog and cat bones. The pig bones can be subdivided into two distinct groups: the bones and teeth of very young piglets which were culled at two to three months old and the bones and teeth of sub adults and adults (Payne 1997).

The picture from the early to mid-Roman period suggests that beef would have been the main source of meat. Most of the meat would have come from sub adults, although some younger and older individuals are present. This is a fairly standard picture, in terms of species abundance, for a higher status Romano-British site.

On the other hand, the late Roman deposits are clearly unusual. The high proportion of pig (70%) has not been noted on any other sites discussed here. There are also some contemporary sites in Gaul which have equally high pig percentages (Allison 1997: 337).

3. Exploitation of Other Species

Wild species and other non-livestock animals are only represented by a small number of bones, these include: horse, red and roe deer, hare, rabbit, dog, fox, cat, badger and small weasels. The early to mid-Roman period assemblage contained a few horse, red and roe deer, hare and dog bones. The late Roman assemblage contains one red deer, one roe deer and three hare bones (Payne 1997). This suggests that hunting was of minor importance, at least for providing extra meat. Birds and fish also contributed little to the overall food. It is unclear if horse was eaten, some bones however, showed butchery marks. This would indicate that horse might have been consumed occasionally rather than on a regular basis.

Other food sources present in the late Roman assemblages are oyster shells, chicken, duck, woodcock, golden plover, salmon, trout, and imported sea fish. These 'luxury' foods, together with young pigs, would suggest that the inhabitants of the villa at least dined well (Jones 1997; Allison 1997).

Present in the assemblage were 294 fish bones of which 147 (50%) could be identified to family or lower taxon. Most of the bones were from the later Roman period. Flatfish (*Pleuronectidae*) dominated the assemblage, with other fishes also represented such as eel (*Anguilla anguilla*), salmon (*Salmo salar*) and trout (*Salmo trutta*). Other fresh water fish included at least one member of the Cyprinidae family. Some marine fishes were also present, although these were by no means abundant, the assemblage showed a

diverse range of good quality fish. Herring bones were the most common but the assemblage also included bass (*Dicentrarchus labrax*), gilthead (*Sparus auratus*) and horse mackerel (*Trachurus trachurus*) (Jones 1997). This is not merely a typical selection of locally available fish. The presence of gilthead, and bass indicates that some thought has gone into their selection. The distance of Castle Copse to the sea is also not inconsiderable and indicates that only wealthy and powerful people could have had access to such food.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The report states that the pottery assemblage is small and of poor quality (Wilmott 1997: 267). A large number of fabrics is however, present on site. Most of these are coarse wares and locally produced fine wares with a limited number of imported fine ware fabrics present. The earliest pottery on the site consisted of Belgic types which were locally produced. The more exotic Gallo-Belgic fine wares were rare. By the later third century, when the aisled building in Sector A was in use, Savernake wares decline, whereas the products of the Dorset industries increased in popularity, i.e. BB1 and also New Forest and Alice Holt/Farnham ceramics. In the third century a broad spread of supply already noted is represented by the arrival of the material from the Oxfordshire potteries, Severn Valley and Hertfordshire Hadham kilns. Two characteristic fourth-century wares are present on site: i.e. South Midlands shell-gritted ware and Overwey ware. Although luxury foods are present in the animal bone assemblage, fine wares are uncommon. There is a very marked scarcity of Samian ware too, although the author of the report suggested (Wilmott 1997: 272) that this may have been due to the possibility that excavated area *may* have briefly become peripheral to the site proper during the period of Samian deposition.

Three species of cereals were found; these were Emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), spelt (*Triticum spelta*) and bread wheat (*Triticum aestivo*). Spelt was widely used throughout the Iron Age and had been cultivated in England since the Neolithic. Emmer was particularly common in the Neolithic and Bronze Age and is often the second most common species after spelt in Roman and Anglo-Saxon deposits. Emmer wheat produces high quality flour and is richer in protein than bread wheat. Bread wheat was introduced in England in the Neolithic and is free-threshing whereas both spelt and emmer are glume wheats. Barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) is also represented, as is rye (*Secale secale*). Cultivated oat (*Avena sativa*) was also represented in small quantities. Only one pea (*Pisum sativum*) was recovered from Sector A (Clapham and Gleason 1997).

1.4.8. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

On the whole the assemblage contained very few bones which showed evidence of cut marks. These were commoner on the bones of the larger mammals than on the smaller ones: 10% of cattle bones had evidence of butchery compared to only 2% of pig and sheep bones. None of the hare bones had any evidence of cut marks on them. Most of the cut marks were relatively fine marks possibly made by a knife. A smaller number of heavier chop marks were probably made by a cleaver or axe. These are associated with the disarticulation and the smaller knife marks with the cutting of meat off bones and skinning (Payne 1997: 326).

There are clear cuts on the proximal tibia of a horse, which are associated with the disarticulation of the stifle joints. Other horse bones also showed evidence for butchery (from the mid to late Roman period): a horse metapodial had several cut marks on the distal articulation (Payne 1997: 327).

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There is no specific mention in the report of how many sherds belonging to mortaria are present.

There is only one type of amphora present on site and that is the Dressel 20 olive oil amphora (Wilmott 1997). However, this is present in very small quantities and the olive oil the amphorae may have contained would have made very little impact on the foodways of the site.

Some exotic species were present on site. These included the remains of olive (*Olea europaea*) and fig (*Ficus carica*). These represented imported food stuffs to Castle Copse, as neither is native to Britain (Clapham and Gleason 1997). Just one specimen represented both. This suggests that these did not form an integral or even important part of the foodways of the site.

1.4.9. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The report did not present a specific breakdown of forms but it is clear from the catalogue that the dominant form by far is the jar. Other forms included: bowls, platters, dishes, beakers, cups and flagons.

1.4.10. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Considering the relative richness of the food consumed on site particularly in the later Roman period, there is not the vast array of forms present to match such food. This would suggest that although the food consumed was 'rich', i.e. lots of young pork and other young meat (according to Apicius, young meat was prized by Romans, but this

will be discussed in chapter seven), oysters and fishes, the way in which it was served did not involve the elaborate 'Roman' dishes that we see portrayed on mosaic from Pompeii. There is a distinct lack of even the most basic fine wares such as Samian; there are very few imported food stuffs (only one olive and one fig have been recovered and a limited number of amphora sherds) yet the home grown food different from many other rural sites, particularly in the high proportion of pig, was of the highest quality.

1.4.11. Other Information

1. Size of Animals

A fairly small number of bones could be measured and the results revealed some relatively large individuals. This is also the case with the sheep, which are also generally larger than Iron Age sheep.

1.4.12. Summary

The excavations at Castle Copse revealed a Roman site, with no evidence for Iron Age occupation, but which appears to have begun in the first century AD. In the earlier phases, there is evidence for a structure with beam slot construction, which developed into a large masonry villa in the third/fourth centuries. This villa benefited from heated rooms, mosaics and painted wall plaster – an architecturally complex structure. Cattle dominate in the early Roman period, but pig come to dominate the assemblage after the construction on the villa (having always been significant). Pig is well represented in this assemblage, particularly with a particular emphasis upon young culling - especially in the third/fourth century, perhaps coinciding with the construction of the villa. Meat production is also the primary focus for the husbandry regime practiced for both sheep and cattle. Oysters, chicken, duck, woodcock, golden plover, salmon, trout and various other saltwater fishes were present, but there was no evidence of wild meat bearing species being consumed. The pottery assemblage included a limited amount of early

imports (Samian), but contained a wide range of fabrics from the pottery industries located in the South West of England (Oxfordshire industries, Severn Valley, Alice Holt/Farnham, Dorset). The range of vessels was large consisting of jars, bowls, dishes, platters and drinking vessels, indicating a strong interest in serving, but there appear to have been no mortaria on site. Botanical remains included cereals, particularly emmer, but also fig and olive. Imports were present in the form of olive oil bearing amphora.

The foodways of the site show strong signs of elaboration, becoming more complex as the architecture of the site developed. The construction of the villa seems to coincide with the broadening of the pottery assemblage, and also the high consumption of young pigs. But in addition to this we should note the variety of food consumed on site, seen particularly in the different types of fish and fowl present. The meal stage process thus sees considerable change, with increasing complexity in the procurement stage, with a range of wild species present, a shift towards the consumption of pig, and imports. The preparation stage also shows evidence of increasing complexity over time, with a wide variety of serving and dining vessels present.

1.5. Frocester

Location: S0 785032

Plan: Figure 5.5

Reference: Price, E., 2000. *Frocester: A Romano-British Settlement, its Antecedents and Successors. Volumes 1 and 2*. Gloucester and District Archaeological Research Group.

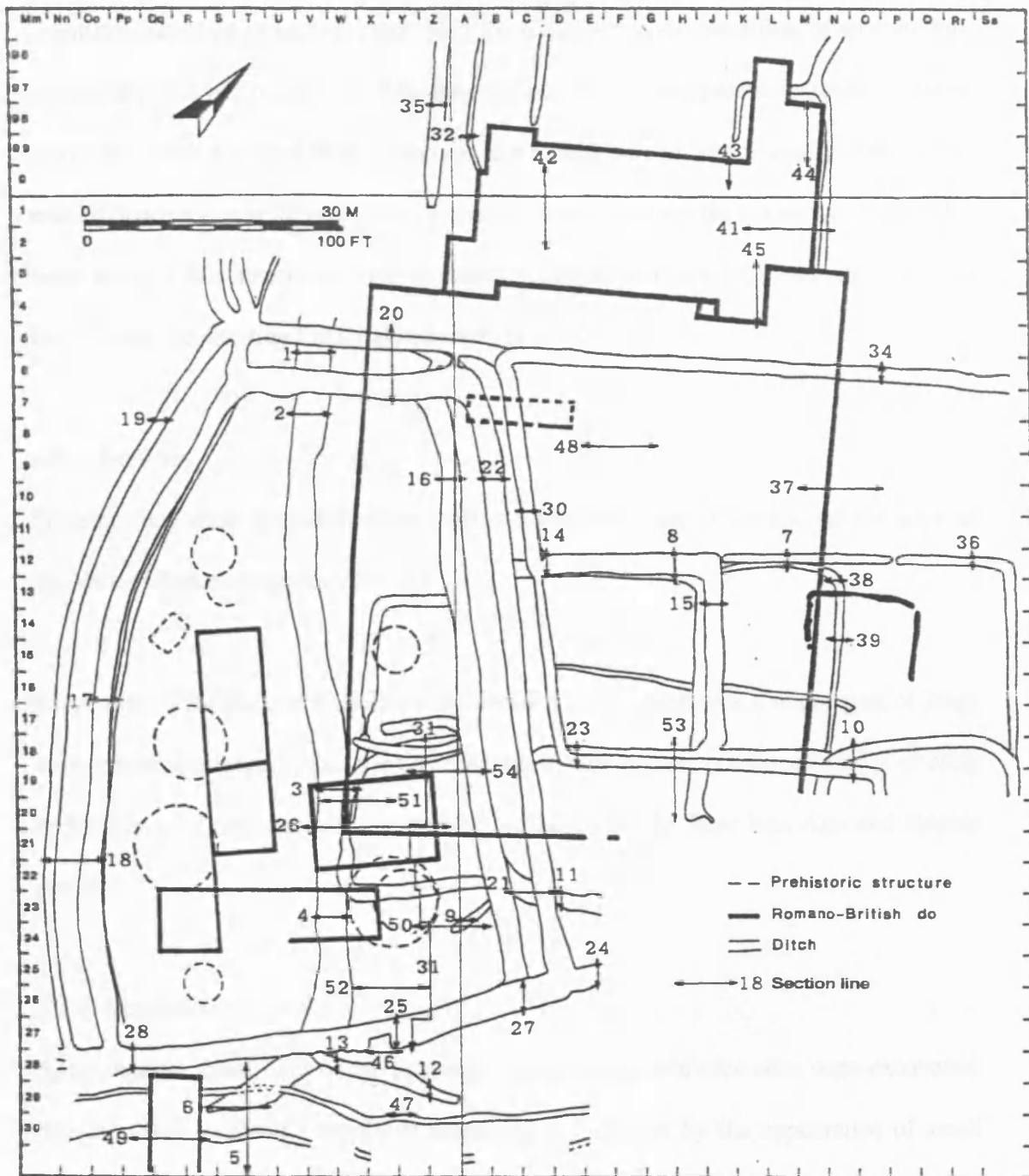


Figure 5.5: Frocester site plan. From Price 2000: 12.

1.5.1. Introduction

Domestic and other structures present on the site indicate the transition of an Iron Age community into a Roman one. The late third-century development included a stone-built house with a walled front courtyard and formal garden, and a smaller yard to the rear. Following a peak of prosperity in the late fourth century, the house was eventually burnt down. Later structures were probably occupied until the sixth century or a little later, before the site was finally abandoned (Price 2000: 3).

1.5.2. Location

Frocester is a small Gloucestershire village 8 km southwest of Stroud, on the edge of the Vale of Berkerley (Price 2000: 3).

Excavation of half of a 2.8 ha site at Frocester Court, which was a major part of long-term rescue and research programme over the gravel terrace, uncovered traces of early prehistoric occupation pre-dating ditched enclosures of the later Iron Age and Roman periods.

1.5.3. Excavation

Site 1 was the main focus of the excavation, although in total nine sites were excavated. The Iron Age to Roman transition is marked at Frocester by the appearance of small quantities of first-century Samian and imported fine wares, and a few early coins. Existing structures remained in use with some new timber ones being erected. Certain boundary ditches were altered and one new one was dug. In the following phase, a major refurbishment of the settlement boundaries occurred, when the first-century circular structures and palisade alignments were swept away and replaced by the first of a succession of rectangular buildings. In the next phase, the alterations made appear to have resulted from the enlargement of the settlement boundaries. In the later Roman

period, a new house was constructed (referred to as Building A) which turned into a large stone-built house with gardens and courtyards. It should be noted that Hurst (2002: 631) has doubts about the excavators wider interpretation of the local farming landscape (Price 2000: 241-246), but this does not effect our re-analysis of the excavated data.

1.5.4. Pottery

The publication presents the pottery which was excavated during 20 years of excavation at Frocester. Hence it was not possible to record all pottery to the same level. However, circa 75 % (approximately 488 kg, 34,500 sherds) was quantified by fabric type, the remaining material was briefly scanned and not completely analysed. It would appear that it is the material from the fourth-century villa complex which has not been fully analysed along with most of the plough soil finds (Timby 2000a: 125). No proper method for deciding which pottery would be fully analysed was employed so the decision was random.

The material was generally poorly preserved and had been subjected to continual redeposition which caused abrasion. There is also contamination of material from plough action (Timby 2000a: 125). Therefore material has been brought down by the plough as well as up. This has led to a great deal of residual material being present.

1.5.5. Animal Bones

The animal bones from Frocester are well-preserved but fragmentary due to the plough action. It would appear that little material was at its original site of deposition. Due to this, only a limited amount of anatomical analysis was conducted. Butchery marks were also not recorded as they would have been difficult to accurately distinguish from post-depositional alteration (Noddle 2000: 217). A total of 18,378 fragments of bone were

identified. These are not necessarily representative as only a small part of the entire site was excavated and because of the disturbance to finds caused by plough action.

1.5.6 Plant Remains

There was an abundance of waterlogged plant material recovered from Frocester, in particular from a first-century well deposit (Field 2000: 253). The assemblage reflects an agricultural landscape which suggests an increasingly intensive agricultural regime, particularly from the later third century onwards. A horticultural emphasis can also be noticed through the presence of coriander in the later third century (Field 2000: 256).

Charred plant remains were also recovered from deposits at Frocester. The results complement those of the waterlogged plant remains as they span the same period of occupation. The cereal evidence suggests a change from emmer and spelt cultivation at the end of the first century to the introduction of bread wheats and other crops between then and the end of the Roman period (Field 2000: 257). The presence of chaff and weed seeds indicates the growing of crops such as *Vicia faba minor* (Celtic bean) (Field 2000: 257).

1.5.7 Molluscs

Molluscs were found in a variety of different deposits but sampling was carried out only sporadically (Young and Allen 2000: 249). Species recovered included oysters, cockles, limpets, mussels and whelks, although no exact numbers or abundance by period was provided.

1.5.8 Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The bones and mandibles which were assigned to an age category have been divided into age groups on the basis of bone fusion, tooth eruption and wear (see Price 2000).

In the Iron Age most cattle were mature at slaughter. This pattern remains unchanged throughout the Roman period; only in the fifth century are the numbers of immature animals equal to the mature ones. The picture for sheep is fairly similar. The majority of animals are culled when mature except in the Iron Age period when more immature animals are being culled. Pigs were mostly slaughtered when still immature except in the Late Roman period when the majority of pigs were culled when mature. This pattern suggests a husbandry regime where cattle and sheep were exploited not just for meat but mostly for milk, traction and breeding purposes.

2. Species Proportions

In the Iron Age, cattle dominate the assemblage with sheep the second most common species, pig are particularly poorly represented. Horse in fact is better represented than pig, 10% and 6% respectively. In the early Roman period, sheep are the most common species, with cattle decreasing from 52% in the preceding period to 30%. Pig doubles in its importance from 6% to 12%. In the mid-Roman period, sheep are still the most abundant species but cattle increase. Pig remains stable at 12%. In the late Roman period, cattle are again the dominant species, whilst sheep decrease in importance as does pig.

Period	Cattle %	Sheep %	Pig %	Goat %	Horse %	Dog %	Cat %	Red %	Roe %	Fox %	Hare %	Rodent %	Weasel %
2	52	30	6	<1	10	1	0	<1	<1	0	0	0	0
2/3	30	49	12	<1	6	1	<1	1	<1	0	<1	0	<1
3	37	40	12	<1	6	3	<1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	0
4	52	27	10	1	7	2	<1	1	1	<1	<1	<1	0
5	47	17	10	2	14	7	0	2	<1	0	0	0	0

Table 5.14: Total Fragments count (%) from Frocester

However, when we look at the MNI figures, we see a slightly different picture. In the Iron Age, sheep are the most common species and pig is better represented than in the total fragments count. In the early Roman period, there is a very marked decrease in cattle and an increase in sheep. Pig, on the other hand, decrease slightly. From the mid-Roman period onwards, cattle and sheep are pretty much equally represented. Pig remains fairly stable throughout the mid-to later Roman period. The beginning of the Roman period is particularly marked on this site by the decrease of cattle and the increase in sheep.

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Goat	Horse	Dog	Red	Roe	Fox	Hare	Rodent	Weasel
2	28	31	19	2	17	5	1	2	0	0	0	0
2/3	19	48	14	2	8	4	3	1	0	1	0	1
3	26	32	17	2	9	4	2	1	1	1	1	0
4	31	30	17	2	10	5	2	1	1	1	1	0
5	27	26	16	3	15	8	4	2	0	0	0	0

Table 5.15: Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) from Frocester

We can also look at the abundance of the different species, particularly the main livestock ones, in terms of relative increases and decreases over time. For this purpose the MNI figures have been used, as the total fragments count did not provide raw numbers but rather percentages.

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig
2	100	110	68
2/3	100	252	74
3	100	123	65
4	100	97	55
5	100	96	59

Table 5.16: Ratio of cattle/sheep and pig (%) from Frocester

When we look at the species proportions in relative terms we can see first the relative increase in sheep in the immediate post-Conquest period followed by a decrease throughout the Roman period. Pig on the other hand, show a steady decrease over the Roman period after a small increase in the early Roman period, at the same time as the increase in sheep.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

The main non-livestock species present is horse, which in the late Iron Age, is better represented than pig. According to the total fragments count, horse decreases in the early to mid-Roman period but shows a marked increase in the late Roman period. The fourth-century assemblage also contains the remains of two donkeys. When we look at the MNI figures however, horse remains stable throughout the Iron Age and the Roman period showing a slight increase in the late Roman period. Dog remains stable throughout the Roman period but does almost double in importance in the late Roman period.

	Domestic	Horse	Dog
Period	%	%	%
2	100	22	6
2/3	100	10	5
3	100	12	5
4	100	13	6
5	100	22	12

Table 5.17: Ratio of domestic species (cattle, sheep and pig)/horse and dog from

Frocester

We can also look at the relative percentages of the wild species present in contrast to the domestic species.

Period	Domestic %	Wild %
2	100	4
2/3	100	7
3	100	8
4	100	8
5	100	9

Table 5.18: Ratio of domestic species (cattle, sheep and pig)/ wild species (red and roe deer, fox, hare, rodent and weasel) from Frocester

Again an increase can be noted in the immediate post-conquest period with a slight increase throughout the mid-and late Roman periods. We must however, bear in mind that the sample numbers are small and that these species would on the whole have contributed little on a daily basis to the food consumed.

The other species present are dog, cat, red and roe deer, fox, hare, rodent, weasel and domestic and wild birds. All of these, apart from dog, are represented by less than 1% in the total fragments count. In the MNI, dog and red and roe deer are slightly better represented but still would have contributed little to the overall meat available to the inhabitants of the site.

Domestic fowl are well represented from the early Roman period onwards, being particularly common in the late Roman period.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

In the second half of the first century, native wares are accompanied by an increased variety of other wares such as Savernake wares, black burnished wares and Severn

Valley wares. This developed out of an essentially local tradition which showed some 'Roman' influences such as the platter excavated from F32 which imitated an imported moulded form. Small quantities of early fine wares are present and these included Samian ware, a terra nigra platter, a terra rubra pedestal beaker, and beakers in Lyons and Central Gaulish colour-coated wares. Timby suggests that this indicates the adoption of Roman table manners and habits (2000a: 143). This will be further discussed in chapter seven.

Period	CW	IFW	LFW
2	4945	0	0
3/4/5	25173	544	931

Table 5.19: Fabric proportions (number of sherds: 31,593) from Frocester

During the mid-to late Roman periods, three wares dominated the ceramic assemblages: Severn Valley wares (22%), BB1 (14.5%) and micaceous wares (21%). From the second century onwards a small number of wares from the Wiltshire industries are represented and Savernake storage jars continue to feature heavily in the assemblages. Samian is poorly represented throughout, accounting for a mere 0.75% by weight. We need to bear in mind that weight is easily distorted just by what type of pottery is being quantified. A sherd of coarse pottery will, for example, weigh more than a fine sherd of pottery. Samian however, is not one of the finer wares and it can thus be suggested that this measure, at least in relative terms, reflects its poor representation. Other fine wares are restricted to a few sherds of Rhenish wares. In the late Roman period, we see an increasing number of products from the Oxfordshire industries, which included colour-coated beakers, bowls and mortaria.

The sample from the late first century provides evidence for the cultivation and processing of three crop species, with flax also being present. Flax is however, more

likely to have been cultivated for fibre than for its oily seeds, which may have been used in food preparation (van der Veen 1996).

1.5.9. Food Preparation

1. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

The site shows a plentiful supply of mortaria which greatly increases during the mid-to later Roman period. Most mortaria are white in colour or are white-slipped and derive from the Oxfordshire and to a lesser degree the Nene Valley industries.

The presence of a considerable number of mortaria, based on the estimated vessel equivalent, suggests that the food preparation involved lots of grinding and mixing of ingredients.

In total, 237 amphora sherds, totalling 22.351 kg, were excavated at Frocester. These included Dressel 20, Dressel 2-4, Gallic and ribbed amphorae as well a number of unidentifiable ones. The Dressel 20 sherds are the most numerous (210 sherds), whereas less than ten sherds represent the others each. The food stuffs that these may have contained are olive oil and wine. The quantities however, even for the most common type, were small.

Period	Dr 20	Dr 2-4	Gallic	Ribbed	Unid
3/4/5	210	3	8	3	10

Table 5.20: Number of sherds of each amphora type represented from Frocester

A later third-century sample suggests the presence of coriander, walnut, hazel and plum. This sample indicates a diversification in the agricultural regime, with horticulture increasingly playing a role. The presence of coriander also suggests further contacts

with the outside world. Coriander can however, as was mentioned in the discussion of Dragonby, be cultivated successfully in Britain, even though it is not a native plant.

1.5.10. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Jars dominate the assemblage in all periods. Micaceous ware is the most common throughout the Roman period, and is represented by 9,091 sherds, totalling 104.908 kg. Jars dominate the vessel forms of this ware, accounting for 68% of forms; bowls and dishes represent 28% whereas tankards, flagons and jugs, lids, beakers and colanders together represent only 4%.

Severn Valley ware, also a locally produced coarse ware, is the second most common ware and its output is again dominated by jars, if to a lesser degree than micaceous ware. It is represented in total by 7,832 sherds, 116.221 kg. Jars represent 51% of the assemblage and tankards 33%, bowls and dishes 11% and the other forms such as platters, lids, beakers, flagons and jugs and colanders by 1% each. Tankards are rare on Roman sites and it is unusual that they should be so well represented here particularly in contrast to beakers.

BB1 from Dorset is the third most common fabric accounting for 6,387 sherds, 70.557 kg. The range of vessels represented is less wide than the other two fabrics and comprises jars and a variety of bowls and dishes. These range from dog bowls to oval fish dishes. Jars again dominate representing 58% of the assemblage and bowls and dishes 42%.

1.5.11. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

As noted above, fine wares are not well represented at Frocester, nor are any specific serving vessels. Bowls and dishes are the most common form after jars. Drinking vessels are however, well represented, in particular tankards. This would suggest that even if other aspects such as mortaria and imported food stuffs are present, the serving of food was not a habit practised by the inhabitants of Frocester.

1.5.12. Summary

The excavations at Frocester revealed evidence for an Iron Age community, with an animal assemblage dominated by cattle. In the early Roman period the site was relatively simple, consisting of farm buildings constructed in timber, but in the late third century the site was dramatically re-built, a large stone house with walled front courtyard, formal garden and small yard to the rear, replacing earlier structures. The site reached a peak of prosperity in the late fourth century before the house burnt down. Looking at the Roman Period animal remains, we see that in the early and mid-Roman period sheep is the most common species with pig being well-represented. Cattle again become the most common species in the later Roman period, with sheep and pig declining. The increase of pig in the early and mid-Roman period might be indicative of a rise in status of the inhabitants of the site, as has been suggested by Grant (1989). In terms of the husbandry regime practiced on this site, we see that cattle were culled when immature, suggesting meat production, although this changed to mature culling, and an emphasis upon secondary products, in the late Roman period. Sheep were culled when immature in the Iron Age (suggesting meat production), but this changed in the Roman period to mature culling, and a focus upon secondary products. There are no domestic fowl present in the assemblage, but there is a small amount of shellfish, and limited evidence for wild species. The Roman period pottery assemblage contains early

imports, in the form of a small quantity of first-century Samian ware and other imported fine wares. The imported fine ware present on site did not occur in particularly large quantities, although it should be noted that the assemblages were not well-preserved due to plough action. However, the range of fabrics and vessels present was notable, including *Terra Nigra* and *Terra Rubra* (these have only been recovered from this site of all the sites analysed in this thesis). The assemblage becomes dominated by products of local industries in the later period, both fine ware and coarse ware. In terms of forms, we see a wide range of forms, perhaps giving evidence for serving. Mortaria and drinking vessels in particular were well-represented, particularly from the third century onwards. Evidence for botanical remains includes emmer, with a later shift towards spelt cultivation. There is also evidence for bread wheat, Celtic bean, hazel, walnut and plum, particularly in the late Roman period. Imported food stuffs consist mainly of olive oil and coriander, with some coriander also present.

It can be suggested that the inhabitants of Frocester did, to the best of their cultural ability, buy into the Roman lifestyle package and enjoyed a degree of imported food. This seems to be particularly the case from the third century onwards, when we elaboration of the sites foodways in keeping with the elaboration of site architecture, seen particularly in an increase in serving vessels, mortaria and drinking vessels. We thus see increasing complexity in the meal stage process, but with change occurring rather more in the preparation phase (increased interest in serving), and to only a limited extent in the procurement phase, with some imported food stuffs.

2. Sites Outside the Corieltauian Territory: Summary

Table 5.20 summarises the data for the non-Corieltauvian sites. As with table 4.40 above, this will be further discussed in chapter six but serves too as a visual summary of the key features of each of the sites discussed in this section. As with the sites discussed

in chapter four, the five sites considered here can also be divided up according to the complexity of their architecture. Using the same structure as used for chapter four, we have three groups: Group One – simple farmsteads, Group two – transitional sites, and Group Three – sites of some architectural sophistication. Viewed in this way we have Watkins farm in Group One, Asthall in Group Two and Castle Copse, Frocester and Roughground farm in Group Three.

Group One: Simple Farmsteads

Watkins Farm	Farmstead Architecture: Group One
Iron Age	Farmstead. The focus of domestic occupation during the Roman period was different to that during the Iron Age.
Animal Remains	Sheep are the most common species with cattle and pig poorly represented. Cattle were culled when mature indicating the importance of secondary products. The same picture for sheep. Wild species present, in particular horse is numerous during the Roman period, there are also fish bones and bird bones present in both Iron Age and Roman deposits.
Pottery	Coarse ware dominates with limited imported fine ware (Samian) and local fine ware present. The assemblage was dominated by jars. Drinking vessels were present, but rare.
Botanical Remains	Cereals including spelt, bread wheat and barley. Other plants present: nettle, hawthorn and elder.
Imports	Small amounts of Samian and one fragment from an olive oil amphora.
Foodways	In general the meal stage process seems to have remained unchanged, with the exception of possible (very) limited experimentation with imports. Slight evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Generally Rank One, but perhaps Rank Two, given the single amph. Sherd. Food Processing: Rank One

Table 5.21: Summary table for Watkins Farm

Group Two: Transitional Sites

Asthall	Small town developing from the first to fourth centuries AD. Architecture: Group Two
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation, the site starts in the mid-first century AD.
Animal Remains	Sheep are the most common species with cattle increasing over time. Pigs are poorly represented. For both cattle and sheep the husbandry regimes emphasised meat production. Small number of wild species with small number of domestic fowl present.
Pottery	Coarse ware dominates, but there are limited amounts of imported and local fine ware present. Jars decrease over time, with bowls, dishes and lids becoming more important later. Few mortaria present. Drinking vessels present.
Botanical Remains	Cereals including spelt and barley.
Imports	Olive oil with some imported fine ware such as Samian.
Foodways	Thus we see limited change in both the food procurement phase of the meal stage process, seen in the small amounts of imports, and in the preparation phase, suggested by the slight evidence for serving. However, sheep remain dominant, and mortaria are scarce, suggesting that the sites foodways remain relatively rooted in indigenous practice. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Two Food Processing: Rank Two

Table 5.22: Summary table for Asthall

Group Three: Elaborate Sites

Castle Copse	Develops into a villa in the third-fourth century AD. Mosaics, wall painting and heating are all present. Architecture: Group Three
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation, the site was first occupied in the mid-first century AD.
Animal Remains	Pigs increasing in importance especially in the late Roman period at the time of the development of the villa. The emphasis of the husbandry regimes

	for both cattle and sheep is on meat production. This is increasingly the case in the later Roman period when young calves and lambs were commonly consumed. Oysters, fresh water and salt water fish present. Various fowl.
Pottery	Local fine ware, but few imports. Assemblage was large consisting of jars, bowls, dishes, platters and drinking vessels.
Botanical Remains	Cereals in particular emmer. Exotic species present included: olive and fig
Imports	Limited amounts of olive oil
Foodways	The meal stage process sees considerable change. There is increasing complexity in the procurement stage, with a range of wild species present, a shift towards the consumption of pig, and imports. The preparation stage also shows evidence of increasing complexity over time, with a wide variety of serving and dining vessels present. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Three Food Processing: Rank Three

Table 5.23: Summary table for Castle Copse

Frocester	Late stone structure. Developed villa estate Architecture: Group Three
Iron Age	The site shows continuity from Iron Age to Roman period. The transition is marked with the arrival of a small number of Roman imports on site.
Animal Remains	Cattle dominant in the Iron Age, declining in the Roman period with sheep being most common and pig being well-represented. Cattle become the most common species in the Late Roman period with sheep and pig declining. Cattle mature at time of slaughter both in Iron Age and Roman period, this only changes in the late Roman period when cattle are culled when immature. This suggests an emphasis on secondary products with a shift towards meat production. Sheep were also mostly mature when killed which suggests an emphasis on secondary products except in the Iron Age when sheep were culled

	<p>when immature which suggests meat production.</p> <p>Small number of wild species present, horse is particularly common in Late Iron Age. No domestic fowl. Small quantity of oysters, whelks, mussels and limpets present.</p>
Pottery	Early imports present. Drinking vessels are particularly well represented along with serving vessels. <i>Terra Nigra</i> and <i>Terra Rubra</i> present in Early Roman period together with mortaria.
Botanical Remains	Cereals present were emmer and spelt (a change occurs at the end of the first century towards spelt cultivation). Bread wheats were introduced during the Roman period. Celtic bean was also present as was coriander, hazel, walnut and plum in the third century AD.
Imports	Small quantities of early Samian and other fine wares. Olive oil and wine amphorae present. Coriander.
Foodways	<p>Increasing complexity in the meal stage process, but with change occurring rather more in the preparation phase (increased interest in serving), and to only a limited extent in the procurement phase, with some imported food stuffs.</p> <p>Evidence for drinking.</p> <p>Food Procurement: Rank Two</p> <p>Food Processing: Rank Three</p>

Table 5.24: Summary table for Frocester

Roughground Farm	<p>Farmstead, developing into a villa in the second century AD and continued to expand.</p> <p>Architecture: Group Three</p>
Iron Age	Iron Age period poorly represented. The settlement grew in the Roman period.
Animal Remains	<p>Cattle dominant with both sheep and pig poorly represented.</p> <p>Cattle kept for secondary products. Sheep too were kept for secondary products.</p> <p>Wild species present as well as fish, oysters and domestic fowl.</p>
Pottery	Limited amount of serving Samian, but never any significant use of local fine ware. Bowls, jars and cooking pots dominate the assemblage with some

	drinking vessels present.
Botanical Remains	Cereals including spelt, bread wheat and emmer. Elderberry is also present.
Imports	Samian. Imports dwindle in the late Roman period. 'Exotic' food stuffs: some olive oil and wine in the mid-to late Roman period.
Foodways	In terms of the meal stage process, we can detect some change in the procurement phase, seen in the limited amounts of imported food stuffs on the site, and change in the later preparation phase, evidenced by the slightly wider range of vessel forms recovered. Change, however, would have been limited. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Two Food Processing: Rank Two

Table 5.25: Summary table for Roughground Farm.

Three of the sites examined in this chapter appear to have at least some evidence for Iron Age occupation, Watkins Farm, Frocester and Roughground Farm. Asthall (group two) and Castle Copse (group three), do not. When looking at the animal remains we have a picture similar in many ways to that seen on the Corieltauian sites, where, with exceptions, most assemblages were dominated by sheep. For the sites examined in this chapter, four of the five are sheep dominated, with Roughground farm being dominated by cattle. Frocester, it should be noted, was cattle dominated in the Iron Age, with sheep only superceding them in the Roman period. In terms of husbandry regime, we see that both Castle Copse and Asthall seem to have aimed at meat production for both cattle and sheep, whilst at all the rest of the sites secondary products appear to have been the principal focus (a slight exception being Frocester, which, for cattle, re-focused from secondary products to meat in the late Roman period). This shows no clear pattern, except to suggest the relatively widespread nature of both forms of husbandry regime across different kinds of sites. This contrasts with the picture seen on Corieltauian sites (though this may only be described a tentative trend), that husbandry regimes became more mixed on more complex sites.

Turning to pottery we see a clear pattern of an increased interest in serving dishes on the more complex sites, with all three of the group three sites having vessel forms indicative of such activity, whilst the sites in groups one and two lack this. This compares well with the pattern seen in the Corieltauvian rural sites, where we also see an increase in interest in serving, the more complex sites become architecturally. For the chapter five sites imported ceramics are variable, with only Frocester showing imported pottery other than Samian. At Frocester there was evidence of *Terra Nigra* and *Terra Rubra*. Local fine wares in a broad range of forms appear to be well-represented on all of the group three sites, again a pattern reminiscent of the sites examined in chapter four.

There was a wide range of plant-based food recovered from the five sites looked at in this chapter, as was the case with the sites looked at in chapter four. The plant food discovered on the chapter five sites included barley, bread wheat, Celtic bean, coriander, elderberry, emmer, hazelnuts, nettle, plum, spelt and walnut. This range is wider than that recovered from the ten sites within Corieltauvian territory, perhaps suggesting a more varied plant-based element to the foodways amongst these sites outside the tribal lands. In terms of the main cereal crops there was no apparent relationship with the architectural group of a site, with spelt being found on four site (and represented in all architectural groups), as was emmer. As with the Corieltauvian tribal territory, bread wheat was less common than spelt and emmer, but was found on sites of both high and low architectural complexity.

Imported food stuffs are more common on these non-rural Corieltauvian sites than on the Corieltauvian sites considered in chapter four. Evidence for the consumption of olive oil was discovered from all of these sites, with the addition of coriander at Frocester and figs from Castle Copse, whilst, as we have seen, imports within the Corieltauvian territory were limited to one group two site (Dragonby) and two group

three sites (Orton Hall Farm and Stonea). This suggests that imported goods penetrated further into the Romano-British countryside in the area south of the Corieltauvian territory than it did in the Corieltauvian territory itself.

Wild food, fowl and shellfish appear to have been common across most sites of the sites examined in chapter five, with only Castle Copse having no evidence for wild food, only Frocester with no evidence for fowl and Asthall with no evidence for shellfish. This is in sharp contrast to the sites considered in chapter four where all of these three classes of material (fowl, shell fish and wild food), are found on group three sites, or in the case of shellfish, groups two and three. They appear not to have occurred upon the less complex sites of group one, and, with the exception of shellfish, the transitional sites of group two.

Finally, drinking vessels are common on group three sites, with the addition of the recovery of a sherd of a wine-bearing amphora from Roughground Farm. They were present at Asthall (group two), and also at Watkins Farm (group one), but on the latter site were very rare. This appears to indicate that drinking was an activity principally practiced upon these more elaborate sites, and is in slight contrast to the results from chapter four. The Corieltauvian sites all produced evidence for drink, but with direct evidence for wine consumption confined to the more elaborate group three sites.

We will return to the trends discussed here in chapter seven, when they will be placed in a broad contextual framework to help us understand their relevance to wider cultural practice inside and outside Corieltauvian territory, a framework which will be generated with reference to the meal stage process. For now, however, we must complete our consideration of sites from the sample by looking at urban settlements in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: Urban Sites

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the data collected from the urban sites which have been identified for analysis according to the criteria set out in chapter three (i.e. the availability of good quality published data, and the presence of all three datasets). The sites selected in this chapter form a representative sample of sites within the Corieltavian area (Leicester Causeway Lane and Bath Lane and Lincoln) and Silchester provides a good comparison from outside this area. We therefore have three sites which have pre-Roman roots and one which was a settlement created by the Roman army shortly after the invasion. These sites together with the rural ones discussed in chapter four will be compared and discussed in chapter six.

1.1. Causeway Lane, Leicester

Location: SK 5846 0481

Plan: Figure 6.1

Reference: Connor, A. and Buckley, R. 1999. *Roman and Medieval Occupation in Causeway Lane, Leicester*. Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monographs, No. 5.

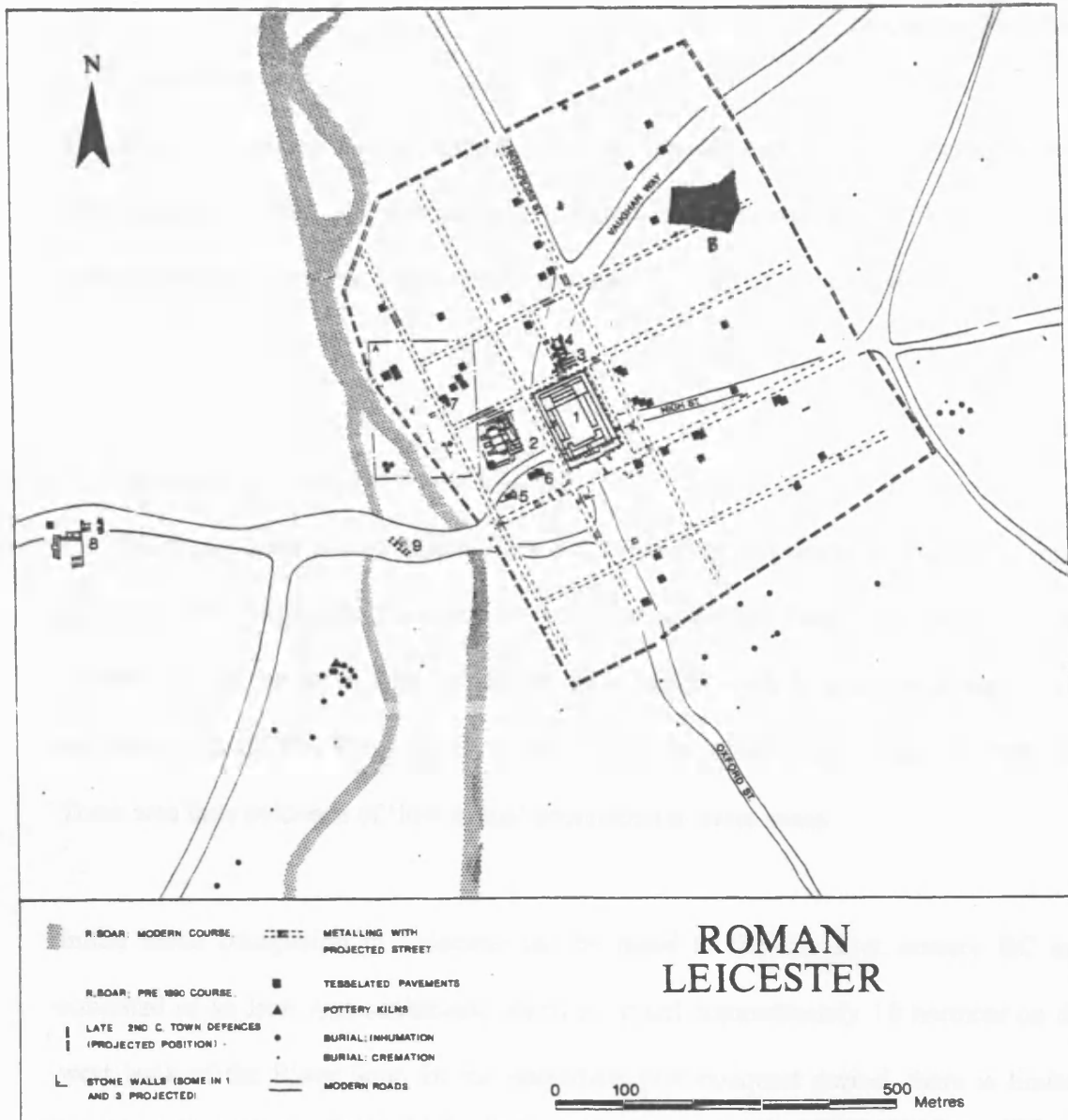


Fig 30 Roman Leicester

- | | |
|---|--|
| A The Bath Lane area defined in Fig 1 | 5 Temple (A164 1969) |
| 1 Forum and Basilica (Mellor forthcoming) | 6 Peacock Pavement (A653 1965) |
| 2 Jewry Wall Baths Site (Kenyon 1948) | 7 Blackfriars Pavement (A12 1977) |
| 3 Macellum Blue Boar Lane (Wacher 1975, 347) | 8 Norfolk Street Roman Villa (A287 1975; A907 1979; A526 1980) |
| 4 Town house. Blue Boar Lane (Wacher 1975, 348) | 9 Military type Ditch (A568 1967WB) |

Figure 6.1: Leicester, general town plan. Highlighted area A is the Bath Lane excavation (see figure 6.2 for a more detailed plan), highlighted area B is the Causeway Lane excavation. From Clay and Mellor 1985: 33. The scale and complexity of the excavation precluded the publication of a site wide plan of features.

1.1.1: Introduction

The site was located in the historic core of Roman and medieval Leicester and investigations on the site started with a small-scale excavation in 1980, this was subsequently followed by a full-scale excavation in 1991 (Connor and Buckley 1999: 1).

1.1.2. Roman Leicester: The Site in Context

The Causeway Lane site is situated in a part of Roman and medieval Leicester which had been little explored. The majority of excavations had been concentrated in the western part of the town with the results thus biased towards public and high status buildings of both the Roman and medieval periods (Connor and Buckley 1999: 4). There was little evidence of 'low status' occupation in these areas.

Initial urban occupation in Leicester can be dated to the late first century BC and consisted of an Iron Age settlement which occupied approximately 10 hectares on the west bank of the River Soar. In the immediate post-conquest period, there is limited evidence which suggests that a fortlet was established near the present-day West Bridge (see Clay and Pollard 1994: 46).

In the early second century the street grid seems to have been formalised and at this time Leicester (or *Ratae*) may have been established as a *civitas* capital (Connor and Buckley 1999: 6). At this time the timber buildings were orientated on the street grid and have been discovered beneath the northern and eastern defences which points to the rapid expansion of the settlement (Buckley and Lucas 1987). During the later second century, a major programme of public and private building was undertaken. This development included the construction of the forum and basilica complex, the Jewry

Wall public baths, one possible temple and a variety of domestic, commercial and industrial premises (Clay and Mellor 1985; Clay and Pollard 1994). During this period, masonry buildings begin to replace the timber ones of the preceding period.

During the late second or early third century the town acquired a rampart and ditch with a wall being added in the later third century (Buckley and Lucas 1987). There is evidence for extramural occupation which include the industrial suburb of Great Holme Street with evidence for pottery kilns and abattoir and tanning (Hawkes 1999). There is also evidence for cemeteries surrounding the town but few of these have been excavated (Cooper 1996).

There is little clear evidence of the fourth-century occupation but this may be due to medieval activity (Connor and Buckley 1999: 6).

Until the excavation at Causeway Lane, little was known of the occupation in the north-east quarter of the Roman town. The boundaries of this notional 'quarter' are the town defences in the east and north, the main east-west street carrying the Fosse Way to the south, and the street leading to the north gate. The main evidence came from small-scale excavations during the construction of the Shires, for example at Little Lane which revealed field ditches dating to the first century AD which suggests that this area was still in agricultural use during this period.

From the limited evidence (due to the limited amount of excavation carried out in this area) it might be suggested that the north-east quarter was a 'backwater' with few mosaic pavements (which have been found in the western area of the town) but which

contained some buildings of some architectural pretension (Connor and Buckley 1999: 6).

1.1.3. Location

The site is located within the town walls of Roman and medieval Leicester and is sited on the north side of Causeway Lane, adjacent to its corner with East Bond Street in an area which is known as the north-east quarter (Connor and Buckley 1999: 1).

1.1.4. Excavation

Four areas were identified during the excavation. Area 1 (*insula XI*) revealed evidence for the early Roman period. The remains showed evidence for cultivation layers, make-up and metalling, with well-stratified deep cut features (pits and wells). Some late second and early third-century features were also present but these were few in number and in the case of the possible timber building were difficult to stratify (Connor and Buckley 1999: 9). Area 2 (*insula XIX*) also revealed evidence for early Roman occupation which consisted of cultivation as well as ditches of east-west and north-south orientation which might be suggestive of plot boundaries. The ditches pre-dated a largely robbed mid-second-century stone structure which may have continued in occupation into the third century when an annexe or possible second building was added (Connor and Buckley 1999: 9). Contemporaneous with this building may have been a number of third-century pits and yard surfaces. Area 3 (*insula XII*) contained a large number of pits which suggests gravel extraction which contained large assemblages of late third and early fourth-century pottery as well as coins (extending to AD 380) and painted wall plaster (Connor and Buckley 1999: 9). Area 4 (*insula XI*) revealed little evidence for Roman occupation although a large number of Roman finds were recovered from medieval pits.

The lay-out of the site suggested that a cross roads had existed on the site and that Areas 1 and 4 lay to the north-west of it, Area 2 to the south-east and Area 3 to the north-east of the junction.

The remains are fragmentary largely due to pitting in the medieval period, eighteenth century gravel extraction and Victorian foundations and cellars. There was also considerable variation in the quality of stratification between the different areas due to medieval and post-medieval cultivation (Connor and Buckley 1999: 9).

Although there is evidence for first-century cultivation and gravel extraction the occupation can be related to the planned town. *Insulae* seem to have appeared as early as the late first century, but the division into plots, occupation and street metalling followed later (Connor and Buckley 1999: 9). The occupation was residential in nature and conforms to the sequence seen elsewhere in Leicester: timber buildings of the late first to early second century, followed by more substantial stone buildings from the mid-second century, with a comparative lack of occupation in the third and fourth centuries (Connor and Buckley 1999: 10). It can be suggested that plot boundaries were established in the late first to early second century. There is a change in the nature occupation in Area 3 from essentially domestic to gravel extraction in the third century.

There is a wide variety of different types of buildings at Causeway Lane: construction in timber continued into the third century in Area 1, whilst Area 3 shows evidence for a possible timber structure in the fourth century. The stone structure in Area 2 is an urban strip building.

1.1.5. Pottery

A total of 55,014 sherds, weighing 987.6 kg, were recovered during the excavations at Causeway Lane. It represents one of the largest assemblages to be recovered from Roman phases in Leicester. The pottery has been quantified using sherd count and weight (grammes). No attempt was made to filter out residual pottery as the dating of the principal wares was insufficiently established. It should be noted that in some contexts particularly during the later Roman phase from Area 3 virtually all the pottery may be residual (Clark 1999: 95).

1.1.6. Animal Bones

Some 8,000 fragments of bone were recovered from the excavations. The excavation was well sampled and there are a large number of bones from small mammals present which might otherwise have been missing.

1.1.7. Fish Bones

The assemblage also contained one of the largest assemblages of fish bones recovered in the town which in no small part may be due to the environmental sampling strategy adopted. Nearly 3,000 fish bones were recovered. The majority of the bones were from herring *Clupea harengus* or the herring family (*Clupeidae*) and eel *Anguilla anguilla*. Freshwater species such as perch *Perca fluviatilis*, pike *Esox lucius*, trout *Salmo trutta*, tench *Tinca tinca*, gudgeon *Gobio gobio*, chub *Leuciscus cephalus* and other members of the carp family (*Cyprinidae*). Salt water fish were also present including mackerel *Scomber scombrus*, salmon *Salmo salar* and flatfish (mainly *Pleuronectidae*) (Nicholson 1999: 333-336).

Fish exploitation seems to have been fairly small-scale and local during the Roman period concentrating on freshwater species and euryhaline species such as eel, salmonids and cyprinids. Herring seems to have been available but almost certainly in preserved form (Nicholson 1999: 336).

1.1.8. Molluscs

Oysters (*Ostrea edulis*) were present at Causeway Lane and may have come from the Essex coast. It should be noted that oysters can survive for up to ten days out of water (Monckton 1999b: 340).

Mussels (*Mytilus edulis*) were found in small numbers or as fragments from sieved samples. A very small number of whelks (*Buccinum undatum*) which would have been large enough for consumption were also present as were a few small cockles (*Cerastoderma edule*) (Monckton 1999b: 341).

1.1.9. Plant Remains

The environmental sampling strategy was deliberate and was carried out from the start of the excavations and has revealed a wealth of environmental evidence which otherwise would have been absent (or less well represented).

Charred cereal grains, some cereal chaff and seeds were recovered from the environmental samples as well as mineralised fruit stones, fruit pips and seeds from the cesspits. Evidence for other food plants included nuts, fruit, legumes and some evidence for vegetables. Other evidence included some possible garden plants, some imported foods and evidence for hay probably for animal fodder (Monckton 1999a: 346).

The most common cereal in the Roman period was spelt (*Triticum spelta*) with emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*) and a free-threshing wheat which might be bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum s.l.*) present in smaller quantities (Monckton 1999a: 347).

1.1.10. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

The age profile of cattle throughout the Roman period shows three groupings; one jaw is at MWS 7 (Mandibular wear Stage) with the first molar coming into wear (this can be roughly aged to six months); 12 jaws are at MWS 15-23, with the second molar erupting (approximate age: 15-27 months); 29 jaws are at MWS 31-55, with the third molar erupting and wearing down (approximate age: three years and older) (Silver 1969; Gidney 1999). There are some very aged animals indicated; eight jaws are at MWS 49-55 (an approximate age of 11-17 years and older), suggesting that one fifth of the slaughter population had survived into late teens (Gidney 1999).

The epiphyseal fusion evidence also indicates few remains from infant animals, a cull of immature animals but most bones from animals with all epiphyses fused (Gidney 1999).

The Mandibular Wear Stages (MWS) for cattle for periods 4-5 (late Roman period) show only two jaws from immature animals, with the remaining jaws ranging from young adults with the third molar erupting to aged animals with severe tooth wear. The younger age group represented in phases 3-4 (early to mid Roman period) is virtually absent from periods 4-5. This may suggest either a chronological change in the meat supply or a change in the patterns of consumption and waste disposal of local residents. The epiphyseal fusion evidence also suggests that the first cull was of animals three

years old or over, with the majority of bones from animals that were skeletally mature (Gidney 1999).

The age profile of sheep/goat shows that in periods 3-4 the MWS of the majority of jaws are from young animals. Meat would appear to have been the primary product of the flock. Two peaks of culling are indicated; these are lambs from about three months old with the first molar erupting (MWS 6-11). This is followed by a cull of weaned sheep with the second molar erupting, at an approximate age of nine months. Three quarters of jaws come from sheep aged less than two years at the time slaughter. This suggests sheep management aimed at the production of young meat for the urban consumer. (see Gidney 1999)

2. Species Proportions

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Red	Roe	Hare	Dog	Cat	Birdd	Birdw	Other
3	3966	3002	1350	90	1	8	16	82	4	286	20	526
4	69	54	33	4	2	.	1	6	.	10	2	18
5	2513	1670	1083	216	30	30	49	158	6	595	11	494

Table 6.1: Species numbers (total fragment count: 16,605) from Causeway Lane

In the Roman assemblages recovered from Causeway Lane it is clear that cattle dominate the assemblage. It should also be noted that the mid-Roman period assemblage is substantially smaller than both the early and later Roman period assemblages. The dominance of cattle is mentioned in the following table:

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Red %	Roe %	Hare %	Dog %	Cat %	Birdd %	Birdw %	Other %
3	100	76	34	2	0	0	0	2	0	7	1	13
4	100	78	48	6	3	0	1	7	0	14	3	27
5	100	66	44	9	1	1	2	6	0	24	0	20

Table 6.2: Ratios of cattle/other animals from Causeway Lane

Table 6.2. illustrates that cattle is the dominant species, with sheep in second place. Sheep show a slight increase in period 4, the mid-Roman period, but decline in the later Roman period. Pigs are well-represented and even increase in the mid-Roman period. The other species present make only a minimal contribution to the food component of this site; they are discussed further below.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

The other species represented include horse, dog, cat, red deer, roe deer, hare and domestic birds. The most common of these other species are the domestic birds which are dominated by domestic chicken.

Period	Domesticates%	Wild %
3	100	1
4	100	3
5	100	2

Table 6.3: Ratio of domesticates/wild species from Causeway Lane

Table 6.3 illustrates that wild species, in this case red deer, roe deer, hare and wild species of birds, make a minimal contribution to the assemblage. A slight increase can be noted in the mid-Roman period but it is not substantial.

Period	Domestic %	Bird %
3	100	3
4	100	6
5	100	11

Table 6.4: Ratio of domesticates/domestic birds from Causeway Lane

Domestic birds are the only group included in the 'other species' which make a significant contribution to the assemblage. Their numbers increase towards the later

Roman period. The dominant species within this are the domestic fowl, i.e. chicken and geese. These could, like pigs, have been kept quite easily by individual households.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

In total the assemblage contained 55,014 sherds, weighing 987.6 kg. There were 1,700 sherds of amphorae also present. The assemblage will be discussed in brief, summarising the important points for this study from Clark's (1999) report.

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3	16141	2408	3248
4	1038	295	148
5	9864	2664	1919

Table 6.5: Number of sherds (37,725) of the different fabrics (coarse ware, local fine ware, imported fine ware) present from Causeway Lane.

Period	CW %	LFW %	IFW %
3	100	15	20
4	100	28	14
5	100	27	19

Table 6.6: Ratio of coarse wares/local fine wares and imported fine wares from Causeway Lane

Table 6.6 illustrates that the locally produced fine wares, such as Nene Valley colour coated wares increase substantially in their share of the assemblage over the period of occupation. Imported fine wares show a decline in the mid-Roman period, but recover slightly in the later period. Relative to imported fine wares coarse wares increase in the mid-Roman period but decrease again in the later Roman period. It should nevertheless, not be overlooked that coarse wares dominate the overall assemblage in all periods, and local fine wares remain the second most common fabric type.

1.1.11. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

Evidence for butchery can be summed up as follows: it is clear that Roman techniques of butchery such as filleting, sawing and the use of heavy choppers are prevalent on the bones recovered from the site (Gidney 1999).

2. Skeletal Element Representation

The pattern of skeletal element representation for period 3 suggests that the whole carcass was used and that the more robust elements survived better. In contrast, during period 4 there is evidence for selectivity with a high proportion of horn core, lower jaw and metapodial fragments deposited. This suggests a deposit with large component of butchery or industrial waste from horn working, and/or tanning with only a small proportion of household waste. Horn cores are on the whole infrequent compared with period 4, suggesting either a spatial or temporal distribution of waste from horn working centred in Area 1 or a change of use of this area (Gidney 1999).

Sheep bones from all periods are derived from all parts of the body but fragments of lower jaw and tibia are particularly abundant. This suggests a preservational bias towards more robust elements (Gidney 1999).

3. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

Period	Mortaria N
3	1
4	227
5	371

Table 6.7: Number of sherds (599) of mortaria from Causeway Lane

Mortaria first appear on the site in the early Roman period however, there is only one sherd present from that period in the assemblage. They increase greatly in the mid-Roman period and even further in the later Roman period. They are mostly locally produced with very few imports present.

Period	Amphora N
3	2
4	1397
5	1609

Table 6.8: Number of sherds (3,008) of amphorae from Causeway Lane

Table 6.8 shows the temporal distribution of 3,008 sherds of different amphorae. There is a dramatic increase in the mid-Roman period, a trend that is continued into the later Roman period. In the early Roman period, only two amphorae sherds were recovered from the assemblage. The amphorae types present indicate a supply of olive oil, wine and possibly dates to this area of the town.

Cereals dominate the assemblage of archaeobotanical remains (see Monckton 1999a). The cereals recovered were wheat (*Triticum spp.*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). Oat (*Avena sp.*) was present but possibly not as a cultivated species; the assemblage also contained a few possible rye grains (cf. *Secale cereale*). The most common wheat species identified was spelt (*Triticum spelta*) with emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*) and free-threshing wheat present in smaller quantities (probably bread wheat *Triticum aestivum s.l.*). Wheat and barley are about equally represented in terms of numbers of identified grains in periods 3 and 4, although period 3 produced most wheat chaff, barley was most numerous in samples from period 4.

A number of cultivated or collected plants were also recovered from the site (Monckton 1999). The edible legumes are represented by bean (*Vicia faba*) and pea (*Pisum sativum*). Lentil (*Lens culinaris*) was found in one sample from period 5, possibly as an imported foodstuff although cultivation in Britain is possible. Other cultivated plants are opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), fig (*Ficus carica*), flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) and coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*). Fig and coriander may be imports or garden plants and columbine (*Aquilegia vulgaris*) was found and may have been cultivated as a garden flower. Beet (*Beta vulgaris*) seeds were found as evidence for the cultivation of vegetables. Apple or pear (*Malus/ Pyrus*) and bullace (*Prunus domestica*) may have been from orchard trees or gathered from the wild. Hazelnut shells (*Corylus avellana*) and sloe (*Prunus spinosa*) may represent other gathered food stuffs.

Most samples contained charred cereals grains which may suggest that the spikelets were stored whole on site and were processed when necessary (see Monckton 1999). Other samples contained cereal grains, a little chaff, and weed seeds which probably represented final cleaning of cereals for consumption as even after dehusking and fine sieving some contaminants remain to be removed by hand during food preparation. The consistent presence of glumes even in low numbers shows the consumption of glume wheat, mainly spelt, throughout Roman phases. There is no evidence to suggest threshing of grain products nearby. On an urban site it is likely that grain would have been brought to the town after threshing to reduce the bulk of the transport.

Legumes may be underrepresented in charred material, as their preparation does not involve exposure to fire. Peas and beans were recovered, and these may represent garden crops or food stuffs brought into town. Cultivation of other vegetables is suggested by presence of a beet seed (Monckton 1999a).

1.1.12. *Cooking*

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The main forms are jars, bowls and dishes. The only forms which can be associated with cooking are the jars which are present in large quantities throughout all the Roman phases (see Clark 1999).

1.1.13. *Serving*

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

A slight increase in bowls and dishes can be noted throughout the Roman period. Other forms are also present including beakers, cups and tazzas, albeit in small quantities. This might indicate that the serving of food may have started to play an increasing role in the foodways of the inhabitants of these *insulae*.

1.1.14. *Summary*

As Connor and Buckley (1999: 55) state: it is always difficult to ascertain the diet, health and wealth of any population from the archaeological record. This is even more the case in towns where the archaeological record is even more complex and where the whole site has rarely been excavated. Thus, in assessing the foodways of the inhabitants of Causeway Lane, we need locate that site in the context of the wider town.

The site at Causeway Lane itself has no evidence of Iron Age occupation, although there was a significant Iron Age settlement that predates the Roman town, and which later grew to become *Ratae Corieltauvorum*. The excavations at Causeway Lane revealed *insulae* located in the north east quarter of the Roman town, with relatively modest (in urban terms) architecture consisting of timber and masonry buildings. The development of this area reflects the development of the settlement elsewhere in the

town. The *insulae* appeared in the late first century but occupation, plot division and street metalling occurred later. The occupation was residential in nature with the first timber buildings being constructed in the late first to early second century. These were followed by stone structures from the mid-second century onwards. A change in the nature of occupation can be noted in Area 3 which changed from a domestic site to an area for gravel extraction. There is in general limited evidence for late Roman occupation due to the intrusion of Medieval and post-Medieval features. The construction of timber buildings continued in some areas (Area 1) into the third century whereas in Area 3 there is evidence for a timber building in the fourth century. The stone structure in Area 2 is an urban strip building. In general, the area is architecturally modest. There is evidence for wall plaster which was dumped in the site in the quarries of *insula XII* (Area 3). This may not derive from the site itself but does suggest that houses in Leicester did possess such elaborations as painted walls, as has been seen in the villas in Blue Boar Lane and Norfolk Street (Clay and Mellor 1985). However the lack of tessellated pavements in this area of the town suggests that this site may have been more representative of the population at large than the richer *insulae* in the west of the town (Connor and Buckley 1999: 57).

Looking at the animal remains, we see that cattle dominate the assemblage in all periods with sheep the second most common species. Pig was well-represented and increase in the mid-Roman period. Beef thus seems to have been the preferred meat throughout the Roman period although mutton was also consumed in the earlier phases. It can be suggested (Gidney 1999: 310) that this preference may have had more to do with supply rather than 'Romanising' tastes as King's models would indicate (1978) – the need to feed an urban population might require a focus upon maximum meat production, and thus slew supply towards large animals like cattle. In terms of husbandry regime, both

young and mature cattle were present in the Early Roman period which suggests that cattle were bred for immediate consumption as well as for secondary products. This is interesting, as we must remember that these animals are likely to have been raised off site in the town's hinterland, and then herded to the town to supply its meat needs. It is unlikely that large numbers of cattle were being kept and exploited for secondary products *within* the suburbs of the town. Farms were thus supplying both young animals *and* those presumably previously used for secondary products. This would indicate the provision of a range of meat from young (and high quality) to old (and poor quality). This changed in the later Roman period when most cattle were mature suggesting an increased emphasis on older cattle – perhaps indicating a decline in the overall quality of meat being supplied. Sheep were represented by young animals in the Roman period which suggests an emphasis on high quality meat production. There is very little differentiation in the skeletal element representation of any of the main domestic species, which suggests that the inhabitants consumed all parts of the animal, both the prized cuts and the poorer cuts which suggests that they were of moderate status and could acquire better cuts but were not averse to eating the poorer cuts if necessary. Other species were present like dog, horse, game, and oysters and fish. Chickens (and so presumably eggs) were well-represented throughout the Roman period, which is interesting to note, as it is possible that inhabitants of the *insulae* may have kept chickens to supplement their diet.

The pottery assemblage from Causeway Lane is considered to be typical for an assemblage from a site in Leicester (Clark 1999: 120). Amongst the vast quantities of coarse wares which dominate the assemblage are a range of fine and specialist traded wares, including high quality colour coated wares from Lezoux and Colchester in the early Roman period. However, as Cooper (1999: 58) suggests this might indicate that

supply was better during this period, rather than indicating that this early assemblage was of a higher status than those that followed it. Local fine wares increase in importance in the mid Roman period, particularly products of the Nene Valley (which also sees a decline in the amount of coarse ware used). The range of forms represented is wide. The assemblage is dominated by jars, bowls and dishes, but other forms also present are beakers, cups and tazzas. There are also forms which suggest serving, and there are also mortaria, which increase rapidly in the mid to late Roman period.

Botanical remains are well represented, with a wide range of plant species being present. Bread wheat, emmer and spelt formed the cereal component of the assemblage, whilst other plants include: bean, pea, lentil, flax, beet, apple/pear, bullace, hazelnut and sloe. These results are similar in nature to those recovered from other sites excavated in the city, e.g. Newarke Street (Cooper 1996).

The quantity of amphorae (containing olive oil, fish sauce and wine) increased in the mid-Roman period, but was never a large component of the supply of the area. Other imported food stuffs consisted of coriander, fig, lentil, opium poppy and possibly date.

In summary, the inhabitants of the site were modest in status and their foodways were generally typical for Leicester. If compared to the inhabitants of rural sites, the inhabitants of causeway lane may have appeared to have a high degree of engagement with 'Roman style' material culture. They had access to occasional imported foods, a reasonably wide range of ceramics, and, unlike most rural sites the meat component of their diet was dominated by cattle. However, the domination of the meat component of their foodways by cattle, as noted above, may have been a function of the practical requirement to supply (in food terms) the largely non-productive populace of towns

with large amounts of food. In addition to this, the excavator makes clear that, when considered in the context of rural sites, the engagement with Roman material culture at Causeway Lane was merely 'average' (Connor and Buckley 1999: 56), perhaps indicating that the inhabitants did not have either the desire or means to acquire imported food stuffs in particularly large quantities. The buildings too were modest with the lack of tessellated pavements. There was a level of engagement with the Roman world, but it is unclear if the limited nature of this engagement was out of necessity or out of choice. In terms of the meal stage process, this site shows a high degree of relative sophistication (when compared to rural sites) in both procurement and preparation phases, but should be considered fairly typical for an urban site. It should be noted that the meat acquired during the procurement phase came from predominantly older animals, and so will have been of relatively poor quality.

1.2 Bath Lane, Leicester

Location: See below

Plan: Figure 6.2

Reference: Clay, P. and Mellor, J.E. 1985. *Excavations in Bath Lane, Leicester*. Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Service: Archaeological Report No. 10.

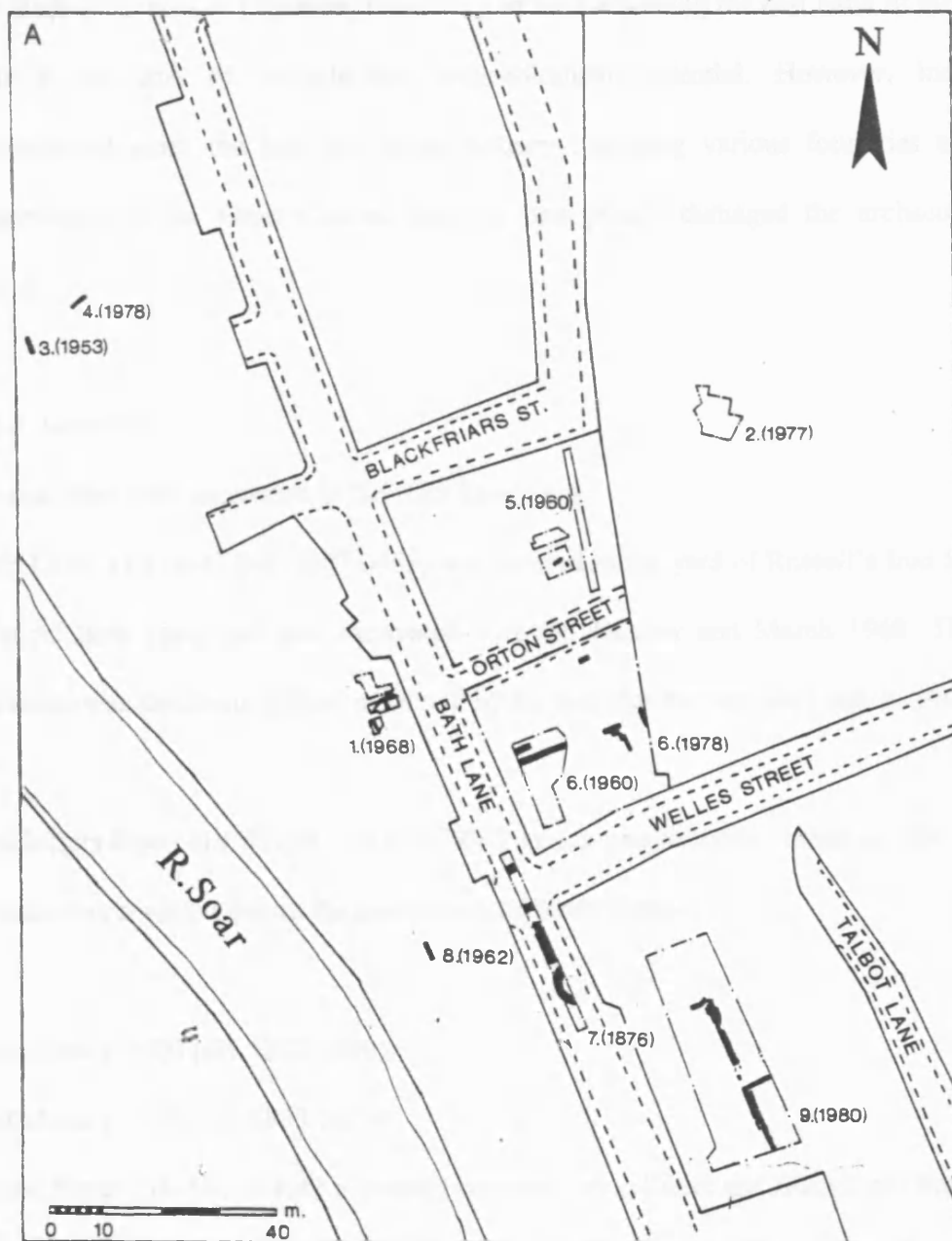


Fig 1 The Bath Lane Area 1. Bath Lane (A1 1968) 2. Blackfriars (A12 1977), 3 Bath Lane 1953 4 Bath Lane 1978, 5 Orton Street (A312 1960A); 6 Bath Lane/Welles Street (A312 1960 and A145 1978), 7 Bath Lane 1876, 8 Bath Lane 1962, 9 Bath Lane (A476 1980) (see also Fig 29 and 30)

Figure 6.2: The Bath Lane area, Leicester. From Clay and Mellor 1985: 1.

1.2.1. Introduction

The Bath Lane area of Leicester, consisting of land adjoining the east bank of the River Soar is an area of considerable archaeological potential. However, industrial development since the late eighteenth century including various foundries and the construction of the Great Central Railway has greatly damaged the archaeological levels.

1.2.2. Location

Several sites were excavated in the Bath Lane area:

Bath Lane A1 (1968) (SK 5807 0453) was located in the yard of Russell's Iron foundry west of Bath Lane and was excavated between January and March 1968. The area available was small and further restricted by the fact that the yard was still in use.

Blackfriars Street (1977) (SK 5813 0459): The site was first discovered in 1830 when a mosaic was revealed due to the destruction of some cottages.

Bath Lane (1953) (SK 5802 0458)

Bath Lane (1978) (SK 5803 0459)

Orton Street (SK 5812 0456) is located between Orton Street and Blackfriars Street.

Bath Lane/Welles Street (SK 5811 0452) is located on the corner between Bath Lane and Welles Street.

Bath Lane (1876) (SK 5811 0449) is located in Bath Lane opposite Welles Lane

Bath Lane (1962) (SK 5808 0448)

Bath Lane (1980) (SK 5813 0444) is located in an area between Welles Street, Bath Lane and Talbot Lane.

1.2.3. Excavation

Bath Lane A1 (1968) revealed Roman levels immediately below the nineteenth century cellar floors which had removed the later Roman deposits over much of the site.

1.2.4. Pottery

The pottery assemblages from the excavations at Bath Lane were small (1,252 fragments) and therefore any conclusions drawn from them need to be treated with care. The assemblage on the whole is well-preserved and there is little evidence for residuality. A wide range of imported fabrics is present.

1.2.5. Animal Bones

A total of 4,345 animal bone fragments were recovered from sites 1 and 2. There is some confusion if the material from site 1 was represented extant or if there was a disposal policy practised on site. The assemblage is also small which makes it hard to draw any conclusions from the assemblage. There is also much residuality in the material recovered, as most of it is derived from secondary contexts. In general, the assemblage is both small in nature and poor in quality.

1.2.6. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

No evidence with regard to age-at-death was recorded in the published report from this site.

2. Species Proportions

The assemblage was relatively small (for an urban site) as it contained only 4,345 fragments. The assemblage in the published report has also not been discussed in great

detail and can therefore only serve as a rough picture of the meat component of the diet practised on site.

Period	Ox	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Roe	Dog	Cat	Birdgen	Other	Hare
2	384	164	104	4	0	8	4	14	804	0
3	140	162	188	0	2	6	0	144	534	8
4	365	334	253	6	0	16	7	181	590	10
5	96	102	63	2	.	2	7	5	750	54

Table 6.9: Species proportions (total fragment count: 4,345) from Bath Lane

In the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (phase 2), cattle dominate the assemblage with sheep and pig respectively second and third. In the early Roman period (phase 3) however, pig dominate the assemblage with sheep second. This early post-conquest phase has been suggested as being military in nature (Clay and Mellor 1985). In the mid-Roman period (phase 4), cattle have regained their position of dominance with sheep in second place and pig in third. In the later Roman period (phase 5), sheep are now dominating the assemblage with cattle and pig in second and third place.

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Roe %	Dog %	Cat %	Birdgen %	Hare %	Unid %
2	100	43	27	1	0	2	1	4	0	209
3	100	115	134	0	1	4	0	103	6	381
4	100	92	69	2	0	4	2	50	3	162
5	100	106	66	2	0	2	7	5	56	781

Table 6.10: Ratio of cattle/other species from Bath Lane

Sheep are more common in the later Roman period (period 5) whereas in the late Pre-Roman Iron Age (period 2), they are the second most common species. Pig is the most common species in the earliest post-conquest period (period 3) but decreases in importance in the following periods.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

The other species present on site are horse, dog, roe deer, cat, birds (wild and domestic) and hare. The most common of these are birds, although hare increase in the later Roman period.

Period	Domesticates%	Wild %
2	100	0
3	100	2
4	100	1
5	100	21

Table 6.11: Ratio of domesticates/wild species from Bath Lane

The wild species make very little impact upon the overall assemblage. However, in the later Roman period there is a relatively sharp increase. This increase is mostly made up of hare bones which may be intrusive but without more detailed stratigraphical information it is impossible to determine. It must also be borne in mind the smallness of the assemblage and its overall poor quality.

Period	Domesticates%	Birdgen%
2	100	2
3	100	29
4	100	19
5	100	2

Table 6.12: Ratio of domesticates/bird species from Bath Lane

There is an increase in the relative importance of birds in the early Roman period (period 3). They are not very well represented in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age. After the increase in the early Roman period, they decline again. In the later Roman period, they have returned to their Late Pre Roman Iron Age proportions. Birds, in particular domestic fowls such as chickens, are the best- represented species on the site apart from the three main domesticates.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The early Roman period is noted for a decline in calcite-gritted wares, which were popular in the Iron Age, and the emergence of grey ware as the dominant fabric. The report (see Clamp 1985) also notes the presence of a white ware jar with barbotine decoration and mica-gilt slip on the rim and shoulder. This is a form mainly confined to wealthy Iron Age settlements in Essex and Hertfordshire with some outliers, as at this site in Leicester. The presence of mica-dusted Terra Nigra is usually associated with high-status pre-conquest sites (Clamp 1985).

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
2	398	19	120
3	187	4	45
4	156	1	15
5	357	13	38

Table 6.13: Number of sherds (1,353) of the different types of fabric (coarse ware, local fine ware and imported fine ware) from Bath Lane

Table 6.13 shows that imported fine wares decrease in numbers from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the early Roman period and decrease further in the mid-Roman period and show another increase in the later Roman period. Many of the sherds from period 2 are derived from the white ware jar mentioned above.

Local fine wares are present in larger numbers in the Late Pre-Roman Age and decline in the early and mid-Roman periods but show an increase in the later Roman period. The decline in the presence of fine wares (imported and local) might suggest that the site declined in status during the immediate post-conquest period and did not recover until the later Roman period when a slight increase in fine wares can be seen.

There is no evidence for botanical remains from this site.

1.2.7. Food Preparation

1. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

There is limited evidence for the presence of mortaria and for amphorae (containing olive oil). In total there were two sherds of mortaria and three sherds of amphorae.

1.2.8. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and fabrics

Although no detailed analysis of the forms present was carried out, from the catalogue (Pollard 1985) it can be noted that jars are the most common form.

1.2.9. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

There is no specific mention of serving vessels such as platters or dishes. Bowls were present and so were jars.

1.2.10. Summary

The Bath Lane area has been described by the excavator (Clay and Mellor 1985: 36) as an area of domestic occupation. There is some hint of Iron Age occupation, offered by the presence of imported Gallo-Belgic pottery. During the Roman period, it was a well-developed quarter of the Roman town from at least the mid-second century onwards, even though it lay outside the immediate market centre of the town. There is evidence to suggest that the prosperity continued into the fourth century, with a series of comfortable and well-appointed private dwellings are indicated in the excavations undertaken here. A fine mosaic pavement was recovered in the nineteenth century from this area and is now on display in the Jewry Wall museum. This indicates the wealth of

the inhabitants in this area, which was evidently a popular and 'stylish' residential quarter for the greater part of the Roman period.

It is hard to draw any detailed conclusions about the animal bones assemblages from these sites, due to their small size. However, a few general observations can be made about them. The domestic species (cattle, sheep and pig), horse, dog and hare were well-represented on both sites. In the pre-Roman period, cattle are the most common species whereas in the immediate post-conquest period, pigs are the most commonly found species with sheep and cattle being almost equally represented. Later, in the mid- and late Roman period, sheep have a slight predominance with cattle being the second most common species and pigs third. This is quite an unusual pattern and might indicate the need to produce meat quickly and in quantity to feed a non-productive urban population - pigs mature much quicker than cattle, and produce more meat than sheep. There is a suggestion of a military presence in Leicester which might account for the changing pattern in the meat consumption but this is much disputed and no concrete evidence of this has been recovered to date (Clay and Pollard 1994: 46). Bird bones are increasingly common during the Roman period, something which is also noted at Causeway Lane.

The pottery assemblages are small but contain a wide range of fabrics and vessels and indicate a site with access to, and the desire to consume, Roman material culture from the earliest periods. There are, for example, some wares present on site in the Late Pre Roman Iron Age which are usually associated with high status sites in the South East of the country (in particular, mica-dusted *Terra Nigra*). Local fine wares are common in the mid to late Roman period, and the assemblage contains a wide range of vessel

forms. These are not quantified in the report, but include jars, bowls, platters, lids, as well as flagons, beakers and cups (all evidence for drinking).

No botanical remains were recovered from this site. There is limited evidence for the presence of imported food stuffs in the form of three sherds of amphora from olive oil bearing vessels.

In summary, it can be stated that the inhabitants of the Bath Lane area enjoyed considerable wealth throughout the Roman period, as indicated by the high-status ceramics in the early Roman period, evidence for imported food stuffs, the importance of pig in the meat component of the sites foodways, and the sites architecture, which is comfortable and built out of stone. The animal remains are, to a degree, unusual, and the small nature of the assemblage may be introducing distortions. The early predominance of cattle may, as was noted for Causeway Lane, be a function of the need to supply meat to a nucleated settlement with a population largely un-productive in food terms. The later rise of pig may also reflect this need, or it may be a sign of status (Grant 1989) at a time when the site is importing relatively rare fine ware ceramics. The later rise of the two other domestic species (sheep and cattle), may reflect, particularly in the case of cattle, the need to supply greater quantities of meat than previously, due to the growth of the town, or it may be indicative of a drop in quality of what was being supplied (from 'high status' pig to 'lower status' cattle and sheep), analogous to the drop in quality of beef (from young animals to old animals) seen in the later Roman periods at Causeway Lane. The sites apparent wealth is perhaps, reflected in the limited evidence for imported foods. The small number of amphora sherds recovered may, again, be an indication of the small nature of ceramic assemblage recovered from the site, but we should note, at least, the presence of such food stuffs. In terms of the meal stage process

this site appears to have been relatively sophisticated, with evidence for imports, dining and serving. Variations may be noted in the procurement phase of the process over time, as the amount of pig and the quality of beef (seen in the shift from young to old animals) falls, showing possible decline.

1.3. Lincoln

Location: Multiple site locations without grid references (but see figures 6.3a and 6.3b).

Lincoln: SK 9700 7100

Plan: Figure 6.3a and 6.3b

Reference: Dobney, K.M., Jaques, S.D. and Irving, B.G. 1997. *Of Butchers and Breeds: Report on Vertebrate Remains from Various Sites in the City of Lincoln.*

Lincoln: Lincoln Archaeological Studies No. 5.

Colyer, C., Gilmour, B.J.J. and Jones, M.J. 1999. *The Defences of the Lower City: Excavations at The Park and West Parade 1970-2 and a Discussion of Other Sites Excavated up to 1994.* London: CBA Report 114.

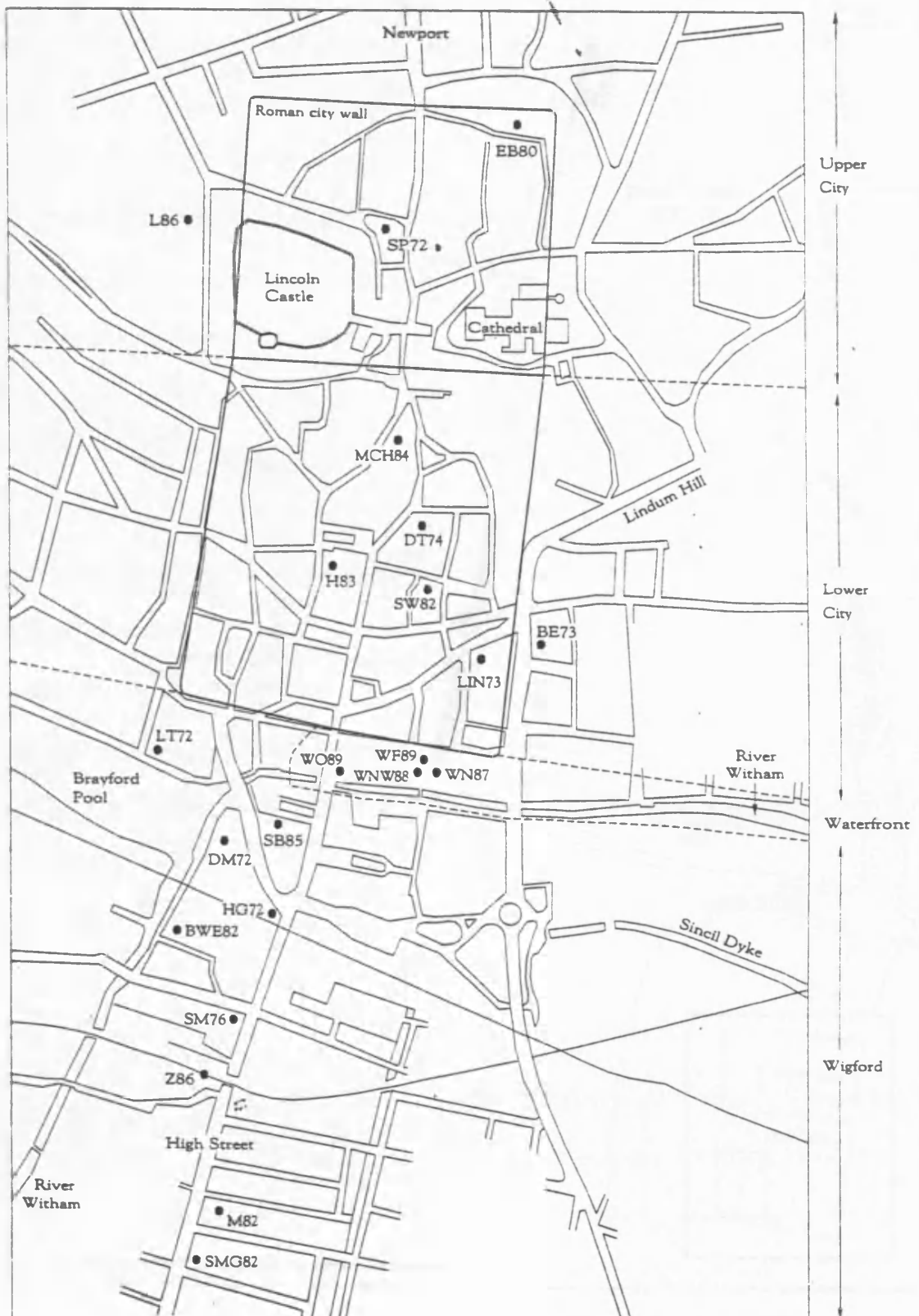


Figure 6.3a: Lincoln, city plan, showing different city areas, and the locations of excavations. From Dobney, et al. 1996: 4.

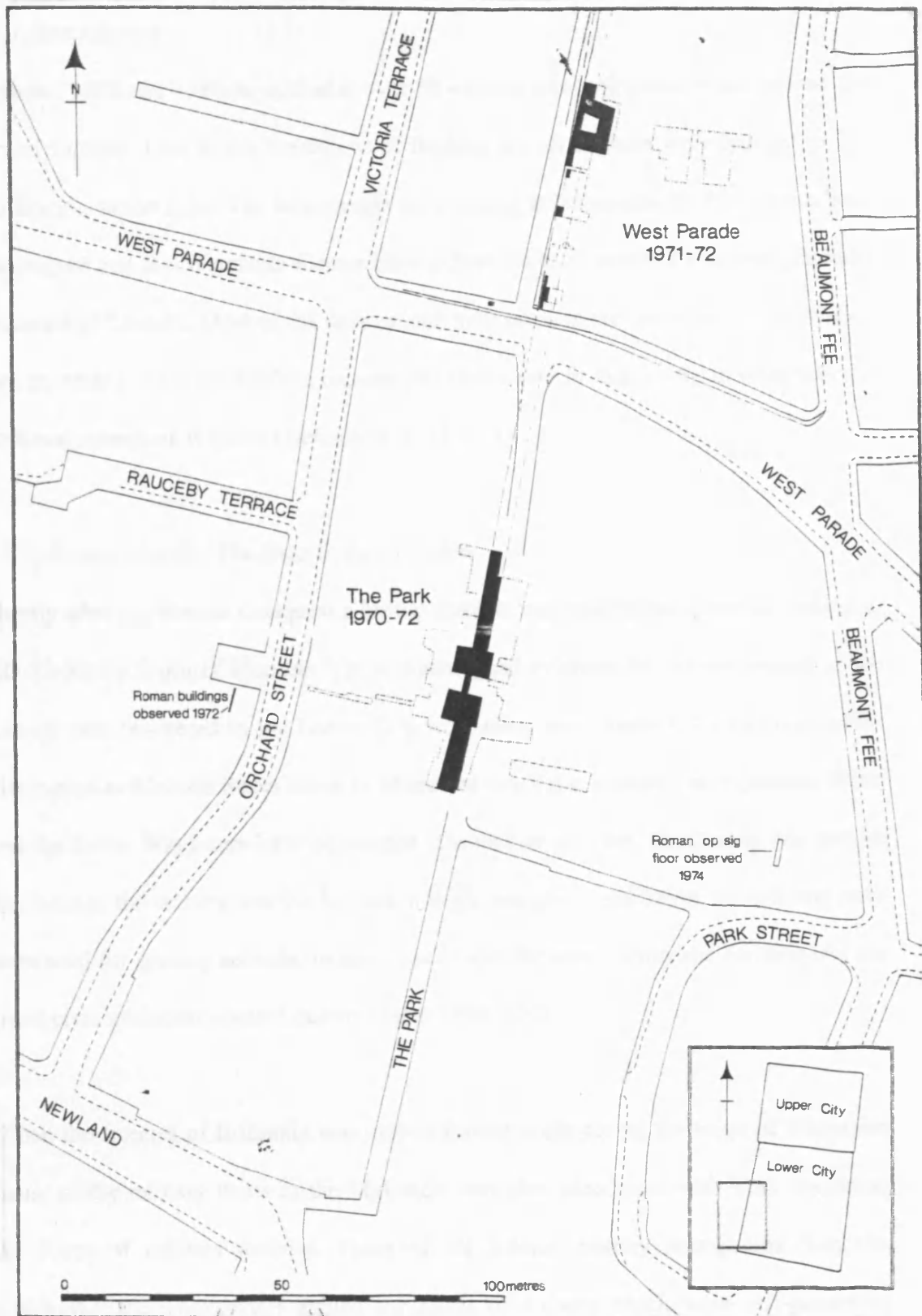


Figure 6.3b: Lincoln Town defences, area of excavation. From Colyer, et al. 1999: 2.

1.3.1. Introduction

Between 1972 and 1988 in particular over 50 excavations took place in and around the city of Lincoln. Due to the limitations of funding not all of these were brought to full publication at the time. The larger-scale excavations at Saltergate, St Paul-in-the-Bail, Flaxengate and the Waterside Centre have helped us to understand the stratigraphical sequence of Lincoln. Most of the excavations took place in the lower part of the walled city, in what is now the modern commercial centre and further south, in what was the medieval suburb of Wigford (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 1).

1.3.2. Roman Lincoln: The Sites in their Context

Shortly after the Roman Conquest a hilltop fortress was established (probably dating to AD 55-60) by *Legio IX Hispana*. The archaeological evidence for activity outside of the fortress was recovered in the Lower City with some early tombstones and cremations discovered at Monson Street close to where the two main Roman roads (Ermine Street and the Fosse Way) may have converged (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 2). During this period, the focus of the activity was the fortress, a large area above and below the hill may have been used for grazing animals, industrial activities for provisioning the garrison and the small civil settlement located nearby (Jones 1988: 152).

When the frontier of Britannia was moved further north during the reign of Vespasian many of the military bases in the Midlands were also abandoned with York becoming the focus of military activity. Three of the former military strongholds (Lincoln, Colchester and Gloucester) gained the status of *colonia* which were self-governing communities where veterans, who had served their 25 years, could settle. During the second century in Lincoln, major public building works were undertaken; the fortress defences were retained and refurbished over the following two centuries, the sewerage

and drainage systems were laid out and the building of the forum-basilica was begun on the site of the former military *principia* (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 2).

Most of the excavations carried out in Lincoln have been located in the Lower City (of which Of Butchers and Breeds discuss the faunal remains).

The Lower City is where the *canabae* (shops/stalls associated with provisioning the army) were located. Domestic buildings which date to the earliest military occupation have also been excavated in this area. During the second century a street system was laid out, the extent of the occupied area delimited, and subsequently enclosed within a series of walled defences (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 2). Higher status housing has been recovered from the terraced slope above the river.

Outside the walled *colonia*, on the southern bank of the River Witham, workshops and shops were established in the second century. These were laid out along the route of Ermine Street.

Lincoln, in the late third century, became the capital of one of the four new provinces of Britain. During the fourth century, the city's defences were refurbished and more public and private buildings were constructed (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 2).

There is little archaeological evidence for the early post-Roman period but it can be suggested that the city declined rapidly from the late fourth century onwards (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

1.3.3. Location

The sites discussed in this analysis are located in the Lower City (in the area where shops, workshops and domestic buildings were established in the second century AD). The sites from which the pottery assemblage has been included were located on the line of the western defences of the lower walled Roman city (Colyer *et al.* 1999: xv).

1.3.4. Excavation

The pottery assemblage discussed here derives from two large-scale excavations (The Park and West Parade) located on the line of the western defences of the lower walled Roman city. There were traces of occupation which predated the construction of the defences. These were timber structures which were set at right angles to the street grid and which date to the early second century. The earliest defences, which consisted of a wall, sand and clay ramparts and a ditch, were constructed at the end of the second century. Major refurbishment took place during the fourth century which involved increasing the size of the wall and rampart. This area was not reoccupied until the eleventh century.

The sites from which the animal bones are derived are located throughout the Lower City, the Upper City, Wigford and the Waterfront.

1.3.5. Pottery

The pottery from stratified Roman layers at The Park amounts to nearly 16,000 sherds (339 EVEs, 318 kg). The pottery was quantified for sherd count, vessel equivalent and weight (Darling 1999: 52).

The pottery report from The Park presents certain problems. On the one hand, there are the large rubbish deposits which are difficult to relate to the sequence of the defences and on the other hand, there are two very large groups of pottery recovered from a massive dump on the rampart and a late rubbish dump on the berm. These two large groups account for 45-48 % of the stratified pottery (Darling 1999: 52).

1.3.6. Animal Remains

The Wigford vertebrate assemblage: This assemblage is relatively small (1,491 identifiable fragments), the largest deriving from St Marks Station and St Marks Church. The assemblages which are best dated come from the third and fourth centuries. Upper Wigford produced a small assemblage (1,669 identifiable fragments), the largest coming from Holmes Grainwarehouse and St Benedicts Square (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 10).

The Waterfront vertebrate assemblage: These are some of the largest assemblages from Lincoln (a total of 5,420 identifiable hand collected fragments and 3,964 fish fragments). The earliest deposits date to the late Roman period (mid-third to late-fourth centuries) (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 10-11).

The Lower City vertebrate assemblage: The Lower City (represented by material from seven sites) again produced a small assemblage of well-dated material (1,504 identifiable fragments), the largest assemblages coming from Hungate and Grantham Street. Most of the material dates to the late Saxon, high medieval and post-medieval phases with a small quantity of material deriving from the Roman period (second to fourth centuries) (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 13).

The Upper City vertebrate assemblage: The largest assemblage came from the Roman well in St Paul-in-the-Bail. Over 2,000 identifiable fragments were recorded from this excavation. A small sample was derived from The Lawn sites (246 identifiable fragments) which were dated to the first century (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 14).

Most of the animal bones were recovered by hand, with the exception of some samples from the Waterfront excavations.

The animal bones from the excavations at The Park and Western Parade were also included in this discussion. Most of the animal bones recovered from these excavations derived from medieval features such as pits, dumps, and redistributed wall and rampart material. In addition to this, a small number of bones which could not be dated were recovered but these were not included in the report (Scott 1999: 236).

In total, the assemblage contained 9,342 bone fragments of which 66 % were identifiable (Scott 1999: 236). The material was very well preserved even though it was fragmentary in nature. The material was hand collected (Scott 1999: 237).

1.3.7. Fish Remains

There were no marine species, except for the sand eel (*Ammodytes tobianus* L.) and small clupeids, recovered from the waterfront which dated to the Roman period. Other sites, such as Holmes Grainwarehouse and Wigford, did produce marine species which included halibut (*Hippoglossus hippoglossus* L.), turbot (*Scophthalmus maximus* L.), conger (*Conger conger* L.) and garfish (*Belone belone* L.) (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 53). These marine species must have been imported from the coastal fisheries but their importance in the diet is impossible to assess from the available evidence.

The Waterfront assemblages are dominated throughout all periods by the common eel (*Anguilla anguilla*). Carp (*Cyprinus carpio* L.) has also been discovered from third-century deposits and is the earliest record of this species in Britain. The natural distribution of the species is in the Danube basin where it was first domesticated by the Romans (Balon 1974). It has been suggested that the Romans farmed and moved carp live around the empire (Dobney *et al.* 1996: 53).

1.3.8. Plant Remains

The reports on the plant remains recovered from Lincoln have not been published and are therefore not included in this discussion of the foodways of Lincoln.

1.3.9. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

Most of the cattle culled were adult, i.e. over four years of age at death. Most were thought to be over eight years of age at the time of slaughter. There is an absence of neonatals or perinatals which is not surprising: on urban sites it is expected that the remains will reflect those of a consumer or market centre which show the surplus stock (particularly cattle and sheep) brought to market by producers located outside urban centre (Dobney *et al.* 1996). The deaths of very young animals would therefore have occurred in the producer sites. This age profile suggests multi-purpose use of cattle for meat, hides, milk and traction. Intensive beef production would have resulted in slaughter at the optimum age, i.e. age at which the carcass is fully developed (four-five years). If dairying and/or veal production were important then an assemblage dominated by elderly individuals would be more likely (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

Most sheep mandibles are from adult animals, i.e. older than four years. In the fourth century the assemblage contained mostly adults with some sub-adults (culled in their late first and second years) present (Dobney *et al.* 1996). The adult animals were most probably killed between four and seven years with most being five to seven years of age. The epiphyseal fusion data presents a different picture: there are a higher proportion of young and juvenile animals present (Dobney *et al.* 1996). This is indicative of a broad multi-purpose husbandry regime within which animals are killed at various ages ranging from juvenile to older animals and there is little evidence for the selection of particular age groups. In the fourth century there is an emphasis on animals between two and three years and three and four years.

There are significant proportions of juveniles and immature pigs present in most periods (Dobney *et al.* 1996). This indicates that the pigs were principally kept for meat although lard and hide were also likely to be important. The high fecundity of pigs makes them ideal meat producers. It is therefore usual that pigs are killed before full maturation, i.e. before three years. During the Roman period there are high proportions of animals (60%) of two to three years with a substantial proportion of sub adult (12-15 months) and immature (15-24 months) animals (Dobney *et al.* 1996). There are some neonatal remains present, which suggests the presence of some breeding sows in the city itself. As with sheep the epiphyseal fusion data present a slightly different picture: 60% were killed between ages of 12 and 24 months (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

2. Species Proportions

The highest frequency of cattle appear in the Roman period with peaks from assemblages of the second century and fourth century. During the third century we can see a trend of the increasing importance of cattle and a corresponding decrease in sheep.

It is also notable that chicken and geese are at their highest during the Roman period. The importance of pig is fairly constant, with a marked decrease in the fourth century (see Dobney *et al.* 1996).

Period	Oxn	Shen	Pign	Horsen	Redn	Roenn	Boarn	Haren	Dogn	Catn	Birdd	Birdw	Fish	Unid
3	926	242	133	51	3	0	0	2	51	0	56	8	0	1816
4	572	250	84	49	3	2	0	3	64	5	67	8	562	1716
5	5178	921	471	32	18	1	4	5	126	10	190	21	836	12610

Table 6.14: Species numbers (Total fragment count: 27,096) from Lincoln

Period	Ox %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Red %	Roe %	Boar %	Hare %	Dog %	Cat %	Birdd %	Birdw %	Fish %	Unid %
3	100	26	14	6	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	1	0	196
4	100	44	15	9	1	0	0	1	11	0	12	1	98	300
5	100	18	9	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	16	244

Table 6.15: Ratio of cattle/other species from Lincoln

Table 6.15 illustrates that there is an increase in sheep in phase 4 (mid-Roman period) but they decrease again in the later Roman period. Pig bones remain stable in the early and mid-Roman period but decrease in the later Roman period. Most notably we can see the increased importance of fish in the mid to later Roman period.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

The most commonly represented species are fish, particularly in the later Roman period, dog and horse. Wild mammals, are represented by a few bones of red deer and hare (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

The horse bones include three scapulae with chop marks around glenoid cavity and knife marks on one of the blades. These could be butchery marks associated with dismemberment after death and suggest possible consumption.

The dog bones included four long bone fragment, two humeri and two tibiae of the fourth century bearing butchery marks. These marks are consistent with skinning and do not necessarily indicate consumption of dog meat (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

The number of chicken bones is consistently low. This may be associated with the excavation techniques and the sampling strategy carried out on site (see Dobney *et al.* 1996). Individual households may have kept these.

The red deer and hare were probably hunted and eaten as well as exploited for antler and other products. The wild bird species were probably hunted for food as the assemblage contains swans, geese, ducks and waders (Dobney *et al.* 1996).

Fish are the most commonly represented non-domestic species in the mid to later Roman period. There are no marine species from Roman deposits (except sand eel and small clupeids). The hand collected assemblage contained halibut, turbot, conger and garfish (Dobney *et al.* 1996). These were probably imported into the city from the coastal fisheries. The assemblages are dominated throughout all periods by the common eel. There is evidence from the third century for the presence of carp which would be the earliest known occurrence of this species in Britain.

Period	Domesticates%	Horse%	Dog%	Cat%	Bird%	Fish%
3	100	4	4	0	19	0
4	100	5	7	1	7	62
5	100	0	2	0	3	13

Table 6.16: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/ other domesticates and fish (edible) (not including wild mammals) from Lincoln

Table 6.16 shows that there was an increase in the importance of fish in the mid-Roman period with a decline in the later Roman period. Domestic birds decrease from the early Roman onwards.

Period	Domesticates%	Wild%
3	100	1
4	100	2
5	100	1

Table 6.17: Ratio of domesticates (cattle, sheep and pig)/wild species (red deer, roe deer, boar, hare and wild birds) from Lincoln

Table 6.17 illustrates the small contribution the wild species make in contrast to the three main domesticates. There is a slight increase in wild species in the mid-Roman period as has been noted above with the other edible species. It should be noted that the numbers are very small.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

Period	CW	LFW	IFW
3	1105	246	421
4	1722	1164	629
4/5	546	339	253
5	6535	2533	14

Table 6.18: Fabric proportions (sherd count: 14,190) from Lincoln

Table 6.18 and 6.19 illustrates that there are local and imported fine wares represented in the assemblages discussed from Lincoln. The numbers and ratios of imported fine wares increase in the mid-Roman period whereas the numbers, but not the ratios, decrease again in the mid-to later Roman period (Darling 1999). This is a common pattern in Romano-British deposits and has been discussed by Going (1992) as being indicators of the supply and availability of imported fine wares to Britain.

Period	CW %	LFW	IFW %
3	100	22	39
4	100	67	36
4/5	100	62	46
5	100	39	2.1

Table 6.19: Ratio of coarse wares/ imported fine ware and local fine wares from Lincoln

The ratios of local fine wares to coarse wares they stay at a fairly stable level in the mid-to later Roman period but decline significantly in the later Roman period. Imported ware also seems to remain (in terms of its ratio to coarse ware, relatively static), though, as noted above, actual sherd counts (reflecting the supply of pottery to the site) decline markedly.

1.3.10. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

The cattle butchery from the late Roman waterfront suggests evidence of extensive butchery which is characteristic of the systematic chopping of the all major elements. It represents the reduction of the carcass into smaller joints (see Dobney *et al.* 1996). The meat may then have been filleted, even though there are few knife marks present. Once the meat had been removed, the bones were chopped through longitudinally and split to extract the marrow.

A large proportion of the mandibles showed evidence of scorching or burning on the basal part of the diastema; some showed more extensive burning of corpus and ramus (Dobney *et al.* 1996). This is very distinctive of the fourth-century assemblage in Lincoln but is rare in other Romano-British deposits. Also notable are the scapulae with butcher's hook marks which are distinctive from fourth-century waterfront and first-century Holmes Grainwarehouse deposits. Additional butchery evidence may represent cured shoulder joints (hook marks to hang joints in smoker and/or brine vats) (Dobney

et al. 1996). The late Roman Waterfront assemblage represents the remnants of systematic slaughter; processing and reduction of carcasses carried out on a commercial basis somewhere within or immediately adjacent to the *colonia*. The butchery pattern is characteristically Roman with skeletal elements extensively chopped and further broken down.

The butchery of sheep shows knife marks located around the periphery of joints (Dobney *et al.* 1996). This is indicative of the jointing of limbs. There is little evidence for the systematic butchery of sheep in contrast to cattle.

2. Skeletal Element Representation

The cattle deposits from the large fourth-century waterfront assemblage are clearly dominated by mandible fragments and teeth with additional high proportion of lower forelimb elements (radius/ulna) and metatarsals (Dobney *et al.* 1996). The major meat-bearing bones, particularly humerus/scapula, are less well represented and horn cores are also present in low numbers. The assemblage from Wigford is dominated by forelimb elements with scapula and radius/ulna fragments the most common (Dobney *et al.* 1996). The major meat bearing elements are uncommon, with hindquarter elements also poorly represented although metatarsals are quite common.

The sheep assemblage from the fourth-century waterfront is dominated by head fragments, minor meat bearing bones and distal limb elements (Dobney *et al.* 1996). A similar pattern can be seen in the assemblage from Wigford. Mandible fragments are the most common in all periods for the pig assemblages (Dobney *et al.* 1996). Both indicate that the principal meat bearing joints were being transported elsewhere for consumption (possibly to other parts of the city).

3. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Evidence for Imported Food stuffs

Period	Mortaria N
3	14
4	20
4/5	9
5	64

Table 6.20: Proportions of mortaria (sherd count: 107) from Lincoln

The biggest assemblage of mortaria is derived from the later Roman period in which 64 sherds were recovered (Darling 1999).

Period	AmphoraeN
3	58
4	136
4/5	11
5	324

Table 6.21: Proportions of amphorae (sherd count: 529) from Lincoln

There are a variety of amphorae forms represented but the most common is the Dressel 20 which usually contained olive oil from Southern Spain. A sharp increase in amphorae can be noted in the mid Roman period, a trend which continued throughout the rest of the period of Roman occupation (Darling 1999). Sherd numbers show a decrease in the mid to later Roman period but this is not borne out when the EVE is taken into account. This may be due to a larger proportion of rim sherds being present.

1.3.11. Cooking

1. Pottery: Forms and fabrics

The only vessel form which could be associated with cooking was the jar which was present in large quantities throughout the Roman period.

1.3.12. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The forms of the ceramic vessels have not been discussed in the report. It should be noted that there are no flagons present within the assemblage. The catalogue includes many jars, bowls, platters, dishes and beakers. The assemblage also includes platters and dishes in imported fine wares (such as Samian) and kitchen to table wares in local fine wares in the later Roman period, which may have been used for serving food during a formal dinner.

1.3.13. Summary

The pottery discussed here derives from excavations of the lower defences whereas the animal bones are from assemblages excavated over the whole city (discussed in full in section 1.3.1). This makes any link with a specific site and its architecture, as has been attempted for other sites, difficult. However, Lincoln is an architecturally sophisticated settlement with all the trappings expected of a Roman town. The Roman settlement is based around an initial military instillation, but grew to be a full settlement, with upper and lower districts.

The animal bones suggest that beef was the most frequently consumed meat with sheep and pig also present. This is a fairly standard picture seen throughout most Roman towns. As is clear from other towns in Roman Britain (Maltby 1989: 77), cattle predominate in all assemblages. This probably reflects the higher demands for meat in these areas than on the rural sites. There is also evidence for more intensive meat preparation in the form of marrow extraction (broken jaw bones and long bones) and the curing of meat (holes through scapulae) which is not found on rural sites. Cattle were adult at time of slaughter which indicates they were initially exploited for secondary

products and later for meat. The same pattern emerged for sheep. As suggested for Causeway Lane, this may be indicative of a lower quality meat component in the foodways of Lincoln than might otherwise be the case, old meat being of lower quality than young meat. Wild species are also present in urban centres which suggests that there was clearly a market for these meats, here as well as on rural sites. Chicken and geese bones increase during Roman period, perhaps mirroring the pattern seen in Leicester. As noted for Causeway Lane, urban populations may well have kept small birds like chickens to help supplement their food supplied with both meat and eggs. Wild species are present on the sites, as are fish (turbot, conger, halibut, garfish and carp) were also common in the mid-late Roman period.

There is both a wide range of fabrics and vessels present, which suggests that the inhabitants had the means and the desire to consume Roman goods. Imported fine wares are well-represented and increase in the mid-Roman period. Local fine wares increased in the mid to late Roman period, with a corresponding increase in kitchen to table ware, indicating an increased interest in dining and serving. Forms that indicate serving were present, as were drinking vessels, and small numbers of mortaria.

There was no evidence for botanical remains recovered from the sites examined. There was, however, some evidence of imported food, in the form of small numbers of amphorae sherds, probably belonging to vessels that carried olive oil, fish sauce and wine.

From the evidence discussed above, it is clear that the inhabitants of Lincoln had access to, and consumed, imported fine wares, mortaria, and imported food stuffs. The animal remains are fairly typical of a Roman period urban settlement with a predominance of

cattle – though as was indicated, much of the meat came from mature animals and so may not have been of the finest quality. There is also evidence for the curing of meat and for the increased consumption of chickens in the Roman period. The inhabitants also seem to have exploited the surrounding countryside, as indicated by the range of wild species, and fish remains. The pottery assemblage indicates an interest in dining, and provides evidence for the consumption of drink, as well as amounts of imported food stuffs. Overall the foodways indicated in the assemblages analysed were to a degree shaped by ‘Roman’ influence, but were, in an urban context, relatively modest. Lincoln was, in terms of the meal stage process, a sophisticated site when compared to the rural sites examined earlier, though is fairly typical for an urban assemblage. Again we must note the predominance of meat from older animals (and thus meat of relatively poor quality), acquired during the procurement stage.

1.4. Silchester: Forum and Basilica Excavations

Location: SU 6290 6220

Plan: Figure 6.4a and 6.4b.

Reference: Fulford, M., and J. Timby, eds. 2000. *Late Iron Age and Roman Silchester: Excavations on the site of the Forum-Basilica 1977, 1980-86*. London: Britannia Monograph Series Number 15.

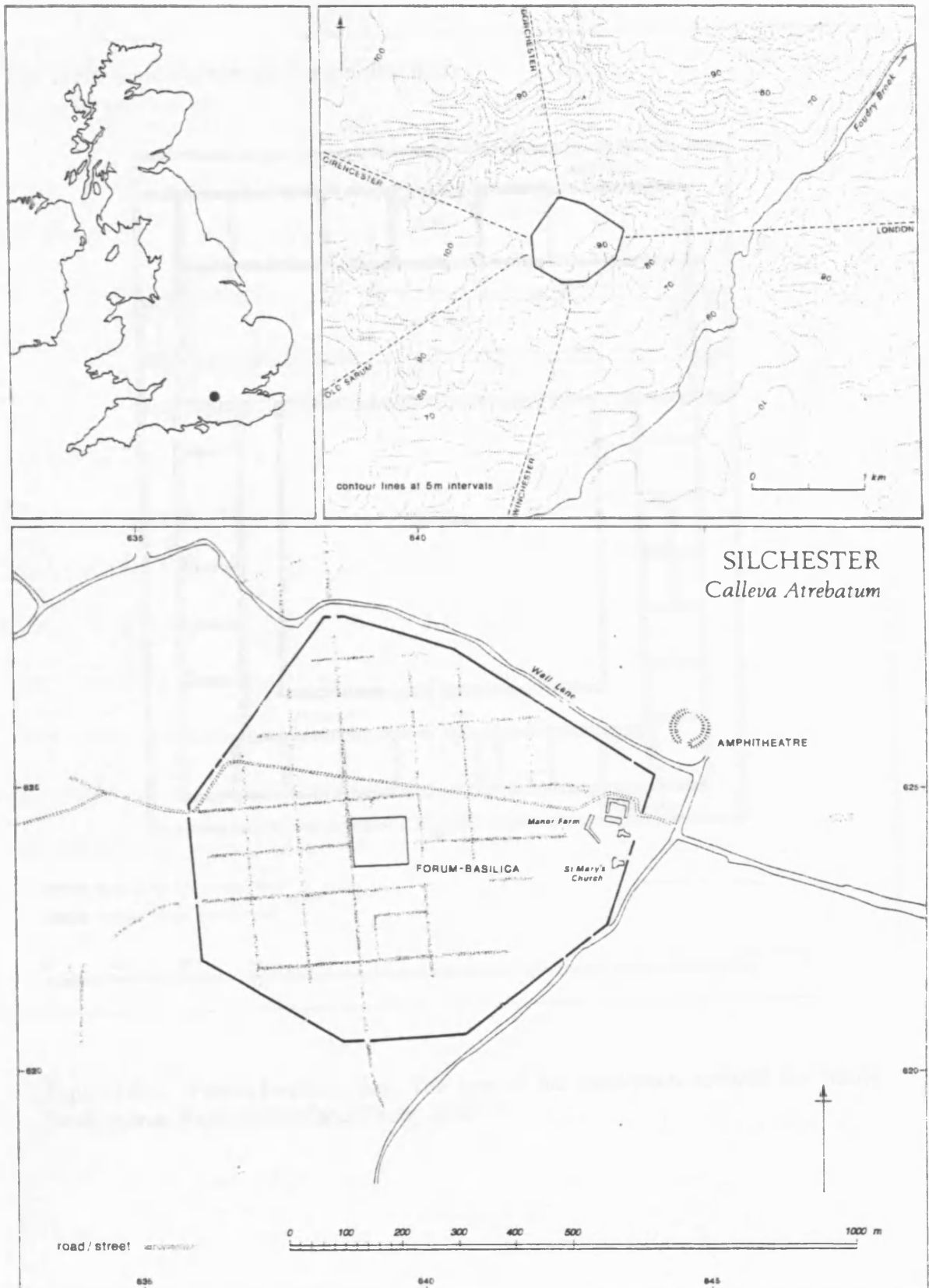


Figure 6.4a: Silchester, general town plan. From Fulford and Timby 2000: 6.

The Hadrianic-Antonine Forum-Basilica

After Fox and St John Hope, 1893

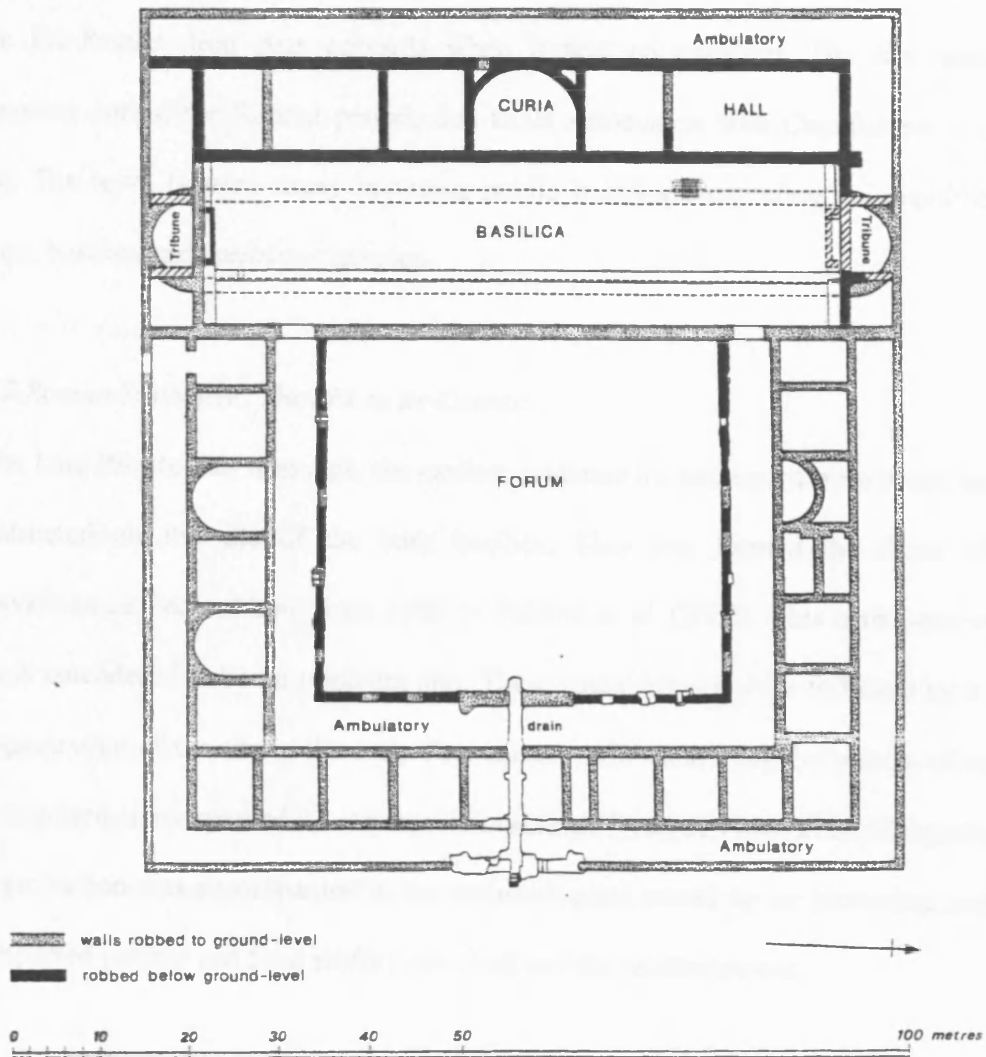


Figure 6.4b: Forum-Basilica plan. The area of the excavation covered the whole Basilica area. From Fulford and Timby 2000: 7.

1.4.1. Introduction

Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) is also located within the client kingdom of the *Atrebates* and was an important settlement and focus for the surrounding area from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age onwards when it was an oppidum. The site remained important during the Roman period, due to its association with *Cogidubnus*, a client king. The town boasted many imposing public buildings, including an amphitheatre, forum, basilica and numerous temples.

1.4.2. Roman Silchester: The Site in its Context

In the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, the earliest evidence for settlement were round houses constructed on the site of the later basilica. This area formed the focus of the excavations carried out here since 1980 by Fulford *et al.* (2000). This is the area which is now considered to be an oppidum site. These round houses were followed by a total reorganization of the site in the early first century AD when a regular pattern of streets was imposed, accompanied by rectangular buildings (Wacher 1995: 272). This period of reorganization was accompanied in the archaeological record by an increasing number of imported pottery and food stuffs from Gaul and the Mediterranean.

The Roman Conquest may have seen a military presence in the settlement although no conclusive evidence for this has to date been recovered. Fulford suggests that the army's occupation may have been short lived (until the late 40s AD) and that the town only began its formal development once the army had departed (Wacher 1995: 273). The timber-framed building, which has been identified as a *principia*, continued in use until the construction of the Flavian basilica.

The bathhouse may have been one of the earliest major buildings in the town. There is also evidence for the development of defences during the Claudio-Neronian period. The Claudio-Neronian town had already outgrown the boundaries. In the centre, where the principia had stood, a forum and basilica was built (Boon 1974), almost certainly before the new street grid was laid out as these do not relate to each other (Wacher 1995: 274).

The timber-framed building (*principia*) was thus replaced by a masonry forum and basilica during the second quarter of the second century. Another public building, constructed after the lay-out of the street-grid, is the *mansio* in *Insula VIII* (Wacher 1995: 278). The only other public building belonging to the early phase of the town's development is the amphitheatre which was constructed during the late Neronian-early Flavian period (Fulford 1989).

In the later Roman period, the fortifications were rendered in stone and the basilica was used for metalworking activities. The industrial activity seems to have ceased during the fourth-fifth centuries (Fulford 1985: 59).

The houses of Silchester are considered to be representative of the Romano-British urban houses (Wacher 1995: 286). The earliest examples were constructed of wattle and daub on a timber frame. These were not replaced with stone buildings until at least the middle of the second century. Some of these developed into courtyard houses which had mosaic floors although these were not of as high an artistic quality as those recovered from Cirencester (Wacher 1995: 287). Many of these houses were able to grow their own vegetables and fruits, as attested by the archaeobotanical remains recovered from excavations in Silchester (Jones 2000: 512). Carrots, parsnips, celery and peas have

been recovered from these excavations as well as more exotic imports such as coriander.

The forum-basilica area was thus always at the heart of life in the town, from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age until the fifth century. Wachter (1995: 289) suggests that this area is vital to the understanding of the development, not just of Silchester, but of towns in Roman Britain.

1.4.3. Location

Silchester is located on a main Roman road from Dorchester to London.

1.4.4. Excavation

The area excavated was the focus of occupation in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and consisted of round houses. These were followed in the immediate pre-and post-Conquest period by a regular street grid, rectangular buildings, including the timber-framed building which has been identified as a principia, possibly associated with a military presence. This timber building formed the precursor to the first basilica building which was constructed in the early Roman period. This was followed in the mid-Roman period with the construction of a masonry basilica. During the later Roman period the basilica was used for metalworking, including blacksmithing. The area excavated, although large (425 m²), is still only a small portion of the settlement.

1.4.5. Pottery

The excavations revealed 98,500 sherds of pottery, weighing over a metric tonne. Further unquantified material was also discovered in the topsoil. The pottery was quantified through a sherd count, weight (kg) and percentage of rim diameter (EVE)

(Timby 2000: 180). Although a large amount of pottery was recovered from all phases of the site, the sherds were generally very fragmented and only a small number of complete profiles could be reconstructed. The pottery was recovered from a variety of different contexts although the largest part came from wells, large pits and ditches (Timby 2000: 180). The wells in particular give rise to a number of interpretational problems such as the rate of deposition over time, sinkage thus increasing the risk of residual material, and therefore provide a separate sequence which may not relate to the rest of the site.

In the context of this re-analysis we need to bear in mind that the site changed usage in essence three times, being an area of domestic occupation in the LPRIA, a key public space in a Roman town from the early/mid Roman period to the late Roman period, when there appears to have been at least some industrial use, a pattern which, as we shall see, is mirrored in the assemblage recovered.

1.4.6. Animal Remains

Over 50,000 bone fragments and over 4,000 shells were recovered during the excavations. The bones were quantified using three methods: total fragment count, restricted fragment count (epiphyses only) and MNI. The Vigne (1992) method was also used to assess the overall importance of animals in terms of their contribution to the meat. The animal bones dating from the Iron Age period all derive from occupation layers within the Iron Age settlement. The preservation of these was not particularly good: some had been burnt or gnawed prior to burial and some may have been left lying on top of the contemporary ground surface prior to deposition (Grant 2000: 430).

The early Roman period assemblage derives from inside and outside, first the timber building and later the masonry forum-basilica. The sample available for analysis was very much smaller than for the previous period. Bone preservation is comparable with that of the Iron Age assemblage (Grant 2000: 448).

The mid-Roman assemblage derives from the construction layers of the forum-basilica and may have contained some residual material. The mid-to later Roman assemblage derives from make-up layers and a very small amount of material was from occupation layers and there is a possibility that some of this material may be residual (Grant 2000: 457).

The late Roman period assemblage derives from a range of features such as wells, pits, occupation layers and context within the basilica. There are a larger number of bones in this assemblage but it should be noted that the period of time it covers is also greater than the preceding periods (Grant 2000: 470).

Bird bones were recovered from the three main phases of occupation of the Silchester basilica excavations: Late Iron Age deposits in the oppidum (Period 2), the early Roman Basilica (Period 3 and 4), and the later occupation in the area of the basilica (Period 5) (Serjeantson 2000: 484). Some 1270 bird bones were recovered of which the majority were identifiable to species. Most of the material was retrieved by hand but some features such as wells were sampled and sieved.

1.4.7. Fish Remains

A total of 119 bones from at least six taxa were recovered from 10 features. Wet sieving was used to aid the recovery of small classes of material. The taxa identified were (in

order of numerical frequency): bass, mullet, sea-breams, flatfish, salmon, and cyprinids (Hamilton-Dyer 2000: 482). The features which contained the fish remains date to AD 250-400.

Bird bones were recovered from the three main phases of occupation of the Silchester basilica excavations: Late Iron Age deposits in the oppidum (Period 2), the early Roman Basilica (Period 3 and 4), and the later occupation in the area of the basilica (Period 5) (Serjeantson 2000: 484). Some 1270 bird bones were recovered of which the majority were identifiable to species. Most of the material was retrieved by hand but some features such as wells were sampled and sieved.

1.4.8. Plant Remains

The plant remains recovered during the basilica excavations were analysed in the light of previous work carried out in Silchester during the early part of the twentieth century by Reid and Lyell (Jones 2000: 505). The crops recovered from the excavations include bread wheat, emmer and spelt, and analysis of these remains indicate that there is little chaff present which is suggest that no agricultural activity took place nearby and that the crops arrived on site ready for consumption. The samples were from a restricted area and the range of plants is therefore narrow compared to those identified by Reid which contained many exotic species such as grapes, strawberries, figs, damsons, bullace, plums and cherries (Jones 2000: 512). Therefore in the light of the work carried out in the rest of Silchester, we can see that imports did play a significant role in the foodways of the townsfolk, something which could not be suggested if the plant remains from the basilica excavations were looked at in isolation.

1.4.9. Food Procurement

1. Husbandry Regimes

In period 2 (circa 25-15 BC) the age-at-death for cattle was based on eight reasonably complete mandibles, seven of these came from animals with all three permanent molars erupted and in wear and one with the third molar (M3) half erupted (Grant 2000). It is unlikely that any of these mandibles came from animals that were under two years of age and were most probably from considerably older animals. The epiphyseal fusion data shows that there is one individual less than 18 months old at death.

Sheep mandibles were relatively well-represented. Eight mandibles belonged to animals which were between 18 months and three to four years old at death. Bone fusion data suggests that the majority of sheep were relatively mature at slaughter; none of the elements that fuse during the first two years of a sheep's life were unfused. The pig mandibles suggest that these were killed at the time of the eruption of M3, which occurs between 17 months and three years. Two unfused distal humeri indicate that some younger animals were slaughtered too (Grant 2000).

In period 2/3 (circa 15 BC to AD 40/50) most of the cattle slaughtered are mature animals (Grant 2000). 24 mandibles were used to calculate the MWS (mandibular wear stages). The bone fusion data supports this picture of predominantly mature animals although some individuals were culled in their first year to 18 months (Grant 2000).

24 sheep mandibles showed a fairly wide spread of ages-at-death. One belonged to a young animal (MWS 5); three from animals that were unlikely to have been older than one year; ten belonged to animals which were aged between 18 to 24 months and three

to four years. The presence of ten mandibles suggested that these animals were culled as fully mature animals.

Mandibles dominated the pig assemblage but only 26 could be assigned to an accurate MWS (Grant 2000). These indicated that many pigs had been killed before, during or just after the eruption of M3, which occurs between 17 months and three years. Bone fusion data suggest a higher proportion had been killed in their first year but confirms that the majority had been killed by the time they had reached two to three years, with relatively few surviving beyond three and a half years (Grant 2000).

In period 3 (AD 40-50/60) cattle were slaughtered when fully mature, some were killed in their first year to 18 months. Sheep show a wide range of ages. 36 mandibles could be assigned to accurate MWS: 14 to 16 are from animals killed in their first year; several even appear to have died at, or shortly after birth. Another six mandibles suggest that the animals were killed around the eruption of M3, which occurs in sheep between 18 to 24 months and three to four years. The remaining 14 are those of mature animals (Grant 2000).

The 30 aged pig mandibles indicate that there was one neo-natal animal; a small number which were killed just after or just before the eruption of M2, which in pigs occurs between seven months and two years; the majority were killed as, or just after the eruption of M3, which occurs between 17 months and three years. There were six mandibles present which belonged to mature animals. The epiphyseal fusion data supports this view; some older animals may even have survived into their fourth year (Grant 2000).

In period 3 to 5 (early to later Roman period) and period 4 (AD 40/50-85) a very small number of cattle jaws could be assigned to MWS: there was one juvenile with M3 just erupting through the jaw, which suggests an estimated age of two to five years; four mature animals were also present. The bone fusion data suggests that most were killed as adults, although some died before they were fully mature, including some less than 18 months of age (Grant 2000).

Nine sheep mandibles could be aged. There is a wide range of ages present. Three mandibles belonged to very young animals, including lambs which died very shortly after birth, one juvenile which was killed before the eruption of M3, one which was killed just as M3 came into wear and four mature animals (Grant 2000). The epiphyseal fusion data confirm this pattern.

Only six pig mandibles could be aged, these suggest the culling of young, juvenile and just mature animals. This picture was confirmed by the bone fusion data (Grant 2000).

2. Species proportion

This was a large assemblage which contained over 50,000 bone fragments and teeth and over 4,000 shells.

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Horse	Dog	Red	Roe	Hare	Cat	Fox	Bird	Fish	Other
2	2629	1791	1977	79	52	0	2	4	0	0	172	1	3399
3	586	331	314	34	1	2	0	0	0	0	46	0	493
4	1005	1264	652	21	12	4	2	10	2	4	137	13	1146
5	906	1479	805	21	15	3	2	27	0	0	865	101	1704

Table 6.22: Species numbers (total fragments count: 22,136) from Silchester

Table 6.22 illustrates that in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (period 2) cattle and pig dominate the assemblage with sheep making a relatively high contribution. In the early

Roman period both cattle and pig decrease significantly in importance. In the mid-Roman period, sheep become the dominant species with, cattle in second and pig in third place. This remains the case in the late Roman period too, although pigs do increase slightly.

Period	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Total
2	13672	689	7344	21705
3	5758	343	1560	7661
4/5	2375	817	1560	4752
9	21805	1849	10464	34118

Table 6.23: Meat weight (kg) for the three main domesticates from Silchester

When we look at the meat weight, based on the meat and offal weight (MOW) calculations (Vigne 1992), we can see that beef would have dominated the meat available, followed by pork with mutton and lamb making only a small contribution, even in the mid to late Roman period when sheep bones far outnumbered cattle and pig bones in the total fragment count. However, we should note that as the site shifts from being part of an oppidum towards being part of the public space of a Roman town, the amount of faunal remains will decline, as the usage of the site changes and food preparation activity falls, something which accounts for the heavy bias towards the pre-Roman/early Roman part of the sample. This potentially makes the picture from the later periods less reliable, as it is based upon a smaller sample, from an area that had acquired a specific function.

Period	Cattle %	Sheep %	Pig %	Horse %	Dog %	Red %	Roe %	Hare %	Cat %	Fox %	Bird %	Fish %
2	100	68	75	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
3	100	56	54	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
4	100	126	65	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	14	1
5	100	163	89	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	95	11

Table 6.24: Ratio of cattle/ other species from Silchester

Table 6.24 illustrates the increase in importance of sheep in the assemblage from the mid-Roman period onwards and the decrease in the importance of cattle and pig. It also highlights the significant increase in birds in the late Roman period and the increased importance of fish too (Grant 2000). See note above on the difficulty with the late period samples, however.

3. Exploitation of Other Species

As can be seen from the tables above, wild animals such as red deer, roe deer and hare made only a small contribution to the assemblage as a whole. Birds became increasingly important during the Roman period. These could have been kept in small numbers by individual households to supply them with eggs and the occasional bird for consumption.

4. Supply: Pottery and Imported Food stuffs

The pottery assemblage from this area of Silchester showed a vast array of rare, imported wares. Coarse wares however, dominate the assemblage in all periods. Locally produced fine wares, most of which derive from the New Forest industries, make only a very small contribution (Timby 2000b).

During the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, we can see an increase in the importance of flint-tempered wares at the expense of grog-tempered fabrics, which had been declining throughout this period. Sandy wares, fine wares and amphorae all increase which suggest an increased consumer access to traded goods as well as possibly an increased desire for them. The importation of fine wares reaches its peak in the later period of the Late Iron Age when an extremely diverse range is present. The new arrivals include:

mortaria, Lyons ware, Central Gaulish glazed wares, cream flagons, Pompeian red wares and flagons (Timby 2000b).

The early Roman period may be marked as having a possible military occupation however, the ceramic assemblage provides little evidence to support this hypothesis. The wares usually associated with early military occupation, as at Kingsholm in Gloucestershire (Hurst 1985), are mortaria, amphorae, especially Rhodian, Richborough 527, Camulodunum 189, Dressel 20 and South Spanish styles, and fine wares. Although these are all present in the early to mid Roman periods at Silchester, they are in very small quantities compared to at Kingsholm (Hurst 1985). Samian ware is the most common imported ware in the mid-second century. A decrease in the number of sources supplying pottery can be noted. The range of amphorae also decreases towards the late Roman period with Dressel 20 dominating the assemblage. This is also the case in the coarse wares; the local industries of Alice Holt/ Farnham, and to a lesser extent BB1, dominates the coarse ware assemblage. Consequently, the vessels become more standardised. By the late fourth century, the fine wares are mostly supplied by the large British industries based in the New Forest and Oxford regions. Some links with the Continent, in particular with Gaul, are maintained by the presence of one vessel made out of *Céramique à l'éponge*.

1.4.10. Food Preparation

1. Butchery

In the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, many cuts on cattle bones are in the form of knife marks around the bone extremities which is typical of an Iron Age type of butchery (Grant 1987a), although some larger bones such as the pelvis have been chopped with heavier tools. Cuts on the vertebrae suggest the removal of flesh from either side of the

vertebral column (see Grant 2000). The butchery marks on sheep are almost always fine knife cuts around the extremities of the bones. This is indicative of the careful disarticulation of the carcass or the removal of flesh from the bones. This is deemed to be typical of Iron Age sheep butchery (Grant 1987). Pig butchery follows a very similar pattern. The overall picture which can be gained from the assemblage is that all three main domesticates were butchered and consumed close to the places where their bones were finally deposited. In the Late Iron Age, there is some suggestion that the preliminary butchery may have been carried out elsewhere as the cattle mandibles and metapodia are less well represented.

2. Pottery: Preparation Vessels and Imported Food stuffs

Mortaria are rare throughout all periods (Timby 2000b). There are only a few sherds present in the late Roman period. Most of the sherds have been recovered from the post-Roman deposits and are therefore considered to be residual. However, they must have been in use at some point in the lifetime of the site.

A wide variety of types and thus food stuffs are represented in this assemblage. Over 1,250 sherds, amounting to circa 59 kg were recovered in total from all periods (Timby 2000b). These represent exotic food stuffs from the Mediterranean which could have been enjoyed by the wealthy members of Late Iron Age society. The largest assemblage does indeed come from the Late Iron Age; there is a sharp decline in the early Roman period with an increase into the mid Roman period, followed by a decrease in the late Roman period. The most common import was olive oil (44,103 grammes) as can be seen from the table below.

Period	Olive oil	Wine	Fish	Fruit
2	25.023	9.792	0.527	0
3	2.543	3.100	0.523	0.056
4	12.066	1.754	0.411	0
5	4.471	1.061	0.064	0.740

Table 6.25: Food stuffs as represented by the amphorae present (weight in kg: 62.131)
from Silchester

The most common form was the Dressel 20 which contained olive oil from Baetica. Wine amphorae are the second most common, amounting to 15.707 kg. Fish sauce amphorae are the third most common food stuffs but these decline steadily over time. The other food stuffs which may have been imported in amphorae are fruit (Richborough 527); these may have been figs or dates but these are present in small quantities in the Late Iron Age and the later Roman period. Again, however, as with the animal bone assemblage, we should not that the change of use in the site from, crudely speaking, domestic in the Late Iron Age to public space in the Roman period is probably reflected in the sharp drop apparent from periods 2 to 3.

1.4.11. Cooking

Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

Period	Jars	Bowl/dish	Platter	Cup	Beaker	Flagon	Jug	Amphora	Mortar	Lid	Other
2a	85	4	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	5	0
2b	78	1	5	1	10	1	0	1	0	3	1
2c	65	6	9	2	13	1	1	1	0	3	0
3	60	4	11	3	15	2	1	1	0	4	0
4	52	5	9	2	23	4	1	1	1	3	0
5	62	11	8	2	13	1	0	0	1	2	0

Table 6.26: Vessels over all periods expressed as % of EVEs from Silchester

Table 6.26 illustrates that the assemblage is dominated by jars. A decrease can be noted from Period 2a to period 5 but the form nevertheless remains by far the best

represented. The other form which is of importance is the beaker; it reaches its peak in the mid-Roman period after witnessing a steady increase. We can also look at the assemblage in terms of the vessels' functions in the food process.

Period	Procurement	Preparation	Cooking	Serving	Eating	Drinking
2a	0	0	85	3	4	3.5
2b	1	0	78	5	1	12
2c	1	0	64.5	9	5.5	17
3	1	0	60	11	4	21
4	1	1	52	9	5	30
5	0	1	62	8	11	16

Table 6.27: Vessels within the food process represented as % of EVEs from Silchester

Table 6.27 illustrates that there one notable change in the dining habits of the inhabitants of this area of Silchester, that is in their drinking habits. The incidence of vessels associated with drinking, cups, beakers, flagons and jugs, increases throughout the Late Iron Age and early Roman phases and reaches its peak in the mid-Roman period. A slight increase can be noted in the vessels associated with serving, i.e. platters, but this reaches its peak in the early Roman period. However, the most marked change can be noted between periods 2a and 2c, rather than between the Late Iron Age and Roman periods per se. This is the case in cooking (jars), serving (platters) and drinking phases. This would suggest that the changes which may have occurred in the foodways of the inhabitants of the site were already well underway before the Roman Conquest.

When we look at the supply of wine to the site in terms of the wine amphorae represented, there is no evidence for an increase which could be linked to the increase in drinking vessels. Quite the reverse, there actually seems to be a decline in the representation of wine amphorae. This may suggest that although drinking itself started to play an increasing role in the food process, it was not necessarily wine which was

being drunk (although the discovery of barrels used as well linings at Silchester (Alcock 2001: 88) does indicate the possibility of wine being imported in such wooden containers which will only rarely survive).

1.4.12. Serving

1. Pottery: Forms and Fabrics

The vessel form most closely associated with serving is the platter. Most of the serving vessels of the Late Iron Age were made out of Central Gaulish and Gallo-Belgic wares. In the later Roman periods the local British industries take over this role (Timby 2000b). Although jars have been designated to the cooking phase, these multi-functional vessels may have been used for the serving of food in a less formal and daily basis.

1.4.13. Summary

The town of Silchester was always an important regional centre and remained as such during the Roman occupation. In the Late Iron Age, the focus of the oppidum with roundhouses. A total reorganization of the settlement occurred in the first century when a regular street pattern and rectangular houses were constructed. In this period a timber-framed principia was constructed which was replaced in the second quarter of the second century by a masonry forum and basilica. The basilica was used for metalworking in the third century, perhaps indicating a decline in the political and administrative function of the structure in this area. This part of the town did not contain any domestic building, although the houses of the wealthy were located close by.

The animal bones assemblage shows some clear changes over time: in the LPRIA cattle and pig dominated the assemblage - the presence of pig in large quantities in the LPRIA may indicate that the site was of high status (Grant 2000: 443). In the early Roman

period cattle and pig decreased and sheep became the most important species. This remains the same into the late Roman period, when pig increases slightly but remains in third place. Although, as noted, the change in function of the site from domestic to public space effects quantities of material present, the fact that the same pattern exists in the early and late Roman periods, perhaps suggests that the *proportions* are an accurate reflection of the meat being consumed in the area. In the LPRIA and the Roman period cattle were mature at time of slaughter whereas sheep showed a mixed age profile with both young and mature individuals present. This pattern in cattle has been observed at Lincoln, and at Causeway Lane, suggesting that the animals were exploited off site (possibly on a rural farm site) for secondary products, before being sent to town as meat. Wild species and fish, which include a range of salt water and fresh water fish. Birds are increasingly common throughout the Roman period, in particular chickens and geese, a pattern again seen on other urban sites.

During the LPRIA the pottery assemblage contains a wide range of different imported fine wares and amphorae. A very diverse range is present: mortaria, Lyons ware, Central Gaulish glazed wares, cream flagons, Pompeian red wares and flagons. There is a noticeable decrease in the number of sources of fine ware in the Early Roman period, with Samian being the most common import. As with animal remains, the change in use of the site means that we must exercise caution if we were to attempt, for example, to compare quantities between Iron Age and Roman deposits. However, unless we are to assume that some process would lead to the overrepresentation of, for example, bowls on the site, given that pottery was making its way into the archaeological record of a public site at all, the range of what is present still can give a good indication of what was being used in the vicinity. In the mid to later Roman period vessels and the range of imports becomes more standardized; this is also the case for coarse wares which almost

solely derive from the Alice Holt/Farnham and BB1 industries. In the late fourth century the fine wares derive almost exclusively from the industries in the New Forest and Oxford regions, the only evidence for links with the Continent in the form of one sherd of *Céramique à l'éponge*. In terms of form, the pottery assemblage is dominated by jars but some notable shifts in the serving and dining practises can be observed. Drinking vessels in particular increase during the LPRIA and the early Roman period. A slight increase in serving vessels can also be noted in the early Roman period. This suggests that by the time of the Roman Conquest, drinking and dining had already become established. Mortaria are, however, rare and never feature in large quantities.

Botanical remains are varied. There are cereals present, the assemblage consisting of bread wheat, emmer and spelt. However, we should note that from wider excavations of the city evidence for many more exotic species such as grapes, strawberries, figs, damsons, bullace, plums and cherries has been recovered.

There was a wide variety of different food stuffs represented by the amphorae (1250 sherds in total): olive oil was accompanied by wine, fish sauce and fruit, and whilst it should be noted that the largest assemblages of amphorae belongs to the LPRIA, decline in the Early Roman period may be due to the changing nature of the site.

In summary, the site of the forum basilica in Silchester is notable in terms of the wide variety of imports present at an early date, before the Roman Conquest. The complexity of the sites architecture and the foodways of its inhabitants, are evident both before the Roman Conquest and after. However, we should note that the Roman period sees a relative decline, as quantities of imports, both of food and ceramics reduce, perhaps as the area shifts towards becoming a public space, with less domestic activity. The site is

unusual in its very early establishment of a possible interest in dining (as illustrated by the ceramics present), or at least an interest in acquiring unusual imported pottery. It is also unusual in the dominance of pig, then sheep, in its animal bones assemblage, though it shares the mature nature of the cattle that were brought on site, and the increasing importance of birds, with other urban sites. In terms of the meal stage process, this site enters the Roman period with a sophisticated pattern of foodways, both in the procurement and in the preparation phases (seen in the imports and pottery assemblages respectively) well-established. There may have been a reduction in sophistication in the mid to late Roman period, in both the procurement and preparation phases, with reduced imports, a shift from pig to sheep as the dominant meat animal, and more limited range of ceramic forms. It should be noted that meat acquired during the procurement phase would have been of mixed quality, with cattle being mature, but sheep being both young and mature at death.

2. Summary of Urban Sites

These tables summarize the results of the urban sites discussed in this chapter. It is comparable with the summary tables in chapter four and five. These together will be discussed in chapter seven. Again the key features here are the different types of vessel forms present and the presence of a greater variety of amphorae and imported fine ware, however, note that is a greater variety rather than greater quantity of these goods which is noticeable.

Causeway Lane	Insulae located in the north east quarter of the Roman town. A modest settlement with timber and masonry buildings. Architecture: Group One (Urban)
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation
Animal Remains	Cattle dominate the assemblage in all periods with sheep the second most common species. Pig well-represented and

	<p>increase in the mid-Roman period.</p> <p>Age-at-death: both young and mature cattle were present in the Early Roman period which suggests that cattle were bred for immediate consumption as well as for secondary products. This changed in the later Roman period when most cattle were mature suggesting an increased emphasis on secondary products. Sheep were represented by young animals in the Roman period which suggests an emphasis on meat production.</p> <p>Other species: dog, horse, game, chickens and oysters.</p>
Pottery	<p>Main change over time is the increasing importance of Local Fine Ware (from Nene Valley). Imported fine ware decrease in mid-Roman period as do coarse wares.</p> <p>Wide range of forms with an interest in serving evident. Drinking vessels and mortaria also present in the assemblage.</p>
Botanical Remains	<p>Cereals present include spelt, emmer and bread wheat. Other plants include: bean, pea, lentil, flax, beet, apple/pear, bullace, hazelnut and sloe.</p>
Imports	<p>Amphorae: increase in mid-Roman period and again in Late Roman period: olive oil, wine and possibly dates. Botanical imports: coriander, lentil, opium poppy and fig.</p> <p>Pottery: Samian and other imported fine wares.</p>
Foodways	<p>In terms of the meal stage process, this site shows a high degree of relative sophistication (when compared to rural sites) in both procurement and preparation phases, but in the context of other urban sites is relatively typical. Beef acquired during the procurement phase from mature animals, and thus of relatively poor quality.</p> <p>Evidence for drinking.</p> <p>Food Procurement: Rank Four</p> <p>Food Processing: Rank Four</p>

Table 6.28: Summary table for Causeway Lane

Bath Lane, Leicester	A series of comfortable and well-appointed private dwellings are indicated in the excavations undertaken here. Architecture: Group Three (Urban)
Iron Age	Some evidence for Iron Age occupation in the form of Gallo-Belgic pottery present.
Animal Bones	In the LPRIA cattle dominated the assemblage, whereas in the Early Roman period, pig are the most common species followed by sheep. In the mid-Roman period, cattle are again the most common species whereas in the Later Roman period, sheep are the dominant species. No evidence for age-at-death. Birds increase in the Roman period and wild species are also present
Pottery	Rare Gallo-Belgic wares present in the LPRIA, but imported fine wares decrease in the Early Roman period and even further in the mid-Roman period. Local fine wares increase in the later Roman period. Wide range of forms which indicate serving and drinking.
Botanical Remains	No evidence for botanical remains.
Imports	Imported fine ware in the LPRIA but decline in the Roman period. Small amounts of amphora (three sherds) indicate limited imports of olive oil.
Foodways	In terms of the meal stage process this site appears to have been relatively sophisticated, with evidence for imports, dining and serving. Variations may be noted in the procurement phase of the process over time, as the amount of pig and the quality of beef (seen in the shift from young to old animals) falls, showing possible decline. The assemblages are small and therefore conclusions are only tentative. Evidence for drinking. Food Procurement: Rank Four Food Processing: Rank Four

Table 6.29: Summary table for Bath Lane, Leicester.

Lincoln	<p>Colonia. The animal bone assemblages derive from the <i>canabae</i> (shops and domestic buildings) and pottery from domestic buildings on the western defences.</p> <p>Architecture: Group Two (Urban)</p>
Iron Age	No evidence for Iron Age occupation
Animal Bones	<p>Cattle dominated in all periods, a decrease in sheep can be noted in the mid-Roman period. Pig decrease in the fourth century but is never well-represented. Small assemblage of chicken and geese bones although increase noted during Roman period. Fish (turbot, conger, halibut, garfish and carp) common in mid-late Roman period.</p> <p>Cattle were adult at time of slaughter which indicates they were initially exploited for secondary products and later for meat. The same pattern emerged for sheep.</p>
Pottery	Imported fine ware present in the early Roman period, with Local fine ware increasing in the mid to late Roman period. There was a wide range of forms present on the sites, with a general increase in serving and dining vessels. Drinking vessels were present, as was a small mortaria assemblage.
Botanical Remains	No evidence for botanical remains
Imports	Small number of amphorae sherds: olive oil. Samian the most common imported ware.
Foodways	<p>Lincoln was, in terms of the meal stage process, a sophisticated site when compared to the rural sites examined earlier, though is fairly typical for an urban assemblage. Again we must note the predominance of meat from older animals (and thus meat of relatively poor quality), acquired during the procurement stage.</p> <p>Evidence for drinking.</p> <p>Food Procurement: Rank Four</p> <p>Food Processing: Rank Four</p>

Table 6.30: Summary table for Lincoln

Silchester, Forum and Basilica	<p>Forum Basilica, the heart of an important town.</p> <p>Architecture: Group Three (Urban)</p>
Iron Age	Oppidum with roundhouses and imported

	fine wares and food stuffs
Animal bones	<p>In the LPRIA: cattle and pig dominated the assemblage, but in Early Roman period, cattle and pig decreased in number and in the mid-Roman period, sheep was the common species and cattle second and pig third. This remained the same in the late Roman period with a slight increase in pig.</p> <p>In the LPRIA and the Roman period cattle were mature at time of slaughter whereas sheep showed a mixed age profile with both young and mature individuals present, suggesting importance of secondary products and meat.</p> <p>Wild species and fish (both sea and fresh water) are present. Birds are increasingly important in the Roman period.</p>
Pottery	<p>Lots of imported fine wares in the LPRIA from a diverse range of sources. Fine wares peak in the LPRIA. Samian is the most common in mid-second century. Decrease in early-mid-Roman period in the number of sources of imported fine wares. In late Roman period, fine wares almost exclusively derived from local industries. A wide range of forms is present, indicating an interest in serving and dining. There are also mortaria and drinking vessels.</p>
Botanical Remains	<p>Small assemblage from forum basilica assemblage but cereals present. Compared to plant remains from whole of Silchester: many exotic species such as grapes, strawberries, figs, damsons, bullace, plums and cherries were present.</p>
Imports	<p>Wide variety and quantity of imported food stuffs, including olive oil, wine and fruit. Much imported pottery, particularly in LPRIA. These decline in number and variety in the Roman period. Imported plant remains: see above.</p>
Foodways	<p>In terms of the meal stage process, this site enters the Roman period with a sophisticated pattern of foodways, both in the procurement and in the preparation phases (seen in the imports and pottery assemblages respectively) well established. There may have been a reduction in sophistication in the mid to late Roman period, in both the procurement and preparation phases, with</p>

	<p>reduced imports, a shift from pig to sheep as the dominant meat animal, and more limited range of ceramic forms. It should be noted that meat acquired during the procurement phase will have been of mixed quality, with cattle being mature, but sheep being both young and mature at death.</p> <p>Evidence for drinking, particularly in the LPRIA and Early Roman period.</p> <p>Food Procurement: Rank Four (upper)</p> <p>Food Processing: Rank Four (upper)</p>
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Table 6.31: Summary table for Silchester Forum-Basilica

As with rural settlements, we can discern different 'architectural' levels in the urban sites that we have examined. The hierarchy used for rural sites is not directly relevant here, as rural sites are very different in their nature. However, it is clear that the modest architecture of Clay Lane makes it a less elaborate area of Roman Leicester than Bath Lane, which we might describe as a 'comfortable and wealthy' area. The excavation of Silchester, focusing upon the core of the town, gives us a slightly different picture, an elaborate and wealthy area, but with less domestic architecture than the excavations from Leicester. The Lincoln evidence derives, in aggregated form, from various areas of the city, including shops, and domestic dwellings close to the defences, making this, perhaps, a more 'transitional' category, between the more elaborate areas of Silchester and Leicester Bath lane, and the 'modest' area of Causeway Lane.

*no
domestic
architect
ure*

Using this '*de facto*' hierarchy, we can proceed to consider the evidence summarised upon tables 6.28-6.31. There actually seems to be little variation in the *type* of evidence present on sites of different levels of relative wealth (as judged by architecture). Cattle seem to dominate upon most sites, throughout the Roman period at Causeway Lane and Lincoln. At Bath Lane we see cattle dominant during the LPRIA, with pig and sheep common in the early Roman period to be replaced by cattle again in the mid-Roman

Period, and finally sheep in the late – though the small nature of the assemblage means that we must be careful about attaching too much weight to this pattern. At Silchester cattle dominate in the LPRIA and the early Roman period, to be replaced by sheep. Thus we see a general prominence of cattle, at least in some periods, on all urban sites. All sites have indications that serving was at least a part of the way in which food was deployed culturally, and much fine ware is present, in a range of forms. Where there is evidence for botanical remains, we see a high degree of variety in the types of food consumed, forming a list that includes the cereals bread wheat, emmer, spelt, as well as other plants, including bean, fig, lentil, opium poppy, pea from Causeway Lane, as well as a selection of fruit from Silchester. All sites, except Bath Lane (a difficult site due to the poor level of data generally recovered from the excavation) have evidence for imported food stuffs (principally olive oil and wine). There is general evidence for drinking on all sites in the form of drinking vessels (though as discussed for Corieltauvian rural sites this is likely to have been, even in towns, mostly beer, given the difficulties of providing a staple or bulk commodity over long distance). Finally wild food and/or bird remains occur upon all sites, indicating that a desire for such food existed in urban centres. This may have been as a supplement to what was being eaten (towns perhaps being small enough to make occasional hunting trips by the inhabitants possible), though it is perhaps more probable that such food would have been supplied as an ‘extra’ by those bringing produce into the town from the countryside.

In addition to these general points, we notice that quantities of ‘exotic’ material generally increase with the status of a site. This is best seen in fine ware pottery. There is a focus upon locally produced fine ware at Causeway Lane, with both imports and local fine wares at Lincoln. At Bath Lane there are rare Gallo Belgic wares in the LPRIA, a decrease in imports in the early Roman Period, but an increase in local fine

wares in the later period (though again we must be wary of the Bath lane pattern because of sample size), and large quantities of imported fine wares in the LPRIA in Silchester, less in the early Roman period (perhaps due to the changing nature of the site), but again an increase in the late. Thus the wealthier a site seems to be, the more complex and sophisticated (in terms of imports) its ceramic assemblage seems to be.

What is perhaps most striking, however, particularly given our earlier considerations of rural sites, is the richness of deposits in town sites of all levels of relative wealth. Even the site which we might identify as the least elaborate in terms of its architecture, Causeway Lane in Leicester has a range of imported food stuffs, and fine wares. We might also note that the two urban sites showing LPRIA activity (Bath Lane and Silchester) show evidence for engagement with 'Roman' style material culture at that period. The two salient factors to be drawn from this consideration, then, are the early (pre-conquest) appearance of roman style artefacts in urban sites, and a greater level of imports on urban sites during the Roman Period, when compared to rural sites. The significance of this relationship will be explored in the next chapter, where we will draw together the data from chapters four to six.

Chapter Seven /

1. Introduction

This chapter covers two main themes. The first concerns the data collected in chapters four to six. In these chapters we have examined the data from a range of sites of varying nature. These included rural sites from within the area of the Corieltauvinian tribal lands, urban sites from the same area, but also rural and urban sites from outside that area. Each examination of a site concluded with a brief thumbnail sketch of the foodways upon that site, set against the passage of time, but also put into the often changing architectural context of the site, its changes in fortune, or the shifts in the type of buildings constructed in different phases of occupation.

These thumbnails allowed the grouping of sites that had similar architecture, and we established three groups: 1) farmsteads, 2) transitional settlements, 3) more elaborate structures. At the end of each chapter the information collected was analysed, and an overview of how the complexity of the foodways upon a site related to the complexity of the architecture of a site, was established. These discussions compared the details of each set of sites considered, and some interesting differences emerged, like, for example, the fact that imports of olive oil occurred upon all rural sites that lay outside of the Corieltauvinian tribal territory, but imports within the territory were limited to more important sites. These comparisons, however, mean little until they are located in a broader context, and that is the purpose of this chapter.

Firstly, we need a framework within which to conceptualise the relationship between our various sets of sites – a framework which takes account of both difference and similarities, to evolve a range of ‘scenarios’ for the interplay between food, and architecture, and in doing so, come closer to understanding the role of food in the development of cultural identity in the study area during the period of Roman rule.

Understanding the significance of this range of ‘scenarios’, and its relationship with cultural identity, will be facilitated by comparisons between sites inside the core of the study area (the Corieltauavian tribal territory) and those lying outside, but also between rural and urban sites. This will help us to judge whether such distinctions were at all significant for the development of foodways upon the sites concerned.

The second, but shorter, section of this chapter aims to locate this regional/provincial picture in a still wider context. We will look beyond Britain at other parts of the empire. This consideration will, of necessity, be a brief examination, focusing upon the area around the Mediterranean (the heart of the ancient world), and will provide a useful contrast to our current study. We will also look at how the picture of foodways generated in this project moves on from, and builds upon, previous scholarship.

2. Iron Age Food

What was eaten in the Iron Age is an important question to answer if we are to place the food of the Roman period into a historical context. Without knowing what was eaten before the conquest it will be hard to understand whether or not the conquest, and the subsequent occupation, had an influence upon the foodways of the indigenous inhabitants or not, and if there was influence, without an initial bench mark provided by a knowledge of Iron Age foodways, it is hard to gauge the extent of that influence. At the same time, however, it is important that such a sketch be brief – this is not a project concerning, after all, Iron Age, but Roman period food.

The challenge is further complicated by the lack of work done in this area. Turning to a recently published (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001) research agenda for the Iron Age we see that some general issues of interest to the current project are dealt with, like, for example, regionality (22-24). However, food, or even diet, are not issues that are considered in

themselves, illustrating both that ‘food’ is not recognized as an important issue by the agenda, but also that little work is currently being done in this area. Aside from this we have a few studies which give indications of what is considered to be the pattern of Iron Age ‘diet’, for example, the work at Danebury (Grant 1984: 496-548). What such studies contribute towards is a rather generalized picture of iron age diet, an issue often conflated with our understanding of Iron Age farming (one of the best ways of understanding what is being eaten outside a specialist study of the topic, as this tells you what is being produced for consumption). This ‘generalized picture’ suggests widespread cultivation of cereals and legume species (Jones 1989: 129), perhaps principally emmer and spelt (Alcock 2001: 17), though with some contribution as flavourings from what we would consider to be ‘weeds’ (Robinson 1996). Certainly the plant aspects of pre-Roman foodways may have been relatively complex (Meadows 1999: 112). Turning to the meat element, the primacy of sheep/goat seems to be an important factor, (Grant 1989: 136), but with cattle forming an important part of the meat component of the diet, and in meat weight terms, on many sites, perhaps actually being the most significant domestic animal (Grant 1989: 136). Pottery assemblages are typically dominated by jar-like forms (Cunliffe 1978: 45) with some imported wares (Cunliffe 1995: 60-62), a picture confirmed seen in detailed regional studies (e.g. Norfolk/Suffolk, see Percival 1999:197-182). Imports, where present, are largely limited in their geographical spread to the south east (Cunliffe 1995: 59-66), and seem to perform a specific function – that of status display (Millett 1990b: 38). The acquisition of Roman goods in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA) seems to have been used as an indication of wealth, but also as a symbol of an individual or families ability to source goods from ‘far away’. Roman goods had thus entered into the social language of Iron Age status and power before the Romans even arrived – an important point to which we shall return.

This sketch is the best that can be achieved, given the current state of our knowledge, and in the absence of a specific and dedicated study. However, as we shall see, it is sufficient to place the current project into chronological context.

3. A Range of 'Foodway' Scenarios

Site	Type	Architecture	Food Processing	Food Preparation
Clay Lane	Rural Corieltauvinian	1	1	1
Dunston's Clump	Rural Corieltauvinian	1	1	1
Haddon	Rural Corieltauvinian	1	1	1
Whitwell	Rural Corieltauvinian	1 to 2	1	1
Dragonby	Rural Corieltauvinian	2	2	2
Maxey (Plant's Farm)	Rural Corieltauvinian	2	1	2
Pasture Lodge farm	Rural Corieltauvinian	2	2	2
Empingham	Rural Corieltauvinian	3	3	3
Orton Hall Farm	Rural Corieltauvinian	3	2	3
Stonea Grange	Rural Corieltauvinian	3	4	4
Watkins Farm	Rural Non-Corieltauvinian	1	1 to 2	2
Asthall	Rural Non-Corieltauvinian	2	2	2
Castle Copse	Rural Non-Corieltauvinian	3	3	3
Frocester	Rural Non-Corieltauvinian	3	2	3
Roughground Farm	Rural Non-Corieltauvinian	3	2	2
Causeway lane	Urban Corieltauvinian	1 (Urban)	4	4
Lincoln	Urban Corieltauvinian	2 (Urban)	4	4
Bath Lane	Urban Corieltauvinian	3 (Urban)	4	4
Silchester	Urban Non-Corieltauvinian	3 (Urban)	4+	4+

Table 7.1: Degrees of change.

This table illustrates the degrees of change on the sample sites in terms the two principal phases of the meal stage process, procurement and preparation. The sites are arranged by type, and then sub-ordered by architectural group, for ease of comparison. Degrees of complexity in the meal stages are recorded, using the following 'ranks' (in ascending order of complexity): 1) no complexity, 2) limited complexity, 3) significant complexity, 4) highly complex, relating to how they are ranked on the relevant site summary charts at the end of each data chapter.

Our first task is to examine the different site summaries provided in chapters four to six, and consider how these may be grouped. The question that we are in effect asking is, which sites share enough in common to be considered similar? Table 7.1 is the first step towards such an answer. This table relates directly to the presentation of the summarised site information at the conclusion of each of the three main data chapters (Tables 4.57 to 4.66 for the Corieltauvinian sites, tables 5.20 to 5.24 in the case of the non-Corieltauvian, and tables 6.28 to 6.31 in the case of urban sites), and are ranked after the manner discussed in chapter three. This table thus provides the route from our detailed site-by-site examination in terms of the meal stage process to and a more generalised overview is necessary if we are to understand the significance of foodways in a broader cultural context.

What the above table illustrates is the relationship between the sophistication of a site in broad structural terms, and the complexity of the cultural practices relating to food that were practiced upon that site. However, it also gives an indication of where in the meal stage process that increased complexity occurs. The first thing to note is that in rural sites, both inside and outside Corieltauvinian territory, there is a strong link between the sophistication of the sites architecture, and the complexity of its foodways. In general terms, the more architecturally sophisticated a site is, the more likely it is to have a more complex set of foodways. However, what table 7.1 also reveals is that when change occurs, it is more likely to occur in the later 'preparation' stages, rather than in the earlier procurement stage, and when it does occur, it is likely to be more extreme in this later phase. What this actually reflects is the relatively widespread interest shown in dining and serving, and suggests that change was easier to embrace when it was concerned with the *presentation* of the food, rather than what was *actually* being eaten. This is an important point, to which we shall return later. The final point to be made about table 7.1 is that when considering urban sites, the complexity of foodways is

always of a higher order of magnitude than even the most 'complex' rural sites, again, something to which we shall return.

To draw out the link between architecture and foodways, we need to map the relationship these two strands of evidence have to each other, and figure 7.1 helps us to do this.

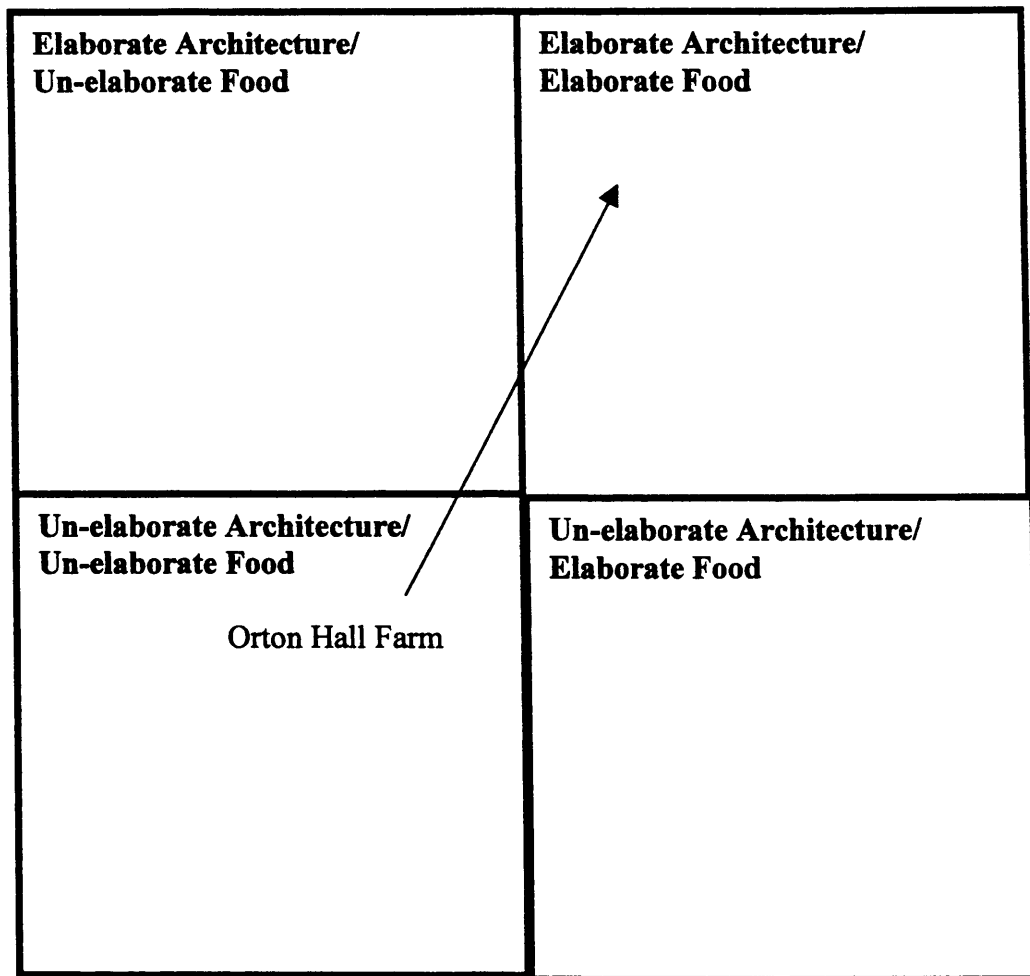


Figure 7.1: Framework for mapping change in foodways against change in architecture.

Note: Orton Hall Farm included as an example.

The function of the summaries attached to each site description was to provide a thumbnail sketch that located each sites foodways against that sites most visible form of development over time – changes in the level of sophistication of the style of architecture deployed in the construction of on-site structures. What figure 7.1 does is establishes a matrix of four possible combinations of these factors. For example, unelaborated architecture (a site formed, for example, of wooden structures), is ranged against foodways that are considered to be subject to a high degree of ‘influence’ from outside (a state which may manifest its self in relatively large numbers of imports, for example), and unelaborated foodways. Unelaborated foodways may be taken, in this context, to mean that the site broadly conforms to the picture established in section 7.2 for LPRIA food. Within this there may be variation, of course, with some sites in the

Iron Age indulging in status display, as noted, often indicated by the presence of imported goods (Millett 1990b: 38), or having more elaborate material culture than their neighbours, but as a generalised position it acts as a starting point from which we can measure change. Similarly, sites displaying complex architecture are ranged against foodways ('un-elaborate', and elaborate). This 'grid', however, simply provides the background. By plotting the sites considered on the grid, we may move towards some idea of where there are clusters of sites that share a similar experience, giving us the ability to form the groups of sites, discussed earlier.

It is perhaps obvious that, with most of the sites being examined having an Iron Age phase of occupation, the majority of sites will, at the start of the Roman period, fall into the 'unelaborated architecture, un-elaborate foodways' box on the grid. Even sites that import some Roman goods before the conquest (e.g. Dragonby, where there is possible evidence of small amounts of imported ceramics in the pre-conquest period) belong to this group, as the quantities of Roman-style material present are dwarfed by that which occurs in later periods, and such material that is present functions within, and in support of, Iron Age social structures of status display. It is also the case that sites founded in the Roman period, with one exception (Stonea Grange, which we shall discuss later), begin simply, and so these too initially plotted in this box.

Many sites, however, change significantly over time, with, for example, stone structures being constructed, and thus it is not enough to simply plot a site position on the grid, but we also need to record how it changes. Sites that undergo change are recorded on the grid as they appear at the start of the Roman occupation, but if they change over time, the name of the site is accompanied by an arrow, pointing towards the point on the grid towards which the site 'develops'. Thus we can see that a site like Orton Hall Farm (included on figure 7.1 as an example) is recorded in the 'unelaborated

architecture/unelaborated foodways' box of the grid, but has an arrow pointing towards the 'elaborate architecture/elaborate foodways box'. This is important, because it is not the location of a site upon the grid that gives it a shared identity with other sites, but it is its shared path of development. Some sites do not change significantly over time, and are simply recorded upon the figure without an arrow. It must be recognized at the outset that within the groupings established in this way detailed nuances that are 'blurred', and that the grid established in figure 7.1 is not fully representative of the varying shades of development that a site may have undergone. However, the nature of the arrows linked to each group plotted should be fully recognized: they indicate that a group appears to have developed along a trajectory that takes it from one combination of architecture and foodways, towards another, but different sites will have travelled different distances along these development trajectories. The grid, then, in effect, establishes extremes that mark the far points of a range of possible scenarios. Grids of this nature have been prepared for Rural Corieltauviian sites, and rural non-Corieltauviian sites. Urban sites, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter, have been treated in a slightly different way, due to the different nature of the urban evidence.

4. Corieltauviian Rural Sites

Figure 7.2 represents Corieltauviian rural sites, plotted against the grid illustrated in figure 7.1, the plot essentially deriving from the information presented for Corieltauviian rural sites on table 7.1.

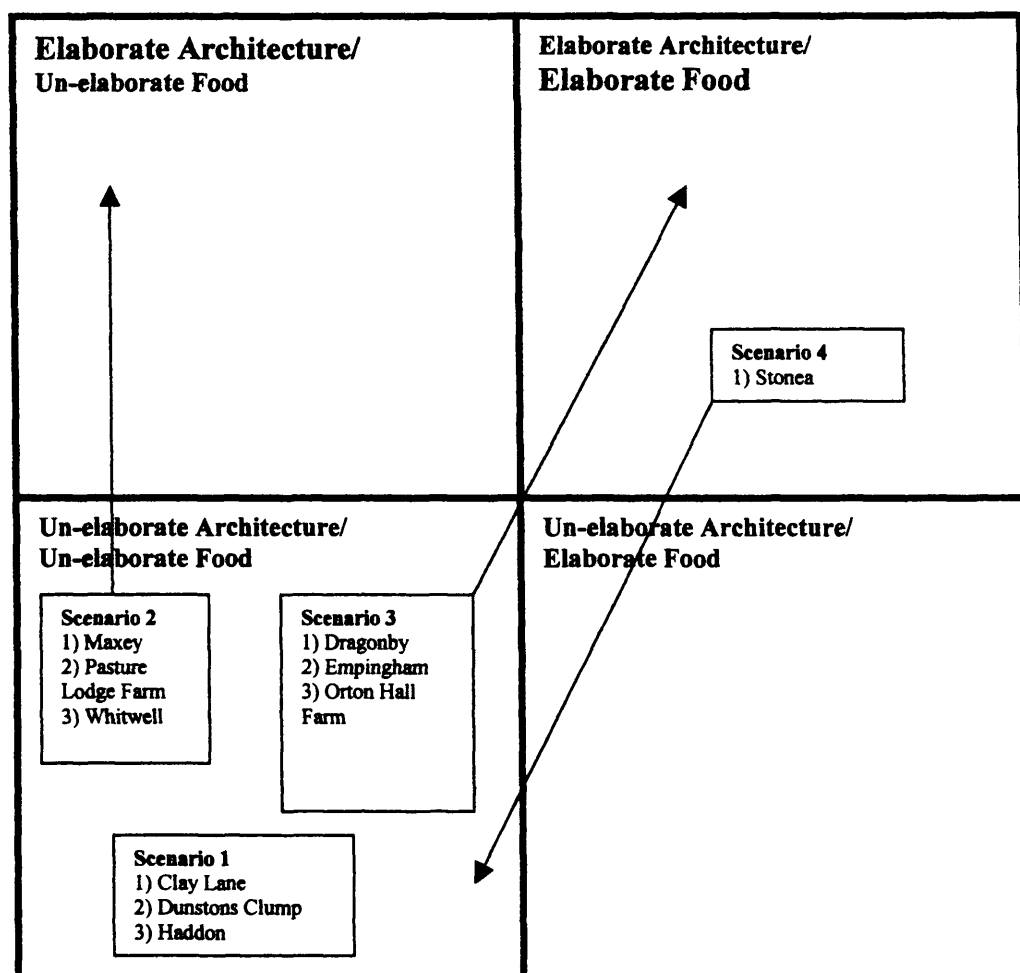


Figure 7.2: Change in foodways mapped against change in architecture for Corieltauvian rural sites.

As discussed above, the majority of the sites considered from the Corieltauvian tribal territory are plotted initially in the ‘unelaborated architecture/unelaborated food’ box. When beginning to look at the developmental trajectories that these sites take over time, however, we see that this initial homogeneity rapidly breaks down, with three principal groups of site emerging – three trajectories that are shared by multiple sites, and thus form the three principal scenarios for development experienced by Corieltauvian sites. There is a fourth, and usual trajectory, that appears to have been experienced by only one site, Stonea.

These trajectories are:

1. **Little change:** unelaborated sites in terms of architecture and foodways, and remaining so, showing little in the way of fundamental change during the course of the Roman period. Such sites are: Clay Lane, Dunstons Clump and Haddon.
2. **Change in site architecture only:** unelaborated sites in terms of architecture and foodways, but developing a more elaborate style of site architecture (but change occurring principally in architecture) over time. Three sites exhibit this developmental trajectory, Maxey, Pasture Lodge Farm and Whitwell. The development of more elaborate architecture, like at Maxey, may be late, and evidenced only thinly, the principal evidence for this on that site being a fourth-century column fragment, possibly brought from elsewhere, and not part of an elaborate on-site structure at all.
3. **Substantial Change:** unelaborated site in terms of architecture and foodways, but, over time, developing a degree of elaboration in both architectural terms, and in terms of the foodways practiced by (at least some of) the site inhabitants. The sites of Dragonby, Empingham and Orton Hall Farm experience this form of developmental trajectory.
4. **Decline in elaboration:** Stonea appears to have been a conscious attempt at a Roman foundation, and thus starts life already with substantial architecture and elaborated foodways for at least some of the people living on the site. However, the site experiences a trajectory that appears to be the opposite of many other sites, shifting towards a position of less substantial architecture, and less elaborate foodways. This change seems to be linked to the withdrawal of an official Roman presence in the central Fens, and the abandonment of the tower like structure that had formed the centrepiece of the earlier settlement.

How do we interpret these differing scenarios in the light of our earlier discussions about contact and culture change, and the role of food in society? Firstly, there may be a range of explanations for scenario 1) little change. These sites appear not to engage with Roman practice, or Roman material culture on any deep level. Objects (like pottery) may be present, but range of forms, and supporting evidence like types of meat that predominate, suggest that the Roman material culture on site is being used to support essentially native practice. This may be cause of simple poverty – the inhabitants of the sites in question may simply not have the wealth to invest in ‘Roman style’ material goods (e.g. Tyers 1996: 38 to 40 on pottery, Laing 1997: 93-121 but esp. 93-97 on the link between wealth and the ability to acquire material culture). There may be issues of supply – it may not have been physically possible for the inhabitants of the site to have acquired the goods, even had they wished to (Going 1992 on pottery). Finally, the inhabitants of these sites may have had the wealth to participate in Roman material culture, and a supply of such culture may have been available, but there may have been no desire to buy into what was available. This in itself may have two motivations, simple conservatism, or a deliberate decision to engage in passive resistance (see Alcock 1997 on cultural resistance on a provincial wide basis in Greece, Mattingly 1997b: 130-133 on possible resistance in North Africa, Hingley 1997 on resistance in Britain, and Fincham 2002: 52-60 on regional resistance in the Central Fens).

There are arguments for and against each of these options. Taking poverty first, it would make sense if sites were too poor to engage with material culture, that they would also be too poor to erect elaborate structures in stone, and so poverty may well have been an issue influencing the development of these sites. But there are two principal arguments against considering poverty as the principal reason for sites failing to change. Firstly, suggesting that poverty prevented sites becoming Roman is a view rooted in the assumption that Roman material culture was inherently superior to native life ways

(Fincham 1999: 48-51), and that natives would become Roman if they could – this is a view explicitly rejected in our discussions in chapter two. The populations living upon rural Romano-British sites may well have limited change if they could, through simple ‘conservatism’, and it is significant change (as seen in scenario three), that in fact requires explanation. The second, and more practical argument against this interpretation is suggested by scenario two. Food, we have argued is central and fundamental to everyday life (Johannessen and Hastorf 1993: 117-118), and if change is to occur in a life style, food will be one of the last areas to change (Mintz 1985: 26). Architecture, despite being a greater financial investment than food, is, by this argument, established in chapter two, more open to change than food, especially if the change is in ‘superficial’ terms like building material (e.g. from wood to stone), but internal arrangements, and the way in which the building is used remains essentially unchanged (see Taylor 2001 on the continuity of the usage, even when structural form has changed). It is perhaps architecture that we would expect, by this argument, to see changing *before* foodways, and as we shall see in a moment, in scenario two, there are sites where precisely this happens. However, there are no sites in our sample that change their food, but not their architecture. What this indicates is that food is an area of cultural identity that *is* resistant to change, making ‘conservatism’ a more likely explanation than simple poverty for lack of change. In this light it is interesting to note that, when considering the information presented upon table 7.1, it becomes clear that when foodways do begin to change, such change occurs to the greatest extent in the parts of the meal stage process that will not alter the actual food consumed. It is dining and serving that change (seen in a wider range of vessel forms), essentially ‘presentational’ aspects of foodways. What this suggests is that there is, in essence, a ‘hierarchy of change, beginning with the easiest, and most readily changed area of material culture under consideration, namely architecture. If change continues, it appears to be the case that serving and dining will be the next element to become more

complex, leaving the actual food eaten as a 'core' cultural practice, that is the last to undergo any radical shift. It may undergo limited modification (i.e. occasional experimentation with imported food stuffs), but this aspect of foodways, on many (at least rural) sites, must have remained fundamentally unchanged.

The second issue to consider is supply, and this is easily dealt with. All of the sites in question do access Romano-British pottery, indicating some access to market networks. All are either within easy reach of a market centre, defined by Hingley (1989: 114) as a comfortable day's walk there and back (say 10 km), or on/close to a major communication way (Figure 1.1). All sites were thus probably within reach of imported goods, had they wished to acquire them, and if there were available. Pottery supply may not have been constant (Going 1992 and Tyers 1996: 40-42), and in times of restricted supply, the choice about whether or not to engage with such material culture would have been removed. However, the current study relies upon a consideration of *relative* levels of material culture when comparing sites in two comparable groups, and such periods of low supply would broadly effect the archaeological record across wide areas, as is the case, for example, with the third-century low supply point detected by Going (1992: 94). If the effect of supply shortage is spread across all sites, it becomes a background issue, and the *relative* relationships between sites which, for example, are inhabited by those that wish to engage in a commodity *when it is available*, and those that do not will remain the same. There will still be more of that commodity on the first group of sites.

The sites, then, that experienced developmental scenario one, probably did not do so through simple poverty alone, or through lack of supply availability, but at least partly through choice. This may have been in the form of simple conservatism, as suggested above, or a positive choice to resist Roman culture, albeit passively. As suggested in

chapter two, to resist something in a pro-active way infers detailed knowledge of the 'other' that is being resisted, a detailed knowledge that seems unfeasible when considering rural sites in this period. The most likely suggestion for the lack of significant change over time observable on these sites, then, seems to be rural conservatism, perhaps re-enforced by being in a general context of poverty, with a background of intermittent supply.

Moving on to scenario two, sites showing change in site architecture, but not in food, our discussion of scenario one has already led us some significant way towards understanding why sites may adopt this development trajectory. It was suggested above that if change were to occur it would occur most readily in more superficial aspects of life ways – namely elements of architecture not central to the use of a building, followed by the ceramics required to engage in serving and dining. This would suggest, following the arguments developed in the context of scenario one, that change was being accepted at one level (superficial), but not being enacted at another (a deeper level). As with scenario two, there are several reasons that might explain this, and the reasons are similar. Firstly, poverty is always a possible reason for a site not to have fully engaged with Roman material culture, as is, secondly, inadequacy of supply. Finally, there is the possibility that some aspects of the Roman cultural package were considered useful by the inhabitants of these sites, whilst others were not wanted. Poverty is less of an issue with this scenario, than with scenario two, as once the inhabitants were in a financial position to construct more elaborate buildings, they were surly in the position to acquire more elaborate consumables, if they wished to do so. Supply is perhaps a slightly more complicated issue. As with scenario one, when considered from the perspective of supply, neither of the two sites that followed scenario two should have had difficulty acquiring imported goods in quantity, had they wished. Having already argued that the possibility of inconstant supply (Going 1992) is a background issue when considering

the relative levels of imports upon a related group of sites, this leaves active choice as the most logical reason why sites should have chosen to embark upon a development trajectory that essentially may be summarized as ‘thus far, and no further’. The fact that, as argued above, change seems to have taken place in the architecture of these sites, but not in the foodways (or at least these sites registered ‘limited’ degrees of change in the cultural practice surrounding food), may suggest that, for motives of their own, the inhabitants of these sites wished to look more ‘Roman’, and interpreted this as living in stone structures. Perhaps they wished to demonstrate that they had a higher, or equivalent status to their neighbours, and one way of doing this was to adopt more substantial architecture, perhaps with occasional dining (Meadows 1999: 114- 116). Whatever the motives, the inhabitants of these sites remained conservative when it came to their ‘inner domestic life’ (for a colonial American example, see Yentsch 1994: 133- 143), and whatever the public presentation of their settlement, in their foodways, there was little change – the architectural changes did not indicate a deep seated change in identity.

Here we might note the scenario, unnumbered because no sites exhibit this path of development, in which architecture remains unaltered, but foodways do experience change. It is significant, in the light of our discussion of change being easier, and more readily accepted in areas of cultural identity that are less central to that identity, that no sites do, in fact, change their foodways, but not their architecture. The lack of sites following this path for development, therefore, reinforces the suggestion that sites wishing to partially engage, for whatever reason, with Roman-style material culture, preferred to elaborate their settlement architecturally (perhaps, ironically, at greater financial cost), rather than change their more private, domestic cultural practices concerning, in particular, food.

This leads us to scenario three, the ‘substantial change’ development trajectory. In this scenario we see sites that saw change in their architecture, but also in the foodways of their inhabitants, using a wider range of forms of pottery, of imported ingredients, and perhaps saw change in the ratio of the principal domestic species kept for food (pig, cow, sheep). If, as suggested above, it is change, rather than relative continuity, that needs to be explained, then scenario three is perhaps the most difficult of all the scenarios to understand. We need to explain why the inhabitants of the sites that experienced this particular developmental trajectory, Dragonby, Empingham, Orton Hall Farm, and Whitwell, seemingly embraced change not only in the more superficial aspects of their identity (by adopting more elaborate architecture), but in those that we have established were fundamental, namely foodways. These were each sites displaying a degree of wealth, and supplied with what they used in terms of food stuffs were, self evidently available, as they appeared upon the sites. But what role do such additions play?

Perhaps the most obvious possible explanation is that these sites genuinely did ‘Romanise’ – that they became more ‘Roman’ through simple contact with the imperial power that had come to dominate Britain (as suggested by Millett 1990a: 38). The problem with this suggestion is that it relies upon the evident and universally acknowledged superiority of Roman material culture (see Webster 1997a; Webster 1999) *and the knowledge of how to use it*, as a motor for change, something that we have already discounted.

This was discussed in detail in chapter two, but here we may note that although objects (in which we might, for the purposes of this discussion include not just ceramics, but imported *produce* like olive oil) may travel, drawn in to the province by empire wide processes like, for example the need to supply the army, or others serving in various

capacities with the imperial administration, and the natives may well, then, have come into contact with exotic objects and imports, the very presence of such things does not indicate a social knowledge of their use in a Mediterranean (i.e. Roman) context (see Joyner 1984: xx-xxii for the development of the argument that objects do not travel from one context to another with any sense of 'intrinsic' meaning). The appearance of olive oil on a site indicates only that olive oil was available, and that the inhabitants of that site wanted it – not that they wanted for the same reasons as someone who lived on the coasts of the Mediterranean, or that they knew what such a person would have done with it. As Appadurai (1988a: 4-6) suggests, the social knowledge needed to use a thing in the way that was intended by its original makers is not intrinsic to that object – move the object, and that social knowledge does not necessarily travel with it. What does this mean for the sites that we are examining? These sites have been identified as having more imports, and perhaps a wider range of ceramics, than other sites, but, as can be seen from, for example, Castle Copse and Frocester, where we see imported food stuffs and ceramics playing a greater role than on sites such as Dunstons Clump and Watkins Farm, but still serving as additions to a basically 'unelaborated' set of foodways, the scale of importation was a matter of degree only. The broader context of these objects, that is to say that total picture, even on these wealthy and seemingly more Romanised sites, is that a strong indigenous tradition remains, augmented by the imports (e.g. as on Dragonby). This suggests that such imports were not flooding the sites, were not being imported in such quantities that we can envisage a wholesale change in foodways. Thus it is both implausible in terms of the mechanics of the spread of information, but also in terms of practical volume, to suggest that, for example, olive oil on these sites was the 'mainstay' in the Corieltauavian territory that it may have been in the Mediterranean. This indicates that, although present on the site, it was deployed into a different social context, in a different.

This established, what function might these hints of Roman material culture influencing foodways have served? If, as indicated above, it was rare, one possible scenario is that it was consumed openly, as a form of conspicuous consumption, thus indicating wealth to those less wealthy. It was, in fact, a form of status building, but, crucially, within a British social structure, simply using Roman material goods – imports serving a similar purpose as they did in the LPRIA (Millett 1990b: 38). Such goods may have conferred status because of several factors. They may have been expensive – to consume them at all may have been a sign of great wealth. They have been hard to come by, the supply restricted, in which case their acquisition might be an indication that those with access to them had connections to, and perhaps influence with, the imperial authorities. They may simply have had novelty/fashion value, and thus have acquired fashionable cachet, or it may have been the fact that such things were simply imports – that they had come from a great distance, thus giving the owner social standing. It is almost impossible to choose between these scenarios, they are not easily evidenced one way or the other by archaeological data, but what should be noted is that all these scenarios see the imports that have marked these sites out as functioning within an essentially British status structure, and none of these scenarios need us to envisage the elite inhabitants of Britain wishing to be Roman – they were, in effect, moulding Roman style material culture to their own purposes, and creolising (Webster 2000), rather than Romanising.

This leads us finally, in the context of rural Corieltauian sites, to scenario four, that in which sites exhibit a reduction in elaboration of both food, and architecture. This scenario is exhibited by only one site, that of Stonea, which, as has already been established in chapter four, is of a highly unusual nature. The site is surrounded by occupation and monuments dating back to the Neolithic period (Jackson and Potter 1997: 10), but the settlement itself appears to be proto-urban, with an elaborate building at its heart, and a regular street plan – it is thus often interpreted as an attempt by the

authorities, or at the very least by local elites from Durobrivae, the local urban centre, to establish authority over the area (Taylor 2000, Fincham 2002: 60). It should be noted, however, that even from the start, the material culture discovered on the site contained less imports than might be expected, given the apparent opulence of the architectural surroundings. What imports there are appear to have been confined to the occupants of the principal structure of the settlement, a large, many windowed tower, as when this structure is abandoned in the third century the imports also seem to cease (see the discussion of this site in chapter four). Although the site is unusual, and it might be felt that this being the case, scenario four has no general significance to our overall discussion of food, the specifics of the Stonea site illustrate several points of importance. Firstly, we should note the close connection between the tower, and imports connected to food. This illustrates the point that, even on sites where there appear to be elaborate foodways, these do not necessarily apply to the whole of a site population, or even the majority of it. The second thing that we note is that when the principal building was decommissioned, the rest of the site continued with essentially native foodways (see table 4.66). The small amount of imports available on the site, even during the phase when the tower was occupied, and the emergence of more native foodways after the tower have vanished, suggests that a 'substrata' of less elaborate foodways existed on the site in all periods. Thus, the people drawn to live and work at the Stonea settlement during the period of the tower, although existing in close proximity to a major architectural complex that embodied official power (Jackson and Potter 1997: 686), retained a sense of their own cultural identity, expressed in terms of the natives 'wafer thin' sense of *Romanitas* (Jackson and Potter 1997: 690). This is perhaps explained by the suggestion that some individuals may have associated themselves with the authorities out of a desire to engage economically with the empire (i.e. make money), rather than out of any more abstract desire to become 'Roman'. The possibility of such a situation has been raised to explain the growth of the nearby settlement of

Grandford, originating in a *vicus* attached to a small first-century fort (Fincham 2002: 11).

Having established an outline of the differing developmental scenarios, the principal question which we must now ask is, how did different sites, exhibiting different development paths, compare with each other? The first thing to note is that the three principal scenarios that we have encountered form a continuum, some sites not engaging with Rome more than they can help, others doing so visibly, but not in their more private domestic practices related to food, and finally those that do so to a greater degree than others, bringing imported goods into their foodways, and perhaps widening the range of forms of ceramic vessel that they use. We can summarise the different circumstances, pressures or motivations that cause such a 'divergence' in different patterns of site development over time. Firstly, as we have already established with relevance to scenario one, that issues of conservative and poverty may well have been the chief factors at work, one, poverty, a constraint – no more than could be afforded could be consumed, and what could be afforded was little. However this was more than simple economics at work, and the second factor, a sense of conservatism, was at work, and mitigated against engagement with Roman style material culture. What is interesting is that the sites illustrating this scenario which were in existence before the conquest were relatively low status in the LPRIA (e.g. Whitwell, Dunston's Clump and Clay Lane). This suggests that sites that were poor in the pre-Roman period remained poor, and that the Roman conquest did not open up opportunities for low status inhabitants of the province. As has been noted elsewhere, however, 'poor' communities are often those that seem most to avoid cultural change under Roman rule (Mattingly 1997a; Hingley 1997; Fincham 2002), often being described as economic failures (e.g. Salway 1982: 186 the *Iceni*, and the development of their *Civitas* capital), but the effect of such 'failure' seems invariably to be to preserve more native way of life.

In scenario two we see limited engagement through architecture, and perhaps occasional dining. What this suggests is a sense of conservatism limiting what the inhabitants of a site were prepared to do in terms of engaging with Roman material culture, and foodways were too deep seated to change through casual acquaintance with imported food stuffs, things that might have had limited novelty value, but made no lasting impact. The important aspect of this scenario to understand is what motivated the significant change, the engagement with architecture, and as suggested above this may have been a way of demonstrating social status, without engaging in deeper change. Such sites may have appeared more superficially 'Roman' than they in fact were, and, for example, the column fragment from Maxey become significant not for indicating 'Romanisation', but that inhabitants of Maxey were deploying architectural status indicators of Roman origin, for their own purposes. The fact that they did not adopt 'Roman foodways', indicate that they had no desire to 'be Roman', but the deployment of Roman architecture may have created an impression of status when dealing with peers.

In scenario three the essential aspect that marks out these sites is that engagement with Roman material culture *seems* to be on a deeper level than sites in scenario two. However, our examination of this trend suggested that the impact of Roman-style foodways, whilst more significant upon these sites than others, left a 'core' of essentially indigenous foodways beneath this 'superficial gloss' – so what is the significance of such 'Roman' influences? It is possible to suggest that such sites were engaging more heavily with Roman material culture in a deliberate attempt to 'move closer to Rome' culturally, to facilitate their efforts in taking advantage of the opportunities opened up by the imperial presence (as suggested for example, by Mattingly 1997b: 134, in Africa). It might be the case that such an attitude – the desire to grasp opportunities – provides the context for their actions (as poverty provides the

broad context for the actions of the inhabitants of poor sites). It is worth noting that such sites, where they existed in the Iron Age, were often the wealthier ones (like, for example, Dragonby, Empingham), and so perhaps what we see is a situation where those with wealth at the point of the Roman conquest make a choice to engage with the imperial power, make money, and in doing so gain access to/decide to adopt new goods, and new ways of serving and cooking. Such things may be tried, and perhaps used publicly in an attempt to impress either (or both) native peers and inferiors, but also, perhaps, local representatives of the imperial authority. However, beneath such elaborations, even on these sites, much that is linked to indigenous foodways remained.

5. Non-Corieltauvian Rural Sites

Firstly, we should note from the information presented upon table 7.1, that the basic relationship between foodways and architecture observed for Corieltauvian rural sites is also evident for the non-Corieltauvian rural sites. The more complex site architecture is, the more complex foodways upon a site tend to become. However, it was established for Corieltauvian sites that such change occurred in a sequence – architecture first, the more superficial aspects of foodways following, with finally, change perhaps occurring to what was actually eaten. This pattern is also observable (see table 7.1) in non-Corieltauvian sites. This means that our discussion of the developmental trajectories that non-Corieltauvian sites display is located within the same context – one of progressive change through a series of ‘cultural’ levels, of increasing significance to the individuals involved (an increasing significance which also increases resistance/reluctance to change).

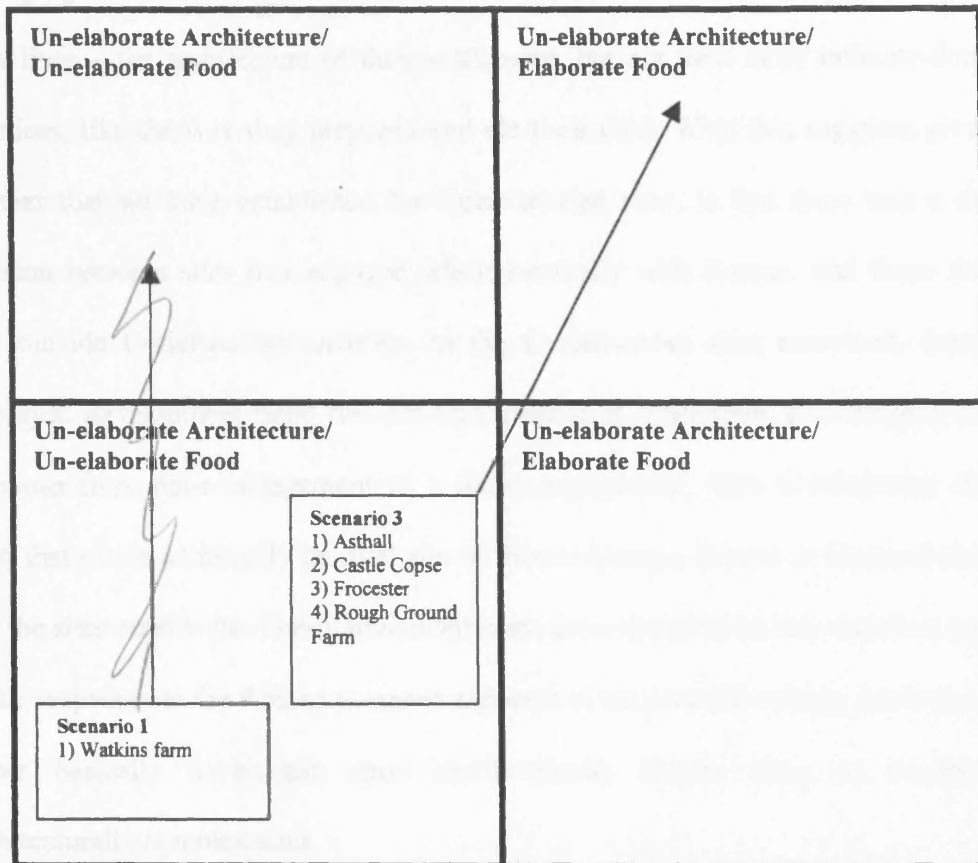


Figure 7.3: Change in foodways mapped against change in architecture for non-Corieltauvian rural sites.

Figure 7.3 displays the non-Corieltauvian rural sites in the same way as the Corieltauvian sites examined in section 4. Here we have sites exhibiting two of the identified development trajectories – scenario one, little change, and scenario three, substantial change. We see only one site, Watkins Farm, exhibiting developmental trajectory one. Four sites exhibit developmental trajectory three, namely Asthall, Castle Copse, Frocester, and Rough Ground Farm. The arguments surrounding why sites may adopt differing developmental trajectories have already been well rehearsed in the previous section, and, if these same arguments are applied to these sites, we may suggest that Watkins Farm retained an essentially unelaborated way of life through a combination of innate conservatism, and possible poverty, whilst the other sites made an active choice to engage with Rome. What is significant, however, is the lack of sites

belonging to scenario two, the sites like Maxey that elaborated the public aspects of their lives – the architecture of their settlement, but not their more intimate domestic practices, like the way they prepared and ate their food. What this suggests, given the context that we have established for Corieltauvian sites, is that there was a sharper division between sites that engaged whole-heartedly with Roman, and those that did not, outside Corieltauvian territory. In the Corieltauvian sites examined, those that displayed development trend two produce a sense of continuum, sites ranging in their response from none engagement to a fuller engagement, with development strategy four, that of the admittedly unusual site of Stonea Grange, thrown in for good measure. For the sites outside the Corieltauvian territory, there seems to be less variation apparent in the responses to the Roman presence apparent in the material culture, foodways being either basically unchanged upon architecturally simple sites, or complex on architecturally complex sites.

The samples of sites that we are examining is, admittedly small, constrained by the scale of the current project, however, a more mixed response to the Roman presence in the Corieltauvian territory seems a strong possibility. If this pattern is a reflection of reality, rather than an inadequacy in the sample, what our discussions have made clear is that the reasons for such a phenomenon will lie in the structure of British society, rather than Roman. It is the British response to Roman material culture that in large part determines whether that the culture of the empire was engaged with, be the motivating factors a desire to take advantage of opportunities on offer from the imperial presence, or rural poverty and conservatism. With this in mind, is there anything in Corieltauvian society that may have prompted a more graduated response to the Roman presence, or anything in Romano-British society beyond the territory of the Corieltauvi that might have prompted a less graduated one?

The answer may lie in the structure of LPRIA society. As Millett (1990b: 16) suggests, Iron Age Britain was formed of various different types of settlement landscape, with the territory of the Corieltauviian lying in the zone identified as composed of ‘villages and open settlements’. Sites further south, including the ones identified here for comparison with Corieltauviian sites, lie in a zone dominated by hillforts. It may be suggested that the existence of large hillfort structures is a symptom of a more centralized society, labour being concentrated and controlled to enable construction (see Hill 1995a for a general discussion of the way in which such structures played a role in Iron Age communities, and Sharples 1991: 100-115 on the specific example of Maiden Castle, or Davies 1999 on Norfolk), and overviews of LPRIA Britain (Millett 1990b; Frere 1987; Salway 1982), emphasis the more centralized nature of society in southern Britain. These models are broad and generalist, and do not reflect the true variability of the choices made by individuals, but what they do do is provide a possible context within which to interpret those individual choices. It may be that in an area with a tradition of centralized control the division between the people and the elites was starker, and less graduated than in an area, for example, where such control was looser. Such a situation would then be reflected in status display, and in this instance in foodways. By contrast, where society was more graduated, like in the territory of the Corieltauvi (Todd 1973: 1-22, see particularly Todd 1973: 8 on the lack of hill forts, and Todd 1973: 6 on the probability that the tribe was fragmented into a sequence of semi-autonomous *septs*) we might expect to see a wider range of different decisions upon how to display status, and to different extents, depending upon where in the regional social hierarchy a site and its inhabitants were located. This may be why we see such graduation in the Corieltauviian territory, but not further south. This must be viewed as an interesting possibility, no more, given the small sample of sites it has been feasible to analyse in this current study.

6. Supporting Trends

Two issues have also emerged from our data, which need to be set alongside our overview of the main classes of evidence relating to foodways. These are the issues of wild food and drink. Wild food is common on Corieltauavian sites, appearing on half of these examined, and is well represented across the different architectural groups (one group one, two group two, and two of group three). This, as noted at the end of chapter four, perhaps suggests that wild food was more widely consumed upon wealthier sites, but is, nonetheless widely consumed. The same is true of birds, with Clay Lane (a farmstead) being the only non-elaborate site to have bird remains recovered from it. Shellfish also seem not to have featured in 'low status' diet, only being recovered from Dragonby and Maxey (both transitional group, group two, sites), and Stonea Grange. By contrast wild food, fowl and shellfish appear to have been common across most sites of the sites examined in chapter five, with only Castle Copse having no evidence for wild food, only Frocester with no evidence for fowl and Asthall with no evidence for shellfish. Wild foods may have played a dual role in Romano-British foodways, firstly as a source of free meat to supplement a meat poor diet or as a social activity through hunting and feasting, perhaps on wealthier sites (Alcock 2001: 42-43). An interest in hunting may also be seen in the decoration of pottery like Nene Valley 'hunt' cups (Howe *et al.* 1980: 8). This may, then indicate a wide interest in hunting, and there seems to be no distinction in the patterns on wealthier sites inside or outside the Corieltauavian territory.

Shellfish were widely eaten in Roman Britain (Renfrew 1985: 14), as were fish. There is limited evidence for actual fish breeding from Roman Britain, two villa sites, Shakenoak, Oxfordshire and Lynch Farm, near Water Newton (Alcock 2001: 53), one from outside and one from inside the Corieltauavian tribal area respectively. None of the sites examined in this thesis showed any evidence for fish breeding, but the existence of

these examples highlights it as a possibility. Group one sites within the Corieltauavian territory show no evidence for shellfish, and there is only limited evidence from the more elaborate sites, perhaps suggesting a real regional variation in what was eaten. Given the small nature of the sample, however, this should be viewed as a tentative suggestion, no more.

Finally, we should consider the issue of drink. From sites within Corieltauavian territory one group one, two group two, two group three, all had evidence for drinking. However, the direct evidence for the consumption of wine, in the form of amphora sherds, is confined to Stonea (group three) and Dragonby (group two). This may under represent the true extent of wine drinking, as wine could also be transported in barrels (Alcock 2001: 88), which would only rarely survive archaeologically. The vine was a hardier Mediterranean crop plant than, for example, the olive (Curtis 2001: 321), and could grown in some areas of central and western Europe. There is evidence of attempts to grow vines in Britain, as, for example at North Thorseby in Lincolnshire, or Wollaton in Nottinghamshire (Dark and Dark 1997: 111), but such efforts appear not to have been widely successful, perhaps limited by climatic factors (Alcock 2001: 90-91). Thus, wine could only have ever have been produced in Britain in limited quantities, meaning that most wine drunk will have been in the form of imports. This would necessarily have kept wine consumption relatively low, given the added cost and difficulty of importation. Beer, however, as a locally produced product, would probably have remained the staple alcoholic drink of most natives. Indeed on some sites, like Orton hall Farm, we encounter 'corn dryers', which have a possible connection to beer production (Mackreth 1996a: 75 and 230-231). This suggests that beer was the principal drink on Corieltauavian sites, suggesting a strong continued liking for the traditional native drink (Alcock 2001: 93). From sites outside the tribal territory we see evidence for drinking is common, appearing upon all sites, but with evidence from wine drinking

recovered from two group three sites, and one group one, perhaps suggesting that wine consumption was more widely spread than in the Corieltauvian area.

How does this relate to our wider discussion of foodways in these two areas? Perhaps the principal strand that emerges is that whatever the differences between Corieltauvian and non-Corieltauvian sites in their 'produced' food, and the way in which they serve it, they are remarkably similar in their consumption of wild food and drink. As has been noted above, change to foodways upon both Corieltauvian sites and non-Corieltauvian sites, is often superficial – core areas of foodways remaining unchanged upon most sites. Given that both drinking and hunting (Cunliffe 1995: 98-99; Millett 1990b: 38; Nash 1987: 101) are considered key parts of pre-Roman food related culture, it may be that this communality of shared practice is in fact evidence of a degree of cultural continuity from before the conquest period, a suggestion which would explain the similarity of practice, when contrasted with apparent differences evident in the more general picture of foodways scenarios evolved earlier in this chapter.

7. Urban Centres

Urban Centres have been kept separate from our earlier consideration of developmental trajectories. This was prompted by several factors. Firstly, they have been included in this study to provide a general contrast between town and country, and we need not necessarily expect similar messages that can be contrasted on a site-by-site basis to emerge, due to the very different nature of urban settlements. Secondly, many issues that effect rural issues, like supply, are less significant in an urban context, where the quantity of material is very much greater than on a rural site. Thirdly, urban settlements, by their nature, are large and complex, an agglomeration of areas of different characters, wealthy suburbs contrasting with poor suburbs, official buildings and industrial areas.

However, we have four processed urban sites in this project that do allow us to gain some idea of 'urban foodways' albeit in more generalised form, and it this more generalised picture that we shall set against our analysis of rural sites. We will start with re-caps of the site summaries from chapter five. Turning first to Leicester Causeway Lane, we see that architecturally the site is modest, and located on the edge of the city where the regular street pattern peters out. The site shows a mixture of strip buildings (first timber then stone and timber) followed by industrial activity. The animal bones are dominated by cattle, with sheep being the second most common species. Domestic bird bones increase during the Roman period. There are *some* imported food stuffs present, indicated by limited numbers of amphora sherds. The pottery is dominated by coarse ware with Samian being the most commonly found imported fine ware, increasingly local fine ware (Nene Valley) comes to dominate the assemblage in the later Roman period.

We should also consider Leicester Bath Lane, a site in a more prosperous suburb. Architecturally the site reflects the high-status nature of this area of the Roman town, with stone buildings and mosaic floors. The assembles from this site are regrettably poor, making it difficult to compare with more modern excavations, however, we may broadly say that there were ceramic imports from an early period, that the presence of amphora indicate a degree of imported food stuffs (and occurred even in the pre-conquest period), and the animal bones show that even before the conquest cattle bones are dominant.

Upon these sites we see cattle being predominant, followed by sheep, then pig. Cattle appear to have been mature – suggesting a focus upon secondary products. Sheep were found to be of all ages when culled. There were small amounts of imported fine ware, increasing as the Roman period progressed, but a greater variety of vessel forms being

evident than upon the rural sites. The repertoire was a mixed one, including bowls, dishes, and drinking vessels. There was only limited evidence for mortaria and amphora, but with the amphora (as with fine wares) the repertoire was greater, including vessels that might have carried wine, fruit and fish sauce, as well as olive oil. In general there was more evidence of imported food stuffs on the urban sites than on the rural ones.

This picture is supplemented by two other sites; Lincoln (inside the territory of the Corieltavi), and Silchester. At Lincoln the animal bone assemblage is dominated by cattle, followed by sheep and pigs. There are a number of wild species present and domestic birds and fish are also present. The pottery assemblage is dominated by coarse wares with Samian being the most common import. Olive oil and wine are present in small quantities. Architecturally the area analysed was located near the lower defences of the city and was a low-status area, reflected in the foodways of the inhabitants, through their limited use of imports, or fine ware.

At Silchester, outside the territory of the Corieltavi. The site is an architecturally high-status area in the centre of an important town and this is reflected in the material. Sheep and later cattle dominate the assemblage with pig declining in importance from the LPRIA to the early Roman period. There are ranges of imports present from the early to mid Roman period: wine, olive oil, fish sauce and fruit. The range of fine wares is extensive although coarse wares are still the most dominant fabric. The range of vessels too illustrate that dining was an important activity.

Although these pictures are generalised, we can reach some interesting conclusions by contrasting them with the rural sites that we analysed earlier. Firstly, the obvious point to note is that Roman-style material culture was simply much more common in urban

centres. Urban life is fundamentally different to rural life, in that many, perhaps most necessities must be imported into town, and this makes them places where objects of all kinds will be more common, because they are physically more centralised than when they become dispersed out into the surrounding countryside (Yentsch 1994: 134-142 on ceramics in a colonial context, Curtin 1984: 8-11 on the general role of urban settlements in trade and supply, and Hingley 1989 and Dark and Dark 1997: 114-125 for a discussion of 'central places'/urban centres in the Romano-British landscape, and O'Connor 1989: 13-16 for Roman towns as livestock markets). It is important to recognise, at this point, that a key factor underpinning the possible use of Roman-style material culture in rural society as a tool for status display was its relative scarcity. When something like a vessel form becomes more commonly available, as is the case in such urban contexts as we have examined here, it loses the sense of 'exclusivity' that enables it to be deployed as a status object – another instance of the context of the object being instrumental in establishing its social use (Appadurai 1988 a: 4-6). Thus in crude supply terms, objects that in the countryside will be rare in the town are more common, and as the social context of the object is different, its appearance on a site does not carry the same significance. However, this does not explain why, on sites like Causeway Lane, for example, there is a wide variety of vessel forms, indicating, in the terms of this project, an elaborate set of foodways, which have undergone significant change. Why were the inhabitants of this site more open to change in their 'core' cultural values, when those at, for example, Maxey were not? This leads us on to the second major point to be drawn from examining these urban sites.

The growth of urban settlements may, by their nature, have attracted those who were more willing to take the opportunities that the empire offered, and were less 'conservative' in their habits. Towns would, as centres of trade and administration, have been where contacts with the imperial authorities would have been at their strongest,

and those wishing to supply the empire with its requirements, in effect, take the opportunities that empire offered (as suggested for Africa by Mattingly 1997b: 134) are most likely to have been able to engage in such activity in an urban centre. Those wishing to retain as much distance as possible between themselves and the empire are unlikely to have gravitated towards towns, the more 'distant' rural environment allowing the preservation of their way of life with a minimum of interference (such a situation has been suggested in the context of the Fens, Fincham 2002: 82, in which it is suggested that those wishing to involve themselves with the Roman authorities will have gravitated towards the settlement at Grandford). The division between town and country in Roman Britain may, at least in part, have been a social and political one, 'British' society persisting in the countryside, a more opportunistic society, prepared to engage with Rome, forming in the towns.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that many individuals, both wealthy and poor, did not mix in both societies. The rich may have had a town house, but also a villa, and they may have behaved *differently* depending upon which location they were inhabiting at that particular time. Scott (1990: 25-26), suggests that those under domination by others behave in different ways, depending upon who they are with. A slave will not say in front of his master, what he may say in front of his own family in private, and so it may have been with the elite classes in Roman Britain. In town, where they were engaged in commerce with the imperial authorities a more 'Roman' (as they perceived it) life style, publicly adopting the conqueror's material culture as far as the limits of British social knowledge would allow, might have been called for. In the countryside, with 'their own people', more indigenous life ways may have been enacted, either through preference, or the need to still appear 'British' to maintain their social credibility in a more conservative rural context. Those lower down the social scale may also have crossed between these two world, farmers droving livestock from

countryside to town and those attending market with manufactured goods to buy or sell. These people are less likely than the elite to have had the resources to maintain two ways of life, and so the real 'divide' may have existed in the lower levels of society – some making the choice to live and work in an urban setting, and becoming more accepting of Roman-style material culture, but others more resisting, or conservative, and avoiding contact with the towns where possible.

Wild foods, fish and drinking have been discussed above in the context of comparing the rural sites from chapter four and five with each other. There is general evidence for drinking on all urban sites (mostly drinking vessels), with positive indications of wine drinking from Causeway Lane and Silchester. Finally wild food and/or bird remains occur upon all sites, indicating that the desire/market for such food was strong. As suggested above, This may have been as a simple supplement to what was already being eaten (Coy 1989: 34), but it may indicate some interest in hunting, even in towns, as a leisure activity, or, perhaps more symbolically, as a link to more traditional foodways.

8. The Wider Context – Mediterranean Foodways

We have now examined Roman-British foodways, and linked it to a wider cultural response to the Roman imperial presence. In rural Britain, as we have seen, the presence of Roman food items may largely be explained in terms of the functioning of British structures – British elite illustrating their status by acquiring 'foreign' food stuffs, ceramics, perhaps even preparation and serving techniques, but not necessarily becoming Roman in the process. How does this compare with the situation in other parts of the Empire, and particularly in what might be described as the heartland of ancient civilization, the Mediterranean?

Here we face a difficulty – no study has been conducted that integrates the different types of finds as we have done in this project for parts of Britain, and as been illustrated, even two provinces in the heart of the empire (when judged from a British perspective), can be seen to have had their own experiences of the empire and developed accordingly (see Mattingly 1997 on the experience of Africa, and Alcock 1997 on the very different experience of Greece). What we do have, however, is a sequence of studies focusing upon various aspects of that material culture, that allow us to build up a thumbnail sketch, useful in comparison. In terms of the plant-based elements of the diet, we have what Garnsey (1999: 13-17) calls the ‘Mediterranean triad’, that is to say cereals, vines and olives, with which Curtis (2001: 323) concurs. This triad was, to varying degrees, established around the Mediterranean basin, and provided the basis for much of the foodways of this area, perhaps with the addition of pulses, the ‘poor man’s meat’ (Garnsey 1999: 15). We see a large amount of wheat (Rickman 1980) and olive oil (Mattingly 1988) being produced, particularly in areas like Spain and North Africa, though these crops would have been common around most of the Mediterranean Sea board. By contrast to all of the British sites examined, amphorae fragments occur in quantities that quite clearly indicate olive oil was a key staple, not only for cooking, but also possibly for lighting (Mattingly 1988: 33). Garnsey also notes the importance of fish, though not as a staple (1999: 16), and also meat. The meat component of the Mediterranean diet, we know from King’s work (King 1999, 2001) is, of course, variable on a site-by-site basis, wealthier sites having a large quantity of pig, and all sites having a substantial quantity of sheep/goat. Indeed sheep/goat predominate on less wealthy sites, and are they most common domestic animal, with cattle are *always* the least well represented. But, as Garnsey (1999: 16) indicates, meat and its associated products, were, for many, and by contrast to central and northern Europe (including, of course, Britain), in short supply, and would always have played a relatively small role in Mediterranean foodways (Curtis 2001: 395). Pottery supply is a difficult issue to tackle,

without a site-by-site examination of Mediterranean sites, beyond the scope of this current project. As a brief examination of any survey volume for any area in the Mediterranean world (Barker 1996), or (Alcock 1993), illustrates, the full suite of pottery forms was by no means used upon every site (Fincham 2001: 42-43). However, a fuller range of pottery vessels was undoubtedly available in the Mediterranean world, than in Britain (see Cooper 1998 generally, but also Tyers 1996: 70-71 for the reduction of forms available in Britain in the late Roman period). There is also the issue of drink, with beer being uncommon (Curtis 2001: 370), but wine being a much more significant (Curtis 2001; 372, Garnsey 1999: 13), the vine been an essential part the 'Mediterranean Triad'.

Where does this lead us, when we come to compare this picture to that of Britain? The focus upon olive oil in cooking in this Mediterranean area, as opposed to predominantly dairy fats like butter, is an important influence. As both Curtis (2001: 380) and Mattingly (1988: 34) indicate, the reliance upon olive oil went far beyond its food value, including also use as fuel for lighting, and for personal hygiene. The importance of dairy products was mixed, with little interest in fresh milk (Curtis 2001: 399-400), but some use of butter and particularly cheese (Toussaint-Samat 1992: 116). Without large supplies of locally produced olive oil becoming dependant upon olive oil was never an option in Britain, and it remained a luxury (Alcock 2001: 78). In Britain, with a cooler climate (which would allow dairy products to last longer, and limit the ability to grow olives) the role of dairy and animal fats in general cooking remained central. Also, we have already noted that a similar situation exists for the vine, never grown in Britain in large numbers, and limiting any wholesale involvement of the Romano-British with the foods of the 'Mediterranean Triad' still further. Add to this that cattle is more often the most significant animal in terms of the provision of meat, rather than the sheep/pig of the Mediterranean zone, and meat and/or secondary products generally

appear to have played a more significant part in foodways in northern Europe (Curtis 2001: 395 and 399, King 1999 and 2001), and we see a very great distance between northern European foodways, and that of the Mediterranean basin. To a degree some of this difference must be rooted in practical limitation – even had the Corieltauvians wished to begin growing olives, and drinking wine, it is unlikely that this form of cultivation would have succeeded in Britain's very different climate. Such goods could be imported, but as has been illustrated, when they arrived on British sites they occurred invariably in small quantities, and so did not alter the basic foodways of Corieltauvian society. Rather they were extra too it, but performed a function *within* that system of foodways, to illustrate power through the acquisition of the unusual, or, at the very most, to illustrate connection to, perhaps influence with, the imperial authorities. Their context had, in effect changed, from one where they were regarded as staples, due to their commonplace nature, to one where their scarcity made them important luxuries.

The chief importance of this brief sketch is to illustrate that the foodways of the Mediterranean were fundamentally different to those of Britain, based upon different sets of staple commodities, perhaps with a more generally elaborate use of ceramics. It is was this fundamental difference in the basic staples of these two patterns of foodways that meant that when even staple objects, like olive oil, moved out of their 'home' zone, they changed their function, having in effect been translated into a different 'food-world'. Once in a town in Roman Britain, as we have seen, they may have become political symbols of a communities desire to engage with Rome, though a 'low key' symbol, given the relatively large quantities of material available. Once such material made the lengthy journey (physically, but even more so socially), however, from their point of origin, through a British town, and out into the countryside, their function may have changed again, and more radically, often to become part of a different set of social values entirely, and to function as 'status' indicators in a still essentially British context.

9. This Study in Context

Where, then, does this leave our understanding of food, and, given the theoretical position outlined in chapter two, does the understanding of foodways as cultural practice intersect with the growing understanding of imperialism as an issue in Roman studies?

In terms of other studies, we see that there are many individual projects that focus upon individual aspects of food or diet. These are works like those of King (1978, 1999, 2001), for animal bones, Maltby (1985, 1989) on urban animal bone assemblages, and van der Veen (1992) and Jones (1989) on plant remains. We also have an extensive literature upon ceramics in Roman Britain of which Tyers (1996) *Roman Pottery in Britain* is just one example, as well as the theoretically informed work of Cooper (1996) Evans (2001), Hawthorne (1996) and Willis (1996). What these studies share is a focus upon one area of material culture that happens to touch upon the general cultural area of food, and/or its preparation and serving. These considerations are often set in an architectural context, and used to provide a context for what has been found upon that site (see van der Veen 1992: 29, the Northumbrian site of Hallshill, for one example), or sometimes an explanation for what has been found, as with King (1978). Here we see broad patterns of domestic species proportion built up across broad categories of sites to provide an aggregated picture. Explanations are then sought for this pattern in the status of the site, rooted in its architecture (e.g. 'villa/farmstead'), modified by perceived cultural affiliation. This produces a relatively sophisticated picture, but what this study, and any study which is specific to one aspect of the evidence, fails to do is to address the interplay *between* these different factors. In essence they fail to put the patterns that they have observed into a culturally meaningful social context.

However, this current study has attempted to do just that. By moving away from individual data strands, and recasting the data available into a ‘meal stage process’, we have been able to consider food as an ‘activity’. By so doing, we have thus arrived at a position where we are able to consider ‘food’ as a varied and multifaceted social entity, showing different paths of development, dependant upon the choices made within individual communities about how they may have responded to the imperial presence, and so reach a more sophisticated understanding of the possible *motivation* behind such choices, and the signatures such choices may leave in the archaeological record – and such a picture will be more ‘robust’, based, as it is, upon up to three linked streams of data (pottery, animal and plant remains) located in an architectural context, rather than just one element of material culture contrasted against the site within which it is located. Thus what this project has, in effect revealed is that not only are such sites an interplay of processes (which might involve, for example the increasing complexity of architecture on a site, whilst in foodways terms the pattern may be relatively simple), but that by identifying and mapping different forms of activity, we can reveal that interplay.

The current project also advances the study food in several key theoretical aspects. The first area is that of the recognition of variability. Clearly studies like King (1978, 2001), can provide a general framework within which to pose broad comparisons of, in the case of King’s work, the meat content of diet – and such work is important, as it can provide an overarching viewpoint. However, recent work on imperialism (Hingley 1997; Mattingly 1997), stresses the need to understand how varied each site can be, and that, in effect, each site has its own story to tell. An important point to make about how this study relates to our wider consideration of imperialism, then, and indeed, wider work on food and diet, is that in taking a post-colonial stance, which encourages us to think in terms of multiple social perspectives, and perhaps to bring the perspective of

the conquered more to the fore than it has previously been the case, we can begin to examine British foodways, free of the automatic assumption that there was a universal will to become Roman, Gallic, German, or whatever the prevailing cultural influence is felt to be. People make their own choices, perhaps in a context set by wider processes, but they are never stripped of their power of agency (Barrett 1997: 53-59). What this means for our understanding of imperialism, and of food, is that whilst the work of King, and its like, are important in setting the wider framework, that framework is only of value when set against a better understanding of the sites, and ultimately the people, that contributed to it, in that any wide trends are the result of aggregated individual actions. What this also means is that to be truly meaningful, explanations of why broad trends emerge must be rooted in the evidence on a site-by-site basis. Only then can we understand the factors that influenced individuals, rather than in talking about 'meta-processes' like 'Romanisation', most of which would have been unrecognisable to those actually being apparently 'Romanised'.

The second issue relates to the 'reality' of processes that have been described in the past. As we have seen in this project, when examining the actual quantity of 'Roman-style material culture', which in the past has been considered sufficiently to consider those sites, and indeed whole provinces, 'Romanised', we see that the actual amounts are small. It may be objected that this obvious, and that, for example, ceramic assemblages are always dominated by coarse ware, and an understanding of the fact that fine ware was relatively scarce, is nothing new. This may be so, but the fact remains that the study of Roman pottery has focused largely upon fine wares, and the relatively small amounts of higher quality pottery have received disproportionate academic attention (see Orton *et al.* 1993: 5-14 for an overview of the development of pottery studies), ensuring that the mainstay of actual of domestic pottery, courseware, is understudied. The fact that courseware dominate an assemblage is a fact that not only

needs to be recognised, but the implications understood – and fine ware need to be considered in the context of the wider assemblage of which they are part. This is also true, for example, for architecture (a simple glance down a library shelf will illustrate how many more ‘villas’ have been excavated, as opposed to humble rural settlements). In the current project, each aspect of material culture has been considered not only in terms of what was present, and what was not, but the likely significance, or social role of that ‘presence’ considered in the light of how much was available. This is not a process of minimising the impact of ‘Rome’ through down playing quantities of

Chapter Eight: Future Directions

1. Introduction

The drawing together of the theory (chapter two), the methodology (chapter three) and the data (chapters four, five and six) has already occurred in chapter seven. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the main areas of interest in this project and from these to identify areas for future research.

2. Research Themes

The main themes which have arisen out of this thesis can be summed up as follows: change and continuity; the motive behind change/continuity; the role of Romanisation as an interpretational framework; resistance (both passive and active) and the role of food in expressing identity.

2.1. Change and Continuity

As has been discussed in chapter two, there is still an ongoing debate in the whole of archaeology on the causes of change. Is it outside influences or changes within society which are not associated with external factors? The invasion theories which were popular until the sixties have now been superseded by more nuanced approaches. However, within Roman archaeology, as demonstrated in some of the literature (see Millett 1990a; King 1978 and 1999), there is still very much a tendency to attribute all change to an external, Roman influence. There is also a tendency to see change as unidirectional; the natives became more Roman rather than that Romans adapted to native traditions.

The cultural transmission of ideas is clearly far from simple (see Rowlands 1993). Objects (material culture) may travel and may be used in different areas of the world, but their use and meaning may be very different from those originally intended. An

example from the modern world which clearly illustrates how 'foreign' goods can work in native societies is the role of the Coca-Cola bottle in the Dominican Republic. On the surface, the spread of Coca-Cola is often associated with the spread of American culture, in a sense the Americanization of the rest of the world. Coca-Cola, through its popularity, has often been used as a symbol of this (see Bourdieu 1984). In the Dominican Republic, where the dominant religion is Santana, a mixture between traditional native rituals and Catholicism, the Coca-Cola bottle (and the drink) has come to play an increasingly important role. It is used in most of the rituals and is considered by the shaman to have healing properties (the bottle rather than the drink). In many cases the drink is not consumed, but thrown away. The desire for Coca-Cola can be attributed not to any desire to become more American or to buy into American culture but rather to obtain an object which functions within its own set of rules and performs an important function within that society (Webster pers.comm.). On the other hand, eating habits and traditional eating patterns have changed through the spread of multinational companies and franchises such as 'MacDonalds'. The adoption though of 'American' eating styles and foods are an interpretation of what people, unfamiliar with America in all its heterogeneity, imagine Americans to eat like.

These examples suggest approaches to the ways in which we should seek to explain or understand the presence of Roman goods on Romano-British sites. The goods themselves do not necessarily spread Roman culture; they are objects which would have been used within daily life and would have had a well-defined role not necessarily that originally intended by the maker. It is striking, as has been noted in chapter 6, that there is only a limited repertoire of vessels and fabrics on most sites. We should not necessarily interpret this as evidence of a failure to Romanize (see Jackson and Potter 1997) but rather as evidence of deliberate choice of the pots and fabrics that has specific use and value to the native population.

The concept of continuity has also been gaining in importance during the last decade (see Hingley 1989; Cooper 1996). The 'new' Roman goods present, such as Samian, are in a sense a smoke screen, in that they obscure the possibility that even if the fabrics have changed but their uses may not have. This has been clearly illustrated in chapters 4 and 5. The analysis of the data highlights that we should be looking for continuity, not letting ourselves be blinded by the presence of often only a handful of imported goods; we should seek to explain change in a more flexible way. Change may occur as a reaction to external stresses, as has been suggested for the emergence of so-called warrior societies in Gaul (Webster 1996b), but this does not imply a desire to become Roman, quite the reverse in many cases. This leads us on to question the other topic which has been widely discussed in the course of this thesis, that of resistance.

2.2. Resistance

Resistance, or at least the active sort, has been widely recognised for many years in the study of the Roman Empire. This is the type of resistance which is recorded in the ancient texts. There are a few very well known examples of this, with the revolt of Boudicca (Webster 1993), and the Macromannic Revolt (Wells 1999) two of the most notable. These illustrate what happened when the people became dissatisfied with Roman rule to the point that they were prepared to risk life and property to throw off the 'imperial yoke'. We do not, however, know of very many such open revolts and this has been taken by some to mean that on the whole people were happy to be ruled by the Romans and, that they were 'good' colonial masters.

In recent years this approach to resistance has been seen to be incomplete. Drawing from the colonial experiences of European nations including Britain and France, we can see that for the ruled it is not always possible or indeed desirable to start an open rebellion against the colonial power, although where they do occur, tend to be well-

documented (for example, the colonial wars in Algeria (Fanon 1959)). Scott (1985; 1990) has highlighted an alternative to active resistance – the use of passive resistance by the oppressed or the weak to oppose the ruler. The idea of passive resistance can be seen in almost all colonial situations but also in the relationship between peasant and feudal lord, worker and factory owner and slave and master. Such resistance can often be seen in small, local acts, such as working slowly in the fields, hiding taxable goods, theft of goods, non-cooperation and reluctance to change, to adopt new habits or roles. Many such acts may be difficult or even impossible to trace in the archaeological record.

Areas of resistance have been identified within Romano-British life (Hingley 1997, Fincham 2002), and the concept of creolisation has been successfully applied particularly in the context of religion (Webster 2001). The druids are often cited as being resistant to Roman rule, and in the ancient texts are often accused of inciting the local populace (Webster 1997a: 167-169). Religion, in contrast to the world religions today, was the preserve of the elites who interceded on behalf of the local population who were generally only themselves involved tangentially. Therefore, although passive resistance has been identified, it can be suggested that this is not ‘peasant’ resistance as identified by Scott (1990). Rather, it can be suggested, particularly in Roman Britain, that resistance may be located in the sphere of the native elite. If, as has been suggested in the preceding chapters, rural life remained relatively unchanged, then any change in power and status would have occurred for the native elites. The druids may have resisted because they, rightly, feared a loss of power and influence. The same can be suggested for the native elites.

Conservatism, as has been suggested in chapter six, can be a strong motivating force within rural societies in general. It can be suggested that this too is a form of resistance.

This has been discussed at length in the preceding chapters and need only be touched upon here. Rural conservatism may be based either on choice, the choice not to change, and not to use Roman goods, or it may be based on ignorance, lack of knowledge: those living in the countryside did not know that these goods existed or they had no use for them so they did not use them. Both are equally valid actions and both may have been reasons for a slow pace of change. It is therefore necessary to consider resistance in a less ‘political’ light but in a more daily light. Resistance in Roman Britain need not always have been directed against the Romans, of which there were very few in Britain, but against the local elites. Seen in this light we can focus more on the populace at large rather than on the actions of Rome in a remote province.

2.3. Romanisation

The debate surrounding acculturation and in particular Romanisation has been raging for the past decade. This can be seen, for example, in the many publications in the TRAC volumes (see Forcey *et al.* 1998). The debate has led to a greater degree of questioning of previously held views and to an exploration of the import of the native component rather than merely focusing on Rome, its military prowess and conquests. It is essentially out of these debates that the theoretical framework for this project arose.

In a sense it is important that one homogenous and all-embracing interpretative framework is not adopted to fill the void of Romanisation. Rather, many different ways of looking at material culture, including contextual archaeology and post-colonial approaches can give us more useful insights into people’s lives in the past. We have, particularly in Roman Britain, spent the past century cataloguing and dating pottery, coins, and small finds; it is now time to find a wider range of uses for the vast masses of data available to the Roman archaeologist. The study of food in this project is one way in which this can be achieved. It combines different categories of finds and looks at

them not from a 'what fabric', 'what date', 'what species' perspective but rather from the perspective of their meaning to the people using them. We need to start asking more basic questions, questions which are more about daily life and not just about overarching themes such as economy, the army and imperial power.

2.4. Identity and Food

Food, as has been established early on in this thesis, is central to biological as well as cultural life but has in the past, particularly in archaeology, not been given sufficient attention. It is clear that identity and how it can be studied in the archaeological record will be on the agenda for many more years to come. Food and foodways can play a key role in its study, as has been demonstrated within the field of anthropology and sociology as well as historical archaeology. Other issues such as status and power can also be addressed through an examination of the food people ate, how it was prepared, served and consumed. How people ate and in which context food was eaten provide important insights into the identity of the consumer.

A focus on identity ties in with the 'daily life' approach which has been advocated in this thesis. By addressing the daily activities such as cooking and eating we can gain an insight into the people who were intimately involved in these activities, i.e. women, slaves/servants and children. It is not true to say that the archaeology of women has been overlooked, as women would have played a key role in almost all of the archaeological evidence excavated; it is true however, that they have been overlooked when it comes to interpreting the evidence. The same is true of children, although the balance is slowly being redressed (see Moore and Scott 1997; Pearce 2000). Archaeology, in contrast to other historical disciplines, is unique in being able to offer us insights into the lives of the 'voiceless', the ones who did not write and were not written about in contemporary accounts. It is important that we use the masses of data

available to us to try to gain insights in these people's lives. The role of material culture is obviously key in this as is the combining of different strands of data which would normally be considered separately.'

3. Future Research

In reviewing a study of this nature, directions for future work emerge from both the deficiencies of the current project, and from the successful elements of analysis which would profit from further development. Several strands of such development are now clear. This section draws on the problems which were encountered during this project and discusses how these problems could be remedied. It will also focus on how this research could be carried forward, both in different areas but also adapted to different chronological periods.

3.1. The Data

The project centred around the re-analysis and discussion of published pottery, faunal and botanical data. The main problems encountered centred on the way published data is presented. The main difficulties were the lack of standardisation in the way different data sets are both quantified and published. This makes it hard to compare different sites with each other as different finds specialist focus on different areas of research. Through a better use of the research frameworks which have recently been published for both the Iron Age and Roman periods, a clearer 'mission statement' should be devised for each site. Pottery studies in particular are often focused on the economic and art-historical aspects of that particular data set, and derive from the undoubted use of pottery in dating and sequencing sites.

Minimum standards, in terms of simple sherd counts and fabric lists, should be provided in each report. These are mostly produced during the analysis phase anyway and would

aid in the re-interpretation and comparisons of different sites. Although many different methods of quantifying pottery have been used, and the problems surrounding the representivity of these have been discussed in chapter three, a standard method should be adopted, as almost a 'lowest common denominator'. This could be sherd count, or EVE or weight, all these methods have problems inherent to them but none that could not be taken into account if all sites were quantified in the same way. For ease and quickness, a total sherd count is ideal, as it has to be carried out anyway during the pottery analysis. Any further quantification could be at the discretion of the individual finds specialist or director. It seems that there is so much data from the Roman period, yet a lot of it is virtually unusable for comparative purposes or because insufficient data about collection and retention strategies have been included in the report. Fabric analysis is naturally important, particularly for determining supply patterns to an individual site, however, as demonstrated in this project, so too are the vessel forms represented. It has not always been possible to explore this area of analysis to its full potential due to the lack of published data.

Thus, for the pottery data, I would suggest that a standardised approach to quantification and publication is adopted, i.e. each report should include a table listing the different fabric types and the number of sherds belonging to each (either total sherd count, EVE or Weight), a table listing the different forms present (per fabric and as a whole) and the number of sherds belonging to each (either total sherd count, EVE or weight), and a clear 'mission statement' that should fit in with the recommendations put forward for pottery research in the Research frameworks (see James and Millett 2001).

The same problem was encountered when dealing with the faunal remains, albeit to a lesser extent. Due to the more 'scientific' nature of the analysis of animal bones, tables and graphs are more commonly used than in pottery. Some problems were encountered

though, particularly in the area of ageing. There are many different methods for the ageing of livestock (Grant 1982; Payne 1973; Ewbank *et al.* 1964; Silver 1969) and all of these methods have their strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, it is important that the data are published in a way that allows re-interpretation. Numbers of aged mandibles should also be provided so a judgement can be made as to the reliability of the age profiles.

The problems surrounding the quantification of animal bones have been discussed in detail in chapter three, but as with pottery, one method should at the very least be included in each report. A total fragment count should be given as a minimum together with a detailed breakdown of bone elements represented. Where data are available for butchery patterns then these also should be recorded and included in the report. This is an area of analysis which I had highlighted but was unable to explore fully due to the paucity of published data on this matter.

Discussion of botanical remains has formed a smaller component than initially foreseen due to problems surrounding preservation and sampling. It has been noted that sampling strategies, particularly on low status rural sites, are inadequate and may explain the lack of bird, fish and botanical remains. These need to be considered carefully in designing excavational strategies in the future. There is less of a problem with the standardisation of the presentation of data with botanical remains as this is mainly done in an effective fashion. Again, issues for further analysis should be fitted in with the research agenda published for the Roman period (James and Millett 2001).

On the whole, many of the problems encountered could be remedied by using a more standardised form of layout for published finds reports. A greater level of integration and communication may be needed for this than has hitherto been practised. Budgetary

and time constraints of course need to be taken into account, but minimum requirements such as quantified lists of fabrics, species and forms would fit in well with this. There is a vast body of data from Romano-British sites which is at the moment being underexploited. This is due to the lack of standardisation, which renders a lot of the information effectively unusable for re-analysis and re-interpretation. Areas which would have been useful to analyse and discuss in the light of the methodology and theoretical framework created had to be only briefly discussed due to the poor quality or even lack of good published data. If this type of data had been available then a broader sweep of sites would also have been analysed and discussed.

Such standardisation might also include allow a deeper study of the way in which the assemblage from particular sites has been formed, and allow us to consider the location of individual parts of assemblages in detail. This argument has been made for faunal remains (Maltby 1985), but in principal applies to other strands of evidence like pottery. Such detail would allow us to consider factors like intra-site variability (the way in which different parts of the site vary due to their function, or other factors influencing the formation of the archaeological record). It might then, for example, be possible to come up with an analysis of the foodways for individual buildings upon a site, an approach which has the potential (as shown by the differences in foodways at Stonea during, and after the lifetime of the principal structure on site, see chapter four) to link the history of a site intimately to its foodways. The data to carry out this level of study is not, at present, available in large quantities, but this approach does bear consideration as a potential avenue for future work.

3.2. Methodology for Studying Food in Other Time Periods

Although the methodology devised for this thesis and discussed in full in chapter three, was specifically designed to study food and foodways in the Roman period in Britain, it

could be used to do just that in other historical periods. It would be particularly useful in studying the consumption of food in other colonial contexts, which has already been done in North America.

The 400-year period of British rule in India is a key example of how this methodology could be used to study changing/continuing food patterns in a colonial situation. There would be many advantages to using this methodology, as there would be greater wealth of documentary evidence which is not available to archaeologists of pre-literate eras. British India is particularly interesting from a food point of view as the influence was seemingly one way: Indian cuisine has had a lasting influence on British eating habits. The legacy of British food in the Indian subcontinent amounts to little more than biscuits, with such Imperial names as Britannia, and baked beans (see Burton 1994). The Indian influence of course was tempered, Indian food was 'creolised'; kedgeree has its roots in Indian cooking but is unrecognisable from the original Indian dish. The influences are of course continuing due to the waves of migration from the old Empire during the twentieth century. How has this migration affected the foodways and the cooking habits of these immigrants in their new homeland?

Many similarities can be seen between the Roman period in Britain and British India, not least because the British civil servants administering this vast empire choose Rome as their model (see Hingley 2000). There are however, many areas where differences occur and we should not use any other colonial situation as a blue print for another. They are all unique and historically situated.

3.3. A Holistic Approach to Studying Other Areas of Daily Life

In this study three strands of evidence, ceramics, animal bones and botanical remains, have been considered together that are normally considered separately. It has been

notable that some interesting patterns have come to light which would otherwise not have been noticed. Food however, gives us insights not just into nutrition and agriculture but also into identity, status, power display and cultural change. In this light other artefactual classes could be included in such a study.

Small finds in particular, are a much underexploited tool (see Spradley 2001). This is mainly due to the difficulties that have been encountered in quantifying and cataloguing them. The most commonly used scheme of classification is that developed by Crummy (1983) for the small finds assemblages from Colchester. They are subdivided on the basis of their function rather than on the materials they were made from. When undertaking a study into daily life then this would seem a good way of approaching small finds in themselves. The problem with their quantification is comparability: is it legitimate to compare the number of hairpins with the number of keys or should functional categories be compared? Apart from these 'technical' difficulties, they are an important resource for providing added colour and depth to the picture. Many were personal possessions and can provide a unique perspective, adding to the more general pictures that emerge from the study of pottery, animal bones, botanical remains and architectural evidence.

Architectural data has been used in this study to provide a general context for our understanding of foodways. However, a more detailed examination of the layout of buildings, the location of hearths and kitchen areas, particularly in the study of food, would be an additional source of information. Work has already started in comparing the changing or rather continuing lay-out and location of such key features in the transition between round houses and rectangular buildings (Taylor 2001), but it needs to be further put in context with the activities which actually occurred inside them. Just as a ceramic sherd can provide many levels of information, it is only when it is considered

in its use context that its end value as a source of information about past lives emerges. The same applies to buildings, it is only when we consider what took place inside them and the significance of these activities that we can approach an understanding of their meaning to the people living in them and using them (for examples of form and function, particularly with reference to Roman period rural architecture see Friendship-Taylor and Friendship-Taylor 1997). However, as noted above, a more sophisticated recording of the location of individual deposits (as argued for by Maltby 1985), might be a pre-requisite for such an approach.

In addition to the suggestions for data recording listed above, there are several other strands of data that might be incorporated into an expanded methodology. The first of these is human remains. Diet can effect the development of human bones and teeth. Variations in tooth decay or wear suggesting variations in what was consumed during life (Brothwell 1981: 111), and some dietary deficiencies can leave visible signs in the human skeleton (e.g. rickets Brothwell 1981: 163-164). Human bones could thus potentially contribute information about the way in which different sections of the population were accessing different food, and different quality of food. Secondly, we might consider information gained from organic residue analysis. This technique allows the detection of minute amounts of organic material left behind, for example, in a ceramic vessel after its use, but may also allow us to extract information about organic materials for coprolites (Peacock 1992). Such information could clearly make a valuable contribution to not only our understanding of what pottery vessels were used for in the cooking process, but also what foods were eaten, and how they had been processed (see White and Page 1992 for an overview of the potential of this technique). The final area that may be profitable for further examination is that of cooking techniques. Evidence might be gathered through a wider examination of rare cooking implements (e.g. racks and griddles that may indicate roasting/grilling), but such an

approach is unlikely to be broad based enough to give insight into methods applied on, for example, poor sites, where specialised cooking utensils are rarely found. Perhaps a better approach would be through more detailed use of anthropological research, to illustrate archaeological patterns with possible 'case studies' of how domestic life, including cooking methods, is lived (Allison 1999a: 2-3).

3.4. Conclusions

The key feature of the thesis has been to develop a methodology for studying food in the archaeological record, particularly in the Roman period. It is also the most adaptable part of the thesis as it is not time specific.

The other feature is the use of post-colonial theory to study Roman Britain, and in particular daily life. Drawing as it does on other colonial situations, it has provided us with a more complex view of the power relationships within native society. It has also caused the concept of 'Roman' Britain to be questioned. This may lead in the future to considering the native archaeology in its own right rather than how it related to Rome and its Conquest. It cannot be disputed that Rome had a lasting legacy on Britain. However, this was not necessarily visible even in the Anglo-Saxon era. This legacy became explicit in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Britain too had embarked on colonial adventures and used Rome as a template for administering far flung territories (see Hingley 2000). This legacy has shaped the discipline of Roman archaeology in Britain and has led to an overemphasis on the importance of Rome. It has been argued that for ordinary people, the rural poor, the urban poor, in their daily life (as studied through food), Rome had very little impact.

It is clear however, that the important feature is the study of daily life. Archaeology is uniquely placed to consider people who were too unimportant to be written about in contemporary accounts. The study of food is just one way of achieving this.

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