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Cooking, Cooking Pots, and Cultural Transformation in Imperial and Late Antique Italy

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

COOKING, COOKING POTS, AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN
IMPERIAL AND LATE ANTIQUE ITALY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ANDREW DONNELLY

CHICAGO, IL

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when everything seems grim, the most important thing to do is talk about baseball. Beth Forrest, though I do not believe she knows this, provided the initial spark that led me to writing a dissertation on food.

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INTRODUCTION

One day, early in the seventh century AD, a small group of people entered an abandoned seaside house in the village now known as Kaukana.¹ There was much work to be done. Dust and silt had filled the building. This would not do. The southwest room of the building, with an open roof and exposed to the elements, was in particular need of attention. The visitors swept and cleaned, making the home something closer to inhabitable again. Oil was poured into small lamps and lit. One of these lamps bore the decoration of a board game similar in appearance to backgammon. Another was decorated with a Christian cross. The house, brighter and cheerier now, would soon be ready for the purpose of their journey.

That reason lay peacefully in the corner of the southwest room. There, in a stone tomb, rested the body of a young woman. She had died young, in her early twenties, and was pregnant when she passed. A small hole in the back of her skull indicated she suffered from meningocele, a protrusion of the meninges, the protective tissue covering the brain. This condition would have led to a series of medical maladies, including seizures, severe headaches, and mental disabilities. She was likely a holy woman. Sometime after her death, her daughter, aged between three and five years, had been interred with her. Our visitors were here for a funerary feast.

¹ R.J.A. Wilson, "Funerary Feasting in Early Byzantine Sicily: New Evidence from Kaukana," *American Journal of Archaeology* 115 (2001), 263-302

And so these visitors turned to the matter at hand. Cooking pots were produced, as was food to fill them. Dishes were laid out for serving and eating the meal. A fire was made in a hearth in a corner of the room. The cooking pots would be placed there. The smell of sea air and burning oil in the lamps was soon joined by the aromas of the meats and vegetables cooking in the hearth. Soon, the meal would be ready. Amphoras were opened, and wine was served. Some was likely poured down a libation hole that had been bored into one of the slabs covering the tomb. Later, after the meal was cooked, food would be placed down the hole as well.

Perhaps the most humble part of the site's collection of artifacts was the cooking vessels, but they were also some of the most important. The purpose of the visit depended on the use of these vessels to cook and consume a meal, a meal that had no small amount of religious and convivial importance. These pots tell us much about our feasters. We know they had access to vessels from the island of Pantelleria, for example, which was a center of cooking pottery production. But not all were from there, and several vessels were manufactured locally. The very shape of the vessels gives us information. One of the vessels the people at Kaukana were using for cooking was a casserole, a flat-bottomed vessel with high walls and an open mouth. This morphological observation may seem like a small detail, but this shape, once ubiquitous in Italy, was now increasingly rare. Elite feasting had once relied on multiple cooking vessels used in conjunction. The casserole was integral to this type of cooking. This feast relied on a cooking tradition that had largely disappeared from the Italian peninsula.

These simple cooking vessels provide glimpses into multiple aspects of identity. They are tangible evidence of the relationship Christians of this community had with the deceased, each other, and the wider world. They remind us these people were here to feast, and the importance they placed on feasting. We learn little details, such as that they chose to cook their meal in the same room that they consumed it. These details provide hints of the smells and other sensory stimuli that would have accompanied the feast. They make the subjects of our studies seem more real. Cookpots provide evidence of multiple facets, sometimes quotidian, of the lives of the people who once held them. And yet these pots speak to greater things as well. The vessels our feasters used mark them as having a connection with a legacy of cooking that had endured for centuries. It was a connection they did not share with the majority of Italy. Through the humble cooking pot, we have the potential to learn a significant amount about those who held them, cooked with them, and ate the foods produced in them.

This dissertation focuses on cooking, cooking pots, and changes in cooking patterns in late antique Italy. The meal, usually the feast or banquet, has been the focus of much scholarship.² Cooking remains less well explored, though this is changing.³ There are multiple sources of evidence for cooking. I examine two: ceramic vessels and textual references to those vessels. These two sources must be studied in conjunction, with

² Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³ I examine many of these in Chapter One. Paul Arthur, "Pots and Boundaries. On Cultural and Economic Areas Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *LRCW 2: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares, and Amphorae in the Mediterranean I*, ed. Michel Bonifay and Jean-Christophe Tréglia (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 15-27, is the work that most directly influenced this dissertation.

careful attention paid to chronology and geography. Cooking pots, while ubiquitous archaeologically, are difficult to analyze on their own, as interpretation of their use is easily confused by modern sensibilities and understanding of kitchens.⁴ Texts serve to corroborate use, and provide verbal clues that indicate the relationship between form, method of cooking, and food cooked.

For the vessels themselves I focus on morphology, arguing that vessels of certain shapes had general, but not specific, uses in food preparation. A deep pot usually boiled liquids. It did not always make stew. Cooking pots alone do not get us to meals and cooking. Certain uses can be intuited by the shape of vessels. But not all. More specific information on use must be found by examining textual sources. I look at the appearance of vessels in texts, noting what was cooked in the vessels, which verbs were used in conjunction with vessels, and morphological clues about them. I then compare patterns in texts to found vessel morphology, and from this analysis of sources discuss cooking, vessel use, and changes in cooking patterns over time.

Discussion of change in cooking patterns is important for many reasons. I am interested in cultural change and the formation and interest of identity. Italy in this period was decimated by war, a home to new peoples, and subject to economic transformation. I examine the impact all had on cooking and diet and, in turn, what information changes in cooking patterns can indicate about transformation in Italian culture.

⁴ Joan Gómez Pallarès, “Instrumenta coquorum. Els Estris de la cuina en Apici (amb testimonis, des de Plaute a Isidor de Sevilla),” in *Ceràmica comuna romana d’època Alto-Imperial a la Península Ibèrica. Estat de la qüestió*, ed. Xavier Aquilué and Mercè Roca, 25-36 (Empúries: Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya-Empúries, 1995); Penelope Allison, “Labels for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households,” in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. eadem (New York: Routledge, 1999), 57-78.

Food is central to the formation, maintenance, and display of identity. Scholarly interest in food has exploded in recent years. The people we study also knew this relationship existed. Romans were keenly aware of the importance of food in defining and shaping their identity. They used food to identify the other. Barbarians were said to eat raw meat, for example, and drank beer, not wine.⁵ Bread, the hallmark of the civilized diet, was eschewed by the outsider.⁶ But food also defined the self. The *annona*, or dole of grain and, later, pork, was a hallmark of citizenship.⁷ More to our purpose, as we will see, texts by aristocratic Romans that discuss food stress that certain meals were quintessentially part of their identity. Food and cooking defined the self and the other.

These definitions would be altered and transformed by the socioeconomic changes that took place in Italy in late antiquity. The disruption of trade networks, the arrival of barbarians, the nascent Christian faith, and the decline of the old Roman aristocracy all contributed to transformations in cooking practice. Rustic cooking, never static under the early Empire, became simpler and homogenized, a transformation that hints at a relative freedom for those in the countryside. Aristocratic cooking was transformed, modified by economic realities and the emergence of Christianity. The arrival of the Ostrogoths and Byzantines led to the emergence of new elite cooking

⁵ John Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 131.

⁶ Procopius, *Gothic War*, II. 16.

⁷ Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 68-71; for pork, see S.J.B. Barnish, "Pigs, Plebeians and Potentes: Rome's Economic Hinterland, C. 350-600A.D.," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 157-85.

cultures, which are evident both in terms of new soapstone vessels and the introduction of novel nouns and verbs for cooking and cooking pots.

In Chapter One I examine how cooking pots have been treated in secondary sources. Nineteenth-century scholars, whom I call antiquarians, were the first to begin to classify cooking pots. Their identifications were haphazard, usually relied on one textual source, and proved to be inaccurate and unaware of the realities of Roman kitchens and habits of consumption. Antiquarianism faded as the interest of the field shifted to creating ceramic typologies, but these identifications stuck, codifying a relationship between vessel and use for over a century. These new typologies, which originally were for fine ware, were most useful for addressing questions about a site's chronology and trade partners. A focus on common wares would come later. It was only after a renewed interest in social history that this focus on common ware meant that questions about cooking vessels, such as how they were used, what they cooked, and what those meals can tell us about their owners could be addressed. I conclude by looking at the way a handful of key scholars have discussed ceramics, especially Michel Bats and Andrea Berlin, both of whom have made strong arguments for the connection between cooking pots, their morphology, and culture.⁸

Chapter Two is an examination of vessel words in cooking texts. My focus in this chapter is on the paradigmatic primary sources used by scholars to discuss cooking.

These works are often consulted independent of context, with chronology ignored and

⁸ Michel Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation à Olbia de Provence (v. 350 - v. 50 av. J.-C): Modèles Culturels Et Catégories Céramiques* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988); Andrea Berlin, "The Plain Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: the Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*, ed. Sharon Herbert (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, 1997), ix-245.

information lifted from whichever author seemed most pertinent. I examine these texts chronologically, and believe that cooking patterns can only be observed when examining each work respective to its date of composition. I open with Cato, who presents a rustic and likely imagined Roman past where cooking was primarily done in deep pots. Later authors, such as Columella, Varro, and Pliny, employ newer words for vessels and stress multiple forms of cooking. They also hint at an elite style of cooking that is marked by the use of multiple vessels used in conjunction. The ultimate example of that style comes to us in Apicius, whose kitchens are stocked with a wide range of vessels that prepared all manner of opulent meals. The preparation, display, and consumption of meals discussed in this text would become a part of elite identity.

In the remaining works I examine in Chapter Two we see transformations in cooking patterns that reflect changes in elite identity. Vinidarius, the late fifth or early sixth Romano-Goth, resembles Apicius but contains noticeable differences. Recipes are simpler and cooking is less complex. The text stands out as an example of the integration of barbarians into the Roman aristocratic world, and is an attempt to maintain a tradition of cooking in the face of economic and cultural change. Its sixth-century counterpart, Anthimus, offers an entirely different facet of the barbarian world. The text is almost a-ceramic, and the foods that are cooked and the manner in which they are cooked have almost no connection to the Mediterranean world. The remaining text, Isidore's *Etymologies*, is from outside the chronological scope of this dissertation but important to consider, as it offers an example of a hybrid Romano-Gothic that is useful for contextualizing changes in Italy's cooking patterns at the end of late antiquity.

Chapter Three looks at ceramics from a number of sites in Italy from the first century AD until the seventh. Elite cooking, which is detectable archaeologically by the presence of a variety of vessel forms, is already in place at wealthy sites like Cosa. At poorer or more rural locations, however, there is no evident of a dominant pattern of cooking. Instead, a hodgepodge of different vessels were used at different times at different sites, often with little consistency. Elite cooking would continue for centuries. A key transformation occurs around the end of the fourth century, as the pan gradually disappears from the archaeological record. This is accompanied by a surge in the presence of casseroles, a multipurpose vessel form. The casserole likely allowed elite cooking to continue. By the sixth century, however, the deep pot was the dominant vessel throughout the Italian peninsula, and casseroles are found less frequently. The Byzantines' rival for power in Italy, the Ostrogoths, also have an archaeological presence in the peninsula. The only vessels used for cooking at the Gothic fortress of Monte Barro are pots, though the presence of soapstone vessels at the site indicates the emergence of a separate tradition.

In Chapter Four I examine texts from Italy that correspond chronologically to the periods discussed in Chapter Three. There is considerable overlap between texts and vessels, and the textual evidence provides sorely-needed context to the ceramic assemblages. The *patina*, the vessel word most closely associated with the pan, is, in texts, had been an integral part of elite feasting. It largely disappears from the textual record, just as evidence of its material counterpart faded from the archaeological record. The words *caccabus*, associated with the form known as the casseroles, and especially

the *olla*, or pot, endure for far longer. The texts suggest motives for these changes. Elite cooking transforms by the fifth century, as Christianity took root and culinary decadence was looked down upon. Elite meals are largely gone, but the language and ritual of feasting does not. It remains in texts, and now refers to the far humbler monastic meal. The vestiges of one of the hallmarks of aristocratic status have been superimposed on Christian faith. The feast at Kaukana is an example of this transformation.

New words for vessels and new verbs for cooking are present in textual sources and indicate the emergence of a newer Italian form of cooking. This connection seems tied to Ravenna and is likely related to the arrival of the Goths and Byzantines to Italy.

Vessels and textual sources, when used together, reveal a significant amount of information not only about cooking, but status, culture, and identity. I note in the very beginning of this study that there never was a “Roman” diet or form of cooking. The diet of the poor under the Empire was often in flux and depended on local resources and traditions. Elite cooking is easily identifiable both archaeologically and textually. It endured, with some modifications, for centuries. By the sixth century, however, cooking culture in Italy was markedly different. The deep pot was again the most popular vessel, reminiscent of Cato’s bucolic past. Reminders of elite cooking endure, transformed by Christianity yet still serving markers of status. We see two aspects to the barbarian presence in the peninsula. The public, elite face of this largely adopted Roman cooking customs. The private one preferred simpler methods of cooking. There was a flowering of cooking culture in Ravenna, one that was likely inspired by the Byzantine presence in the city and evident, in the preservation of certain vessel forms, the similarity of those forms

to assemblages in the east, and the emergence of a new vocabulary of cooking. The diet of the peasant changed as well. The simplification of cooking forms masks a dietary transformation, and sixth century peasants often ate better and lived healthier lives than their Imperial-era counterparts.

From cookbook to cook pot, from papyrus to *piastra*, from Cato to Vinidarius to Anthimus. These sources have an incredible wealth of information about cooking. A study of cooking, and changes in cooking, reveals a great deal about culture, status, and identity in Italy.

CHAPTER ONE

COOKING POTS: VOCABULARY, CONTEXT, AND USE

*The commonest and also probably the earliest of Roman cooking utensils is the wide-mouthed terra-cotta bowl, olla or caccabus, in which porridge, vegetables, meat and fowl were cooked.*¹

*Similarly, a vision provided only by analysis of ceramic cooking wares is a partial study that will never provide a complete picture of Roman cooking utensils.*²

A culture's cookpots are potentially full of information about the eating and cooking habits of that culture. I begin with what may seem like an obvious statement because, for much of the period that cookpots have been studied, their primary use—cooking—has been ignored.³ Until recently, these vessels, if they were studied at all, were treated as diagnostic tools that provided information on chronology and economic exchange. This is largely due to the interests of the discipline of archaeology, though also

¹ Cornelia G. Harcum, "Roman Cooking Utensils in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology," *American Journal of Archaeology* 25 (1921): 38.

² Gómez Pallarès, "Instrumenta coquorum," 37, "Del mismo modo, una visión proporcionada únicamente desde el análisis de los materiales cerámicos de cocina es un estudio parcial que nunca va a proporcionar una imagen completa de los utensilios de cocina romana."

³ For "prime use" of a vessel, see J. Theodore Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 39-60. There is a significant difference in meaning between the words "use" and "function." See Prudence M. Rice, "The Functions and Uses of Archaeological Ceramics," in *The Changing Roles of Ceramics in Society: 26,000 B.P. to the Present*, ed. W.D. Kingery (Westerville: The American Ceramic Society, Inc., 1990), 1-10. Function refers to broad, general ways the material was employed, and include categories such as "containers" and "building material." Use is more specific, indicating an "active sense of how the material was actually brought into service or employed for a given purpose." Examples of use are wine storage vessels or, germane to this dissertation, cooking pots. I have found that this distinction is not always adhered to in the secondary literature on ceramics, but I believe it to be an important one and rely on it throughout.

because of the simple problem that determining vessel use is a very difficult thing to do.

Were one to pick up a Roman cookpot, a significant number of questions, such as “where was this made?” and “what time period is it from?” are much easier to answer than “how was it used?” and “what meals did it cook?”

I hope to remedy this problem in my dissertation. This chapter offers a guide for interpreting vessel use. Fortunately, how cookpots have been studied, and the questions asked of them, have changed in recent years, developments that have been vital for shaping my thoughts. Cooking and vessel use are now topics of interest.⁴ But there is no clear-cut method for interpreting or determining that use. Archaeological reports list various vessel types with a hodgepodge of names, such as “bowl,” “plate,” “dish,” “dish-lid,” and “bowl-plate.” These words, used without consistency, describe morphology only haphazardly. One site’s dish-lid may well be another’s bowl. This makes examining and comparing vessels present at multiple sites difficult, as one cannot simply match similar terms and discuss patterns, but must instead examine individual drawings of pots, which are not always present for each vessel, especially cookpots. These words also hint at use. The simple word “bowl,” for example, carries not just a morphological connotation but

⁴ Key for my dissertation are Michel Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*; Lucien Rivet, “Fonctions et faciès: étude comparée de quelques lots de céramiques provenant de Fréjus (Var), Mandelieu (Alpes-Maritimes), Aix-en-Provence et Saint-Julien-les-Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône)” in *Les Céramiques Communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise: La Vaisselle de Cuisine et de Table*, ed. Michel Bats (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1996), 327-350; Berlin, “The Plain Wares,”; Joanita Vroom, *After Antiquity: Ceramics and Society in the Aegean From the 7th to the 20th Century A.C: A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece* (Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, 2003); Janne P. Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations, Rome: A Holistic Approach* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003); Paul Arthur, “Form, Function and Technology in Pottery Production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,” in *Technology in Transition: AD 300-650*, ed. Luke Lavan, Enrico Zanini, and Alexander Sarantis (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 159-186; idem, “Pots and Boundaries; Benjamin Peter Luley, “Cooking, Class, and Colonial Transformations in Roman Mediterranean France,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 118 (2014): 33-60.

also an understanding of how one would use such a vessel. This unconsciously leads the reader to associate these ancient pots with modern vessels that may or may not have been used in similar ways. Despite this reliance on contemporary terminology that connotes use, few reports discuss how vessels were actually used. If use is discussed, its estimation is often haphazard, ad hoc, and based either on comparison to vessels used in modern kitchens or justified by reliance on one or two standard primary textual sources.

Fortunately, the scholars named on the previous page have done much to increase understanding of vessel use. Their work has helped to shape the methodological core of this chapter. Dissemination and awareness of the majority of their work is only slowly becoming the norm.⁵ They at times do not agree with each other. This chapter, and other parts of this dissertation, build and expand on their arguments.

I open below with a justification for the study of cookpots and the need for a more nuanced methodology for investigating them. This methodology considers context, and acknowledges the overlap between texts and pots does not always allow us to create direct relationships between the words for pots in texts and the vessels themselves. I then look at how these vessels have been examined by scholars. In the 19th century, an antiquarian impulse led textual scholars and archaeologists to discuss use in a limited fashion. This desire to interpret use gradually disappeared as antiquarianism declined and as pots were increasingly seen as diagnostic tools. The focus and interests of the disciplines that studied ceramics turned to high-status wares, and cooking wares were usually ignored and were often discarded when found in archaeological contexts. Despite

⁵ The exception to this is Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*, whose work is perhaps the best known and has received the most acclaim.

this waning interest, the antiquarian legacy endured. Much of our modern understanding of vessel use as well as the Latin and Greek words used to describe pots were codified in this period and became established in the minds and, therefore, the scholarship of those who continued to study ceramics but had turned to other questions.

In recent years interest in cooking has grown across a variety of disciplines. Food studies, a nascent field, concentrates less on cooking pots and more on the meal itself.⁶ The same is true, with some exception, for textual historians, who focus on the final product—the meal—along with the ritual of the banquet.⁷ Such studies pay a near-universal attention to elites. Cooking vessels, if discussed, are accessories to the meal and if included are not contextualized and use is not understood. Archaeologists, too, tend to focus on the feast and elite dining.⁸ And yet for Rome and the Late Antique West archaeologists have made the most progress in discussing how cooking vessels were used to cook food.⁹ Below I present the most pertinent examples of this scholarship and

⁶ The best-known, and perhaps most influential, historian of food for the ancient world is Andrew Dalby, who has published (among many topics) on Greece (Andrew Dalby, *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece* (London: Routledge, 1997)); Rome (idem, *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2000)); Byzantium (idem, *Flavours of Byzantium* (Totnes: Prospect, 2003)), and general overviews of ancient food (idem, *Food in the Ancient World, From A to Z* (London: Routledge, 2003)). While the meal and the relationship between the meal and identity are of great importance to Dalby, he rarely examines the physical process of cooking. This is important to note, as I will discuss below, because Dalby's influence has unwittingly helped encourage an already extant trend in ancient history to separate cooking from consumption.

⁷ See, for example, Jason König, *Saints and Symposiasts: the Literature of Food and the Symposium in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁸ Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*; Nicholas F. Hudson, "Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman 'Convivium,'" *American Journal of Archaeology* 114 (2010): 663-695.

⁹ Important earlier works were John Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1972); Stefano Tortorella, "Ceramica da Cucina," in *Enciclopedia Dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale. Atlante Delle Forme Ceramiche I. Ceramica Fine Romana Nel Bacino Mediterraneo (Medio e Tardo Impero)*, ed. Andrea Carandini et al., eds (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981), 208-223; for more recent

discuss which authors provide the most information for analyzing the site reports I will look at in Chapters Three and Four.

These works offer tantalizing information about dietary history and dietary change. For example, the flat receptacle depicted in Figure 1, often called a pan, became an important cooking vessel in Italy in the Imperial period, while the wider, rounded vessel sometimes referred to as the *olla* or, more generally, the cooking pot, arguably the dominant vessel in the Republican period, dwindled (Figure 2). This pan is so associated with Italy that its proliferation throughout the Mediterranean during the height of the Empire is used to date the arrival of a Roman presence in a specific area.¹⁰ In Italy, pans began to disappear from the archaeological record by the fifth century, replaced over time—with some exceptions—by a return of the cooking pot.¹¹

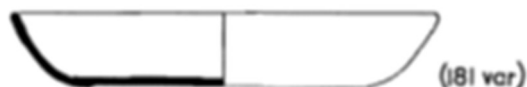


Figure 1. An Example of a Pan (Hayes Form 181 var). From Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*.

developments see above n. 4 and Elizabeth Fentress, “Cooking Pots and Cooking Practice: an African Bain-marie?” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78 (2010): 145-150.

¹⁰ Berlin, “The Plain Wares,” 104-109.

¹¹ Arthur, “Form, Function and Technology in Pottery Production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,” 178-181.



Figure 2. A Cooking Pot. From Arthur, “Pots and Boundaries.”

How are we to understand this transition? A shift in cooking culture was taking place. Was this change in vessel morphology and, therefore, vessel use the result of the arrival of new peoples with their own cooking preferences? Or was it instead a result of changing, and perhaps declining, technology, such as the disappearance of ovens making the pan a less than ideal vessel for cooking? Determining the reasons for this particular change, along with other aspects of evolving dietary culture, are the ultimate goals of this dissertation. We will see that, in terms of both cooking and culture, the picture is far more complex than simply a change in forms. This narrative of pan versus pot neglects one other vessel type, the casserole, which was a very significant part of Italian cuisine under the Empire through Late Antiquity.

The authors examined in the latter part of the chapter, considered together, offer a guide to vessel use, one that will help us understand the transition mentioned above and make better sense of archaeological site reports. The main forms to consider are deep **pots** (sometimes called a *chytra* or *olla* in the secondary literature), or vessels often used for creating soups and boiling liquids; **casseroles** (also known as the *caccabus*, *jatte*, or cooking bowl), vessels smaller than deep pots and used also for boiling and the creation of stews and porridge, but on a smaller scale, as well as braising and bread-production;

and low, open forms called **pans** (or baking dish, *plat*, *teganon*, *lopas*, *patina*, or *pentola*) that baked, roasted, and fried foods. There are others, such as the jug, grill, and cooking bowl, but these three are the forms examined here. What will emerge is a rough morphological guide, and there is a significant amount of variety of physical shape within each of these categories, but these three groups offer a good place to start.

There is a gray area between the terms: at times, a vessel may have characteristics similar to more than one category. This is a useful reminder that these categories are not absolute. Nor were the vessels: it is important to remember that cooking vessels at this time were multipurpose, and a pot had many different uses and prepared many different meals. I will evaluate individual forms on a case-by-case basis as I go through the site reports.

I conclude with a discussion of some recent approaches to how the morphological differences discussed above and explored in detail below may be used to gain a greater understanding of society and culture. Particularly helpful are articles by Paul Arthur, who discusses both defining cultural boundaries based on ceramic morphology present at key sites as well as the role technology plays in a culture's ability to manufacture a diverse array of cookpots; and Elizabeth Fentress, who offers suggestions on how vessels may have been used in conjunction to prepare a meal. But there is much more work to be done, and texts—for so long neglected in this particular field—are key for this. Textual analysis lies at the core of this dissertation, and texts must be consulted in order to understand better the roles, uses, and meanings these vessels had for their owners.

Ceramics: The Shape of the Discipline

Potsherds are the most ubiquitous evidence present at archaeological sites. From whole amphorae, preserved intact through the passing centuries, to the smallest fragments of a cooking pot's rim, nearly unidentifiable to all but the trained eye, ceramic evidence has for many years provided historians and archaeologists with information about the dating of a site, the trade networks on which it relied, and the general economic status of its inhabitants. Ceramics are also capable of telling us much more about the history of a site's inhabitants, including what is usually the most inaccessible part of the lives of the ancients: the quotidian, ordinary activities that make up such an important part of culture and identity. Pottery was the most prevalent man-made item in the lives of most people, and the meals people cooked and ate with their pottery were among the most significant aspects of their lives.

The relatively recent scholarly focus on coarse ware is related to an increased interest in quotidian activity and the relationship of pots to the people who produced and used them.¹² Despite this surging interest in common ware, the use of cooking pots has

¹² Clementina Panella, "Merci e scambi nel Mediterraneo tardoantico," in *Storia di Roma* 3.2, ed. Andrea Carandini, Lellia Cracco Ruggini, and Andrea Giardina (1993): 613-97; Paul Arthur and Helen Patterson, "Ceramics and Early Medieval Central and Southern Italy: 'A Potted History,'" in *La storia dell'alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia: convegno internazionale (Siena, 2-6 dicembre 1992)*, ed. Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 1994), 409-441; David K. Pettegrew, "Chasing the Classical Farmstead: Assessing the Formation and Signature of Rural Settlement in Greek Landscape Archaeology," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 14 (2001): 189-209; Vroom, *After Antiquity*; Nicholas F. Hudson, "Dining in the Late Roman East" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2006); Arthur, "Form, Function and Technology in Pottery Production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,"; Hudson, "Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman 'Convivium'"; Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, *From Pots to People: A Ceramic Approach to the Archaeological Interpretation of Ploughsoil Assemblages in Late Roman Cyprus* (Leuven: Peeters 2010).

not yet received a proportional amount of scrutiny.¹³ This topic demands further study, as ascertaining how these vessels were used and what they cooked is of great importance for enhancing our knowledge of the culture of their creators and consumers.¹⁴ Through a study of the vessels we can gain understanding both of their role in the cooking process and, by comparing changes in patterns of vessel deposition and use at a variety of archaeological sites, along with an examination of textual evidence for cooking, the importance of the meals these vessels created in the development and maintenance of

¹³ There are extremely important exceptions. They include Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*; Berlin, “The Plain Wares”; Antonella Lavazza and Maria Grazia Vitali, “La ceramica d'uso comune: problemi generali e note su alcune produzioni tardoantiche e medievali,” in *Ad mensam: manufatti d'uso da contesti archeologici fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, ed. Silvia Lusuardi Siena (Udine: Del Bianco Editore, 1994), 17-54; Joan Gómez Pallarès, “Instrumenta Coquorum”; Vincenzo di Giovanni, “Produzione e consumo di ceramica da cucina nella Campania romana (II a.C.- II d.C.)” in *Les Céramiques Communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise*, 65-103; Rivet, “Fonctions et faciès”; Gabriella Guiducci, “Le forme della Pantellerian Ware,” in *Pantellerian Ware: Archeologia subacquea e ceramiche da fuoco a Pantelleria*, ed. Sara Santoro Bianchi, Gabriella Guiducci, and Sebastiano Tusa (Palermo: D. Flaccovio, 2003), 61-66; Ikäheimo, “Regional cookwares of the Rome area in AD 400-550” in *LRCW 3: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry: Comparison between western and eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Simonetta Menchelli et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 409-415; Arthur, “Pots and Boundaries”; Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros, “Mediterranean Late Roman Cooking Wares: Evidence from the Balearic Islands,” in *LRCW 2*, 219-246; Fentress, “Cooking pots and cooking practice: an African bain-marie?”; Luley, “Cooking, Class, and Colonial Transformations in Roman Mediterranean France.”

¹⁴ Some of the large-scale, paradigmatic works on food and culture include Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques. Le cru et le cuit* (Paris: Plon, 1964); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Bob Ashley et al., *Food and Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Carole Cunihan and Penny Van Esterik, eds. *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007). More topical works I have found useful for this dissertation are Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), 15-27; Vivien G. Swan, “The Twentieth Legion and the History of the Antonine Wall reconsidered,” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 129 (1999): 31ma99-489; Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, *Archéologie du goût. Céramique et consommation* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 2005); Sven Isaksson, “Food for Thought: On the Culture of Food and the Interpretation of Ancient Subsistence Data,” *Journal of Nordic Archaeological Science* 17 (2010): 3-10; Emmanuelle Raga, “Le Banquet et la ‘transformation du monde romain’: entre Romanitas, Barbaritas et Christianisme. Espace romain occidental, IVe-VIe siècle” (PhD diss., Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2011).

identity.¹⁵ This is especially true for ethnicity. If food consumption is linked even in part to ethnic preference, then charting changes in cooking will allow for a new way of examining the scope of the barbarian and Byzantine invasions of Italy in Late Antiquity as well as well as their impact on the indigenous population of the peninsula.¹⁶

Determining the specific use of these vessels has been problematic for several reasons, as we will see, which has made discussing cooking pots in their context of use quite difficult. When use has been examined, while the vessels themselves are often scrutinized, the sources necessary for determining use—texts—are, with some exceptions

¹⁵ See Peter Scholliers, ed. *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

¹⁶ For the role that environment and domesticated animals play in Jewish purity laws (a key component of identity), see Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1966), 51-72; Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, trans. Carl Ipsen (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 5-15, who is influenced very much by Levi-Strauss's tripartite structure of food and cooking, discusses differences in cooking between Romans and "barbarians"; this argument is revisited in idem, "Romans, Barbarians, Christians: The Dawn of European Food Culture," in *Food: A Culinary History*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 165-167; Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Persian Food: Stereotypes and Political Identity," in *Food in Antiquity*, ed. John Wilkins, David Harvey, and Mike Dobson (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), 286-302, focuses on the use of the perception of the diet of the "other" in the creation of ethnic stereotypes; Dalby, *Siren Feasts*, is a very useful examination of changes in the diet of the Greek peninsula and the relationship between changes in dietary patterns and the involvement of outsiders; this is nicely supplemented by Vroom's *After Antiquity*, which we will discuss below. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 68-71 notes that the *annona*, or public food dole, was very much a part of Roman civic identity and citizenship in late antiquity. Other, equally important aspects of contemporary identity (though not ethnicity) related to food are examined in Veronika Grimm, *From Feasting to Fasting, the Evolution of a Sin* (New York: Routledge, 1996), which looks at the renunciation of food as part of the early Christian ethos; Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), which examines the importance of feasting for building relationships between monasteries and in villages. A useful discussion (and gentle critique) of the role of ceramics in the discussion of identity is Martin Pitts, "The Emperor's New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology," *American Journal of Archaeology* 11 (2007): 693-713, especially 702-708. Later I will look at some works which use cookpots to discuss ethnic identities and changes, but the fact is that there has been very little work done on this subject, because the function of cookpots has been understudied, and Roman archaeologists, until recently, have had very binary views of the meaning of "identity," with attention paid primarily to what was "Roman" or "not Roman."

that we will look at below, seen as secondary material at best.¹⁷ This, in turn, has led to an incomplete and inaccurate understanding of vessel use. For example, note the first passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Although the author provides a more accurate and nuanced discussion of use than other works, she nevertheless takes two vessel words and assumes, based on apparently similar appearances in unspecified textual sources, that the *caccabus* and the *olla* were the same vessel. As we shall see, this is not the case, and this type of vessel was not always the most common type of cooking pot. This error is in part because the words for vessels are often used without apparent consistency in the ancient sources.¹⁸ It is also due to a disagreement over nomenclature. The exact name that should be used for a physical vessel is often contested, and varies according to the culture or training of the scholar. The word “*olla*” often appears in modern discussions of ancient vessels. What is an *olla*? Is it a deep pot? Is it a stew-pot? Is it a kettle? Are we conflating the ancient word with its modern cognate?¹⁹ Is the more specific but generic term “closed form vessel” more appropriate? What about “cooking pot”? The majority of the words used to describe vessels have implicit meanings, and

¹⁷ An excellent critique of this is Allison, “Labels for Ladles.” See also Gómez Pallarès, “Instrumenta Coquorum,” which attempts to do something similar to what I accomplish in Chapter Two.

¹⁸ For an example of this seeming unreliability in the textual sources, see Lucas Rubin, “The Prices of Roman Pottery” (M.A. thesis, University of Buffalo, 1998).

¹⁹ The word *olla* endures in several geographic areas, such as Central America, primarily via their former relationship with Spain. *Olla podrida* (“rotten pot”) is a Spanish stew made of meat and vegetables; *café de olla* is a type of Mexican coffee marked by its preparation in a ceramic vessel (this, of course, is changing as the ubiquity of ceramic cookpots declines), which after repeated use imparts flavor to the coffee. It is not unnatural to see a connection between this modern word and its Latin root; however, to assume the modern use of the word always relates to how the ancient *olla* was used in a kitchen is problematic. In fact, the incredible variation in both how this word is used as well as suggestions of morphology (other than “pot,” there is little to distinguish what marks a modern *olla*) indicates the tremendous difficulty of assigning vessel word to a specific shape and use.

scholars in various fields and of differing nationalities use a variety of words for similar vessels. One of the goals of the remaining chapters is to build a vocabulary for discussing cooking vessels within their cultural context of use in late Roman and Late Antique Italy.

This chapter attempts to offer a corrective for some of what I have critiqued above. To do this, I examine how cooking vessels have been studied and understood by textual scholars and archaeologists. I begin by examining how vessels have appeared in works by these scholars, for one of their legacies is an imposition of a static nature regarding names and the application of those names to vessels and use. I then turn to archaeological evidence and how the emerging discipline of ceramic studies has treated cooking wares. I conclude by examining the efforts of certain scholars to contextualize cooking vessels, and discuss the implications of their work for my own project.

An Antiquarian Legacy

Establishing a relationship between texts and vessels was an avenue of scholarship explored in some detail over a century ago. Between 1873 and 1919 the French scholars Charles Daremberg, Edmond Saglio, Edmond Pottier, and Georges Lafaye published the fascicles that became the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, a work which, when discussing material culture, culled words from primary sources to describe and interpret the function and use of archaeological evidence.²⁰ The

²⁰ Charles Daremberg et al., eds., *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines d'après les textes et les monuments, contenant l'explication des termes qui se rapportent aux mœurs, aux institutions, à la religion, aux arts, aux sciences, au costume, au mobilier, à la guerre, à la marine, aux métiers, aux monnaies, poids et mesures, etc. etc., et en général à la vie publique et privée des anciens* (Paris: Hachette, 1919). The team consisted of philologists and archaeologists. One member, Edmond Pottier, would go on to begin the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the comprehensive and still-growing catalog of pottery holdings in museums.

Dictionnaire, like many similar works produced in the 19th century—and despite the editorial presence of multiple archaeologists—relied on a text-first approach to cataloging and defining the classical world. The construction of a reference of this type was often a task fraught with difficulties: as one review noted, producing such a work “seems . . . to steer between the Scylla of perfunctoriness and the Charybdis of indefinite delay.”²¹

How the vessels were discussed, and the images that accompanied the entries, would have great influence for many decades. I cannot, in the interest of conserving space, discuss all of the various vessel words in all of the sources I am examining. I instead look at the entry for *caccabus*, and will return to it several times throughout this chapter. In Daremberg and Saglio the *caccabus* is “A vase for cooking, marmite. It was made of earth, which was the most common, tin, bronze, like the one seen here, after a model found in Pompeii, placed on a tripod which held it suspended above the fire. It was even made of silver.”²² The connection with the Greek word “κάκκαβος” is noted but not discussed. This definition focuses very much on material and only somewhat on use. Information about the various materials of composition and method of heating the pot is supplied by references from classical authors, such as Varro and the life of Heliogabalus

²¹ “A Roman Catholic Encyclopedia,” review of *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles D. Herbermann et al., *The Saturday Review* 113, February 24, 1912, 244.

²² Daremberg et al., *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, s.v. “cacabus.” “On trouve aussi le diminutif cacabulus ou cacabulum. Vase à cuire, marmite. On fit de ces vases en terre, c'étaient les plus communs, en étain, en bronze, comme celui qu'on voit, d'après un modèle trouvé à Pompéi, posé sur le trepied qui le tenait suspendu au-dessus du feu; on en fit même en argent.” Marmite presents an excellent example of the sort of problem I wrestle with in this dissertation: to translate it as “pot” turns it into a generic word robbed of its cultural context. But “marmite” has a specific meaning, as I discuss below. This meaning, it must be noted, does not seem that far off from what I believe to be the general shape of the *caccabus*.

in the *Historia Augusta*. Information about what meals the vessel cooked is notably absent. How the vessel was heated is hinted at by the model from Pompeii, but there is no discussion of the universality of this example. The generality present in this entry is, perhaps oddly, appealing: the authors do not stretch their definition too far or try to wring nonexistent specifics regarding appearance or use from the sources.



Figure 3. A Depiction of Panoramix, the Druid from the *Asterix* Comics, Preparing the *potion magique* in a Marmite. From: <http://www.asterix.com/asterix-de-a-a-z/les-personnages/panoramix.html>

There is an exception, however: the word “marmite.” A marmite is a French cooking pot, traditionally with a rounded belly, used to cook soup.²³ (Figure 3) By using this word as a cognate for the vessel, the authors were linking the *caccabus*’ use with a pot relevant in their own, contemporary kitchens. This, to the reader, implies that the *caccabus* was used a certain way, and hints that the example from Pompeii was the norm.

²³ Marmite is also a vegetable spread, and was so named because it was originally sold in this type of pot. This phenomenon is similar to one we will see in Roman cooking texts: both the *patina* and the *caccabus* gave their names to certain meals that were cooked in these pots. Such recipes—and references to these meals in other texts—are useful for discussing morphology and vessel use, but also fix the textual source within a cultural context.



Figure 4. A *caccabus*. From Daremberg et al., *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*.

The accompanying illustration further muddies the waters (Figure 4). The vessel shown in this image may well be a *caccabus*, but there is no reason to assume that this was the only form a *caccabus* took (though, oddly, it does not look like a traditional marmite). In fact, aspects of the morphology of the vessel depicted here, such as the flat shoulders and small neck and mouth are very specific features. These features provide clues about use. Such a vessel could only practically be used for cooking liquid-based meals, for the mouth would not really allow access to food that was being roasted or braised. And yet, as we shall see in Chapter Two, the vessel known as the *caccabus* could also be used for these latter methods of cooking. There is an incongruity here between text and image. The image itself was picked because it, perhaps, matched the use implied by the word “marmite.” And yet this image contains a great number of clues about use, though they are subordinated to the text, and the pot depicted here is not considered as a whole but serves instead as a sort of scenery that decorates but does not enhance the definition. This leads to other problems: for example, the particular handles depicted here could only exist on metal vessels, as it was impossible to fashion effective ceramic ones

of this type.²⁴ I do not believe that metal vessels provide the best material for determining the relationship between vessel word and physical object. Ceramics are far more ubiquitous, and ceramic forms much more likely to be known by the majority of the populace of Italy.

Similar reference works include William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*²⁵ and, on a smaller scale, Helen Million's "An Old Roman Cookbook,"²⁶ and the article by Harcum mentioned above. The *caccabus* is not present in the 1875 edition of Smith's dictionary, as the reader is directed to the entry for "*authepsa*," a word:

which literally means "self-boiling" or "self-cooking," was the name of a vessel, which is supposed by Böttiger to have been used for heating water, or for keeping it hot. Its form is not known for certain; but Böttiger (Sabina, vol. II p30) conjectures that a vessel, which is engraved in Caylus (Recueil d'Antiquités, vol. II tab. 27), is a specimen of an *authepsa*. Cicero (pro Rosc. Amerin. 46) speaks of *authepsae* among other costly Corinthian and Delian vessels. In later times they were made of silver (Lamprid. Heliogab. 19; but the reading is doubtful). The *cacabus* seems to have been a vessel of a similar kind.²⁷

Here we learn little more than that the *caccabus* was likely used for warming water, and that the word was considered a cognate of a different vessel word. The entry illustrates the potential problem we have already seen regarding the dynamic nature of terminology and nomenclature. The use of cookware in this source is determined by

²⁴ The example (of unknown size) presented here is from Pompeii, and this image is used quite frequently when discussing the *caccabus*. It could well be—though it is generally outside the chronological scope of this dissertation—that the *caccabus* in the second half of the first century AD did apply to a vessel of this specific morphology. However, as we will see, this is not the case in later centuries.

²⁵ William Smith, William Wayte, and George Eden Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1875).

²⁶ Helen Lovell Million, "An Old Roman Cookbook," *The Classical Journal* 21 (1926): 443-450.

²⁷ Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. "*authepsa*."

textual evidence alone, and archaeological material is used only to support what the texts prove. This archaeological material is often high-status. The entry is inchoate, as if the author was still teasing out the meaning of a word only recently discovered.

The entry for *caccabus* in the 1890 edition of the *Dictionary* was significantly larger and more informative:

A cooking-pot. The statement of Varro, L. L. v. 127, *vas ubi coquebant cibum, ab eo caccabum appellarunt*, may be accepted in proof of the meaning of the word, however absurd as an etymology.

The Greek forms *κακκάβη* and *κάκκαβος* both occur in the Comic Fragments, and the former is as old as Aristophanes.

The different processes of boiling and frying are not always clearly distinguished in the ancient kitchen. (See Sartago.) It seems certain, however, that the *caccabus* was used for boiling meat, vegetables, etc.; and that it was placed immediately upon the fire, or upon a trivet (*tripus*) standing over it. It is thus distinguished from the *aenum*, which was suspended over the fire (Serv. ad Verg. Aen. i. 213); and from the *authepsa* (q. v.), which was probably not used for cooking at all. The material varied. Athenaeus mentions the *κακκάβη* as equivalent to the *χύτρα*—i. e. the earthen cooking-pot—and so usually in Latin (*fictilis*). But *caccabi* were sometimes of metal—*stanneus* (of tin), or *argenteus*. See Colum. R. R. xii. 42, 1.²⁸

This is a significant improvement, and touches on the problems inherent in interpreting the textual sources and difficulty of both ascertaining use and reconciling the seeming hodgepodge of words for cooking pots. Progress was being made. The *authepsa*, at one time seen as another version of the *caccabus*, was now recognized as possessing an entirely different, non-cooking use. In addition, the *Dictionary* touches on an important problem: the meaning of Latin cooking verbs can be very hard to determine. To look at different iterations of a source like the *Dictionary* in conjunction is to look at a very new

²⁸ Idem, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, 1890), s.v. “*caccabus*.”

field slowly yet inexorably begin to come to terms with reconciling a seemingly vast and heretofore unquantifiable amount of material.

Another issue present here, one particular to this genre of reference work, is that such entries rely on a very limited number of sources in order to determine and define a vessel's use. This is problematic in that it allows for a very narrow, and perhaps deliberately constructed, understanding of that use. In Smith's *Dictionary*, the *caccabus* boiled meat and vegetables. This is a very partial description of its use. While it is true that the *caccabus* could be used to boil food, the vessel was not always used for this purpose. The meaning of the word here is somewhat different than it is in the *Dictionnaire* of Daremberg et al. Specific foods are not discussed in the *Dictionnaire*, but to Smith the vessel prepared "meat, vegetables, &c."²⁹ This particular approach helped inculcate the notion that words had static meaning, and therefore other texts did not need to be examined for corroboratory information. This, in turn, resulted in the assumption that a *caccabus* in, say, the first century BC was used in the same way as it was in the fifth century AD, and that the word referred to the same type of vessel across time.³⁰ The impact of this type of work is evident in how vessels were treated in subsequent scholarship.

²⁹ It must be noted that "meat, vegetables, &c" covers the majority of food groups, and one is left wondering what, if anything, could not be boiled in this version of the *caccabus* and why the word "food" might not be more appropriate.

³⁰ A critique of this static way of thinking is Nicola Terrenato, "The Romanization of Italy: Global Acculturation or Cultural Bricolage?" in *TRAC '97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Nottingham 1997*, ed. Colin Forcey, John Hawthorne, and Robert Witcher (Oxford: Oxbow, 1998), 20-27; see also Roman Roth, "Towards a Ceramic Approach to Social Identity in the Roman World: Some Theoretical Considerations," *Disgressus* Supplement I (2003): 35-45.

An example of this is Million's "An Old Roman Cookbook." The work is an examination of Apicius, an author we will discuss thoroughly in the next chapter, and focuses primarily on the tremendous variety of the ingredients contained therein. A section of the article examines cookpots:

And of utensils they had the *olla*, in one place mentioned as covered, and *caccabus*, perhaps the same, both used especially for cooking meat; the *sartago*; like our frying pan; the *cortina*, or kettle; and the *craticulum*, a piece of metal wicker work. Other articles were the smaller dishes . . . the mushroom dish, or *boletar*, and *pultarius* for porridge; the *patella*, *lanx*, and *discus* . . . ³¹

The long hands of Darembeg and Smith are evident. As we shall in my examination of Apicius in the next chapter, Million's definitions do not appear to be based on the evidence in the text, and in fact often ignore the stated uses of the vessels. Million relies not on Apicius but on preconceived notions of use.³² Deriving context of use based on an appearance in a single text is problematic, as the precise meaning of a word for a cookpot can be very hard to ascertain based its presence in that text, especially as the verbs for cooking, which can provide a significant amount of corroborative evidence, often have more than one meaning.³³ Apicius, a text that contains an abundance

³¹ Million, "A Late Roman Cookbook," 446.

³² The *boletar* is an excellent example of this. Million translates it as a "mushroom dish," but its appearances in Apicius (e.g. 2.1.5; 5.2.1) indicate it was a serving vessel for, respectively, a sort of thickened forcemeat paste and a meal of lentils and mussels. The relationship between the name and mushrooms (*boletus* in Latin) appears to come from an epigram by Martial (14.101: *Boletaria Cum mihi boleti dederint tam nobile nomen, Prototomis—pudet heu!—servio coliculis* [Boletaria: although mushrooms have given to me such a noble name, I serve—the shame of it!—the smallest stalks of new cabbage.]), though it is uncertain whether Martial was referring to a food typically cooked in the pot or the vessel's morphology, i.e. if the *boletar* was shaped somewhat like a mushroom.

³³ Another difficulty, common with works from this time period, is the subordination of Roman sources to Greek, along with the assumption that Greco-Roman culture was a sort of universal term, and that eastern evidence, which until this point had been much more popular, spoke to the entirety of the Mediterranean.

of information about vessel use, is approached by Million with knowledge of that use superimposed onto it, and the text does not shape her understanding. This is an excellent reminder that the entirety of an individual source, and not general supposition based on random textual sampling, is key to understanding use within the context of that source. Patterns of meaning must be established, and once they are determined, how vessel words appear in a text may be compared to patterns in other texts. If there are discrepancies between texts and patterns, the reason or reasons for them must be ascertained. Chronology and geography must be considered.

What of the actual vessels? Many of the authors we have discussed were archaeologists. What did they do with the material? The earliest works that examined Roman ceramic vessels as more than simple high-status *objects d'art* were born out of a similar impulse as some of the sources discussed above: an antiquarian desire to classify material. One of the most important of such works was Hans Dragendorff's article "Terra Sigillata," published in 1895.³⁴ The work examined fine pottery excavated along the German *limes* of the Roman Empire, and focused on Italian *sigillata* (then called Arretine ware) and Gaulish *sigillata* (known at the time as Samian Ware).³⁵ Dragendorff created a

³⁴ Hans Dragendorff, "Terra Sigillata," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 96 (1895): 18-155.

³⁵ The term *sigillata*, or "*terra sigillata*" (an invented Latin term meaning "stamped earth") originally referred only to a specific class of well-made, glossily slipped fine ware marked by intricate figurative decoration or stamps and seals; it was not until Dragendorff's classification that the term began to refer to any vessel that had a specific slipped coating. The terms "Arretine Ware" and "Samian Ware" are still in use, though they are increasingly (and fortunately) less common. Arretine ware earned its name due to significant amounts of vessels of this type unearthed in the city of Arezzo, something which was first noted during the building of the medieval city. The term is a misnomer, however, for while Arezzo was the largest production center of such material, it was not the only one. See D.P.S. Peacock, *Pottery In the Roman World* (London: Longman, 1982), 2. Samian Ware, a term for any non- Italian *sigillata*, was given this name originally because the ware was thought to originate on the island of Samos, due to a mention of a specific type of reddish pottery coming from there by the Roman author Pliny. The term has a complex

typology of these wares, a systematic reference based on vessel size, shape, and decoration, which in the future would “allow archaeologists to use brief descriptive terms like ‘form 29’ (rather than ‘mould-decorated bowl with carinated wall and everted rim’) when describing a common vessel of the first century AD.”³⁶ He identified over fifty varieties of forms and established a system for dating each form based on its relationship to other archaeological evidence found in the same context of excavation.

Dragendorff’s work helped define the evolving field of ceramic studies, as scholars over the next several decades focused their efforts on either adding to or correcting Dragendorff’s work, or employing his methodology in the study of other wares. Indeed, creating and re-defining typologies remains one of the most important tasks of the modern ceramicist. Dragendorff also created the precedent of focusing on a limited number of wares. Subsequent generations of archaeologist became increasingly specialized. In addition, the influence and success of his work further encouraged scholars to focus on high-status wares.

In 1899 a similar standard was established for a different class of vessel, when Heinrich Dressel published one of the only early, substantial works on coarse pottery, a volume detailing some of the amphoras bearing stamps and *tituli picti* from Monte Testaccio in Rome.³⁷ Dressel’s catalog was for amphoras what Dragendorff’s work was

meaning in that is used with some variability: for more, see Anthony King, “A graffito from La Graufesenque and *samia vasa*,” *Britannia* 11 (1980): 139-143.

³⁶ Kevin Greene, *Roman Pottery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 19.

³⁷ Heinrich Dressel, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 15 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1899). This was not Dressel’s first publication on amphoras (nor was he the only author working on such material at this time. See Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 3): see Heinrich Dressel, “Di un grande diposito di anfore rinvenuto nel nuovo quartiere del Castro Pretorio,” *Bolletino della commissione archeologica comunale di*

for terra *sigillata*, but Dressel had different goals. Dragendorff's catalog was designed to help archaeologists and museum employees better identify and classify ceramics. Dressel, on the other hand, was an epigrapher, and his primary interest in classifying forms was to relate them to and better understand the inscriptions on the vessels. Amphoras often bear stamps, inscriptions, and other epigraphic evidence, and Dressel's goal was to determine how this epigraphy, which is often associated with vessel provenance and content, was linked to morphology. Dressel remains one of the most-cited authors on amphoras. A consequence of his emphasis on epigraphy, which ties together the contents of the vessel and the relationship of those contents with the economy, is that amphoras alone of all coarse wares would be a popular source of study for some time. Amphoras were directly related to trade, as they, unlike other pots, were not just products, but carried products. They are foremost and inherently vehicles of commerce.

The impact of such systems of classification, especially Dragendorff's, on contemporary scholarship occurred quickly. In 1904 Joseph Déchelette published an expansion of Dragendorff's work, a volume that focused on *sigillata* from Gaul.³⁸ Déchelette was particularly interested in vessel morphology and decoration, and as a result added more forms to Dragendorff's catalog. Much of his attention was on the sites where the ceramics were produced. Finding these production sites would become a major

Roma (1879), 36-112, a publication on the amphora found at the Praetorian camp in Rome. His work in the *CIL*, however, quickly became the standard. *Tituli picti* ("painted inscriptions"; the term "*dipinti*," or "painted" is sometimes used) refers to graffiti present on a vessel, often thought to relate to the vessel's contents. See Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*, 51-54 and 99-114.

³⁸ Joseph Déchelette, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine (Narbonaise, Aquitaine, et Lyonnaise)* (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1904).

focus of the discipline, for such sites were the centers of regional and long-distance trade. Although Déchelette's work was an important advancement, that this was still a very new field is evident in a telling line from a review of the book: "Roman pottery may at first appear an unattractive subject, especially to the student of Greek art."³⁹ Roman pottery—indeed, pottery in general—was still viewed as something that belonged to art history, and whose value was dependent primarily on aesthetics. But the tide was turning and the study of western, Roman ceramics was emerging as a discipline in its own right. Regional studies of *sigillata* would continue, as would the discipline's focus on the establishment of datable typologies.⁴⁰

The ever-increasing amount of archaeological material being excavated and categorized combined with a growing focus on establishing archaeological typologies contributed to the decline in the antiquarian impulses described above. Archaeology was becoming a discipline, not a hobby or leisured pastime. Focus on typologies changed the direction of the discipline. Typologies depend on small varieties between vessels, while correlating vessels to textual references in order to establish use requires larger-scale discussions of morphology, which is less relevant for the creation of typologies and less necessary to a burgeoning field that demanded typological specification in order to date sites and chart economic activity.

³⁹ H.B. Walters, review of *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine (Narbonaise, Aquitaine, et Lyonnaise)*, by Joseph Déchelette, *The Classical Review* 19 (1905): 187.

⁴⁰ Robert Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1919); Felix Oswald and D. Thomas Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata Treated from a Chronological Standpoint* (London: Longmans, 1920); J.W. Crowfoot, Grace Mary (Hood) Crowfoot, and Kathleen Mary Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957).

Even modern works that focus on language and classification, such as the most recent edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, do not discuss such matters, especially as they relate to cooking. The entry for “pottery, Roman” (which is significantly shorter than the entry on Greek pottery) primarily covers fine ware, especially *terra sigillata*, and aspects of production.⁴¹ The entry on “cooking” mentions only one Roman vessel, the *clibanus* (the vessel is labeled a “roasting pot,” which is true only in the vaguest meaning of both noun and adjective), and the emphasis instead is on ingredients, *haute cuisine* in literature and—this is common in works on cooking and dining—the religious importance of sacrifice and cooking.⁴² Other lexicons provide little more information. The entry for “*cacabus*” (the word appears as both “*cacabus*” and “*caccabus*” in textual sources) in Lewis and Short’s Latin dictionary defines this word as “a cooking pot,” and bases this solely on a quotation from Varro.⁴³ Forcellini’s *Lexicon* refers to it as a “vessel, either ceramic or of some metal, in which food is cooked,” and uses a variety of quotations to indicate the various materials it could be made of.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.v. “pottery, Roman.” This is in fact an improvement on the 1940 and 1970 editions of the *OCD*, each of which contain one entry on pottery and mention Roman wares only in a single line of that entry.

⁴² *Ibid.*, s.v. “cooking.” The 1940 version has no entry on this subject, an indication of the changes brought about by interest in social history, while the 1970 version is close to the entry cited here though, again, Greek and Roman civilizations are mixed together, and Greek evidence is discussed in far greater detail.

⁴³ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary. Rev., enl., and in Great Part Rewritten*, 15th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), s.v. “*caccabus*.”

⁴⁴ Egidio Forcellini et al., eds., *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, 15th ed. (Londini: sumptibus Baldwin et Cradock, 1828), s.v. “*Cacabus*.”

The decline of antiquarianism led to decreased understanding of and interest in vessel use. Penelope Allison notes that the increased interest in typologies had unexpected and long-lasting consequences.⁴⁵ Archaeological studies now focused on production, she notes, and as a result paid attention to the importance of “technological achievements and innovations on the Roman political and economic world.”⁴⁶ The antiquarian impulse that originally led to attempts at classification based on literature gradually began to wane as a result. Yet, though antiquarianism faded, interest in social history did not, and as an ever-growing number of vessels came out of the ground archaeologists gained increasingly more material useful for establishing a greater understanding of Roman daily life. While Daremberg, Smith, and others attempted to “give Latin names to found objects and thereby provide relevant illustrations to ancient literary texts,” they had also “provid[ed] found objects with an identity which determined their function or functions.”⁴⁷ The long-term outcome of this had unintended results:

[It] continue[s] to present a static view of domestic life in the Roman world – a view based on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century perspectives that a named and identified culture, i.e., a Roman culture, is a unified phenomenon with a specific historical relevance, which can even be used to set up parameters for the investigation of domestic behaviours of other cultures . . . On the contrary, the term ‘Roman culture’ must surely stand for what was a very multicultural society spanning many continents and many centuries.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Allison, “Labels for Ladles.”

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

Daremberg, Smith, and others had established definitions of use for those creating ceramic typologies. This inchoate understanding of use, now no longer investigated, became established, unquestioned, and remained largely unrevised in later typologies. While revision would come, it would not occur for decades. In addition, the growing interest in ceramic production has likely affected the lack of discussion concerning the use of cooking pots. The focus of these production-oriented studies, which are very popular, is on the stages of the vessel's life before it was actually used (e.g. trade), or after the food was cooked (e.g. the meal). Cooking itself, however, has been of secondary importance in part because it is relatively distanced from production, and thus the very act of preparing food for consumption has been largely absent from the discussion of consumption.

A Focus on Roman Pottery and a Return to Use

Pottery from the later Roman period had been neglected, deemed crude and inartistic by comparison to the finer Italian and Gaulish *sigillata*. The first major work on this material was produced in 1933, when Frederick Waagé published a report on the later wares found in the first season of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens' excavation of the Athenian Agora.⁴⁹ He identified three main fabrics from the site, which he named "Late Roman A, B, and C wares." This was an attempt to break with the confusing custom of naming wares after assumed geographic provenance, such as Samian or Arretine ware. He originally thought that Late Roman A, B, and C were

⁴⁹ Frederick Oswin Waagé, "The Roman and Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 2.2 (1933): 279-328.

manufactured in Egypt, but later came to believe that they were produced in North Africa.⁵⁰

Waagé's work offered a detailed method of classification for a type of pottery that was found throughout the Mediterranean and allowed scholars to pay more attention to the newer, more recently deposited layers at their sites. Later Roman archaeology (and, as a result, Late Antique and early medieval archaeology) was now a field ready to be explored, as Waagé's publication made later sites more accessible and datable.

Waagé's system of classification took hold quickly with scholars working in the eastern Mediterranean, though it was not initially popular in the west. This would prove problematic when Nino Lamboglia began digging at Ventimiglia, the first Italian-run excavation that paid close attention to stratigraphy and finds processing, for he relied on the much earlier and by then outdated works of Déchelette and Oswald and Pryce. The first two publications from the site saw Lamboglia struggle with the differences between what he found and the outdated systems of classification he was using; the latter included attempts to reconcile his findings with Waagé's work.⁵¹ As Andrea Carandini observed:

There were for a time clear divergences between the schools of ceramic studies for the West and the East, which respectively did not recognize and were ignorant of each other. The Western school (especially in Italy) had for its part a limited idea of "Latinity," which was based on ideological "Nationalist-Fascist" assumptions rather than objective historical realities. The Eastern school

⁵⁰ Idem, "Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North Syria" in *Antioch on-the-Orontes IV, Part One, Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, ed. idem (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 1-60. In the process of writing this Waagé identified and added another ware he labeled Late Roman D.

⁵¹ See Nino Lamboglia, "Terra sigillata chiara," *Rivista Ingauna e Intemilia* vii (1941): 7-22; idem, *Gli scavi di Albintimilium e la cronologia della ceramica romana i, Campano di scavo 1938-40* (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 1950); idem, "Nuove osservazioni sulla 'terra sigillata chiara,'" *Rivista Ingauna e Intemilia* xxiv (1958): 257-330; and idem, "Nuove osservazioni sulla 'terra sigillata chiara,'" *Rivista Ingauna e Intemilia* xxix (1963): 145-212.

(especially its British part) showed on its side a presumption, perhaps born of an “imperial” tradition, which tended to ignore scholarly studies in languages other than English.⁵²

There was, perhaps, an advantage to this nationalistic gulf. As each side tended to be unaware of the other’s work, they were similarly not bound by the other side’s conventions. Lamboglia, for example, did not ignore common wares: indeed, in his work on Ventimiglia he challenged convention by grouping African cookware and tableware together. This imperative would pass on to the excavators of Ostia’s Terme del Nuotatore, many of whom were influenced by Lamboglia.⁵³

These archaeological developments came at a time when interest in use was slowly returning. In the vanguard was a work produced a few years earlier, Werner Hilgers’ *Lateinische Gefässnamen*.⁵⁴ It is ostensibly a dictionary, listing many, though not all, of the words for vessels in the Greco-Roman world and how they appear in the textual sources. Hilgers’ book is a return to the tradition of large-scale 19th century works that focused on classification, though he relies on a significant number and variety of sources. Not only does he consult many works of relatively recent scholarship, such as Daremberg, he looks at a great range of primary sources, from the common, such as

⁵² Andrea Carandini, “Pottery and the African Economy,” in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, ed. Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 159.

⁵³ Andrea Carandini and Clementina Panella, eds., *Ostia I, Le terme del nuotatore: scavo dell'ambiente IV* (Roma: De Luca, 1968); Carandini and Panella, eds., *Ostia II, Le terme del nuotatore: scavo dell'ambiente I* (Roma: De Luca, 1970); Carandini and Panella, eds., *Ostia III: le terme del nuotatore, scavo degli ambienti III, VI, VII: le terme del nuotatore, scavo dell'ambiente V e di un saggio nell'area SO* (Roma: De Luca, 1973); Carandini and Panella, eds., *Ostia IV: le terme del nuotatore, scavo dell'ambiente XVI e dell'area XXV* (Roma: De Luca, 1977).

⁵⁴ Werner Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefässnamen: Bezeichnungen, Funktion und Form römischer Gefässe nach den antiken Schriftquellen* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1969).

Apicius and Petronius, to the less-consulted, like Tibullus or Propertius, as well as inscriptions, papyri, and to a much lesser extent, wall-paintings and mosaics. *Lateinische Gefässnamen* is a reminder that for as difficult and problematic as it can be to discuss use based primarily on textual sources, such attempts are important, for such sources have the potential to offer a great amount of context for excavated unearthened.

Vessels are broken down into categories such as *Vorratsgefäße* (storage vessels), *Küchengefäße* (kitchen ware), and *Tischgefäße* (table ware). Each category is further divided into subcategories: the ones for cooking ware include *Bratgefäß* (frying/roasting ware), *Backgefäß* (baking ware), *Siebe* (screens), and the general *Kochgefäß* (cookware). The *olla* and the *caccabus*, for example, are classified under *Kochgefäß*, while the *clibanus* is labeled a *Backgefäß*.⁵⁵ Other contextual information is also provided, including descriptions of the vessels, material the vessels were made of, and synonyms for the vessels based on similar examples of use. Hilgers also attempts to link some, though not all, of his vessel words to extant archaeological material.

⁵⁵ And here we see an interesting semantic difference: earlier the *clibanus* was a “roasting pot”; here it is a baking vessel. Why the difference? Assumed ingredients. There is, functionally, no real difference between baking and roasting except for the ingredients. By the time Hilgers was writing, as we will see, the *clibanus* was seen as a bread-baking vessel. This is a nice reminder that vessel words are very much associated with the meals cooked in them.

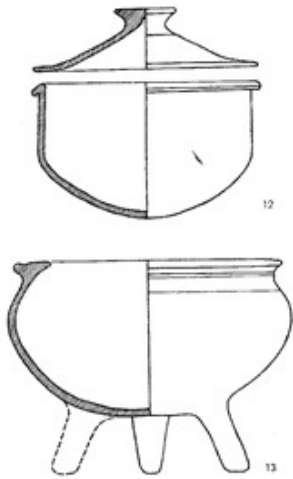


Figure 5. Two Versions of a *caccabus*. From Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen*.

Hilgers is willing to use textual clues to enhance further our understanding of the pots.⁵⁶ He notes that our familiar example, the *caccabus*, is a vessel similar to another pot, the *olla*, though he suggests that they were at times used differently.⁵⁷ The *olla* could be heated on the stove or over a fire, while the *caccabus* was likely used only over the latter, and may have been placed on a tripod-like stand or have been built with three legs. He also states that the *caccabus* was shaped differently than the *olla* in that it was less deep of a vessel. He provides two illustrations of the *caccabus* (Figure 5). Both the examples and the general summation of the pot represent a marked change: the vessels now are ceramic, and certainly not the same recycled images we have seen in the past. In one of these examples the vessel was lidded.

⁵⁶ I note that his assessment of difference in use between the *olla* and *caccabus* varies from what I discuss in later chapters.

⁵⁷ Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen*, 40-41.

Lateinische Gefäßnamen is an excellent resource, and one whose scope has not again been duplicated.⁵⁸ We must be mindful that Hilgers, like the antiquarians, subordinates archaeological evidence to textual: to Hilgers, texts prove use, while archaeological material is selected based on its physical resemblance to whatever shape best matches that textually-determined use. In addition, Hilgers stresses a uniformity of meaning for vessel words, and thus a *clibanus* is always a baking vessel. Doing this, as we have discussed and will see again, ignores that the vessel could be multipurpose, especially in poorer areas where one pot had several roles.

A seismic moment in the field, and of importance for the study of cooking ware, took place in 1972, when John Hayes published his *Late Roman Pottery*.⁵⁹ The work builds extensively on Waagé's work, and relies on the great amount of material that had been excavated since 1933. Hayes kept Waagé's system of using letters to classify wares, though he adjusted Waagé's fabric chronology. Late Roman A and B wares were grouped together under a new name, "African Red Slip," which was then subdivided into chronological groups,⁶⁰ while Late Roman C was identified as coming from Asia Minor and Late Roman D from Cyprus.⁶¹ Hayes' manual was a powerful tool of classification,

⁵⁸ A point made in A. L. Cubberley, J. A. Lloyd and P. C. Roberts, "Testa and Clibani: The Baking Covers of Classical Italy," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 117.

⁵⁹ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 31-299. African Red Slip has been further subdivided into categories A, C, D, A/C, C/E, and E. For a summary, see Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 12 n. 22.

⁶¹ Late Roman C: Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 323-370; Late Roman D: ibid., 371-386. Hayes would change the name of Late Roman C to "Phocaeen Red Slip" in his *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (London: British School at Rome, 1980), 525-527; See also Archer Martin, "La sigillata focese (Phocaeen Red-Slip/Late Roman C Ware)," in *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo. Atti del convegno in onore di John W. Hayes. Roma, 11-13 maggio 1995*, ed. Lucia Sagui (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1998), 109-122; Leil Vaag, "A closer look at the making of Phocaeen Red Slip Ware bowls," in *Les Ceramique en Anatolie*

one that addressed the ceramic materials found at sites all across the Mediterranean.⁶²

Interest in working with late Roman pottery exploded after this publication, so much so that Hayes commented that, by 1995, it was clear to him “how out of date [he was] with recent Italian work on Late Roman Pottery.”⁶³

Late Roman Pottery was published as interest in economic history was booming. Amphoras had already played an important role in Michael Rostovtzeff’s histories of the Greek and Roman worlds;⁶⁴ Moses Finley would rebut aspects of Rostovtzeff’s arguments about economic decentralization using ceramic evidence of his own.⁶⁵

aux Epoques Hellenistique et Romaine, ed. Catherine Abadie-Reynal (Istanbul: Institut français d’études anatoliennes Georges Dumezil, 2003), 203-207.

⁶² Other standard manuals for fine wares would follow. They include, for Italian *sigillata*, August Oxé, Howard Comfort and Philip Kenrick, eds. *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum, 2nd Edition* (Bonn, Habelt: 2000); Elisabeth Ettlinger and Bettina Hedinger, *Conspectus Formarum Terrae Sigillatae Italico Modo Confectae* (Bonn: Habelt, 2002); Jeroen Poblome et al., eds. *Early Italian Sigillata. The Chronological Framework and Trade Patterns* BABESCH Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology Supplement 10 (Leuven, Peeters, 2004). Forum Ware: David B. Whitehouse “Forum Ware,” *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965): 55-63; idem, “Forum Ware Again,” *Medieval Ceramics* 4 (1980): 13-16; Lidia Paroli, “Ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale (Forum Ware) e medievale (Sparse Glazed). Altre invetriate tardo-antiche e alto medievale,” in *Archeologia urbana a roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi 5: L’esedra della Crypta Balbi del medioevo*, ed. Lucia Sagui and Lidia Paroli (Firenze: Biblioteca di Archeologia medievale, 1990), 314-356; Helen Patterson, “La ceramica a vetrina pesante (Forum Ware) e la ceramica a vetrina sparsa da alcuni siti nella Campagna Romana,” in *La Ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia. Atti del Seminario Certosa di Pontignano*, ed. Lidia Paroli (Siena: All’Insegna del Giglio, 1990), 418-434.

⁶³ John W. Hayes, “Introduction: the Study of Roman pottery in the Mediterranean: 23 years after *Late Roman Pottery*,” in *Ceramica in Italia*, 9.

⁶⁴ Michael I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social & Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 69-71; 154-158 passim; idem, *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 539-542, 591-594 passim.

⁶⁵ Moses I. Finley, “Technical Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World,” *Economic History Review* 18 (1965): 29-45, 42; ceramics also play a role in idem, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 136-137, 189-193. See John A. Riley, “Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods: the Evidence of Coarse Pottery,” in *Archaeology and Italian Society: Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Studies*, ed. Graeme Barker (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series, 1981), 69-78, 69 for more information on Finley, ceramics, and the role that well-quantified ceramics can play in Finley’s economic schema.

Ceramics were essential to Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse's updating of Henri Pirenne's economic thesis.⁶⁶ Hayes introduced a massive amount of material to a larger world eager for information about economic activity, material that proved just how active, vibrant, and worthy of study the late Roman economy was. Ceramics, especially African Red Slip, would become one of the main sources of evidence for scholars interested in that economy and its aftermath.⁶⁷ Hayes' focus on fine wares and the role of those vessels in the Roman economy meant coarse ware (with the exception of amphoras) continued to be less well studied for the next few decades.⁶⁸ The study of coarse ware was impeded by two factors: first, the innate art historical bias of the discipline, which resulted in a preference for the study of fine ware, as these were deemed aesthetically

⁶⁶ See n. 56.

⁶⁷ See, among many, Peacock, *Pottery In the Roman World*, 152-159; Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Panella, "Merci e scambi"; Chris Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400-1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994), 90-96; Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 53-60, 656-653 passim; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. 708-824 passim (these are expansions of the arguments originally set forth in *Land and Power*). Note, too, that the awareness and predominance of ARS (due to its ubiquity in the field it is likely the most well-known pottery of the Roman world) has contributed to, even energized, the long-standing debate over the decline of the Empire set into motion so long ago by Edward Gibbon. See Simon Loseby, "The Ceramic Data and the Transformation of the Roman World," in *LRCW 2*, 1-14. So important is ARS that its absence from a site—and thus the absence of the largest mass-produced material of the ancient world—is often tied to existing narratives about economic and cultural decay. See, for example, J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. 384-399; Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 87-93. Two useful critiques of this assumption are Hugo Blake, "Medieval Pottery: Technical Innovation or Economic Change?" in *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar. Recent Research in Prehistorical, Classical, and Medieval Archaeology*, ed. Hugo McK. Blake, Timothy W. Potter, and David B. Whitehouse (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 440; and John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages: Understanding the Early Medieval Past* (London: Duckworth, 2010): 116-146.

⁶⁸ See James M. Skibo and Michael Brian Schiffer, "The Clay Cooking Pot: An Exploration of Women's Technology," in *Expanding Archaeology*, ed. James M. Skibo, William H. Walker, and Axel E. Nielsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 80-82.

pleasing.⁶⁹ Second, coarse wares were often produced and, more importantly, distributed locally, much more so than fine wares, and are often undecorated. This local production led, in turn, to a lack of large-scale uniformity, and this combined with the absence of decorative material made it much harder to create typologies for coarse wares, and typologies have been the discipline's stock in trade.⁷⁰

Hayes, nevertheless, did not ignore cooking forms. Cooking vessels appear throughout his work, but they are not treated as cooking forms, rather just as another type of pot. Aspects related to cooking, usually blackening, are mentioned in the list of characteristics of Hayes' sample vessels, e.g. Form 197, a "casserole," with "exterior of rim and wall frequently blackened, as on preceding Forms," that dates to the late second to mid-third century AD.⁷¹ (Figure 6.) That cooking is treated as just one aspect of the vessel is a good reminder that cooking forms are not necessarily distinct.⁷² In other words, the same vessel form may have been used in the kitchen or in other, non-cooking capacities, though the fabric of the vessel—in essence, what type of clay the vessel was made of—may have been quite different. More importantly, Hayes left a powerful resource for analyzing cooking ware. African pottery was ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean for much of Late Antiquity. With Hayes' typology in hand, scholars could

⁶⁹ Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, 3.

⁷⁰ Greene, *Roman Pottery*, 21.

⁷¹ Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 209.

⁷² For a different take on this, see Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 3, who views Hayes' mixing of coarse- and cookwares as a "defect."

now easily contextualize their finds at a particular site. This, in turn, makes a discussion of cooking patterns much easier.

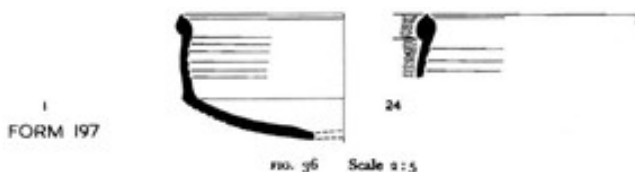


Figure 6. Hayes form 197. From Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*.

These developments did not go unnoticed outside the field of archaeology. Writing at a similar time, the historian K.D. White revealed a similarly developing sense of nuance regarding vessels.⁷³ White noticed that archaeologists were increasingly shying away from using classical vocabulary for vessels: “museologists have long since abandoned the confident labeling of containers with specific names (usually Greek), and now content themselves with the use of safe, non-committal terms such as ‘pot’ or ‘jug.’”⁷⁴ This is a marked transformation. The worm was turning, and we will examine the impact of this below. White’s work is divided into sections on a great variety of farm equipment. In one he looked at some, but not all, of the words I will examine in this dissertation, including *olla* and *vas*.⁷⁵ White discusses far fewer vessels than Hilgers and places more emphasis on full quotations from various authors, though in *Farm Equipment* only a single quote from an author is provided for a vessel. White realized that

⁷³ K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975). See also idem, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) and idem, *Roman Farming* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).

⁷⁴ Idem, *Farm Equipment*, xii.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 105-204.

an insistence of absolute meaning for a vessel word is impossible: noting that different authors used the word “*olla*” in different ways, he states that it was likely “a generic word like our ‘pot,’ denoting a cooking pot of varying capacity.”⁷⁶ Building on this, he observed that “the distinction between the various names may well turn out to be quite arbitrary, if we get fresh evidence; thus it is often stated that the *olla* may be generally distinguished from the *caccabus* in that the former is used for cooking the porridge while the *caccabus* is essentially for cooking vegetables in. But there is no proof of this distinction.”⁷⁷ And yet even after this caveat it seems that White could not hold to his own advice: while he does not include a section on the *caccabus*, his entry on the *olla* has an illustration quite similar to the *caccabus* depicted in Hilgers. In addition, his illustration of the *mulctrum* (a “milk pail”) and *cortina* (“cauldron”) resemble other illustrations and literary depictions that we have already seen of the *caccabus* (Figure 7). This is an important reminder, even with White’s caveat, that assigning precise names to specific shapes can be difficult, if not impossible, and that vessels with similar shapes may have been used both for cooking and other activities. This conforms to evidence found on the actual pots: multiple vessels of the same form are often found at archaeological sites, some of which were clearly used for cooking and some of which bear no marks of use in the kitchen. *Farm Equipment* represents an excellent example of what sort of work needs to be done to establish use: the names for vessels must be seen as general guides for use, but specificity cannot, without corroborating evidence, be determined by name alone.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 178.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 179.



Figure 7. The *mulctrum*, *olla*, and *cortina*. From White, *Farm Equipment*.

In 1981, just a few years after the publication of *Late Roman Pottery*, another work of great significance for the understanding of cooking ware was published. Carandini and others Italian scholars produced the *Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, another attempt to classify ceramics from North Africa.⁷⁸ Unlike Hayes, the *Atlante* contained a specific section examining cooking ware.⁷⁹ The vessels examined came primarily from Lamboglia's work, the above-mentioned excavations at Ostia,⁸⁰ and to a lesser extent Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery*. The *Atlante* focused more on forms than did the Ostia excavations, which looked instead at physical characteristics such as wear- and fire-marks. The author, Stefano Tortorella, lists the relevant forms from each respective work and discusses where they were produced, their provenance, and date of production. The primary distinction between forms in the *Atlante* is "*piatti e coperchi*" (plates and lids, which as we will see, can be difficult to distinguish from each other), and "*scodelle, tegami, casseruole, marmite*" (bowls, pans, casseroles, marmite). Use was not generally assessed, but this nevertheless was the most significant work on African cooking ware

⁷⁸ Carandini et al. eds., *Atlante delle Forme Ceramiche*.

⁷⁹ Stefano Tortorella, "Ceramica da Cucina," in *Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 208-223.

⁸⁰ These excavations were largely carried out by Lamboglia's students. See Carandini, "Pottery and the African Economy," 160.

produced to this point and an invaluable reference for grouping together similar forms from a variety of excavations (each form in the *Atlante* was listed under the classification system of that particular excavation) and creating a concordance of morphology.

Archaeological interest in cookpots was beginning to thrive.⁸¹ But what of texts? Interest in the information textual sources contained on ceramics and cooking did not evolve in similar fashion, and has proceeded much more slowly. But some examples exist. A more recent instance of this sort of text-first approach, one similar to what I do in the next chapter, is an article by Joan Gómez Pallarès, a philologist and food scholar.⁸² This work looks at the vessel words mentioned in Apicius in an attempt to catalog the specific features and uses associated with them. Gómez Pallarès opens by noting that dictionaries typically do not contain enough information to adequately discuss vessel use, and remarks that focusing on Apicius will allow him to rely on a single touchstone and thus maintain a sense of consistency rather than, as Hilgers did, examine the entire corpus of Latin literature.⁸³ Other authors are consulted to help flesh out the definitions. He notes

⁸¹ There were many other excavations that furthered this cause, several of which I will consult in later chapters. Ostia was one. Two other notable examples include Carthage: John Hayes, “Pottery: Stratified Groups and Typology,” in *Excavations at Carthage 1975: Conducted by the University of Michigan* 1, ed. John H. Humphrey (Tunis: Cérés productions, 1976), 47-123; idem, “Pottery Report,” in *Excavations at Carthage 1976: Conducted by the University of Michigan* 4, ed. John H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1978), 23-98; John A. Riley, “The Pottery from Cisterns 1977.1, 1977.2, 1977.3” in *Excavations at Carthage 1977: Conducted by the University of Michigan* 6, ed. John H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981), 85-124; Michel Fulford and David Peacock, eds., *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission, Vol. 2. the Pottery and Other Ceramic Objects from the Site* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1984); Luni: Antonio Frova, ed., *Scavi di Luna: Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1970-71* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1973); idem, *Scavi di Luna II: Relazione della campagne di scavo 1972-72* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1977).

⁸² Gómez Pallarès, “Instrumenta Coquorum.”

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 25.

that Apicius does not represent a specific moment in time, but rather “four centuries of traditional Roman recipes,” which means that a Roman culinary history can be approximated from the work.⁸⁴ I do not entirely agree with this latter point: as we will see in the next chapter, Apicius was not just a product of the Roman world, but also the Greek one. Furthermore, Apicius does not represent one continuous, unbroken period but rather many smaller ones meshed together: for example, certain ingredients were extinct by the time the version we realize as the text Apicius was put together, and to assume a consistency of meaning, function, and use entirely through the text is a mistake. I prefer to use Apicius to identify in his recipes the scope and capability of an elite kitchen and to map the patterns present in the text to archaeological evidence. Apicius is very useful for identifying the presence of elites in the archaeological landscape for, as we will see, the overlap between the work and the material culture is considerable. With that said, Gómez Pallarès’ approach is a tremendous step in the right direction, and is a very useful resource, for it illustrates that texts must be used in conjunction with ceramics.

His description of the *caccabus* is somewhat similar to Hilgers’. The vessel has a rounded base, is conical, and the mouth is somewhat wider than the height, and it was to be placed over a fire, perhaps on a tripod, but Gómez Pallarès adds information about what was cooked in it: “plants, animals, liquids, solids, spices, etc.”⁸⁵ Neither of these aspects alone present much of an advancement—we already have an idea of morphology,

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 29. This is similar to Smith’s entry, and one again wonders what the *caccabus* could not cook.

and the ingredients listed consist of almost every foodstuff possible—but here we have morphology and use considered together.

The textual material, though rich with detail, needs more investigating than the ceramics themselves. As we will see, archaeologists have carried the discussion further than textual scholars. More work needs to be done with the texts, as these sources contain a great amount of material for interpreting use and understanding context of use.

The growth of scholarship on Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages has helped propel interest in coarse ware, as the bulk of the pottery produced during these periods was of this variety. This ubiquity combined with the paucity of other types of pottery has led to innovation in how these sources are understood. Josine Schuring's extremely important work on the pottery taken from the early Christian basilica under the Church of San Sisto Vecchio in Rome noted that what is typically observed about ceramics, form and decoration, must not be the primary focus when classifying coarse ware.⁸⁶ General shapes can be identified, and this is important, but what must come first in order to create typologies is awareness of something more else: the material the vessels were made from. Defining fabrics, which in turn could be related to dating and location of manufacture, would thus become the focus of studies of coarse ware.⁸⁷ And yet, these

⁸⁶ Josine M. Schuring, "The Roman, Early Medieval and Medieval Coarse Kitchen Wares from the San Sisto Vecchio in Rome: Continuity and Break in Tradition," *BABESCH* 61(1986): 158-207; idem, "Supplementary Note to 'The Roman, Early Medieval and Medieval Coarse Wares from the San Sisto Vecchio in Rome': the Distribution of the Fabrics," *BABESCH* 62 (1987): 109-129. Schuring was building on the work done by Maria Beatrice Annis, "Amphora Sixti," *Festoen* 6 (1976): 29-40.

⁸⁷ By 2013 the list is legion, and growing. See, for example, Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros, "Una fabrica importada de cerámica tardoromana de cocina," *Trabalhos de Antropologia e etnologia* 34 (1994): 391-409; Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean*; Barbara Ciarrocchi et al., "Ceramica comune tardoantica da Ostia e Porto (V-VII secolo)," in *Ceramica in Italia: 383-420* (almost the entirety of this volume contains such articles); Elisabetta Gliozzo et al., "Cooking and Painted Ware from San Guisto

studies also paid attention to vessel use and the role the vessels played in the economy and daily lives of their consumers.⁸⁸ The creation and ongoing success of the Late Roman Coarse Ware conference, a group of scholars brought together to focus specifically on discussing their work classifying such wares and interpreting their use, has been of tremendous help in this endeavor.⁸⁹ Only now is it possible to write a dissertation that examines cooking pots in conjunction with textual sources on cooking, for only now have both sources of work been published in enough detail to make large-scale arguments based on specific, regional material possible. In addition, coarse wares studies, with the exception of African wares, which I discuss in detail below, are inherently regional, much like fine wares once were understood to be. This is advantageous for this project, because it allows regional texts to be examined in conjunction with regional wares, and thus the trap of applying sweeping meanings to vessels can be avoided. With this in mind, after a

(Lucera, Foffia): The Production Cycle, from the Supply of Raw Materials to the Commercialization of Products,” *Archaeometry* 47 (2005): 13-29; Janne P. Ikäheimo, “African Cookware: A High-Quality Space Filler?” in *LRCW 1: Late Roman Coarse Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. Josep Maria Gurt i Esparraguera, Jaume Buxeda i Garrigós and Miguel Ángel Cau Ontiveros (Oxford: British Archaeological Review, 2005), 509-520; Archer Martin and Eric De Sena, “Agricultural and Craft Supplies in Late Roman Ostia: Pottery Evidence from the DAI/AAR Excavations,” in *LRCW 1*, 385-393; Marco Cavalazzi and Elisa Fabbri, “Cooking Ware from the Excavation of a 5th-7th Century Context in Classe (Ravenna, Italy),” in *LRCW 3*, 623-633; Ikäheimo, “Regional cookwares of the Rome area in AD 400-550” in *LRCW 3*; Elisabetta Gliozzo et al., “North Apulian Coarse Wares and Fine Painted Wares: A Reappraisal According to New Data from Herdonia and Canusium,” *Archaeometry* 55 (2013): 423-448.

⁸⁸ Sara Santoro Bianchi, “The Informative Potential of Archaeometric and Archaeological Cooking Ware Studies: The case of Pantellerian Ware,” in *LRCW 1*: 327.

⁸⁹ The group acts as a counterbalance of sorts to the *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores*, a society founded in 1957 and whose publication *Acta* has historically focused on fine ware, though this has changed significantly of late as the discipline has come to embrace cooking wares. See Michel Fulford, “Preface,” in *LRCW 1*, v.

brief digression, I turn to specific sources that have attempted this integration and cultural analysis.

A Digression on Food

Work on and interest in food has grown over the past several decades.⁹⁰ We currently live in a time of heightened interest in cooking, as well as the relationship between cooking and culture, but the late antique world has not benefited from this interest. Works that focus on food often do not discuss cooking at all. This is dictated both by specialization (those who study food often look at a portion of the food cycle as part of a larger argument about a different social phenomenon) and that the ancient sources spend much more time on dining than on cooking. With that said, there remains something startling about the manner in which food and cooking are so divorced.⁹¹

A potential source for providing a more nuanced view of pottery is the recent spate of works on ancient food and diet. However, these do not examine the use of pots in any significant or reliable detail, and when ceramics are mentioned, the authors unquestioningly rely on much older secondary work. Yet these books are cited frequently, as they are among the very few, accessible sources on the subject. A critical examination of how some of these works discuss cooking pots presents a good framework for the textual investigation done in the next chapter.

⁹⁰ This interest is reflected by the creation of centers for graduate study of gastronomy at the University of Adelaide, Boston University, and the University of Gastronomic Science in Pollenzo, Italy.

⁹¹ It is not surprising that cooking and dining are treated as unconnected events in our age of ready-to-eat meals and pre-prepared foodstuffs, as consumers are increasingly removed from how their food is produced, cultivated, raised, and prepared.

In these works vessel use is specific and a degree of uniformity is assumed. An example of this is in Patrick Faas' *Around the Roman Table*.⁹² Faas, as is the case with many who work on ancient cuisine, has a more popular than academic background. His book, originally written in 1994, is a mix of recipes and discussion of textual evidence regarding the Roman kitchen and meal. Archaeological evidence is present, and at times quite useful, such as the discussion of dining implements.⁹³ But the section on cookpots is sparse, and clearly informed by works such as the ones listed above. Faas lists five vessels from the Roman kitchen: "The *pultarius*, the stewing pot, for *puls*; the *caccabus*, a pot used for simmering; the *padella*, a shallow pan; the *patina*, a circular or oval dish; the *angulis*, a square pan."⁹⁴ This list, in addition to being incomplete, rarely addresses use or, when it does, touches on it only sparingly. Faas' depiction of vessels, returning to the *caccabus* as our touchstone, recalls what we have discussed above: it is clear he has metal models in mind, and his depiction of the *caccabus*, especially the one on the right, looks similar, with some morphological variation, to the one depicted in Daremberg (Figure 8). The legacy of the antiquarians endures. At the same time, his estimation of the use of the *caccabus*—at least the vessels depicted here—is not far off. Earlier works focused on ingredients or material. Faas, however, looks at how the vessel was actually used, paying more attention to the role it played in the kitchen rather than the food placed inside it.

⁹² Patrick Faas, *Around the Roman Table: Food and Feasting in Ancient Rome*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 74-76

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132-134.



Figure 8. Three Illustrations of the *caccabus*. From Faas, *Around the Roman Table*.

More often, however, modern works on ancient cooking assume little coherence of use, if they look at ceramics at all. In his book on Greek diet, Andrew Dalby almost entirely ignores the subject of cooking.⁹⁵ He examines many of the components of cooking, such as ingredients and spices, and looks at cooking manuals for information on what was consumed. The actual, physical process of cooking, along with where a meal was cooked, the vessel in which it was prepared, and cultural differences evident in varying methods of cooking, are all unexplored.⁹⁶ Joseph Dommers Vehling's translation of Apicius substitutes a variety of different words for the Latin kitchen vessels.⁹⁷ For

⁹⁵ Dalby, *Siren Feasts*. To Dalby's great credit, however, he does a very consistent, thorough job of translating vessel words in his edition of the *Geoponika*.

⁹⁶ Another example is Joan P. Alcock, *Food in the Ancient World* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), who dedicates just a few brief pages (103-8, 109-111) to cooking. When ceramics are mentioned (110-111), they are discussed in the context of linking ancient vessel names to modern ones, e.g. p. 111: the "Roman *sartago* (frying pans), which sometimes had a folding handle; the *patera* (hemispherical-shaped pan); the *patella* (round shallow pan); and the *patina* (deep pan). Specific use is never really mentioned, and context is to be inferred by comparison to the modern kitchen.

⁹⁷ Joseph Dommers Vehling, ed, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome. A Bibliography, Critical Review and Translation of the Ancient Book known as Apicius de re Coquinaria* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1977).

example, he translates the *caccabus* as a “sauce pan,”⁹⁸ a “roasting pan,”⁹⁹ a “stew pot,”¹⁰⁰ and, on one occasion, leaves it out entirely.¹⁰¹ Using a variety of different, modern vessel words for this Latin term does not seem appropriate. This initially might seem like nit-picking. But “stew pot” and “roasting pan” have different meanings in the English language and, while I believe too much specificity is a bad thing, words cannot be translated variably according to what seems best in a given situation for the modern cook. The word “frying-pan” in English has a specific meaning. If I use it when creating a recipe for, say, my excellent jambalaya, one cannot assume I actually meant “deep pot” merely because this seems the most fitting choice for the reader of that recipe several hundred years later.

Vehling also provides illustrations of many of the vessels, including the *caccabus* (Figure 9). These should seem similar, for they strongly resemble the illustrations of the *caccabus* found in works discussed above, and this again represents the tremendous power such reference works had on later generations of scholars, especially to those relatively inexperienced with Roman material culture. The vessels depicted here again appear to be metal, and how similar these are to the ceramic *caccabus* is unknown.

⁹⁸ Vehling, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining*, 45; this corresponds with 2.1.5 in Christopher Grocock and Sally Grainger, eds. *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text Apicius* (England: Prospect, 2006), a work I will rely on for recipe numbers in Chapter Two.

⁹⁹ Vehling, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining*, 365; or 8.6.11 in Grocock and Grainger, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*.

¹⁰⁰ Vehling, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining*, 388; or 8.8.6 in Grocock and Grainger, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*.

¹⁰¹ Vehling, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining*, 69; or 3.2.4 in Grocock and Grainger, *Apicius: A Critical Edition*. Vehling here focuses on the water in the vessel, but does not mention the vessel itself.

Furthermore, they do not always resemble shapes used in Vehling's translation. These illustrations are of vessels unearthed at Pompeii, and reveal that this site, so rich in information and material culture, can be a dangerously seductive reference, as the material found there is assumed to reflect the norms of the entire Roman world. Apicius was likely produced in the fourth century AD, while the material from Pompeii is certainly from the first. It is unwise to ignore this chronological gap.



Figure 9. Four Depictions of the *caccabus*. From Vehling, *Apicius: Cookery and Dining*.

Similarly, in his translation and commentary on the cookbook of Anthimus, Mark Grant translates the word “*olla*” as “pot,” which is vague but by no means egregious. He also uses “casserole,” a word that, especially in the secondary literature on ceramics, neither means the same thing as the word *olla* nor fulfills the requirements of the vessel as described in the recipe.¹⁰² Recipes must be considered holistically, and internal consistency must be assumed.¹⁰³ If this does not happen, there must be internal evidence for a change of meaning or the variability of that meaning. This willingness to assume a single word possessed a variety of meanings within a single text without clarifying the reason for this variation is often related to an interest in reproducing recipes in the

¹⁰² Mark Grant, *Anthimus, De Observatione Ciborum: On the Observance of Foods* (Devon: Prospect Books, 1996), 51-52.

¹⁰³ This, as I will discuss in Chapter Two, is one of the reasons Apicius in particular is such a challenging text.

modern kitchen, where the historical veneer of using certain ingredients is close enough to be accurate, and the vessels themselves are discussed primarily as they would relate to modern vessels in the home or the one seen as most “suited” to produce the ancient recipe. At first this critique might seem out of place, for I have observed above that the meanings of these words were not static in nature, and there is a great amount of wiggle room regarding meaning due to the multifunctionality of the vessels. But definitions are not something that can be so easily adjusted within a single text. My criticism of many of the translations and other modern works on ancient cooking is that they adapt the meaning of the vessel word to suit the needs of the recipe for the modern chef. This desire to reproduce ancient food, to experience eating and tasting in the manner of a Greek or Roman—or, at least, how the modern author perceives the Greek and Roman diet—is at odds with an examination that focuses on vessels in their own context, because by setting these recipes in a modern kitchen that very context of use is removed. I do not believe that creating analogies with modern cooking pots is a poor idea, but rather that such analogies must be done cautiously and with care and attention paid to the original source material.¹⁰⁴

Having said this, I now turn briefly to Christopher Grocock and Sally Grainger’s excellent translation of Apicius, which we will discuss in detail in the next chapter.¹⁰⁵

Their translation of the word *caccabus* is quite consistent. It is always a “pan.” And yet,

¹⁰⁴ See Alison Wylie, “The Reaction against Analogy,” *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8 (1985): 61-111.

¹⁰⁵ Grocock and Grainger, eds. *Apicius: A Critical Edition*.

despite what I said in the previous paragraph, I question whether this is the correct decision. The word “pan” connotes a certain use and physical appearance in the English language. The *caccabus* in Apicius, however, was used in a variety of ways, ones that are not always best represented by the word “pan.”

Where does this leave us? My solution, one to which I adhere throughout this dissertation, is when examining primary sources to leave the Latin or Greek words untranslated, and to determine uses for specific vessel words and how those uses changed over time. This removes us from imposing modern ideas of vessel use that accompanies words like “pan,” “frying-pan,” or “stew-pot.” This is not practical for discussing actual ceramics themselves. But it fits a discussion of texts and pots in texts. Using the terms as they are presented in the texts, removes us from modern functional correlation and allow us to examine how vessels were used in specific time periods as well as how that usage changed across time.

Establishing Use and the Integration of Sources

Some scholars, building on the work discussed above, have attempted to place vessels within their historical context of use and, in many cases, examine the relationship between vessels, use, and facets of culture of the people using them. This is very much the case for the Late Antique period. Much of this sort of work, however, focuses on the ultimate end of the cooking process, namely dining and the meal. Dining, especially the symposium, has been studied in great detail, perhaps because it is often portrayed in literature as certainly because it was a key elite activity.¹⁰⁶ A very important work on this

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, 21-26, John H. D’Arms, “Control, Companionship, and Clientela: Some Social Functions of the Roman Communal Meal,” *Échos du monde classique* 28

topic is Katherine Dunbabin's *The Roman Banquet*, which examines artistic representations of Roman feasting and communal meals.¹⁰⁷ For Late Antiquity she focuses on the increased formality and social stratification of dining spaces as well as the adoption of banqueting by Christians.¹⁰⁸ The implication of this work as it relates to ceramics was discussed in a recent PhD dissertation and subsequent article by Nicholas Hudson.¹⁰⁹ Hudson was interested in the history of the Roman *cena*, or late-afternoon/evening meal, in the east between the early second century AD and the mid-sixth. To Hudson, the ceramic evidence indicates that in Late Antiquity there were two main, identifiable forms of dining. The first, which he calls status dining, used small vessels that emphasized the status of both the consumer and host during consumption, and had existed since the Republic. The second, which emerged in the fourth century, Hudson labels convivial dining, and featured large, common vessels for the sharing of food. The rise of convivial dining was primarily a sub-elite phenomenon. This community was growing quickly in Late Antiquity and heavily influenced by the new

(1984): 327-48; Wilkins and Hill, *Food in the Ancient World*, 41-78; Matthew B. Roller, *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). Gisela Ripoll, "Some Aspects of the Transformation of the Roman Domus between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. Luke Lavan and William Bowden (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 79-109, discusses changes in dining space in aristocratic dwellings; König, *Saints and Symposiasts*, looks at the way feasting and conviviality endured and were changed as Christianity grew increasingly dominant.

¹⁰⁷ Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet*.

¹⁰⁸ For dining space see *ibid.*, 141-174; for Christian feasting, *ibid.*, 175-202.

¹⁰⁹ Hudson, "Dining in the Late Roman East"; *idem*, "Changing Places: The Archaeology of the Roman 'Convivium'"

Christian religion, which encouraged group meals as a way of fostering community and forming “domestic communion with God.”¹¹⁰

A vessel’s role in the dining process is a function of both its frequency in an assemblage and its size. Small vessels with low frequency are classified as side-dishes, or containers for sauces, relishes, and small foods. Small vessels with high frequencies are personal vessels (this is especially evident when they come in matched sets), used for consuming one’s own food. Larger vessels with high frequencies were used as common platters for communal dining, while larger vessels with low frequencies were service vessels, and provided food to those eating. A ceramic assemblage dominated by smaller vessels with higher frequencies indicates status dining. A preponderance of larger vessels, however, means the owners preferred convivial dining. Individual plates allowed for different meals to be served to different guests and the host, thus reinforcing the power relationship present at a meal. In convivial dining, however, as the meal was shared on common platters, the same food was consumed by multiple diners and thus common bonds of community and status were reinforced. The implication this change in dining has for cooking has yet to be explored. Did cooking and dining wares change in a symbiotic fashion? I suspect so. The rise of convivial dining would likely result in a reduction of cooking forms, as meals were now shared. This winnowing of forms, as we will see later in this chapter and also in Chapter Three, is what occurs in the archaeological record. I am more reluctant than Hudson to assign a single reason for a

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 280; Hudson is by his own admission influenced by Peter Brown’s work on sub-elites. See Peter Brown, “The Study of Elites in Late Antiquity,” *Arethusa* 33 (2000): 321-46.

change in cooking pottery. Christianity may well have played a role in this change. But other factors, including the economy, declining technological complexity, warfare, and the arrival of the barbarians must also be considered.

Hudson's focus on ceramics first as well as his attempt to map changes in the material record to historical events are useful for my project. Useful as well is his reminder that the size of vessels must be accounted for. When examining cooking wares, the relative size of the vessel should be noted in an attempt to discern how large a meal it was used to prepare.¹¹¹

Similar observations regarding vessel size, use, and cultural shifts are in Joanita Vroom's *After Antiquity*, which looks at a variety of evidence, including images and texts, and compares all of it with ceramics from Boeotia between the Roman period and the 20th century.¹¹² Changes in morphology, Vroom argues, are related to the varied dietary and cultural norms of the Byzantines, Franks, and Turks, all of whom occupied Boeotia at some point.

The book began as an attempt to classify some 12,000 sherds of pottery, but what emerges is something more significant. Vroom deftly weaves the ceramic evidence with other sources of the historical period—e.g. cookbooks, travelers' accounts, and scenes of dining—to fully contextualize the ceramics within their larger socio-cultural landscapes of use. She links changes in cooking pot morphology to textual evidence for changes in

¹¹¹ See also Alexandre-Bidon, *Archéologie du goût*, 218, who argues forcefully and convincingly that archaeologists much calculate and report the volumes of their cooking pots, as this information is critical for learning about meal size, approximate people fed, and other useful information about the society that used them.

¹¹² Vroom, *After Antiquity*.

preferred foods: the “open shallow dishes” of the Middle Byzantine period that were used to prepare a vegetable-based diet were replaced by the smaller, deeper wares of the Frankish occupation of Boeotia, which were used for cooking meat-rich foodstuffs. These in turn were replaced in the Ottoman period by large, open dishes that cooked soup and rice-based meals.¹¹³

Vroom’s work is exceptional, and it is hard to imagine a single scholar being able to consider so much evidence across so large a period for Boeotia, let alone a larger region. Cooking wares are of secondary importance to Vroom. Dining wares are her priority, and her argument rests on her analysis of these wares. Works that focused on cooking ware and establishing its use took time to appear in the scholarship of Roman and European archaeologists, though it was common to see them early in the 1960s and 1970s in work done on North and South American civilizations.¹¹⁴ Hilgers was to an extent an early example for the Roman world, but this sort of work generally came later. Other early exceptions were Lamboglia, Tortorella, and Carandini and Panella, all mentioned above. Another is Stephen Dyson’s 1977 publication of the utilitarian wares found during the American Academy in Rome’s excavation at the hilltop colony of Cosa.¹¹⁵ Dyson noted that classifying this type of pottery was much more difficult than working with finer wares due to the relative lack of morphological variation in the archaeological record. Despite this difficulty, these hard-to-determine morphological

¹¹³ Ibid., 367.

¹¹⁴ Berlin, “The Plain Wares,” 2.

¹¹⁵ Stephen L. Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1977).

changes were very important for the information they could provide about local chronology.¹¹⁶ Dyson's utilitarian wares were found in eight sealed deposits at Cosa ranging from the third century BC to the fourth century AD.¹¹⁷ He divided these utilitarian ware into three categories: kitchen ware (i.e. cookpots), coarse ware (suitable for household activity such as storage or poring liquids), and domestic ware (nicer pottery meant for the table).¹¹⁸ Dyson classified several forms of kitchen ware: the flanged pan, the flat-bottomed pan, the legged skillet, lids, pots, raised pans, round-bottomed pans, and saucepans. (See Figures 10-11 for these forms.) Though these terms connote use in a way that may not be accurate, and the boundaries between certain classes can be fuzzy at best (it can be difficult to tell the real difference between certain saucepans and pots), this was a useful schema of classification.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 172.

¹¹⁷ As we will see, the site's occupation history extends to the sixth century AD.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 13.

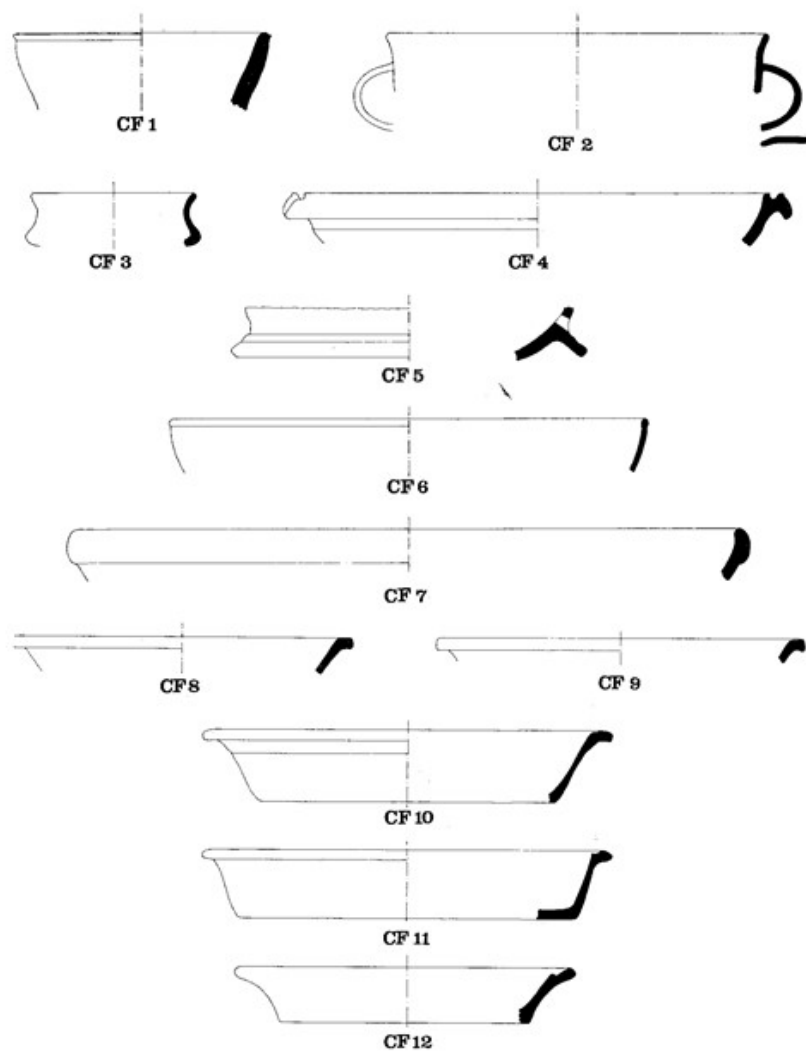


Fig. 1. CAPITULUM FILA. K Ware: Saucepans, 1-3; R.B. Pans, 4; Flanged Pans, 5; F.B. Pans, 6-12.

Figure 10. Saucepans and Various Other Pan Forms from Cosa. From Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery*.

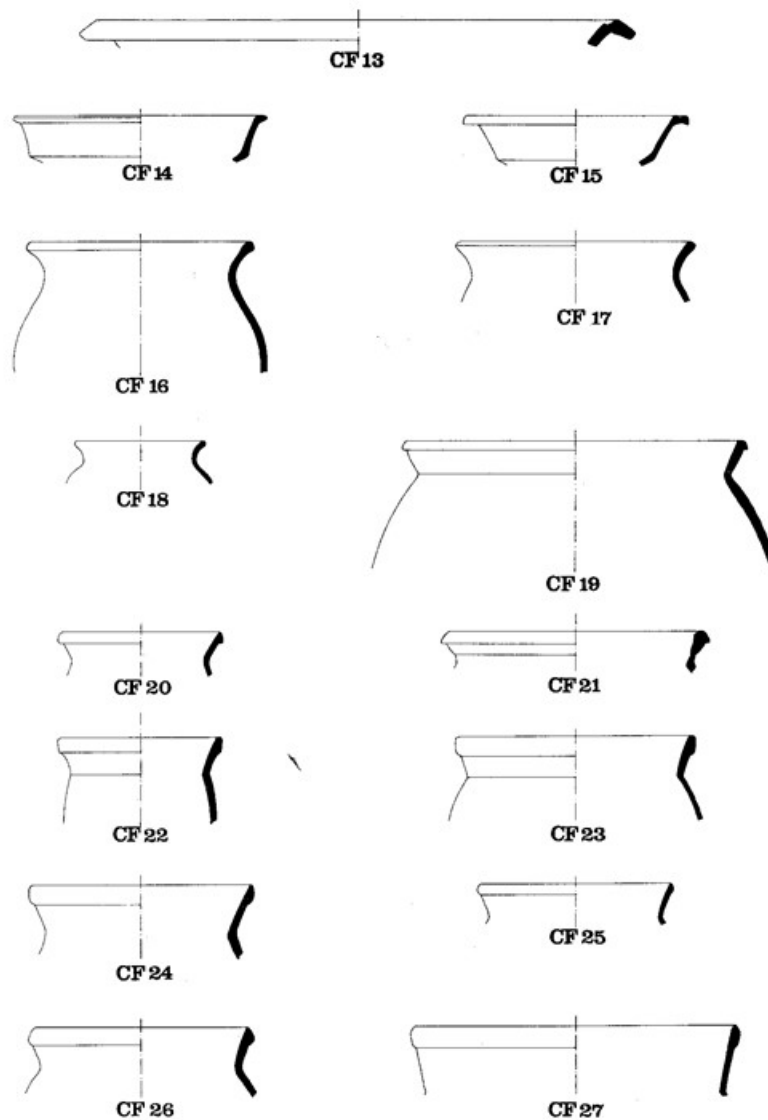


Fig. 2. CAPITOLIUM FILL. K Ware: F.B. Pans, 13; Legged Skillets, 14-15; Pots, 16-27.

Figure 11. Pans, Skillets, and Pots from Cosa. From Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery*.

Although his focus was on finding potential dating tools, which is vital given the ubiquity of common wares at almost all sites, he also observed that morphological changes in the ceramic record must have cultural origins. While the population of Cosa's

ethnicity remained relatively homogeneous from the late Republic through the Empire, the ovoid cooking pots present during the former were replaced sometime in the Imperial period by a flat cooking pan.¹¹⁹ As we have already discussed, there were other morphological changes in the late antique period. The era is marked by a sealed context that dates to the fourth or fifth centuries AD. There is a marked change in forms in this period: the pans, which had surged in the Imperial period, are entirely absent. Large cooking pots emerged in their place. Dyson suggests this morphological variation was related to changes in food preparation and consumption habits. While this is possible, even likely, what is more important, especially given when this was written, is that he argues for a cultural role in ceramic change. Equally noteworthy, Dyson notes that the smaller morphological changes observable in the material record were the requirements of use:

What is most striking, however, is that the utilitarian pottery is shaped by the functional demands placed upon it and not by the fashions of ceramic <<high culture>>. Thus changes in the rim shape were determined by such factors as whether it cracked or broke too easily (hence a thickening as in the half-almond rims of Class 4), whether it could hold the lid securely in place (the curved rims like Class 16) or whether the food cooking could be easily stirred without excessive spilling (hence the development of wider mouthed, deeper saucepans in the first century A.D.).¹²⁰

This is an important step, for it shows a growing willingness to reconcile the primary interest of the field, which was morphological classification, with the quotidian

¹¹⁹ I do not agree with this assumption of ethnic continuity. Dyson's statement assumes that ethnicity was homogeneous between the late Republic and heyday of the Empire, as slightly later in his analysis he notes that only during the "troubled" fourth century was there a possibility of ethnic change. This implicitly links political and economic success to a static view of "Romanitas" and Roman ethnicity.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

cultural imperatives and demands of the market that might have necessitated such variation.

Other works linking culture and vessel use followed. Kevin Greene observed that the presence of the *mortarium*, the vessel used for the grinding of spices and ingredients and preparation of sauces, in the archaeological record was a way of identifying the effects of Romanization on recently subjugated people.¹²¹ As Romans conquered new areas they brought cooking methods and preferences with them, and this phenomenon can be observed in the material culture they left behind.¹²²

The best known work on the topic is *Vaisselle et alimentation* by Michel Bats. This book provided one of the earliest and best methods for using textual sources to identify and define cooking vessel use.¹²³ Bats focused on the ceramics from Olbia, a colony of Marseilles, during its transition from Greek to Roman inhabitation. His goal was to establish what aspects of Greek dining patterns remained ingrained in the area's cultural fabric. To do this, he surveyed the corpus of classical Greek literature to determine information about foods that were cooked and the vessels they were cooked in.

¹²¹ Kevin Greene, "Invasion and Response: pottery and the Roman army," in *Invasion and Response: The Case of Roman Britain*, eds. Barry C Burnham and Helen Burnham (Oxford: British Archaeological Report 1979), 101. It should be noted that this argument does not appear to be true, as mortars existed in decidedly non-Roman contexts. See, for example, Curtis Runnels, "Early Bronze Age Stone Mortars from the South Argolid," *Hesperia* 57 (1988): 257-272. But the argument is nevertheless important, for it shows a willingness to begin to think about the role that pottery played in the formation and maintenance of culture, cooking, and identity.

¹²² Similar evidence comes from faunal remains. See Anthony King, "Animal bones and the dietary identity of military and civilian groups in Roman Britain, Germany and Gaul," in *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain*, ed. T.F.C. Blagg & A.C. King (Oxford: British Archaeological Review, 1984), 187-217, which argues that there is a direct correlation between the arrival of the legions in Britain and the rise of local beef production.

¹²³ Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.

Relying on his knowledge of the ceramic record, he then linked the physical vessels to their names and descriptions in the texts, and from there was able to reconstruct which types of vessels were used to cook which foods.

Bats' study is important for two reasons. First, it establishes that textual sources are necessary for determining how cooking pots were used. Second, like Hilgers, and unlike Vehling, it shows that the words we see in our cooking sources—e.g., *caccabus*, *olla*, and *patina*—were not used haphazardly. They might seem to be indiscriminately distributed throughout the text to someone without the appropriate training in the material culture who had not read the texts closely. But they are not. Rather, the words were used by authors to refer to specific types of vessels. In addition, he asserts there is a distinct relationship between vessel and use, as each type of vessel was used to cook in particular ways. For the Greeks, the vessels were: the *chytra* (*la chytra*, Figure 12), the *caccabus* (*la caccabé*, Figure 13), the *lopas* (*la lopas*), and the *teganon* (*le tagénon*, Figure 14). The *chytra* was for boiling meat and vegetables and turning vegetables and grains into soup or a thicker, porridge-like substance which bread would be dipped into.¹²⁴ The *caccabus*, similar in shape though less deep than the *chytra*, was used for braising meats and making stews, though there seems to have been some terminological overlap between these two vessel words.¹²⁵ The *lopas* was used almost exclusively for fish, primarily

¹²⁴ Ibid., 45.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 46-48.

frying, though if the walls were high enough it could also braise.¹²⁶ The *teganon* was a frying-pan.¹²⁷



Figure 12. *La chytra*. From Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.



Figure 13. *La caccabé*. From Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 48-50.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 50-51.

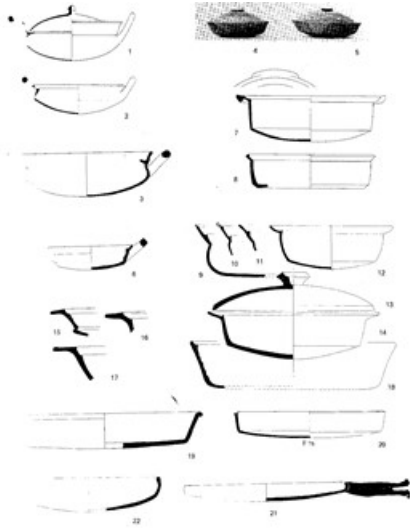


Figure 14. *La lopas, plat à four* and *tagénon*. From Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.

The Roman vessels listed in Bats are the *olla* (Figure 15), the *patina* (Figure 16), and the *caccabus* (Figure 15). (The *operculum* is also listed, but this means “lid,” and in this work is not a class of vessel, though Bats notes that lids could be used interchangeably on different vessel forms.¹²⁸) The *olla*, the “*réceptacle par excellence de la cuisine romaine depuis l’Age du Bronze,*”¹²⁹ is a large rounded pot used for boiling water and foods and preparing porridge.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ibid., 70.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 65.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 65-67.

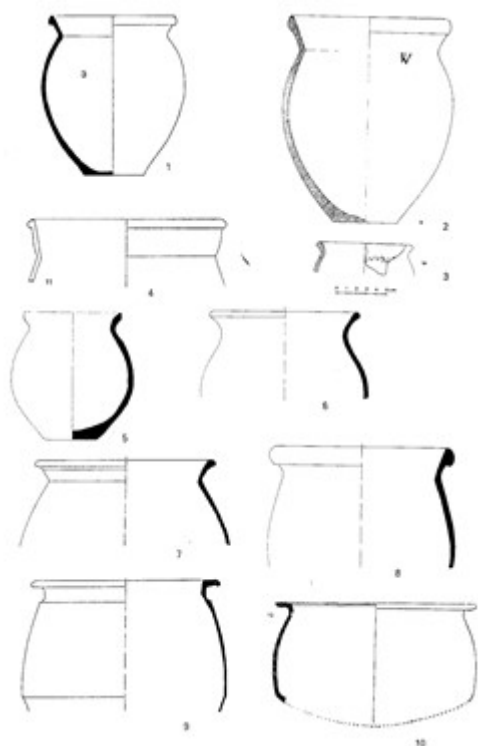


Figure 15. The *olla* and *caccabus*. From Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.

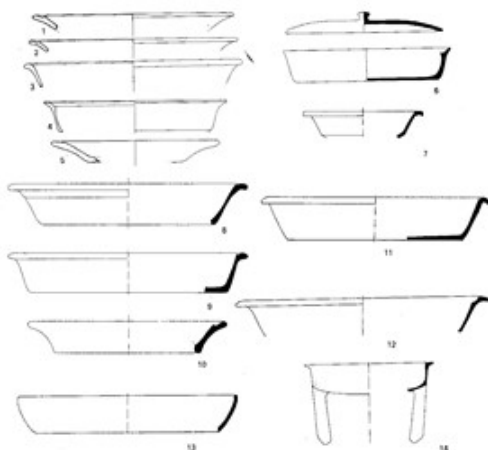


Figure 16. The *patina*. From Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*.

The *patina* is subdivided into two categories: the *cocotte* or *faitout*, French terms for what we might consider a casserole, perhaps best represented by the iconic Le Creuset

oven,¹³¹ that served a similar role as the *lopas*, and the *plat à four*, with shorter, straighter sides than the other version, was used in ovens to bake bread.¹³² The *caccabus* was similar to the Greek vessel, but Bats' examples do not have handles. Two forms stand out as definitively Roman: the *olla* and the *plat à four*. There is considerable overlap between other Greek and Roman forms. Bats does not specifically associate any vessel used by the Romans with frying.

This book provides a useful counterpoint to the discussion above of Dyson's findings at Cosa. To Bats, writing about the late Republic, the deep pot was the preeminent Roman vessel. To Dyson, in the Imperial period there was a move away from these deep pots to flat pans. If the flat-bottomed pan was an integral part of Roman cooking, then its absence in later layers at Cosa is suggestive of significant cultural changes, but so too is its absence before the Empire, as is its introduction. The reasons for the development of a new form of cooking practice under the Empire and extent of it are as of yet unknown.

Vaisselle et alimentation was extremely influential. Bats, more than any other scholar to this point, showed the advantage of looking at texts and archaeological material in conjunction to discuss use, and made clear the cultural significance of changes in ceramic morphology and concurrent changes in cooking practice. *Vaisselle et alimentation* is also reminiscent of works such as the *Dictionnaire*, as Bats argues for a

¹³¹ We enter into terminological difficulty here. The *cocotte* and *faitout*, in French, are not used for either of the purposes Bats assigns to the *patina* and, while multifunctional, are usually used for boiling and braising. I am grateful to Emmanuelle Raga of the Université libre de Bruxelles for information on these French terms.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 67-70.

relatively specific relationship between vessel and intended use. As we have seen, I do not. I believe his methodology can be modified in two important ways. The first is relates to textual sources. Plays, fiction, and works of similar genres make up the bulk of Bats' evidence. These can be valuable for determining use but should be subordinated to others sources due to their relative unreliability. While it is possible they accurately reflect contemporary dietary culture, such works are best used to bulwark evidence found in other sources such as letter collections, works on cooking, and farm manuals. These later works focus more on actual quotidian items rather than rely on imputed stereotypes about items to make a point. In addition, Bats' work rests on the assumption that dining culture in Greece, where the majority of his texts were produced, was the same as in the area around Marseilles. This assumption is to an extent unavoidable, as there are not enough local texts to accomplish a more regionally specific study, and making global assumptions about the Greeks (or other cultures) is useful for constructing paradigms, especially comparative ones. I will rely on such assumptions in this dissertation. But I am also mindful that one must use regionally-specific sources when examining the pottery used in a particular area, if possible, and that "Greek," "Roman," and "Gothic" are not all-encompassing terms.

The second modification, borrowing from White, is to loosen the relationship between vessel word, vessel, and use. As Susan Rotroff writes regarding Bats' methodology, "I wonder if such strict application of name to form, or of form to task, was even a reality."¹³³ In short, while I think there is a relationship between pots and texts, I

¹³³ Susan Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006), 167.

do not believe it is 1:1 and static. Furthermore, the complex membrane that exists between texts and archaeology, which allows for so much room for interpretation, does not allow for the direct application of names to specific vessel types. Instead, when examining texts and material culture we must determine what the texts tell us about contemporary cooking practice, attempt to understand how the vessel was used based on morphology, wear-marks, frequency of appearance, and our general understanding of contemporary cooking (which is informed by the texts), and compare the two.

This brings me to an important point: how to handle loan words. Certain Latin vessel words, such as *caccabus*, were borrowed from the Greek. It is tempting to assume that use follows in the wake of such linguistic adoption, and thus that the Roman *caccabus* was no different than the Greek *κάκκαβος*. But Greek and Roman vessels bearing this name are morphologically similar, and thus it seems natural to believe they were used similarly. I urge caution here. Words can take on meanings of their own in a new culture, meanings that are somewhat divorced from how they were used originally, and the assumption of transfer of meaning along with the borrowing of a word can be problematic. An example of this is in “Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards, and Canthari: A Second Look,” an essay that examines the presence of the word “*cantharus*” in the works of the bishop Paulinus.¹³⁴ The authors draw out the many different ways this word was used in both Paulinus’ texts and other works regarding church construction, and illustrate that *cantharus* had different meanings in a Latin-speaking context, and thus that there are

¹³⁴ Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Hermann, Jr. “Paulinus of Nola, Courtyards, and Canthari: A Second Look,” in *Pottery, Pavements, and Paradise: Iconographic and Textual Sources on Late Antiquity*, ed. Annewies van den Hoek and John J. Hermann, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-63.

problems with expecting a universal meaning for a word across languages and cultures. The *κάνθαρος*, in Greek, is often a type of drinking cup with vertical handles. This usage also exists in Latin poetry.¹³⁵ These vessels can be found depicted in Italian art, yet the word *cantharus* was also used in Latin in a different sense, as that of a fountain or basin. There are other Greek words for such things, and *κάνθαρος* is not used in this capacity in Greek. Paulinus, however, specifically uses the word to refer to a vase or basin “equipped with a jet of water.”¹³⁶ Thus, despite the apparent cognate, the word’s meaning did not endure unchanged, but was transformed over time and place. The context of a textual source, therefore, matters more than where its source material originated, though both must be considered.

This relationship between specific vessel word, vessel, and use was examined in detail in another work from 1988. It was part of a series of articles examining the vessels known as the *testum* and *clibanus*, and is a very good example of comparing textual references and archaeological material in order to ascertain use. The series also illustrates the importance of examining a vessel in historical context. The most important of these is “*Testa and Clibani: The Baking Covers of Classical Italy*” by A. L. Cubberley, J. A. Lloyd and P. C. Roberts,¹³⁷ which builds on scholarship by Joan Frayn and David

¹³⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹³⁷ Cubberley, Lloyd and Roberts, “*Testa and Clibani: The Baking Covers of Classical Italy.*” Cubberley expanded the geographic and chronological scope of this argument in his “Bread-baking in Ancient Italy: *clibanus* and *sub testu* in the Roman World,” in *Food in Antiquity*, 55-68, noting examples of *clibanus*-like vessels outside of Italy and in medieval contexts.

Whitehouse.¹³⁸ Frayn’s interest was home baking: she identifies the *testum* as an “earthenware crock, which was placed over the food to be baked, in the manner of the ‘chicken-brick’ sometimes used nowadays,”¹³⁹ while the *clibanus* “was a type of portable oven . . . which was in use by the sixth century onwards.”¹⁴⁰ Her thoughts on the *testum* were supplemented by a short note by Whitehouse, who observed, based in large part on Tiziano Mannoni’s archaeological work on northern Italian material, that the *testum* had a long history in medieval Italy—where, based on geography, it was known as either *testelli* or *piatti*—in bread production.

Cubberley et al., however, provide a more complete examination of the two vessels than Frayn, especially the *clibanus*. Focusing on not just one or two texts, as Frayn did, but 37 different sources ranging from the Republic to the late antique period, along with archaeological material from across Italy, they came to the following conclusions. First, they believe that the words *testum* and *clibanus* refer to either the same vessel or vessels so similar in form as to be the same. Second, these vessels were baking covers, designed to go over food and be placed in and surrounded by ashes or embers to cook. (Figure 17) Third, the disappearance of locally-made versions of the *testum* and

¹³⁸ Joan Frayn, “Home Baking in Roman Italy,” *Antiquity* 52 (1978): 28-33; David B. Whitehouse, “Home Baking in Roman Italy: A Footnote,” *Antiquity* 52 (1978): 146-7.

¹³⁹ Frayn, “Home Baking,” 29. This term is an excellent example of the perils of using modern terminology and comparanda, as these can go out of fashion quickly. The “chicken brick,” which I had never heard of until reading Frayn’s work, refers to a method of cooking, common in Italy, where a chicken is splayed and a brick or other heavy object placed on it to hold it to the cooking surface. See Mark Bittman, “Recipe of the Day: Chicken Under a Brick,” *New York Times*, April 11, 2008, <http://dinersjournal.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/04/11/recipe-of-the-day-chicken-under-a-brick/>.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30. Note that Frayn posits that the term “*thermospodium*” was a similar baking vessel; this is accepted by Cubberley and other authors. As we shall see in Chapter Two, I do not believe this is accurate.

clibanus in the material record by the first century was likely a result of being replaced by higher-end, mass-produced vessels which have been misidentified by archaeologists. However, they note, this could also be due to urban areas relying less on individual baking and more on mass production of bread in large commercial ovens. A fourth point, one brought up in Cubberley’s 1995 follow-up article, is one related to the variability of nomenclature: “it is perhaps wrong to look for a precise meaning for the word *clibanus*.”¹⁴¹ In other words, there could have been a variety of vessel shapes that served the purpose the word *clibanus* called for.

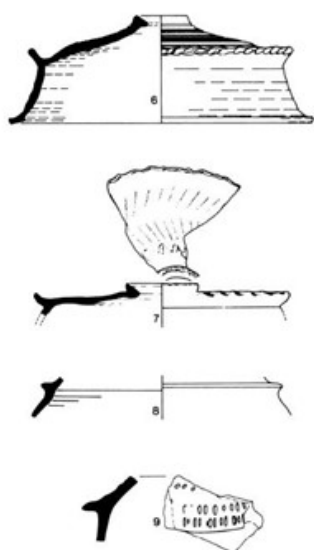


Figure 17. Baking covers. From Cubberley et al., “*Testa and Clibani*.”

These articles, especially the first, not only integrate textual and archaeological material regarding a type of vessel, they provide an effective way for using texts to discuss change in archaeological material over time, and integrating this change into Italy’s contemporary socio-economic conditions. They also add another chapter to the

¹⁴¹ Cubberley, “Bread-baking in Ancient Italy,” 56.

narrative of Italy's cooking history, as the disappearance of the *clibanus* from the material record roughly coincides with the rise of the pan. This, I believe, is related to commercial ovens. The decline of this home method of baking correlates to the proliferation of ovens and commercial bread production. Urban ovens were equally important for the increase in the use of the flat-bottomed pan.

An extremely important work on Late Antique Italy, the focus of this dissertation, and a volume whose significance has not yet been surpassed, is Silvia Lusuardi Siena's *Ad Mensam*.¹⁴² The book, published in 1996, is a detailed examination of several kinds of kitchen materials found in late antiquity, and includes chapters that examine vessels made from various materials, including *pietra ollare* (soapstone) and glass. The opening chapter, as it deals with classifying cooking pots is perhaps the most useful for this section.¹⁴³ The authors begin with an important observation about vessel classification, noting that archaeological convention for defining cooking wares—a trend noted by White—followed this simple and useful schema: as open forms, or vessels whose height is exceeded by the diameter of the mouth, and closed forms, or vessels whose mouths are narrower than their height. This is a handy and convenient method for listing vessels in site reports, as it requires little more than a tape measure, and allows for quotidian vessels to be classified quickly. A problem, they note, is that despite this relatively simple formula there is a lack of uniformity when using the terms “open” and “closed,” which

¹⁴² Lusuardi Siena, *Ad Mensam*.

¹⁴³ Lavazza and Vitale, “La ceramica d'uso comune.”

makes discussing general morphology difficult.¹⁴⁴ I add that another problem with such a schema is that it does not adequately address use. There is a grey area between the most open closed form and most closed open form, one that would allow similar styles of cooking in vessels that are classified as different. This is particularly relevant because the divide between open and closed vessels—as we will see when we look at an article by Paul Arthur below—has been used as a way to examine cooking and cultural change.

The authors then examine various vessel shapes taken from northern Italian excavations. These forms include *tegami*, or pans; *pentole/casseroles*, which they believe is the modern cognate of the *caccabus*, or open forms with deep walls, usually ceramic, sometimes metal, and by late antiquity were also of soapstone; lids, which could also function as plates; *olle*, or larger closed vessel of a variety of shapes (e.g. globular, cylindrical, ovoid) and was likely placed over a fire though could also be used to conserve food; and *broche/boccali*, or jugs.¹⁴⁵ The entirety of these forms are found at Roman sites before late antiquity. Starting in the fourth century, however, and definitely by the fifth, a significant change took place, one directly related to the “political, economic, cultural, and demographic changes and closely connected to new ethnic contributions that affected the Italian peninsula.”¹⁴⁶ Many of the forms that had been an important part of Roman cuisine began to vanish and, in some cases, disappear.¹⁴⁷ We

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 32.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 32-34.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 42.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 34.

have seen this at Cosa and, indeed, the pattern is similar here: the dominant cooking form in areas such as Friuli, Lombardy, and Liguria is the *olle*, while all other forms (with the exception of the lid) disappear or exist only in severely reduced numbers. That some *olle* have burn marks and some do not indicate that this form could be used for a variety of household activities, did not have a defined use as a cookpot, and was not used to cook only one sort of meal. The authors also comment on the appearance of one type of vessel which seems to have emerged in Late Antiquity: the dome-shaped vessels of the sort mentioned in Cubberley.¹⁴⁸ Their emphasis is primarily on cooking and not on meals, and thus they pay less attention to the specific use of these vessels, though they indicate that bread was not the only thing these pots cooked. They provide two useful correctives to Cubberley: first, they note that such vessels might best be considered as a general oven and not necessarily as bread-baking vessels, and second, that not all of the vessels of such shape were used for cooking.

The differences between open and closed forms was explored in greater detail in 1996 by Lucien Rivet, who wrote about ceramics found at sites in the southern coast of France during the first century AD. Open forms, to Rivet, which he categorizes as “*plats et casseroles*” (he includes several different types of vessel in this category, including ones that Bats and others mark as distinct) could be used for frying and stir-frying.¹⁴⁹ *Plats*, to Rivet the equivalent of the French *poêle* (pan) or *plat à gratin* (a gratin dish), also made cakes, omelets, desserts, and grain, lentil, and bean meals. Many display fire-

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 43-49.

¹⁴⁹ Rivet, “Fonctions et faciès,” 337.

marks and thus were cooked via direct contact with a heat source. Casseroles, deeper vessels, were ideal for roasting in the oven, which explains why few of these vessels contain burn-marks. Closed forms, or *olle*, were used to boil liquids (primarily milk and water), as well as to boil meats, fruits and vegetables (to make syrups and soups), to make sauces, and as a vessel for frying items in oil.¹⁵⁰

Though Bats is more well-known, Rivet's work is perhaps more useful. Rivet observes that we should not expect to ascertain too much information about the specific use of individual forms based on appearance and morphology. A more general approach to cooking, such as "this vessel was used for boiling," relies on the information contained in the physical characteristics of the pot and does not seek unattainable specificity. It is true that Rivet assumes too much about the ingredients: my own work on what went into these pots, which we will examine in Chapter Three, is not as specific or, with the exception of Apicius, as decadent. In addition, I wonder if Rivet, like many who work on cooking, makes too much of modern forms: his use of *plat à gratin*, for example, connotes a specific meal in the modern kitchen, one that the first century AD owners of these vessels would likely not have recognized. Having said that, this work remains an important reminder of what morphology can and cannot reveal.

The point about vessel words and the meanings that come with those words is dealt with by Andrea Berlin, in one of the most influential works for this dissertation. Her examination of the Hellenistic and early Roman coarse ware from the site of Tel Anafa in

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 340.

Israel contextualizes cooking ware in a way not seen in the work of previous scholars.¹⁵¹ Berlin spends much time identifying fabrics, and then was able to classify the cooking vessels according to six rough categories, each with some morphological variation. But first, however, she critiqued the development in scholarship on plain and cooking wares, noting that such evidence was both vital yet understudied.

No other material remains reflect more about a site's inhabitants – who supplied the markets at which they shopped, which sorts of foodstuffs they imported and which they acquired nearby, how they prepared meals, whether they entertained lavishly or not at all, with whose economy theirs was connected, with whose society theirs was most familiar, with whose culture theirs was affiliated . . . Study of a plain ware assemblage can teach us much about how the people whose remains we recover lived their lives.¹⁵²

How we go about this cultural reconstruction has been hampered by how we have treated the evidence, Berlin believes, for reasons I have already touched on above. The first has to do with establishing discipline-wide parameters of terminology for form and type, a point similar to what was discussed above regarding *Ad Mensam*. The second relates to the terms used for vessels. Relying on ancient names for specific shapes “is a terminological quicksand. While ancient users surely named vessels by their functions and uses, modern scholars usually group (and name) by form, and there need not be a direct correspondence between the two.”¹⁵³ This is a reminder of Allison's cautious message, and a very serious break from the works we examined at the beginning of this

¹⁵¹ Berlin, “The Plain Wares.” This is the final publication of what was her doctoral dissertation: see eadem, “The Hellenistic and Early Roman Common-ware Pottery from Tel Anafa” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1988).

¹⁵² Berlin, “The Plain Wares,” 1-2.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3.

chapter, along with others such as Hilgers and Bats. In short, Berlin argues that our words mean different things in different contexts, and as such we must be cautious with our labels. As she notes, when people refer to “casseroles,” in an archaeological sense they refer to a type of vessel.¹⁵⁴ But in a modern sense this refers less to the vessel and more the meal, in this case food baked in a single container. Our names and modern understanding of vessels do not always refer to form. They can also refer to use, and thus we cannot assume there is an overlap of nomenclature between the archaeological word, which refers to form, and modern meaning, which refers to both use and form. Thus “*caccabus*” may not refer to a specific shape, but rather to a variety of forms that were appropriate or useful for preparing a specific meal. Berlin also argues that problems with vessel nomenclature have troubled the evolution of the discipline. The terms “casserole,” “pan,” and “baking dish”—all varieties of open forms—have been used indiscriminately in the secondary literature, a confusion caused in part by a failure to recognize the difference between Greek and Roman ceramic traditions.¹⁵⁵

Berlin sorts and classifies the ceramics by shape first and subordinates fabric to morphology, believing a vessel’s use to be more dependent on its shape than the material it was made of.¹⁵⁶ We do, after all, need some sort of linguistic classification system for these vessels. She identifies six key vessel forms: globular cooking pots (Figure 18), closed forms that were the preeminent cooking vessels among the indigenous population

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 3 n. 6.

¹⁵⁵ Eadem, “The Hellenistic and Early Roman Common-ware Pottery from Tel Anafa,” 67.

¹⁵⁶ Eadem, “The Plain Wares,” 4.

of Palestine;¹⁵⁷ casseroles (Figure 19), which were open forms and thus dissimilar to cooking pots,¹⁵⁸ and a form associated very much with the Greeks and used for “boiling, braising, or stewing meat, fish, or large vegetables such as cabbage;”¹⁵⁹ pans (Figure 20), the broad, flat-bottomed vessels, some with handles and some without, that Berlin asserts are Italian in origin and used primarily for baking “dishes whose ingredients must set;”¹⁶⁰ baking dishes (Figure 21), a rather deceptive name that refers to low, open forms occurring infrequently and used for what Berlin calls baking but seems more like roasting or toasting (e.g. “dry[ing] out seeds and legumes”);¹⁶¹ cooking ware bowls (Figure 21), or vessels similar to a casserole but without a rim designed to hold a lid and likely used over a fire;¹⁶² and lids, which Berlin notes were also Italian in origin and suggests might have been used on their own by legionnaires as portable ovens for bread-baking.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 84-94. Note that many of these functional categories have various subdivisions, and thus for example “neckless triangular rim cook pot,” “necked pointed rim cook pot,” and “angled neck cook pot,” all fall under the category of “globular cooking pot.” These subdivisions are important for establishing typological variation and chronology, but less important for this project as they do not usually affect the meals these vessels produced. There are some exceptions to this rule: handles, for example, can change how a vessel was used, while certain rims are better for holding lids, and I pay attention to these factors when I look at vessels in later chapters.

¹⁵⁸ Berlin observes that the term casserole is not employed uniformly due to the lack of specificity regarding forms discussed above, and that the terms “cook pot,” “open cook pot,” “stew pot,” and “pan” are sometimes used for this form. See *ibid.*, 94 n. 209.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 94-103; for the presumed function of these vessels see 95 n. 213.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 104-109. Berlin asserts that the terms *patella*, *patina*, *fretela*, and *sartago* are all various names for this form; this observation nicely counters the point brought up in the discussion of the word “*sartago*” in the section on Bats above. Berlin’s theory is tested in Chapter Two. For the association between Italy and the pans see 104 n. 226 and 227. Berlin, 104 n. 225 notes that the addition of a handle often results in the name “frying pan,” and a lack of a handle is a “baking pan.” But these are modern impositions of use on ancient vessels, and thus she uses the general “pan” for all such forms, handle or no.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 110-112.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 112-115.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 115-122.

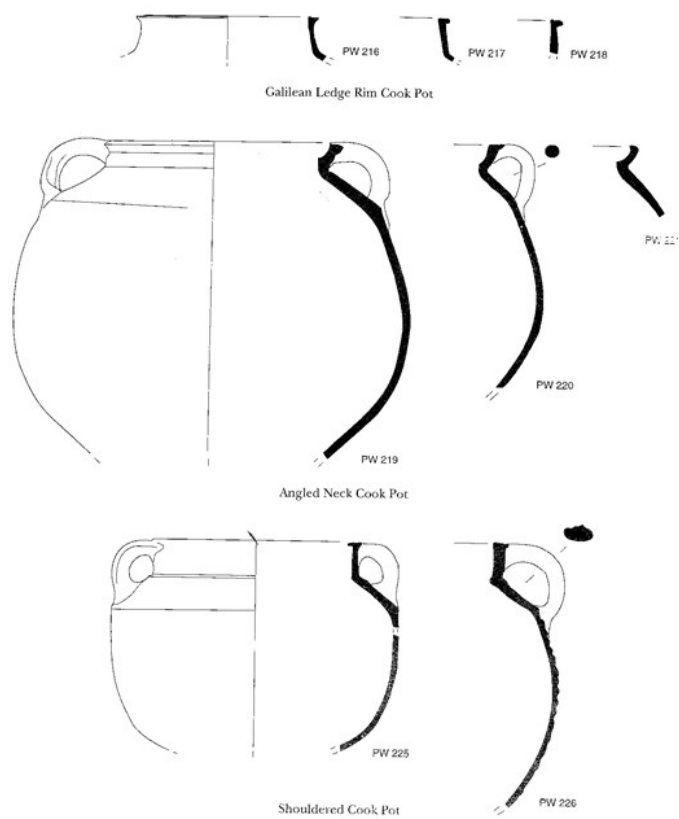


Figure 18. Cooking Pots from Tel Anafa. From Berlin, "The Plain Wares."

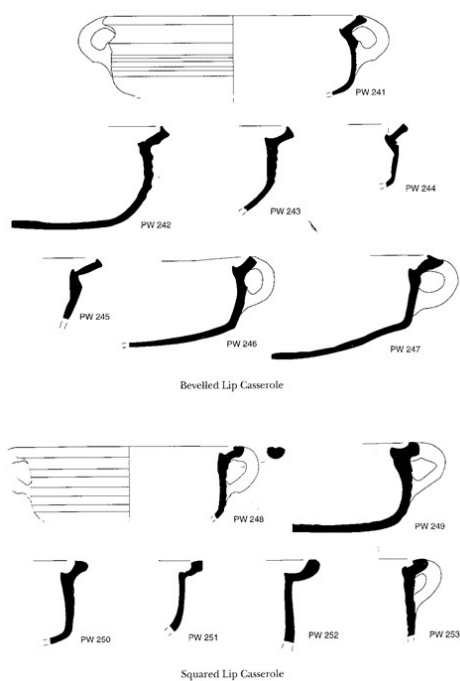


Figure 19. Casseroles from Tel Anafa. From Berlin, “The Plain Wares.”

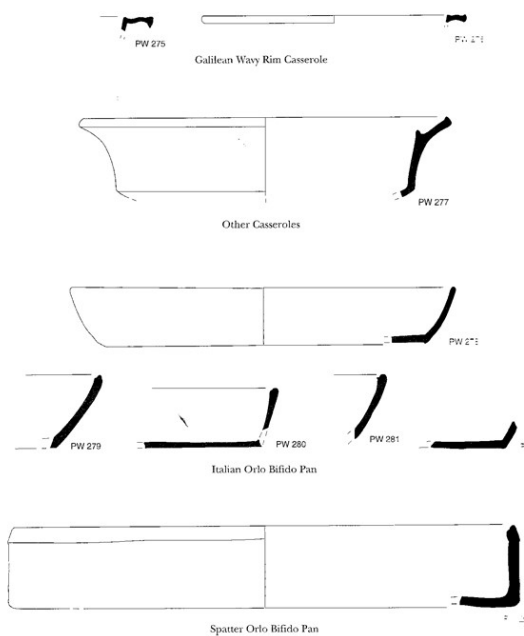


Figure 20. Cooking Pans from Tel Anafa. From Berlin, “The Plain Wares.”

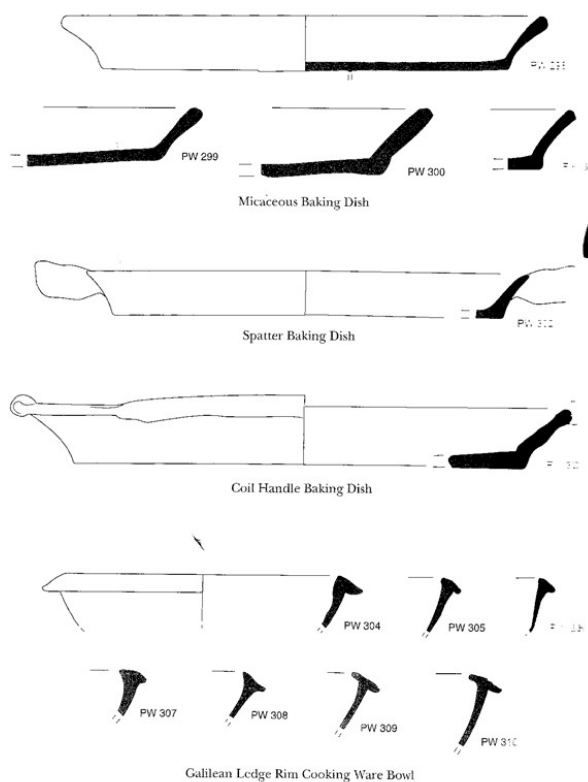


Figure 21. Baking Dishes and Cooking Bowls from Tel Anafa. From Berlin, “The Plain Wares.”

This work is important for several reasons, the first of which is Berlin’s attempt to break the wares down into categories of use. She also relates change in the ceramic record to historical events and cultural boundaries. The ceramic record at the Hellenistic settlement at Tel Anafa is decidedly different from Hasmonean sites to the south. Baking dishes are not found at Hasmonean sites, and casseroles are extremely rare at any site with a large or exclusively Jewish population with the exception of Jerusalem. This lack of casseroles, Berlin, states, may be an indication of an “aversion for the Greek repasts that one would prepare in them.”¹⁶⁴ The presence of pans in later layers at Tel Anafa is an

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 95.

indication of both the growing acceptance of Italian-style meals and, Berlin believes, the presence of Romans.

Berlin's model is an excellent one for interpreting vessel use, and is one I will rely on throughout this dissertation. It also challenges some of the observations we have seen above. Bats labeled the deep cooking pot (his "olla") the quintessential Roman form. It was not to Dyson; it was to Lavazza and Vitale, though only in very late Roman contexts. To Berlin, such forms were ubiquitous throughout the Near East in non-Roman contexts. Is the pot we see appearing, disappearing, and reappearing in Italy therefore a Roman form, or is it merely a form similar to the Greek casserole that was used by a majority of the non-Greek population of the Mediterranean? To Berlin and Dyson, the pan, and not the pot, is the cooking form that indicates a Roman presence and the consumption of meals that were first cooked in Italy. Why the change from pot to pan? More importantly for this dissertation, why the return to pots in Late Antiquity?

Berlin's work focuses on the eastern Mediterranean, though it touches on issues very much related to Italy and this dissertation. A more topical investigation is Janne Ikäheimo's volume on African cooking wares found in the peninsula.¹⁶⁵ Ikäheimo worked on material from the Palatine East Project, an excavation on the northeastern slope of the Palatine Hill conducted between 1989 and 1995 on a site occupied from the last half of the third century AD to the middle of the sixth.¹⁶⁶ The focus of his publication

¹⁶⁵ Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*.

¹⁶⁶ Janne P. Ikäheimo and J. Theodore Peña, "The Palatine East Project: A Holistic Approach to the Study and Publication of an Excavated Pottery Assemblage from Rome," in *Vessels Inside and Outside: EMAC'07: 9th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics: October 24-27, 2007, Budapest, Hungary*:

is on the African cooking ware, and the other cooking wares will follow in a subsequent (and as yet unpublished) volume.¹⁶⁷ Ikäheimo, like Berlin, notes the importance of cookware because it makes “previously unexplored resources of food available to mankind.”¹⁶⁸ And, despite its seeming crudity, cooking ware is in fact quite complex, as these pots “result from a careful selection of raw material and manufacturing techniques.” Though humble in purpose, in terms of construction they often represented significant technological sophistication.

Ikäheimo, relying on what had become by now standard nomenclature, identifies three main forms: lids,¹⁶⁹ pans,¹⁷⁰ and casseroles.¹⁷¹ Determining what the vessel he labels the lid was used for, he notes, is problematic. Lids from the Palatine East do not contain impermeable interior surfaces, which would make them useless for serving as plates or bowls.¹⁷² Some scholars, such as Cubberley et al., argue that they were baking covers. Ikäheimo dismisses these latter options, as the vessels also do not display sooting on their exterior surface.¹⁷³ Baking covers were placed over the food to be cooked and

Program and Abstracts, ed. Katalin T. Biró (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2007), 37-42; Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Victor Martinez, e-mail message to the author, January 14, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 13.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-48, 75-79.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 48-51, 79-80.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 51-68, 80-81.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 76. For this identification, see Carandini and Panella, *Ostia I*, 86-87. Lamboglia, *Gli scavi di Albintimilium*, 203, first made this suggestion. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 18, 200-209, problematizes the issue by promoting the term “lid-dish.”

¹⁷³ Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 77.

had ashes heaped on top of them. These ashes would leave a uniform pattern of soot on the vessel. The absence of this soot means, to Ikäheimo, that they could not have been used as baking covers. In fact, he argues, we must be cautious in assuming that baking covers were ever prolific: while the words “*clibanus*” and “*testum*” appear with frequency in the textual sources, according to Cubberley et al., vessels of this type appear only in scarce numbers in the archaeological record.¹⁷⁴

Pans (and the sub-category “pan-casseroles,” see Figure 22) were usually slipped on the interior. This allowed for a sort of non-stick cooking surface. They were likely used both as serving vessels and for cooking. What they cooked, however, is not certain. The majority had flat bases and do not display sooting, indicators that they were more often used in an oven rather than over an open flame.¹⁷⁵ Ikäheimo cautiously agrees with Bats that the vessels were similar to his *plats à four* and used to cook the ingredients and meals proposed by Rivet.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 91 n. 420.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 79. Though this is not the case for all in this category: certain pan-casseroles have a somewhat saggy base, and may have been used on a stand rather than in an oven. In addition, the fact that some do have sooting reminds us of that these vessels could be used in a variety of ways.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

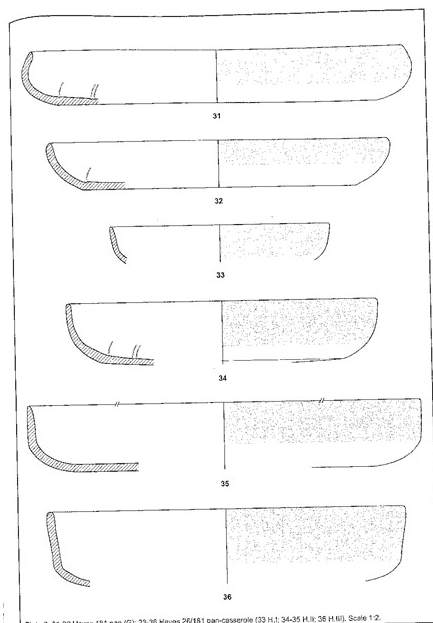


Figure 22. Pans and pan-casseroles from the Palatine East. From Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cooking Ware of the Palatine East Excavations*.

Ikäheimo divides the casseroles into four categories: the first, a Hayes 194 (Figure 23), or a wide-mouthed vessel with a seat for a lid, created a “vaporous atmosphere that was essential for the cooking of certain foodstuffs, like fish.”¹⁷⁷ The second, Hayes 23 A and B (Figure 24), was a shallow, open casserole used without a lid. This openness “guaranteed immediate access to the cooked substance, which was most likely *puls*, the ancient equivalent of pap.”¹⁷⁸ The third, a variation of Hayes 197 (similar to Figure 6) is a larger-capacity vessel with a seat for a lid used to stew meat and vegetables in large

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

quantities.¹⁷⁹ The final, another variant of Hayes 197 is medium-deep, also with a lid, and used to make sauces and foodstuffs which require stirring.¹⁸⁰

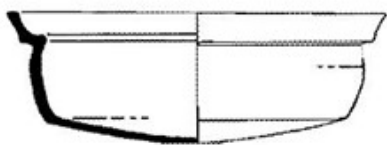


Figure 23. Hayes Form 193. From Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*.

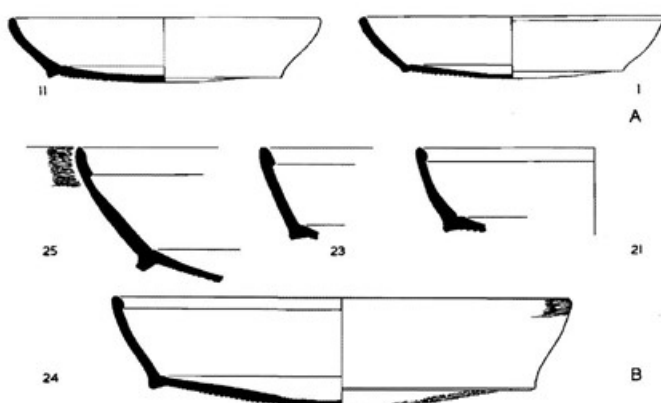


Figure 24. Hayes Forms 23 A and B. From Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*.

There are many things to take from Ikäheimo's study. The first is that there is a lack of African closed forms present at the Palatine East excavation. This is not surprising: as we will see below, North African ateliers did not produce this type of vessel in significant quantities. However, this does not mean that the inhabitants of the Palatine did not cook with such forms. Ikäheimo's work, while very important for understanding ceramic use, is less helpful for contextualizing how food was cooked at the site, as the non-African pottery remains unpublished.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 81.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

But does this absence of deep pots matter? Almost every type of cooking can be accomplished with the forms excavated. This point will be relevant when I discuss an article by Paul Arthur below, but also further problematizes the disappearance of cooking pots in Imperial period. Quite simply, the absence of these pots does not necessarily indicate a corresponding disappearance of a particular cooking style. However, the disappearance of the flat-bottomed pan in Late Antiquity does indicate cultural change, as this shape is unique and specifically suited to particular methods of cooking, especially the preparation of aristocratic meals.¹⁸¹

The second point is that Ikäheimo notes quite strongly the attention that must be paid by ceramicists and scholars interested in cooking to the physical use- and wear-marks on a vessel. Sooting is one of the few indicators of whether or not a vessel was used for cooking, and where the vessel displays soot is often proof of how it was used. Ikäheimo's method is best used when one can examine the vessels personally, as too often the details he notes are important for understanding use are left out of site reports. Thus I will look at sooting when possible, but the current state of the field is such that it cannot be a major criterion in this dissertation.

Third, Ikäheimo assigns very specific uses to some of the casseroles. This is potentially appealing. But these finds are from a highly urbanized, wealthy center of Rome, an area of many different ethnic inhabitants with differing dietary preferences and a location where access to a great variety of cooking pots was the norm. In more rural areas, however, which were removed from central trade networks, I am not certain this

¹⁸¹ Though see the discussion of Fentress below for a possible counter to this point.

strict application of form to specific cooking style holds.¹⁸² That sooting patterns vary so drastically on the pan-casseroles in this urban center with great access to a wide variety of cooking pots only underscores this point.

Ikäheimo's work focuses on Rome, a city so large and cosmopolitan that attempting to discuss ethnic identity via cooking pots is problematic. Yet, in a different setting, these vessels can be used to study zones of preferred foods and, likely, cultural and ethnic difference. Benjamin Luley has recently written about the role cooking pots play in determining zones of preferred meals, which he links with ethnic preference, as well as the role food and cooking play in marking status. He looks at three oppida from the southern French coast, all near Bats' Olbia: Lattara, Nages, and Ambrussum. The oppida were occupied between the third century BC and the first century AD. He identifies eight general forms of vessel: the lid; the cooking pot (a form with a "closed mouth...a round body, with or without a neck, and generally with a flat base");¹⁸³ the *olla* (similar to the cooking pot but "produced in the Italian peninsula and generally tends to be more elongated");¹⁸⁴ the *jatte* ("a rather vague term used in French literature to designate any of an array of generally open-mouthed bowls produced locally in Mediterranean France, occasionally with handles or a spout or beaker");¹⁸⁵ the

¹⁸² For more on cities as consumption sites, see Archer Martin, "Sigillata and Red-Slip Ware at Ostia. The Supply to a Consumption Center," in *Territorio e produzioni ceramiche: paesaggi, economia e società in età Romana*, ed. Simonetta Menchelli and Marinella Pasquinucci (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006), 381-388.

¹⁸³ Luley, "Cooking, Class, and Colonial Transformations in Roman Mediterranean France," 38.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

lopas/patella; *caccabus/marmite*; cooking plate/*patina* (the last three definitions are consistent with Bats); and mortar.

Though these *oppida* are close to Olbia, their ceramic records are very different from this colony. The residents of Olbia, as we have seen, used a variety of forms, including the Greek *lopas*. At Luley's sites, however, the cooking pot was the dominant form, representing anywhere between 60-70% of the total vessels found. The second-most common vessel, anywhere between 10-20% of the assemblage, was the *jatte*. Luley speculates the inhabitants of these sites ate a primarily grain-based diet, alternatively boiled in the pots (which could also be used to make beer), or baked as bread in *jattes*, which were placed over ovens.

The ceramic record, somewhat surprisingly, is not that different between the *oppida* and Cosa. Luley notes that, in the second and first centuries BC, the vessels used at Cosa were the cooking pot (he uses the word *olla*) (approximately 66%) and the pan (he uses *patina*) (20%). Though Roman dietary patterns are often seen as distinct, he believes that the understanding of this distinction is based at least in part on nomenclature. The Romans used similar vessels, but different terms are used for those vessels, and thus the Roman diet is seen as distinct. Both at Cosa and at these Celtic *oppida*, all rural settlements, low cuisine was standard, and it was only after the arrival of the Romans under the Empire that things began to change.¹⁸⁶ Beginning in the first

¹⁸⁶ Luley is influenced by the discussion of “high” and “low” cuisine presented in Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class*, 97-153. High cuisine is marked by culinary specialization that reinforces the hierarchy of a politically stratified society, and low cuisine refers to a less stratified culture where dietary difference is not used as a sign of social or political distinction, and food consumption is generally undifferentiated.

century AD, and more pronouncedly so in the second, there was a decline in cooking pots, which were replaced with the *patina* and *caccabus*. But not at the *oppida*. This transformation took place only in urbanized areas, such as Massalia. In the *oppida*, however, traditional cooking practice endured. There were some transformations: there was a rise in oyster and scallop consumption, an event that took place throughout the Roman world,¹⁸⁷ as well as an increase in olive oil and *garum* importation. In addition, *terra sigillata* dining vessels became more common. But cookpots largely remained the same. This difference, Luley believes, is one primarily borne of status: the “high” cuisine of the Romans (or at least the Romans who would be found outside the Italian peninsula), which featured very complex sauces and exotic ingredients, was adopted by local elites, while at “low” sites, like Lattara, more traditional practices endured. In essence, while Romanization extended downward to an extent, as *garum* and other sauces entered into indigenous diets, it did not affect what local populations were cooking or used to cook.

This is a powerful argument for the importance of studying cooking wares. Luley convincingly shows the existence of boundaries based on cultural preference yet also argues that food preference is by no means restricted to ethnicity. His model provides at least one way of understanding the proliferation of the pan that we have discussed above: in essence, it, along with other vessels, is not necessarily a sign of “Romanization,” but rather elites, whether local or foreign, who have either adapted to a new style of cooking or brought one from home.¹⁸⁸ I suspect Luley's argument would be strengthened by an

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 52.

¹⁸⁸ See also Anne-Sophie Martz, “Les dispositifs de cuisson domestiques au Proche-Orient d'après les sources archéologiques (IIIe s. av. JC - IIIe s. ap. JC),” <http://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00380481>, who

examination of textual sources, but here he is hindered by the fact that there are no Celtic texts to consult for information on cooking. The Roman texts he examines are few and usually the most modish, such as Apicius, but they are enough to prove his point regarding the importance of sauce.

For this dissertation, I examine ceramic evidence based in large part on a combination of Ikäheimo, Berlin, and Luley's approaches. Berlin makes useful cultural arguments regarding vessel morphology; Luley observes that variance in cooking pot morphology can be a marker of status and that ethnicity is not the only aspect of identity a zone of cooking preference defines; Ikäheimo notes physical characteristics present on pots and relates them to a larger discussion of use. Ikäheimo also establishes a concordance between vessel name (e.g. pan-casserole) and Hayes number, which makes it easy when looking at other site reports to examine the ceramic evidence and discuss cooking vessel use. I suspect that Ikäheimo links use to specific vessel types too readily, in a manner similar to Bats, though Ikäheimo is not nearly the absolutist that Bats is. Berlin is even more cautious in assigning specific use to a vessel (e.g. she does not say "this pot roasted peas and legumes"), and focuses rather on more general aspects of cooking. So too does Luley, and in the process he makes the important observation that there is much significance in comparing general patterns in cooking vessels between sites. He also notes that the existence of similar vessels may indicate a rather unified diet, and that status (and perhaps ethnicity) is more easily discussed in areas marked by highly

argues that detecting what we might call "Romanness" is much easier in areas that are wealthy, urban, or military, as these are the sites that will have the greatest variety of physical evidence (e.g. a wide range of ceramic forms or differentiated architecture), and it is in variety that cultural distinction can be noted.

varied ceramic assemblages. This further problematizes the changes that occurred in Italy in Late Antiquity: the growing dominance (or even resurgence) of the cooking pot may well be a return to a “low” culture, one whose elites did not or were not able to define themselves via feasting and elaborate dietary customs. These three authors, considered in conjunction, present an excellent way to interpret ceramic data from a site report. Though there is variation between the authors, they also provide us with a rough schema of classification that will be useful when examining site reports: deep pots, casseroles, and truly open forms I will call pans. There is significant morphological variation within these categories, as well as multifunctional use, but this tripartite schema is an excellent for approaching archaeological material.

Underlying much of this chapter is the need to contextualize and understand ceramic change in Late Antiquity. Are there any other arguments that can be made regarding these morphological distinctions? This topic is explored by Paul Arthur in two articles. The first, “Form, Function and Technology in Pottery Production from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,” is a survey of ceramic developments in in the peninsula.¹⁸⁹ Arthur makes several important points useful for this dissertation. The first is that in late antiquity there is a general decline in ceramic quality. For Italy this began around the middle of the sixth century, roughly contemporaneous with Justinian’s invasion of the peninsula.¹⁹⁰ In many parts of the Mediterranean the wheel-made wares of North Africa were replaced by local hand-made wares. Arthur associates both of these

¹⁸⁹ Arthur, “Form, function and technology in pottery production.”

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 165.

phenomena with two factors: the decline of urban centers (and thus markets) and the migration of barbarians.¹⁹¹

The overall decline in quality and industry had an impact on various aspects of cooking. First, forms gradually decreased in number. An exception is the *clibanus*, which Arthur notes increased in the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁹² The pans and casseroles of the Roman period, as I have observed above, were replaced in ever-increasing amounts by cooking pots.¹⁹³ This was, at least in part, due to changes in cooking techniques and domestic space, as these vessels are better suited to be used over a fire or in ashes, while pans are better suited for ovens. But the use of ovens, which had typically been limited to middle- to upper-class homes, declined as well, indicative of changes in cooking style as well as, Arthur believes, social organization and technological complexity.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 164.

¹⁹² Ibid., 178. I will explore this outside of this dissertation. I am uncertain, based on literary evidence, that the word *clibanus* always refers to vessels, or that there is a direct relationship between the word *clibanus* and the form currently associated with the word. But the resurgence of the *form* in Late Antiquity indicates the return of a method of cooking that had disappeared for some time, and was likely related to the decline of communal ovens.

¹⁹³ Arthur notes that there seem to have been a number of competing ceramic traditions in Italy in Late Antiquity, and that this might be due to the historic difference that has existed between north and south. Site-specific studies will help to map the ceramic patterns in Italy, and indicate there may be microtraditions on a smaller scale than just “north” and “south.” One such work, Gliozzo et al., “North Apulian Coarse Wares and Fine Painted Wares,” compares evidence from two sites approximately 20 km from each other and notes significant change. In the 4th century, the vessels were primarily “jars and pans.” (The use of “jars” is another linguistic variety that serves to make a study of these vessels all the more problematic.) “Jars” (which resemble casseroles) appear to be a local phenomenon, while pans occur with great frequency throughout the area. By the 6th and 7th centuries, however, when the site was firmly in the Byzantine sphere, the pans were gone, and jars were the only form of significance. I examine these vessels in later chapters.

¹⁹⁴ Simon P. Ellis, “The ‘Palace of the Dux’ at Apollonia and Related Houses,” in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. Graeme Barker, John Lloyd, and Joyce Reynolds (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1985), 17 argues that in-home kitchens were infrequent, and food was usually purchased and brought in from external kitchens, such as *tabernae*.

This simplification found in the material record corresponds well, as we will see in later chapters, with changes in cooking terminology found in textual sources, though I believe the changes in the latter begin perhaps a century earlier. I give more credence to cultural reasons than pure technological ones. A decrease in technological sophistication need not be the only reason for these changes. Preference is another. So too is poverty: the cookpot offers the best way to prepare ingredients without waste. What stands out in Arthur's schema, as we have seen before, is the disappearance of the pan and the return to the cooking pot, and his discussion of technological changes casts further light on what seems like the multifaceted group of reasons for this phenomenon. I explore this transformation in Chapter Three, and note now that this morphological transformation is not absolute, as certain areas, namely Ravenna and the Byzantine-controlled portions of Italy, did not adopt cooking pot in the manner the rest of the peninsula did.

Arthur returned to changing forms in another article, "Pots and Boundaries."¹⁹⁵ This article is an attempt to link certain morphological changes to other evidence of dietary preference and whether distribution patterns of specific vessels relate to cultural boundaries. The work is similar in thought to Luley's, but Arthur focuses more on ethnicity and less on status.¹⁹⁶ He begins with the observation that the faunal record in Rome and Naples in the "early Middle Ages" began to change from one formerly dominated by pig bones to one with an ever-growing amount of sheep/goat remains.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Arthur, "Pots and Boundaries."

¹⁹⁶ Luley appears to be unaware of Arthur's publication.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16. The difference between sheep and goat remains can be very difficult to determine, and thus these two animals are often grouped together under the category "sheep/goat." See Melinda A. Zeder and

This was particularly prevalent in Naples, when in the fifth and sixth centuries sheep and goat remains surpassed pig. Contemporary to this, Arthur notes, was a change in the ceramic record: the traditional *olla*, or cooking pot, was replaced by the casserole, or open cooking form. This replacement did not happen in Rome, but there was an increase in their presence, and a similar—and, Arthur argues, corresponding—increase in sheep and goat remains.

Arthur then expands his argument to note that casseroles may represent a southern Mediterranean diet. They were extremely common in North Africa (an area where closed cooking forms essentially did not exist) as well as the Near East.¹⁹⁸ These were areas dominated by sheep and goat remains. North of Italy, however, from “Britain, across the Rhineland, to central Europe,” closed forms were present in great numbers.¹⁹⁹ Sheep and goat were not. Italy exists in a sort of intermediate zone, one in late antiquity marked by the presence of casseroles, *ollae*, pigs, sheep, and goats.

Arthur then posits a link between form, fauna, and use. Closed pots, “intended primarily for greater heat and water retention, through stewing or boiling, generally leading to the production of semi-liquid foods. . . Requiring limited control, they can be kept on the boil for a long time, helping to break down fats and tenderise and render more digestible meats and vegetables.”²⁰⁰ Casseroles, however, had a different use, to “cook

Heather A. Lapham, “Assessing the Reliability of Criteria Used to Identify Postcranial Bones in Sheep, *Ovis*, and Goats, *Capra*,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37 (2010): 2887-2905.

¹⁹⁸ Arthur, “Pots and Boundaries,” 17.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

food through water evaporation and braising, where the end result may be a relatively dry dish, to which various sauces may be added.”²⁰¹ Furthermore, Arthur argues, certain animals are cooked better in certain vessels. Pork is best prepared in what he labels an *olla*, for the long cooking process and high heat soften the meat and create a thick, rich stew.



Fig. 5. Casseroles or open cooking vessels.

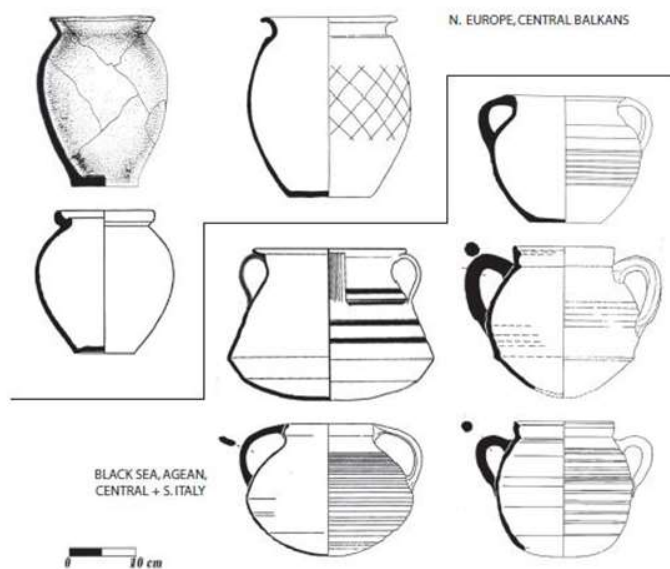


Figure 25. Arthur's Morphological Categories: Casseroles and Cooking Pots. From Arthur, "Pots and Boundaries."

²⁰¹ Ibid.

Arthur's hypothesis has much potential. By his own admission it is underdeveloped. A reason why should be immediately apparent if one looks at Arthur's forms (Figure 25). Arthur's discussion is binary, reminiscent of Rivet and earlier works, and the complexity of analysis regarding use that we have seen in many of our authors is not present here. Open and closed forms are treated as opposites and incapable of similar uses. More importantly, pans—the form Berlin labeled as the hallmark of Roman imperial cooking—are not present anywhere barring a brief and specific mention of Bats' *teganon*. Thus this picture of ceramic use, and the relationship of vessels to animals cooked, is quite incomplete. In addition, Arthur's understanding of which vessels were best suited for certain animals is based on a discussion with his chef at his university and seems centered more in the modern world (though I do not agree with the chef's conclusions, then or now) than in the customs of antiquity.

Having said this, there is much of value here: the relationship between pots and boundaries has rarely been attempted so well, and Arthur seems to have discovered archaeological evidence of great cultural significance. The proliferation of North African casseroles in Naples and, to an extent, Rome, along with elevated number of sheep and goat remains is contemporaneous with the Vandal occupation of North Africa. It is hard not to see that this change in the faunal and ceramic record was dictated by the movement of refugees who brought with them dining customs from home. Thus Arthur has done exactly what I hope to do: use changes in dietary evidence to discuss evolving and changing identities and the movement of people.

From this examination of work discussing larger cultural changes via ceramics we turn to another attempt to view ceramics in a new way. Elizabeth Fentress recently published a brief article that attempts to look at how ceramics were used together, building in part on Ikäheimo's work on the Palatine East material.²⁰² In Chapter Two we will see that vessels were often used in conjunction, i.e. a meal cooked in part in one vessel was finished in another. Fentress' work looks at something more complex: how multiple forms were used together to create a cooking apparatus. In particular, she notes that Hayes 197, 23, and 196 all could be stacked together and used as a sort of double-boiler, thus cooking food at a consistent temperature of 100° C (Figure 26). The sooting patterns present on the vessels bears this out: the bases of Hayes 23 rarely display soot, while 197 often does.²⁰³ Hayes 198 and 191 potentially acted in a similar paired role (Figure 27). This form of cooking would be valuable, Fentress notes, as coals or open heat may have cooked certain foods such as “casseroles and porridges” too quickly.²⁰⁴

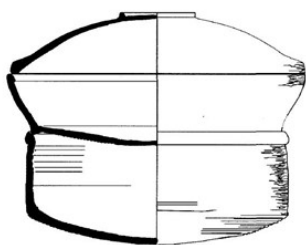


Figure 26. A Possible Double Boiler, Featuring a Hayes Form 196 (top), 23 (middle), and 197 (bottom). From Fentress, “Cooking pots and cooking practice.”

²⁰² Elizabeth Fentress, “Cooking pots and cooking practice.”

²⁰³ Ibid., 147. Fentress’ hypothesis potentially clarifies the role of certain vessels in Apicius, where a pot is used for cooking and then brought to the table and acts as a serving vessel. I discuss this further in Chapter Two.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 148.



Figure 27. Another Possible Double Boiler, Featuring a Hayes form 191 (top) and 198 (bottom). From Fentress, “Cooking pots and cooking practice.”

Fentress’s model, which requires testing, is a useful reminder that there are many ways to understand how these vessels were used. It is also a compelling suggestion for looking at a the cultural reaction to the decline of ovens: in short, as the presence of ovens disappeared, these vessels served to prepare food in a fashion similar to an oven and served as way of allowing certain traditional foods to continue to be cooked. More regional work needs to be conducted to determine if Fentress’s hypotheses are valid on a larger-scale, peninsula-wide level, but her approach offers an excellent example of thinking about cooking wares that moves past a simple matching of form to noun to meal that has dominated the discourse for so long. The works of Fentress, and Arthur, and the other scholars at the end of this chapter have proven that cooking pots can be examined for an understanding of cooking practice, and that the information they hold regarding use is invaluable for discussion of issues of identity.

Conclusion

This chapter, in large part a review of the changes in how ceramics have been studied, examines several key points that are relevant for the remainder of this

dissertation. A misunderstanding of the relationship between vessel and text, which in turn skewed how cooking wares were identified, has marred much of the history of cooking and cooking pots. Archaeologists, who have done the most with cooking pots, have focused on issues of nomenclature and classification, and their use of vocabulary has often been inconsistent. Vessels are thus mentioned in a modern context (e.g. what modern vessel does it resemble?) or with a faux-classical veneer (e.g. how does this relate to a specific word in one text?). Neither of these will do for those interested in cooking. More recently, scholars have begun to question such methods of classification, resulting in works that have challenged how we view quotidian wares and problematize how they can be used to better understand daily life. Texts and vessels must be studied together.

The relationship between certain forms, meals, and different cultures is now stressed. We know that use is not static across texts, nor is it necessarily static across centuries. Furthermore, authors have given methods for analyzing use. Arthur, Berlin, Fentress, and Ikäheimo in particular have each made suggestions regarding the use of cooking pots that I will consider when conducting my own analysis of vessels from certain site reports. These authors together have not only sketched a broad outline of how to determine broad patterns of use from a ceramic assemblage, they have challenged scholars to look at patterns of distribution to see how they relate to cooking preference of the inhabitants of that particular site.

The evidence presented here leads to certain questions regarding the ceramics and cooking that I address in subsequent chapters. I have sketched a generic pattern for cooking ware in Italy. In the Republic the primary method of cooking was the deep pot.

At the height of the Empire pans were the dominant form, yet by Late Antiquity those pans decreased in frequency, replaced by a seeming return to a much older form of cooking in deep pots. These deep pots are not unique to Italy, but seem common through many parts of the Mediterranean. The pans, however, were an Italian phenomenon. The reason for this transformation is, for now, unknown.²⁰⁵

I began the chapter by stating that Roman cookpots have been divorced from their context of use, as they have historically been examined less for information about cooking and more for economic details. This remains true, but only to an extent: as we have seen here, many scholars have worked to extract a significant amount of information from these vessels themselves regarding cooking. But these vessels must not be analyzed alone. Primary textual sources must be used in conjunction with ceramics to properly discuss cooking practice. They must be used with care. Chronology must be respected: it makes little sense to rely on, say, a first century text to corroborate how a fifth century vessel was used. In addition, Roman vessels were often multipurpose, though they often had primary uses. This multifunctionality will be considered when examining a site's ceramic assemblage. It is a mistake to try to apply Roman words for vessels directly to the vessels themselves. As I have discussed here, and will discuss in Chapter Two, these words often did not refer to specific vessels, but rather to a general morphology that fulfilled a general use, such as roasting or boiling. Thus the word *olla* did not reflect a

²⁰⁵ It is hard to ignore the role the military may have played in this, as the rise of the pan and the widespread appearance of this vessel form throughout the Mediterranean world coincides nicely with the rise of the Imperial legion. For the connection between soldiers and specific cooking forms see Swan, "The Twentieth Legion and the History of the Antonine Wall reconsidered."

very specific morphological variety of pot, but rather indicated a vessel of a general, though variable, size and shape.

And yet these words are not without their importance. Indeed, I believe that the appearance of vessels in texts is an absolute necessity for establishing vessel use. How these words been understood, however, is incorrect. Context has in large part been ignored. Certain texts, such as Apicius or Cato's *De agri cultura*, are deemed universal, and are often consulted for information about food and diet because they contain the greatest amount of material on the topic. There is risk in this, as doing so assumes that all texts speak to matters of food present at all times. It is a mistake to assert that, because a vessel word is in a "Roman" text, there was a universal similarity of use of that word across almost a millennium. How a word was used in the Republican period is not necessarily how it was used in the later stages of the Empire. In other cases, the word for a vessel may change, though the morphological patterns do not. To that end, context is paramount: to determine vessel use, I believe one must examine texts from a specific time and place to give information about material found in the contemporary archaeological record.

Texts and material must be examined in conjunction. The patterns present in texts, the verbs, the nouns used for vessels, and the source of heat must be compared with the actual ceramic record. From then, observations about vessel use and cooking can be made. With that established I can chart change, and better understand and contextualize that change.

The trap of analyzing use too specifically via the modern kitchen is slowly disappearing. Of course, we cannot divorce ourselves from our own kitchen or from our understanding of modern cooking. But in order to avoid the appealing pitfall of making ancient vessels fit our modern notions of how pots were used we need to learn more about how the owners and users of these pots understood and wrote about their food and meals. This context will help us understand vessel use and how cooking patterns changed over time, as well as give us further information about the potential reasons for this change. It is extremely important to discuss “high” and “low” dietary patterns, or technological decline, or ethnic, social, and religious developments. All of these had an interconnected role in the changing of dietary patterns. In order to accomplish this, I now turn to the next chapter, in which I present a broad outline of cooking in the time period in question by turning to the most significant textual works on food and ceramics.

CHAPTER TWO

COOKING POTS IN COOKING TEXTS¹

Vergil mostly provides the Greek names for drinking vessels: the *carchesia*; the *cymbia*; the *cantharos*; the *scyphos* . . . But no one asks what shape they are or which author made mention of them, [and] all are content to know them to be drinking vessels of some sort . . . I do not see why they do not wish to seek the meaning of these new and foreign names.²

Macrobius' quote gets to the very heart of this dissertation: even Macrobius, reasonably comfortable with the language of the kitchen and well-versed enough in Vergil's vocabulary to provide an extensive commentary on the *Aeneid*, faced a significant impasse when attempting to determine the shape and specific use of certain vessel words referred to in a particularly well-loved and oft-recited poem. Aware of his own ignorance, Macrobius rebukes other, earlier authors who passed along these words without understanding their meaning.

This chapter looks at several key textual sources that mention cooking. These sources are the paradigmatic works used by authors writing on food. They have been treated, until now, as monolithic. They are not. I create a primer of vocabulary by

¹ Portions of this chapter appear in Andrew James Donnelly, "Cooking Pots in Ancient and Late Antique Cookbooks," in *Cooking, Cuisine and Culture: the Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Michela Spataro and Alexandra Villing (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015), 141-147.

² Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, *Saturnalia*, ed. James Alfred Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>. 5.21.1-3: "Nomina poculorum Virgilius plerumque Graeca ponit: ut carchesia, ut cymbia, ut cantharos, ut scyphos . . . Ea autem cuius figurae sint quisve eorum fecerit mentionem nemo quaerit, contenti scire cuiuscemodi esse pocula . . . non video cur non cogantur inquirere quid sibi nova et peregrina nomina velint."

examining works from the Republic to Late Antiquity, establish which vessel words and cooking verbs were common across this period, and discuss what we can learn about actual cooking practice, the physical vessels mentioned in the text, and how use of these words changed over time. This is not a complete study, nor is it location-specific. That comes later. The examination in this chapter creates a relative chronology that I can compare to the works I examine in later chapters and establishes the diachronic nature of these words. As we have seen, previous scholars have lumped together references independent of chronology, creating a mish-mash of meaning that fails to examine vessel words relative to their context of use. Considering these texts in light of the time periods they were produced provides a fine starting point from which to investigate vessels and associated cooking words.

This examination allows us to understand better the narrative of vessel morphology discussed in the previous chapter—loosely put, a move from a Republican preference for the cooking pot, followed by a proliferation of the pan in the Imperial period, and an ultimate return to the pot in Late Antiquity. How does an examination of vessel words and cooking verbs in textual sources compare to the archaeological record? The texts, as it turns out, corroborate a portion of this pattern and make it clearer. The rounded pot, and a preference for boiled or pot-cooked food, seems to have been dominant in Italy up to the first century BC. As the Empire expanded, however, and both came into contact with other civilizations and their resources and grew economically, verbs for roasting and vessels appropriate for this method of cooking became increasingly popular. Boiling did not disappear, though certain traditional methods of cooking related

to boiling did decrease significantly. The decline of roasting is not entirely present here, though—and we will see some of this decline in Chapter Three—this is in part a function of textual sources selected, though not exclusively.

The first few texts I examine come from the late Republic: they are Cato's *De agri cultura*, from the middle of the second century BC, and Varro's *De re rustica* and *De lingua latina*, from the latter half of the first. I then turn to the early Imperial period, consulting Columella's *De re rustica*, from the middle of that century; Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, written just a couple of decades later; Petronius' *Satyricon*, from later that century; and Juvenal's *Satires*, from the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD. These texts, along with Apicius, which I examine later in this chapter, have served as much of the material that has informed the arguments of scholars examined in the previous chapter, such as Daremberg and Hilgers, who treated these works as a monolithic whole. In the third chapter I look at pottery from the first century and compare it to later material. This analysis, like the one conducted here, shows that works must be considered in the light of the time they were produced, and that there is considerable overlap between vessels and texts.

I pay close attention to differences in the chronology of these sources. We should expect, based on the previous chapter, to see a prevalence of words for deep pots in the Republican works, and a surge in pan-shapes and a resulting change in cooking language in the Imperial texts. This expectation, as we will see, is correct, though the pattern of change is more complex.

This list of texts is not complete, nor is it location-specific: Columella, for example, was from Spain, though he owned farms in Italy.³ Yet this way of organizing the texts is effective. In the previous chapter I showed the existence of a transformation in the ceramic record between the Republic and Empire. This transformation is also observable in the textual record as one moves from the Republican works of Cato and Varro to the sources produced in the first and second centuries AD. But pots are only a part of cooking, and as we have seen, are not always useful on their own for understanding what types of cooking were preferred by their owners. Examining the cooking words in the texts will create a lexical foundation on which the remainder of this chapter as well as others can rest. This will help establish the variable and diachronic nature of the cooking words. That these words have not been viewed as having multiple meanings across time is surprising. Perhaps this is due to these words reflecting a tangible material reality which, as a considerable swath of time is viewed collectively as “Roman,” has rendered a need for attention to context moot.⁴

The genres of the early works are more varied than the ones we will look at later in this chapter: Cato, Columella, and Varro are farm manuals, for example, while Pliny’s *Historia naturalis* is an encyclopedia, and Juvenal and Petronius wrote fiction. The latter two deserve the most cautious scrutiny, for such genres (along with “histories”) have the greatest chance to use food pejoratively.⁵ However, even these such references can be

³ Columella, 3.9.2.

⁴ Allison, “Labels for Ladles,” 59-60.

⁵ Food offers perhaps one of the best ways to hurl invective, for it draws on established tropes, usually connected to what is perceived to be “civilized” in broad, quick strokes to make very clear points. When Procopius needed to describe the barbarity of a tribe living in the far north of Italy, he commented on their

useful: if cooking vessels, for example, are used in a pejorative fashion, such as to indicate the base status of the user, we are potentially still able to determine the correct manner in which the vessel was to be used.

The next part of this chapter, and its core, is an examination of three specific works from the late antique and early medieval periods that deal with cooking in significant detail. All can be associated with a specific cultural group. Viewing these texts as reflective of the practices of the cultures which produced them is important for delineating some of the differences between these cultures, especially when we examine texts and vessels specific to Italy in subsequent chapters. These works are all cookbooks: Apicius, Vinidarius, and Anthimus. The specificity of these volumes is of inestimable help for learning about cooking. This specificity in turn will allow me to compare these works across time in order to see what vessels and cooking words drop out, reappear, or were used differently.

I conclude by looking at one other work, Isidore's *Etymologies*, which was written in the beginning of the seventh century. It was not produced in Italy. Despite this, it is a useful source for this dissertation, in part due to the paucity of resources, and also

food. They ate nothing tilled from the earth, but rather “the flesh of whatever wild animals they have caught,” and their children, “live[d] solely on the marrow of captured animals.” (Procopius, *De Bellis*, VI, 15.) Civilized men, of course, ate bread, a theme that echoes Strabo and many others. This endures well past Late Antiquity: in 968, when Liutprand of Cremona went on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople in 968, he noted that the Byzantine emperor—a “crafty, pitiless, falsely humble, miserly, and greedy” man—lived on “garlic, onions, and leeks,” and drank (wine mixed with plaster) and bath water. This was in direct contrast to his own liege who was not only a “truthful, without guile, truly humble, and never miserly,” but did not, Liutprand points out, live on garlic, onions, and leeks. But even here, it must be noted, there can be truth hidden in pejorative language: digging in Knossos, Arthur Evans noted that the locals mixed Minoan wall-plaster into their wine. I am grateful to J. Lesley Fitton of the British Museum for this last point.

because it is a source cited by scholars interested in food.⁶ Isidore's idiosyncratic vocabulary—a seeming mix of “traditional” vessels and a more contemporary vocabulary that includes some barbarian words—may well reflect vessels in use at the time of composition. Keeping Luley's thoughts on the importance of high-status cooking and the relationship between status and “Roman-ness” in mind,⁷ Isidore's text allows us to explore potential continuity or change in cooking practice in a region that had experienced a cultural transformation similar to what occurred in Italy. As we will see, Italy in Late Antiquity experienced a transformation in the language of cooking, with new nouns introduced to the lexicon, ones that likely reflected local cooking tradition. Isidore's language reflects this, and suggests—though this is outside the scope of this dissertation—enough commonality of practice to suggest a connecting force influencing cooking practice in Italy and Spain.

Before I turn to the texts, a note on vocabulary and vessels. My goal is to examine context of use and how that context changed over time. I leave the nouns for cooking vessels untranslated: as I have shown, trying to match a modern word with an ancient vessel is fraught with difficulties, though I do discuss rough aspects of morphology based on textual clues. I look at verbs when they are paired with words for cookpots. I do translate these verbs, though I acknowledge that meaning may change over time, as we will see. The locus of meaning for the verbs is not always distinct, and this can change how the verb is translated and understood: a verb may refer to cooking liquid (for

⁶ Gómez Pallarès, “Instrumenta coquorum.”

⁷ Luley, “Cooking, Class, and Colonial Transformations in Roman Mediterranean France.”

example, one can boil a soup, which itself is a food, but one also boils the water that food is cooked in), or to heating the vessel, or to the meal itself. I discuss many verbs in this and subsequent chapters. The most common, though not necessarily the most important, relate to roasting and baking (*asso*, *torreo*, and *torrefacio*); boiling (*bullio*, *elixo*, *ferveo*, *defervefacio*, *inferveo*), and generic cooking (*coquo*, *decoquo*, *discoquo*, *percoquo*). There are many others used more sporadically, and I translate those as necessary when they appear in the texts. I note here, and will discuss in greater detail below, that I do not include verbs for frying on this list, as they do not appear in the earlier texts examined in this chapter. Frying—or, at least, specific verbs used for frying, such as *frigo*—is restricted to a rather specific moment in late antique Italian history, one that begins only late in this chapter and continues through the majority of the next.

Early works

Cato's *De agri cultura* is less focused on cooking than others that we will encounter.⁸ This is to be expected for a farming manual, and the genre of the work is important, for we should expect to see fewer complicated recipes in Cato than we do in, say, Apicius. The food in Cato is simple fare, easily cooked on a functioning farm. Though only a handful of vessel words appear in the work, it contains recipes that require cooking pots for both meals and medicines. The word *olla* appears the most frequently, occurring 9 times. Two are not related to cooking: in one, the *olla* is used to preserve grapes;⁹ in the other, an *olla* (or a basket, *qualos*) pierced with holes is used to

⁸ Marcus Porcius Cato, *M. Porci Catonis, De agri cultura*, ed. Antonio Mazzarino (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982.) Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

help grow new trees.¹⁰ In this latter case the *olla* was placed on an existing branch, where it remained for two years. After this it was removed and, the branch having sprouted roots, the *olla* was placed in the ground, where it acted as a planter. It is tempting to take from the first reference to the *olla* a sense of size and shape, but there is no real reason to correlate the vessel here with any specific Roman pottery forms, as a variety could have performed this duty. The second reference, however, is more helpful: a vessel designed to hold both soil and branch must have been relatively wide, and thus the rounded pot typically associated with the word *olla* is a tempting match. But there is an important caveat: the *olla* here must have been small enough to be suspended from a tree while full of soil yet not break the branch. Thus we see here the first evidence that Latin vessel words refer to pots of a rough shape but not a specific size.

Seven of the *olla*'s remaining appearances in *De agri cultura* are for cooking, and four are for preparing meals.¹¹ In a recipe for *erneum*, a cake-like dish, a doughy mix was placed in an *irnea fictilis*¹² which was itself placed in a copper *olla*, or *aula ahenea* (*aula* is often used interchangeably for *olla*), full of hot water.¹³ After this had cooked (*coquo*) over a fire (*ignis*), the *irnea* was removed and broken open, and then the cake was served.

¹⁰ Ibid., 52

¹¹ The other is in Ibid., 7, mentioned above.

¹² The *irnea* is listed in Lewis and Short (under "*hirnea*") as "a jug for holding liquids." Not only is the *irnea* clearly not used in this capacity here, and is instead more of a cake mold or some other vessel that requires breaking open once cooking is completed, there is no way one could read this passage in Cato and come up with Lewis and Short's definition, which they somehow derive in large part from Cato. This recipe is also an example of a phenomenon we will see again: a meal named for the vessel in which it was prepared.

¹³ Cato, 81.

¹⁴ The *olla* was also used in two separate recipes for porridge: in the first, spelt was soaked in water, then mixed with cheese, eggs, and honey and turned into a new *olla* (*aula nova*), perhaps to cook.¹⁵ The second is for “*granum triticeum*,”¹⁶ which seems like a type of porridge.¹⁷ Husked wheat was placed in an *aula* and cooked (*coquo*) in pure water. Once cooked (*coquo* is again used), milk was added to make a cream. Finally, *amulum*, typically translated as “starch” but here a starchy cake-like meal, could be cooked (*coquo*) in an *olla* with milk.¹⁸

Three other recipes are medicinal. One is a formula for treating colic: macerated cabbage was put into an *aula* and boiled thoroughly (*defervefacio*); when cooked (*coquo*), the water was poured out and oil, spices, and flour were added, and it was then set to boil (*ferveo*) again. Once this second boiling (*ferveo* again) took place, the results were put into a serving dish, or *catina*.¹⁹ Two are for medicinal broths, one water

¹⁴ Ibid., 81: “**Erneum** sic facito tamquam placentam. Eadem omnia indito, quae in placentam. Id permisceto in alveo, id indito in **irneam fictilem**, eam demittito in **aulam aheneam** aquae calidae plenam. Ita **coquito ad ignem**. Ubi **coctum** erit, **irneam** confringito, ita ponito.”

¹⁵ Ibid., 85: “Pultem Punicam sic coquito. Libram alicae in aquam indito, facito uti bene madeat. Id infundito in alveum purum, eo casei recentis P. III, mellis P. S, ovum unum, omnia una permisceto bene. **Ita insipito in aulam novam**.” Note that this need not be a recipe that involves cooking, as the dish may well have been something the equivalent of cold, soaked oatmeal.

¹⁶ For more on the various grains available at the time see Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, 119-122.

¹⁷ Cato, 86: “Graneam triticeam sic facito. Selibram tritici puri in **mortarium** purum indat, lavet bene corticemque deterat bene eluatque bene. Postea in **aulam** indat et aquam puram **cocatque**. Ubi **coctum** erit, lacte addat paulatim usque adeo, donec cremor crassus erit factus.”

¹⁸ Ibid., 87: “Id omne ita facito et refricato denuo. Eam patinam in sole ponito, arescat. Ubi arebit, in **aulam novam** indito, inde facito cum lacte **coquat**.”

¹⁹ Ibid., 157: “Brassicam macerato bene, postea in **aulam** coicito, **defervefacito** bene. Ubi **cocta** erit bene, aquam defundito. Eo addito oleum bene et salis paululum et cuminum et pollinum polentae. Postea **ferve** bene facito. Ubi **ferverit**, in **catinum** indito.”

prepared with cabbage (the accompanying verb is *ferveo*), while the other is water and either a pig's foot or pork scraps, prepared with the verb *coquo*.²⁰

The *patina* appears in Cato twice, once as a vessel for drying salt (it is used interchangeably with “*labella*”),²¹ and once (in the recipe for *amulum* mentioned above) as the vessel to which the creamy dough is added and left to dry in the sun before it was cooked in an *olla*.²² The *craticula*, a word that will be used in cooking contexts in later works, appears in Cato solely as a device useful for a pressing-room.²³

The *ahenum*, or vessel made of copper, is mentioned once, and was used to make a cake called *globus*.²⁴ Cheese and spelt were mixed together, then placed in an *ahenum*, which was full of hot fat. The cakes were cooked (*coquo*) one or two at a time then removed and served with honey and poppy-seeds. This version of deep-frying—and

²⁰ Ibid., 156: “Postea **ollam** statuito cum aqua. Ubi occipiet **fervere**, paulisper demittito unum manipulum, **fervere** desistet. Postea ubi occipiet **fervere**, paulisper demittito ad modum dum quinque numeres, eximito; 158, Sume tibi **ollam**, addito eo aquae sextarios sex et eo addito unguam de perna. Si unguam non habebis, addito de perna frustum P.S quam minime pingue. Ubi iam **coctum** incipit esse, eo addito brassicae coliculos duos, betae coliculos duos cum radice sua, feliculae pullum, herbae Mercurialis non multum, mitulorum L. II, piscem capitonem et scorpionem I, cochleas sex et lentis pugillum.”

²¹ Ibid., 88: “Id signi erit: menam aridam vel ovum demittito; si natabit, ea muries erit, vel carnem vel caseos vel salsamenta quo condas. Eam muriam in **labella** vel in **patinas** in sole ponito. Usque adeo in sole habeto, donec concreverit. Inde flos salis fiet. Ubi nubilabitur et noctu sub tecto ponito; cotidie, cum sol erit, in sole ponito.”

²² Ibid., 87: “Id in linteum novum indito, exprimito cremorem in **patinam novam** aut in mortarium.” Note that the same purpose can be achieved by the *mortarium*, which is indicative of the shape of the *patina*. This mix is to be cooked in the *olla* mentioned in n. 14.

²³ Ibid., 13: “In torcularium in usu quod opus est. Urceum I, ahenum quod capiat Q. V, uncus ferreos III, orbem ahenum I, molas, cribrum I, incerniculum I, securim I, scamnum I, seriam vinariam I, clavem torculari I, lectum stratum ubi duo custodes liberi cubent (tertius servus una cum factoribus uti cubet), fiscinas novas, veteres, epidromum I, pulvinum I, lucernas, corium I, **craticulas duas**, carnarium I, scalas unas.”

²⁴ Ibid., 79: “**Globos** sic facito. Caseum eum alica ad eundem modum misceto. Inde quantos voles facere facito. In **ahenum caldum unguen** indito. Singulos aut binos **coquito** versatoque crebro duabus rudibus, **coctos** eximito, eos melle unguito, papaver infriato, ita ponito.”

coquo must stand for frying here—indicates that this particular copper vessel was likely globular, and similar to the *olla*.²⁵

The *olla* also has a seemingly standard use, to heat liquids. Several recipes are for the preparation of soups and porridges. This is enforced by verb use: although the generic *coquo* appears most frequently, the only other cooking verb associated with the *olla* is *ferveo*, a word that indicates the heating and movement of water. The literary evidence suggests the *olla* in *De agri cultura* was a type of cauldron or deep pot, one capable of holding broth. In addition, it must have been sizeable enough and with a wide enough mouth to hold another vessel inside of it in order to act as a sort of double-boiler, as we see in *De agri cultura* 81. However, it need not have always been so large: a large pot filled with earth would possibly damage the tree discussed in *De agri cultura* 52. Thus it seems, as I have noted, that the word may refer to a certain shape but not necessarily a specific size. As for the *patina*, although there are but few references to this vessel in Cato, they provide useful information. That it was used as a vessel for drying—and that the sun did the work—indicate that it was a relatively open vessel; it also must have been rather shallow relative to the vessel's width in order for goods to dry effectively. The *patina*, here, was not used for cooking. The dominance of the *olla* in Cato's *De agri cultura* is reminiscent of the pattern of vessel use discussed in the previous chapter.

²⁵ The *ahenum* is not mentioned in the subsequent recipe, though it is clear that one is to be used. This is for a food named *enyctum* that is strikingly similar to modern funnel cake: the same dough that is used to make *globus* is pushed through a hole in a vessel (a *calix*), and the resulting thin ropes of dough, which one shapes into a spiral, are put into the same hot fat as in the *globus* recipe. Once removed, they are served with honey or *mulsum*, honeyed wine.

Cato's *De agri cultura* is a normative text that has conditioned scholars to have a specific understanding of vessel use. He straightforwardly presents a handful of vessel words accompanied by a fairly basic vocabulary of cooking. This has made it easy to use him as a source for cooking for a time period covering several centuries. But, as we will see, it is a mistake to assume that the way he uses certain words is how they will be used in other texts. It is worth mentioning that Cato's rustic air may have been deliberate. As John Wilkins notes, Cato's work was written in a period of growing tension between a "traditional rural life and the demands of the growing city with its outside influences."²⁶ And yet, I do not think this means we discount Cato's cooking vocabulary, though I believe we must be aware that its simplicity may be less a reflection of contemporary reality and more of Cato's vision of an idealized, simple farm.

In Varro's works, as in Cato, the most common vessel word is *olla*.²⁷ In his *De re rustica* it appears four times, though none of the references is for cooking. It appears once as a vessel for fattening snails,²⁸ once for keeping pomegranates fresh,²⁹ and twice as a storage jar for grapes.³⁰ It is tempting to assume some understanding of morphology based on these uses—for example, the rounded pot we associate with the word *olla* would work well as a storage vessel—but there is little that is concrete in the text to

²⁶ Wilkins and Hill, *Food in the Ancient World*, 201.

²⁷ Marcus Terentius Varro, *Res rusticae*, ed. Georg Goetz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.14.5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.59.3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.54.2; 1.59.3.

confirm this assumption. Perhaps the most informative reference is that the *olla* used to store grapes for consumption in 1.54 is itself placed inside a larger *dolium*, indicative of the interrelationship certain vessels had, and—perhaps—that the *olla* had to be a certain size in order to fit inside a *dolium*.

In Varro's *De lingua latina* the *olla* appears four times, all in cooking contexts.³¹ One of these is a reference to historical sacrifice in a discussion of the etymology of the word ram. Certain rams were sacrificed, Varro writes, citing earlier works, and their entrails were cooked (*coquo*) in an *olla*, not on a spit (*veru*).³² In a discussion of the etymology of *frumentum*, or grain, Varro refers to “*olla-cooked*” entrails to which meal (*mola*) made of salt and grain was added.³³ Varro also notes that, over time, man grew from eating uncooked meals to ones that were boiled (*decoquo*) in a pot to make them less raw.³⁴ Slightly further on he notes states that vegetables (*holera*) are named because of their association with the *olla*, a vessel used to carry or hold them.³⁵ Whether the

³¹ Marcus Terentius Varro, *De lingua Latina*, ed. Georg Goetz and Fritz Schoell (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>. Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, to this author, was a troublesome source. It is hard to ascertain from where Varro's definitions came, and at times it appears if Varro was scrounging for meaning, especially concerning the quasi-historic veneers he provides for some of the quotidian items discussed in this dissertation. For more on understanding Varro and the context of this text, see Steven James Lundy, “Language, Nature, and the Politics of Varro's *De Lingua Latina*” (PhD Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2013), 1-13.

³² Varro, *De lingua latina*, 5.98: “Haec sunt quarum in sacrificiis **exta in olla**, non **in veru coquantur**, quas et Accius scribit et in pintificiis libris videmus.”

³³ Ibid., 5.104: “hinc declinatae fruges et frumentum, sed ea e terra; etiam frumentum, quod <ad> **exta ollicoqua** solet addi ex **mola**, id est ex sale et farre molito.”

³⁴ Ibid., 5.22: “dein posteaquam desierunt esse contenti his quae suapte natura ferebat sine igne, in quo erant poma, quae minus cruda esse poterant decoquebant in olla.”

³⁵ Ibid., 5.22: “ab **olla olera** dicta, quorum **+a+gerere cruda olera**.” The Loeb edition takes the corrupted “*gerere*” as “*macerare*,” a word that means to soften. This is an appealing meaning, for softening here must mean boiling. I believe, however, that the association between vegetables and the *olla* in Varro likely can

etymologies proposed by Varro are accurate is unlikely and, fortunately, not entirely relevant. What stands out in this text is that the *olla* is, to Varro, the primary vessel associated with cooking, and that vegetables and grains were usually cooked in it. The *olla* was so ubiquitous that Varro notes a connection between the pot and the name of certain foods. Even if spurious, that he associates the two is important.

The *caccabus* appears only once in the *De Lingua Latina*. It is the earliest appearance of the word in this chapter and, according to Varro, the vessel earned its name because it was used to cook (*coquo*) food (*cibus*).³⁶ Again, as above, this etymology is suspect, but what is important is that Varro acknowledges the existence of other cooking pots, and in the process of doing so—primarily due to the paucity of references to other vessels—inadvertently acknowledges that the *olla* was the predominant cooking pot in his day.

There are few references to vessels in these Republican works, and admittedly this is a small sample of texts. However, the references to the *olla* reflect the pattern seen in both Bats and Dyson in the previous chapter. Though it is hard to say with specificity, deeper pots that were predominantly—though not always—used for boiling represent the primary cooking vessels in this time period. There is also a relatively simple language of cooking present in these works. *Coquo* is the dominant verb.

be understood as one that implies cooking even without this corrective, and boiling remains the most likely cooking option.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.27: “**uas ubi coquebant cibum**, ab eo **caccabum** appellarunt.”

Just a century later there is change. The *olla* appears 7 times in Columella.³⁷ It is primarily a vessel for farm operations, such as preserving grapes³⁸ and a souring milk.³⁹ It was used for pickling the plant elecampane: wine dregs were put in an *olla*, and when they boiled (*inferveo*), the vessel was removed from the fire and stirred.⁴⁰ Raisins were prepared by placing grapes in lye that had been heated (*calefio*) in either a bronze or a new ceramic *olla* in brushwood ashes.⁴¹ When the lye boiled (*ferveo*), oil and the grapes were added. Finally, in the preparation of vinegar, three amphoras worth of must was placed into an *olla* and cooked (*decoquo*).⁴²

The *patina* appears twice, both times as a vessel—which again needed to be new—for fruit preservation, and was to be covered with a lid in one case and sealed with gypsum in the other.⁴³ Though there are no examples of cooking in a *patina*, that new

³⁷ Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella, *Res rustica*, ed. Vilhelm Lundström, Sten Hedberg, and Åke Josephson, (Upsaliae: In libraria Lundequistiana, 1897). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

³⁸ Ibid., 12.45: “Tum demum sub tectum referuntur et <m>ucida vel vitiosa grana forpicibus amputantur et, cum paululum sub umbra refrixerint, ternae aut etiam quaternae, pro capacitate vasorum, in **ollas** demittuntur et opercula diligenter pice opturantur, ne umorem transmittant.”

³⁹ Ibid., 12.8: “Oxygalam sic facito: **ollam novam** sumito eamque iuxta fundum terebrato.”

⁴⁰ Ibid., 12.48: “mulsi et utriusque eorum quartam partem boni defruti confundito in **ollam**, quae cum **inferbuerit**.”

⁴¹ Ibid., 12.16: “Deinde **aeno** vel in **olla nova fictili** ampla praeparatam lixivam **cineris sarmenticii calefieri** convenit, quae cum **fervebit**, exiguum olei quam optimi adici et ita permisceri, deinde uvas pro magnitudine binas vel ternas inter se conligatas in aenum fervens demitti et exiguum pati.”

⁴² Ibid., 12.34: “et in **olla**, quae fert **amphoras tres, decoquis** ad palmum, id est ad quartas aut, si non est dulce mustum, ad tertias; despumatur.” Note that this specifically states that the *olla* must be large enough to hold three amphoras.

⁴³ Ibid., 12.44: “tum superponito **fictiles novas patinas** et his sic uvam disponito, ut altera alteram non contingat; tum **opercula patinis** inponito et linito.”; 12, 47: “Nonnulli haec eadem in **patinas novas** sicco **gypso** ita obruunt, ut altera alteram non contingat.”

vessels were called for suggests, perhaps, that the *patina* may have been used to cook, for as we have already seen, cooking residue could be absorbed by a vessel, which would make it unfit for storage. However, it is equally possible that a *patina* that had already served as a storage vessel for a foodstuff would not be acceptable for re-use, as that uncooked foodstuff could equally have tainted the vessel.

Columella has two uses for the *caccabus*. The first is as a vessel for making olive oil: olives were placed in a vessel, either a new (*novus*) *caccabus* or an *urceum* (normally translated as a “jug or pitcher”) and made into a *defrutum*, or reduction.⁴⁴ The second is for making a medicinal syrup from fruit. Must was cooked (*coquo*) in a *caccabus*, either earthenware (*fictile novum*) or metal (*stagneus*).⁴⁵ There is no real information about morphology, though the word is used in a similar way to what we will see in Apicius, where it appears to have been a deep bowl.

There are few recipes for food in general. A notable lacuna is the lack of recipes for bread. It is true that Columella is a farming manual, but bread was a major staple of the recipes in Cato. The disappearance of bread may be linked to the rise of commercial bakeries though, given that Columella was describing farm life, it is not entirely clear how the rise of urban baking would affect bread production away from a city.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid., 12.50: “dein canna viridi scindito duobus vel tribus locis et triduo in aceto habeto, quarto die spongia extergeto, in vas, id est in **urceum** aut **caccabum novum**, mittito, substrato apio et modica ruta. Concis deinde pleno vase olivis inmitte **defrutum** usque ad os.”

⁴⁵ Ibid., 12.42: “In **caccabo fictili novo** vel in **stagneo coquitur** musti arbustivi Aminei urna et mala cydonea grandia expurgata XX et integra mala dulcia granata, quae Punica vocantur, et sorba non permitia divisa exemptis seminibus, quae sit instar sextariorum trium.”

⁴⁶ For the rise of commercial bakeries, Wilkins and Hill, *Food in the Ancient World*, 130-1.

Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* is, of all the early works examined here, the most full informative about vessels.⁴⁷ While Columella represented a change from previous tradition, Pliny is a seismic break from the past. Not only is there a great variety of words for vessels and cooking verbs, there is a much greater emphasis on roasting and frying over boiling.

The *olla* is still the most frequently occurring cooking vessel word in Pliny, appearing 17 times. Many of these are references to practical, non-cooking uses one might expect on a functioning farm, and similar to what we have already seen, such as a planter for pine-trees,⁴⁸ the preparation of dye,⁴⁹ or a storage vessel for wine,⁵⁰ or medical poultices, including ash (which was used to treat hemorrhoids),⁵¹ and a medical salve made of snakes for the treatment of eye ailments.⁵² The majority of the recipes that contain cooking verbs are for the production of medicines and medically-useful foodstuffs: beeswax was cooked (*coquo*) in an *olla* (which was previously referred to in

⁴⁷ Pliny, *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, ed. Ludwig von Jan, and Karl Friedrich Theodor Mayhoff (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.64: “pineae nucleis septenis fere in **ollas perforatas** additis aut ut laurus.”

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.142: “eam vero, quae unius coloris sit, invictam athletic esse, argumento, quod in **ollam plenam** olei coiecta cum pigmentis, intra duas horas suffervefacta, unum colorem ex omnibus faciat minii.”

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.46: “in **olla** vinaceis conduntur Aminnium minusculum et maius et Apicium, eadem in sapa et musto, in lora recte conduntur.”

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 33.85: “reliquus cinis servatus in **fictili olla** ex aqua inlinitur lichenas in facie — lomento eo convenit abluere, fistulas etiam sanat et quae vocantur haemorrhoides.”

⁵² *Ibid.*, 29.120: “fit et collyrium e vipera in **olla** putrefacta vermiculisque enatis cum croco tritis. et uritur in **olla** cum sale, quem lingendo claritatem oculorum consecuntur et stomachi totiusque corporis tempestivitates.”

the same recipe as a new earthenware vessel, or *fictile novum*) over a fire (*ignis*);⁵³ squills, a type of herb, could be cooked (*coquo*) in an *olla* smeared with clay or fat which was then inserted into a *clibanus* or *furnus*;⁵⁴ cypress blossoms were burned (*comburo*) in a *cruda olla* (*cruda*, which means raw in a discussion of food, may mean unfired here);⁵⁵ pomegranates could be placed in an *olla nova* with a smeared (*inlino* in this case must mean sealed) lid and burnt (*exuro*) in a *furno*;⁵⁶ the seeds of *glaucion* (a medical plant), were placed in an *olla fictile* lined with clay and cooked (*calefacio*) in a *clibanus* in order to extract the juice from the seed;⁵⁷ sponges burned (*comburo*) in an *olla cruda* were useful eye remedies;⁵⁸ and serpent ash burnt (*exuro*) with salt in an *olla* is useful for the gums.⁵⁹ We also learn about how the *olla* was physically used: in a discussion on using a fire to divine the weather, Pliny notes that a sign for wind is coals sticking to the *olla* when it is lifted, which means the vessel could be placed directly on the coals in order to

⁵³ Ibid., 21.83: “Cera fit expressis favis, sed ante purificatis aqua ac triduo in tenebris siccatis, quarto die liquatis **igni in novo fictili**, aqua favo tegente, tunc sporta colatis. rursus in eadem **olla coquitur** cera cum eadem aqua excipiturque alia frigida, vasis melle circumlitis.”

⁵⁴ Ibid., 20.99: “inguae quoque recens subiecta praestat, ne hydropici sitiant. coquitur pluribus modis: **in olla**, quae **coiciatur in clibanum aut furnum**, vel adipe aut luto inlita, vel frustatim in **patinis**.”

⁵⁵ Ibid., 23.91: “flos capitis dolores sedat cum aceto inlitis, item combustus in **cruda olla** nomas sanat et putrescentia ulcera per se vel cum melle.”

⁵⁶ Ibid., 23.109: “punicum **in olla nova**, coperculo inlito, **in furno exustum** et contritum potumque in vino sistit alvum, discutit tormina.”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 27.83: “hoc **in olla fictili** luto circumlita **in clibanis calfaciunt**, deinde exempto sucum exprimunt eiusdem nominis.”

⁵⁸ Ibid., 31.130: “et oculorum causa **comburuntur in cruda olla** figulini operis.”

⁵⁹ Ibid., 30.24: “serpentis cum sale **in olla exustae** cinis cum rosaceo in contrariam aurem infuses.”

cook.⁶⁰ And yet this was not the only way it could be heated, as Pliny also noted it could be used in an oven.

The *patina* also appears frequently in Pliny, occurring 11 times. In Columella it was a storage vessel. Here it is used for cooking. The majority of references are, as is the case with the *olla*, medicinal in nature: the body of a viper could be cooked (*discoquo*) in a *patina* with water and dill, and then made into medicine;⁶¹ soft cheese was cooked (*decoquo*) in dry wine and then roasted (*torreo*) in a *patina* with honey and made into lozenges;⁶² a cure for the ears was made with bird fat that has been placed in a covered new earthenware *patina* and melted (*liquo*) in the light of the sun with boiling (*ferveo*) water placed underneath;⁶³ millipedes, a useful cure for asthma, were roasted (*torreo*) in a *patina* until they blanched;⁶⁴ the juice of a fish cooked (*coquo*) in a *patina* with lettuce cured constipation;⁶⁵ frogs cooked (*decoquo*) in a *patina* like a fish helped cure coughs;⁶⁶ the above-mentioned squills could be cooked (*coquo*) either in an *olla* or cut up in a

⁶⁰ Ibid., 18.358.

⁶¹ Ibid., 29.70: “fiunt ex vipera pastilli, qui theriaci vocantur a Graecis, ternis digitis mensura utrimque amputatis exemptisque interaneis et livore spinae adhaerente, reliquo corpore in **patina** ex aqua et aneto **discocto** spinisque exemptis et addita similagine atque ita in umbra siccatis pastillis.”

⁶² Ibid., 28.132: “caseus recens cum melle suggillata emendat, mollis alvum sistit, sedat tormina pastillis in vino austero decoctis rursusque in **patina tostis** cum melle.”

⁶³ Ibid., 29.134: “exemptisque venis omnibus **patina nova fictili** operta in sole subdita **aqua ferventi** liquatus saccatusque lineis saccis et in fictili novo repositus loco frigido.”

⁶⁴ Ibid., 30.47: “quidam **torrent** sextarium in **patina**, donec candidae fiunt, tunc melle miscent [alii centipedam vocant] et ex aqua calida dari iubent in cibo.”

⁶⁵ Ibid., 32.101: “piscium ius in **patina coctorum** cum lactucis tenesnum discutit.”

⁶⁶ Ibid., 32.92: “Tussim sanare dicuntur piscium modo e iure **decoctae** in **patinis** ranae. suspensae autem pedibus, cum destillaverit in patinas saliva earum, exinterari iubentur abiectisque interaneis condiri.”

patina.⁶⁷ Pliny also mentions a recipe for a simple bread: small cakes made from water and barley could be baked (*torreo*) in the ashes and coals of a burning or sizzling hearth (*fervens focus*) or in an earthenware *patina*.⁶⁸

There are three other vessels mentioned in Pliny. The *caccabus* appears once, in a recipe for making medicine from pomegranates. These are to be cooked (*coquo*) in a *cacabus novus* until the juice was like honey.⁶⁹ This role as a vessel for creating a reduction will occur again, especially in Apicius. The *patella* appears twice: mustard can be made into a relish by cooking (*decoquo*) in a *patella*;⁷⁰ cicadas roasted (*torreo*) in a *patella* are effective medicine.⁷¹ That it both reduced liquids and roasted a foodstuff indicates a hybrid role, one that it will have in Apicius and other, later works. Finally, a sizzling (*fervens*) *sartago* appears once, and is placed in ashes (*ciner*) and used to cook (*coquo* is hinted) turpentine.⁷² Pliny's kitchen contains more vessels than we have seen previously, and vessels here are more specialized with respect to use. This is similar to

⁶⁷ Ibid., 20.99. For the Latin, see above n.73.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 18.103: "et haec quidem genera vindemiis tantum fiunt; quo libeat vero tempore ex aqua hordeoque bilibres offae **ferventi foco vel fictili patina torrentur** cinere et carbone, usque dum rubeant."

⁶⁹ Ibid., 23.109: "alii et hoc modo faciunt: punica acida multa tunduntur, succus **in cacabo novo coquitur** mellis crassitudine ad virilitatis et sedis vitia et omnia."

⁷⁰ Ibid., 19.171: "usus eius etiam pro **pulmentario in patellis decocto**, citra intellectum acrimoniae."

⁷¹ Ibid., 30.68: "cicadas **tostas in patellis**."

⁷² Ibid., 16.55: "alii utilius putant sine aqua coquere lento igne toto die, utique vase aeris albi, item terebinthinam in sartagine cinere ferventi, hanc ceteris praeferentes. proxima e lentisco." This word also appears in Juvenal *Satire* 10.61 but only in the context of a statue of Sejanus melted down to make mundane items, including several *sartago*, and no cooking information is present.

Apicius and is some of the earliest evidence for a complex, multi-tiered method of cooking that would become the hallmark of elite cooking.

The remaining works focus on far fewer vessels but are still instructive. The *olla* only appears once in Juvenal's *Satires*,⁷³ but this lone appearance is quite informative: a family comes home to a meal that consists of a great porridge (*grande puls*) smoking (*fumo*) in an *olla*.⁷⁴ This humble association, perhaps, indicates a growing association in Juvenal's day between this vessel and a rustic or poor method of cooking. The two appearances of the *patina* in Juvenal do not contain cooking verbs. The first regards an enormous fish recently caught for which a *patina* of sufficient size (assumedly to cook it) could not be found.⁷⁵ This relationship between the *patina* and fish is one we have already seen. The second, in the same satire, calls for a large *testa* or *patina* to be made to accommodate this fish.⁷⁶ This is the only appearance of the *testa* in a cooking context. It appears—all as *testa*, never as *testum*—four other times in non-cooking contexts: a wine-jar;⁷⁷ a satirical reference to Diogenes' bathtub;⁷⁸ a belittling way of describing Egyptian

⁷³ Juvenal, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae sedecim*, ed. James Willis (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 14: “sed magnis fratribus horum a scrobe uel sulco redeuntibus altera cena amplior et grandes **fumabant pultibus ollae**. nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.”

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 4: “nihil est quod credere de se non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas. sed deerat pisci **patinae** mensura.”

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, “**testa alta** paretur quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem. debetur **magnus patinae** subitusque Prometheus.”

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

boats;⁷⁹ and a victim of urban defenestration when people tossed old and broken pottery out of their windows.⁸⁰ Finally, in *Satire 3* Juvenal notes that vessels (the *patella*) are washed in homes, while at the same time, the braziers (*foculus*) in those homes are being stirred up.⁸¹ (The line is part of a longer commentary on life sadly proceeding in a home following the death of an anonymous worker.) There is no context to allow us to determine whether or not the *patella* here is a cookpot. In Juvenal we see a continuation of a trend first noticed in Pliny, as the *testa* is again used as a cognate for *patina*. Now definitely not a cooking dome, here the vessel is a roasting or frying pan, and the word *testa* is synonymous with *patina*.

Petronius' *Satyricon* refers to even fewer vessels.⁸² The lone reference to a *clibanus* occurs at Trimalchio's feast and concerns an Egyptian serving boy who bears bread on a silver version of the vessel.⁸³ It is unusual to see the word used in a serving context, though this is one of the only later examples to link this word to bread. Does this portability indicate that the *clibanus* was a vessel? Perhaps. But it is also likely, given the nature of the text, that the reference to the *clibanus* here is one designed to mock the excesses of Trimalchio, a man so wealthy (and gauche) that he had servants to carry even

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*: "domus interea secreta **patellas** iam lauat et bucca **foculum excitat** et sonat uncis striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto."

⁸² Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*, ed. Konrad Müller (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1995). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 35: "Circumferebat Aegyptius puer **clibano argenteo panem**."

a small oven around. And this oven, a common item, was made of silver, a juxtaposition that comically pokes light at the excesses of the host and his ilk.

A silver *craticula* is used at the feast to carry snails and roasting (*ferveo*) sausages.⁸⁴ *Craticula* is typically understood to be something resembling a grill or lattice, and this use seems fitting, though that it was made of silver seems equally satirical. The *cucuma*, a word we will encounter in Isidore, is mentioned in two places. In the first reference, an old woman places an enormous *cucuma* on a hearth (*focus*);⁸⁵ shortly thereafter, she slips and falls and in the process damages the neck of the pot (now, oddly, mentioned in the diminutive—*cucumula*—which is a form we will see several centuries later).⁸⁶ No cooking verbs are associated with this pot, though we do discover information about where it was used. The *testum* appears once in this tale, as a vessel full of fire that the old woman brings in and places in her hearth.⁸⁷ The *testa*, meanwhile, is a stained wine-cup.⁸⁸ In another tale, a rooster mistakenly wanders into the dining room, again at Trimalchio's feast, and is summarily ordered to be cooked (*coquo*) in an *aenum*. The rooster was then cut up and placed in a *caccabus*, and later someone drinks the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 31: “Fuerunt et **tomacula** supra **craticulam argenteam ferventia** posita et infra craticulam Syriaca pruna cum granis Punici mali”; and 70: “in **craticula** enim **argentea** cocleas **attulit** et tremula taeterrimaque voce cantavit.” In the first recipe, *ferveo* normally means to boil, but here refers to the sizzling, roiling sausage, a usage, I think, that is certainly not boiling but is in keeping with the spirit of the verb as we have seen it.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 135: “Mox incincta quadrato pallio **cucumam ingentem foco** apposuit.”

⁸⁶ Ibid., 136: “Frangitur ergo cervix **cucumulae ignemque** modo convalescentem restinguit.”

⁸⁷ Ibid.,: “necdum liberaveram cellulae limen, cum animadverto Oenotheam **cum testo ignis pleno** venientem.”

⁸⁸ Ibid., 135.

fervens potio, which must be the resulting cooking broth.⁸⁹ This is valuable information: that two vessels were used suggests the *aenum* was large enough to contain the body of a rooster, while the *caccabus* was likely smaller than the *aenum*. It is tempting to equate the word *aenum* with *olla*, especially given the relationship seen between these two words noted in Chapter One as well as the similarity between the *aenum* and the boiling vessel *ahenum*, which appears in Cato. That broth was prepared in a *caccabus* indicates the vessel was used for boiling, and that the liquid inside the pot was rich and flavorful enough to consume. This presages what will come in Apicius, where the *caccabus* was used to prepare sauces. We see one thing that will occur again quite frequently in Apicius: a meal requiring a number of vessels used in conjunction, with a *caccabus* (or other, smaller vessel) used to prepare a broth or sauce.

I now turn to how the vessels were used in these texts, compare the patterns, and summarize this section.

The *olla* has a general use in Cato: to boil liquids or cook liquid-based meals. The majority of the other works hold to the pattern we see in Cato. In Varro its use is a bit more difficult to ascertain: while it was used to cook (boiling seems likely) vegetables, which is in keeping with what we see in Cato, it is hard to determine how the animal entrails were cooked. The *olla* in Columella, however, holds to the general pattern in Cato: not only was must cooked in one in order to make vinegar, which indicates that this vessel was very much like a cauldron, lye was also prepared in an *olla*, and generally it

⁸⁹ Ibid., 74: “Dicto citius de vicinia gallus allatus est, quem Trimalchio iussit ut **aeno coctus** fieret. Laceratus igitur ab illo doctissimo coco, qui paulo ante de porco aves piscesque fecerat, in **caccabum** est coniectus. Dumque Daedalus **potionem ferventissimam** haurit, Fortunata mola buxea piper trivit.”

seems that the vessel was ideal for holding liquid in some capacity. Columella's *olla* could also be quite large, enough to hold 3 *amphora* in one case, which is a lot of liquid, and could be placed either in hot ash or over a fire. Columella also relies on a greater range of verbs than previous authors.

The references in Pliny are significantly different. Pliny indicates that the *olla* could be placed in coals or in an oven in order to cook and was, at times, used to prepare liquids. But the vessel is also used in a much more diverse way than we have seen until this point. Pliny is the only author to mention that the vessel could have a lid: in addition, the vessel could be of a size that would allow it to be placed inside a *clibanus*. This is a contrast from the *olla* that could hold three amphoras worth of wine! But this reference leads to a very important point: it seems that shape, but not size, is what the vessel words on their own indicate. The word *olla* refers to a vessel of a certain rough shape, one which could easily accommodate the heating of water, yet one whose size was not standard.

Complicating matters is Pliny's use of verbs like *comburo* and *exuro*, which do not imply the movement of water. Rather, they suggest the burning of ingredients. I do not think this need indicate that the *olla* could not be used as a boiling vessel or even that its primary function was not boiling. Rather, its appearance in Pliny speaks to the multifaceted nature of the vessel: while in all of our other authors it was used to heat liquids, usually food itself, in this case, perhaps due to its morphology, or ubiquity, the *olla* could also be used for other functions, acting more like an oven than a cauldron. Thus, while there was a primary function for the vessel, it had active secondary functions as well.

Juvenal's one reference to a porridge-pot is reminiscent of the appearance of the *olla* in Cato. The verb Juvenal uses, *fumo*, which means "to smoke," refers to the contents of the pot, and one would expect a stew or porridge to steam. All we learn of size is that it was large enough to contain the entirety of a family's meal. Its presence in this context indicates a certain rustic association with the vessel, and hints that such meals were simple fare, far removed from the roasted treats consumed by the wealthy.

The *patina* does not appear in Republican works. Its first appearance, in Columella, is not for cooking. But the references are important. They confirm that the vessel could be lidded. The open shape of the *patina* might not seem useful for fruit storage. But such a suspicion is likely a function of modern preference for tall cylindrical vessels for storage, and these two references need not modify our opinion of the vessel's shape. In fact, if the *patina* was used for storage, the best way to organize such vessels would be through stacking, which indicates that the *patina* had a flat bottom, something that would also be useful when cooking medicines or fish and fits the cooking words mentioned above.

In Pliny there is much more information: he confirms that the vessel was an open form, as this would be the most effective for preparing the delicate ingredients of his various medical recipes by providing access to the ingredients as they cooked. In addition, the vessel could be covered, and was used specifically in the preparation of small bread cakes and fish. This latter use is echoed in a humorous fashion in Juvenal.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ That the *patina* had so many functions, including the cooking of fish, calls to mind Bats' point that there were very specific dishes for frying fish in Greek culture, but not Roman. See Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*, 38-39.

The majority of the verbs used with the *patina* are variants of *coquo*, but there are others: *torreo* also appears, a verb that implies scorching, baking, burning, or roasting. The *patina* may have been small, as this would have been the most useful for preparing medicine. It is true that Juvenal's satire calls for one to cook a massive fish, but this really tells us more about the vessel's shape and a specific relationship between cooking vessel and meal rather than a standard size for the *patina*.

Juvenal also states that the *patina* was interchangeable with the *testa*. This reference tells us about the morphology of both vessels in the first century AD. If the *patina* was an open, flat-bottomed vessel—the only real form suitable for cooking fish—and, if the *patina* is a cognate with *testa*, then we must assume the latter was of similar shape. This need not invalidate the role (or, rather, former role) of the *testa* as a baking cover, as an inverted cooking cover is not very dissimilar in form or potential use from a pan.

Though there is less information about the use and morphology of the *caccabus* when compared to the sources we will examine later, its role in these earlier texts is nevertheless informative. In Columella the vessel was used to prepare what are in essence sauces. In Varro it was used to cook an unspecified food. This latter appearance is similar to its role in Pliny, who used the vessel to make a pomegranate medicine that was cooked until it was like honey. How the vessel was heated is relatively unknown, as the generic verb *coquo* is used throughout. That it was placed on a fire indicates it was used to simmer or boil liquids. The reference in Petronius—as the liquid in the pot is described as “*fervens*,” or boiling—indicates the vessel had to be placed in a fire to cook. The

reduction of liquids mentioned above also suggests the direct heat of a fire versus the indirect cooking in an oven. Petronius's reference is also indicative of the vessel's morphology: the *caccabus* could be large enough to cook a rooster: more importantly, that it could hold one could mean that it had relatively steep sides and a wide mouth, especially as the *caccabus* was also held bubbling broth. That the animal was cooked in one vessel and then placed in a *caccabus* in a sort of broth is a pattern that will repeat itself in Apicius.

The *patella*, at least in Pliny, is used in a manner similar to the *patina*: as a vessel used to make medicine, specifically things that were roasted. The references in Juvenal are less helpful, though here the *patella* is a vessel used by the peasantry: this, perhaps, indicates it was a multi-purpose vessel, one which could be used on its own to prepare an entire meal and then as a serving dish. The *patella* is mentioned in the same context as the brazier, or *foculus*, which was inside the home. With no other details, it is hard to assert based on this evidence alone in what manner the *patella* was used to cook, or that it was always placed on a *foculum*. It is tempting to assume a flat bottom based on the recipes in Pliny.

Vessel Use in Early Texts

The earlier works—Cato and Varro—are relatively simple texts in terms of cooking verbs, pots, and meals prepared. The *olla* is dominant, even in small samples, and boiling seems to be the preferred method of cooking, though the *caccabus* is present in Varro's text, indicative perhaps of its growing importance. With Columella, however, who wrote in the early Empire, there is some change. There are still few cooking vessels

(though other words—ones that will be cooking words later—are present, though not in cooking contexts), and cooking is still “traditional” in the sense that boiling was the dominant method. But there is an expanded vocabulary of the kitchen here, one that hints at increasing sophistication. It is hard not to link this to the increased fortune of the empire and a turning away from the stoic philosophy embraced by, among others, Cato.

Pliny marks a break from the past. The *olla* is no longer the dominant vessel. Boiling was no longer the preferred methods of cooking, and the vessels mentioned by Pliny are different as well. The deeper pot no longer seems to have a place, and the *patina* and *testa*—flatter, more open forms used for roasting—are now dominant. This general decline of the pot and rise of open forms correlates closely with what occurs in the archaeological record. Frying seems to be more popular as well, though there was no specific word used for this form of cooking and references to frying are infrequent. There is less to say about Juvenal and Petronius, though the decline of the cooking pot and continued rise of roasting vessels continues in their works as well. Trimalchio’s feast hints at a growing complexity of vessel use, something we will see in greater detail below with Apicius.

Several other points stand out. Sauce is nearly absent from the dishes prepared in the earlier works, especially the Republican ones. So, too, is meat. As we will see, this will not be the case in Apicius: indeed, in his meat- and sauce-rich dishes we see the opposite. This may be related to context, as the majority of our urban authors describe a rural, agrarian diet that was markedly different than the products of Apicius’ elite kitchen. Another oddity is the role of bread: mentioned quite prominently in Cato, bread

and grain-based meals decline in importance in subsequent works. The smoking porridge-pot in Juvenal is an exception, but even its appearance in a humble dwelling is instructive. That does not mean bread consumption declined. Pliny notes that the Romans had multiple types of bread. The decline of home-baked bread may be due to the rise of commercial bakeries, as I have noted above. But porridges and grain-based meals are marginalized in the texts. I suspect—and the only way to confirm this is by examining a multitude of other, earlier authors, which is a project outside the scope of this dissertation—that the *puls* so associated with the Roman diet became, as the wealthy gained increasing access to luxury foods, one linked to a poorer and more rustic way of life, while bread was so ubiquitous as to not merit mention.⁹¹

A final point is that this short examination shows that this collection of texts, which I have chosen primarily because they are so often cited as evidence for Roman consumption, cannot be used monolithically. Even across these two centuries there is incredible variation in what was eaten and how foods were cooked, and to assume that these sources can be used in conjunction to discuss a universal “Roman” diet is a mistake. This point will be discussed in the next chapter, which is an examination of pottery. We will see in this early period that there is a significant amount of diversity of vessel forms present at sites. The exception, however, is elite cooking. The evidence in Petronius especially suggests the beginning of a complex language of elite cooking, one that

⁹¹ For the role of *puls* in Roman diet and, equally as important, in the Roman self-consciousness of diet, see Nicholas Purcell, “The Way We Used to Eat: Diet, Community, and History at Rome,” *American Journal of Philology* 124 (2003): 332-3.

involved vessels used in conjunction. The ultimate example of this is the first author I turn to in the next section.

Aristocratic Cooking: Apicius

I now turn to the authors whose discussion of vessels forms the template with which we will investigate other works and archaeological material in subsequent chapters and whose texts, with one exception, comes from the chronological focus of this dissertation. All represent cultural groups that impacted the history of Italy.

The first of our authors is Apicius. Specific information about the author's identity is, for the most part, unknown. His name appears as early as the first century AD in the *Historia Naturalis*.⁹² A letter from Juvenal written less than a century later, however, indicates that by his time the name Apicius had become an unkind word used to refer to anyone who fancied themselves a gourmet.⁹³ Later authors, such as Tertullian, unaware of this development, heaped scorn upon the now quasi-historical Apicius, indicative of the low status Christian authors held for gourmets and feasts and the importance of an abstemious life.⁹⁴ The man behind the cookbook has therefore been lost.⁹⁵ What remains is a collection of recipes that seems to have been cobbled together

⁹² Pliny, 9.30.

⁹³ Juvenal, *Satire*, 4.

⁹⁴ Tertullian, *De anima*, 33-34.

⁹⁵ Sally Grainger, "The Myth of Apicius," *Gastronomica* 7 (2007): 71-77, nicely situates Apicius within the greater historical context, arguing that any historical figure is unknowable, and that we must see the text as part of the greater Greco-Roman (and not just Roman) world, not one person. Chuck Johnson, "An Etymological Exploration of Foodstuffs and Utensils: the Sociolinguistic Fortune of Culinary Terms of Apicius' *De re coquinaria*" (PhD Diss., UNC-Chapel Hill, 2006), 1-5 also discusses this, with an emphasis on how Apicius' name was used, almost always unkindly, in subsequent centuries. The perception of Apicius as an actual historical figure and not a collection of apocrypha is only relatively new. Ilaria Gozzini

from a variety of sources, and range in date from the first century BC to the third or fourth century AD.⁹⁶ There are few clues about the author in his work, and the text itself is sparse. (John Edwards’ “sparse to the point of postmodern bleakness” is perhaps a stretch.⁹⁷)

Several critical editions exist.⁹⁸ I have chosen to use Christopher Grocock and Sally Grainger’s critical edition of the text: it is the most recent, provides a complete manuscript tradition, and Grainger’s knowledge of cooking practices allows the editors to make helpful suggestions when the Latin text is corrupt or incomplete.⁹⁹ I also use their suggested recipe numbers, and their re-ordering of the text in no way detracts from the purpose of my study. My focus is on recipes that contain specific words for cooking pots, and I believe that their translations at times can be deceptive, for they often supply vessel words in recipes that have none in the Latin original, and provide modern cognates for verbs and words that are not accurate to the meaning of the text. This, as discussed in the

Giacosa, *A Taste of Ancient Rome*, trans. Anna Herklotz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 7-8, an influential book, recounts the narrative of Apicius almost verbatim and as fact.

⁹⁶ Hugh Lindsay, “Who Was Apicius?” *Symbolae Osloensis* 72 (1997): 146. Lindsay notes certain similarities between this work and the *Historia Augusta*, which I look at in the next chapter, and this allows him to place the date of final composition in the late 300s AD.

⁹⁷ John Edwards, “Philology and Cuisine in *De Re Coquinaria*,” *American Journal of Philology* 122 (2001): 255.

⁹⁸ Joseph D. Vehling, ed., *Cookery and dining in imperial Rome; a bibliography, critical review and translation of the ancient book known as Apicius de re coquinaria* (Chicago: W.M. Hill, 1936); Barbara Flower and Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, eds. *The Roman Cookery Book*. (London: Harrap. 1958); Jacques Andre, ed. *L'art Culinaire: De Re Coquinaria* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1974);

⁹⁹ Christopher Grocock and Sally Grainger, eds. *Apicius: A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text Apicius* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2006). For a manuscript tradition and history of previous editions see 116-123. See also Johnson, *An Etymological Exploration of Foodstuffs and Utensils*, 5-9.

previous chapter, is likely a function of their desire to reproduce recipes in modern kitchens.¹⁰⁰

Like the other cookbooks surveyed here, Apicius is a product of a specific culture. I have labeled Apicius “Greco-Roman,” and believe the text comes close to representing a—but not the—Mediterranean diet that endured for some time under the empire. This assumption is to an extent a necessary fiction, for Apicius certainly does not represent the entirety of diet in the Greek and Latin-speaking world. Yet it nevertheless is a product of a Mediterranean supported by a highly sophisticated economy and great amount of mobility, factors that two of the subsequent authors we will examine did not have nearly as much access to. Perhaps it is best to say that Apicius represents the greatest potential of a unified network food, spices, and vessels for cooking as existed by the fourth century AD.

The cookbook is divided into ten chapters, each titled according to the food to be cooked (e.g. *quadripedia*), though these categories are not exclusive and there is overlap across chapters. There are over 450 recipes in Apicius, making it the most extensive cookbook in the Greco-Roman world. The work is often thought of as high-status, and indeed, many of the meals, such as ostrich in sauce, seem rather exotic.¹⁰¹ The large

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Andrew Dalby and Sally Grainger, *The Classical Cookbook* (London: British Museum Press, 1996); eadem, *Cooking Apicius: Roman Recipes for Today* (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2006). In a twist, Edwards, “Philology and Cuisine in *De Re Coquinaria*,” *passim*, observes that it is quite difficult to use the recipes literally if one wants to duplicate such works or even understand how Apician food was to be prepared, as his sparse style simply does not allow for this. I do not entirely agree—I think a significant amount of information can be extracted—but acknowledge that I am interested in how foods were cooked and not how to prepare them myself.

¹⁰¹ Apicius, 6.2.2.

number of spices and other hard-to-obtain ingredients listed in many recipes would confirm that only the very wealthy could cook such meals. The danger of such cookbooks is that they can be seen as solely the province of elites, and therefore the recipes they contain speak only to the dietary preferences of a very isolated stratum of society and are in no way representative of a culture's general dietary habits. But other recipes are very simple, such as ones for sausages, and perhaps mimic common or street food that one could purchase from a vendor.¹⁰² This distinction allows us to assume that the recipes in the texts were not used solely by a privileged class and at least a few are representative of what a significant portion of the populace would have been able to prepare. Having said that, the majority of the recipes in Apicius rely on the complex language of cooking first mentioned above concerning Petronius, and the meals are ultimately best viewed as provender produces in only the most aristocratic of kitchens.

Apicius uses a richer cooking vocabulary than any of the previous works, with many more cooking verbs than anything we have seen in the past. But what of the ceramics? There is a great and diverse array of vessels in Apicius, and they are often used in conjunction, indicating a well-to-do kitchen that would afford a great range of material.

¹⁰² Ibid., 2.5.1-4. See Wilkins and Hill, *Food in the Ancient World*, 208, who argue that Apicius is “a late compilation of a number of different works which combine medical interests, rare foods and adaptation of cheap foods to make equivalents of expensive foods.” Thus there is indeed something popular to the text, though this can, at times, be obscured by a dash (or more) of spices and other exotic ingredients. By contrast, Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, 103, relying on Vehling's edition, states that Apicius is “no ordinary guide to eating but essentially a book of gastronomy, directed at the ‘favored few.’” While I believe this overstates the case, his underlying point—one we have already seen in Luley—that there were multiple, hierarchical cuisines in Rome is an excellent and important one.

Not surprisingly, given the size of the work, many vessels are mentioned in Apicius. Two words we are now used to, *patina* and *caccabus*, appear with the greatest frequency. The appearance of the latter is certainly a change from earlier works, and in fact the most common vessel present is the *caccabus*, which is mentioned in 66 different recipes. The *caccabus* had several functions, and could be used as a service vessel,¹⁰³ a dish for marinating peas, which would then be cooked,¹⁰⁴ to prepare *minutal*, a fishy stew,¹⁰⁵ or to make liquid draughts or soups.¹⁰⁶ Its primary role, however, was to make sauces or to cook foods once a sauce had been added.¹⁰⁷

The most common cooking word associated with the *caccabus* is *ferveo*, which is used in Apicius to indicate either simmering or boiling. *Ferveo* is mentioned in thirty-five of the forty-five recipes that specifically pair the *caccabus* with a cooking verb, and tells us that the vessel was used primarily to heat liquids.¹⁰⁸ This is reinforced by the use of the verb *bullio*—to make bubble or boil—which appears three times, and *elixo*, to boil or

¹⁰³ Ibid., 6.2.21: “reexinanies in eundem **caccabum**, amulo obligas. ius perfundes et inferes.”

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 5.4.4: “mittis in **caccabum** ut cumbibat.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 4.3.1: “minutal marinum: pisces in **caccabum**, adicies liquamen oleum vinum coturam.”

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 4.4.2: “tisanam barricam: infundis cicer lenticulam pisa; defrixas tisanam et cum leguminibus elixas. ubi bene bullierit olei satis mittis et supra viridia concidis: porrum coriandrum anetum feniculum betam maluam culiculum molle; et viridia minuta concisa in **caccabum** mittis.”

¹⁰⁷ See, among many, Ibid., 2.1.5: “adicies in mortarium piper ligusticum origanum; fricabis; in se commisceas in **caccabum**; facies ut **ferveat**. cum **ferbuerit** tracta confringes, oblicas; coagitabas et exinanies in voletari”; or Ibid., “in strutione elixo: piper mentam cuminum assum apii semen dactilos vel careotas mel acetum passum liquamen et oleum modice, et in **caccabo** facies ut **bulliat**. amulo obligas, et sic partes strutionis in lance perfundis, et desuper piper aspargis. si autem in condituram coquere volueris, alicam addis.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 2.1.5; 3.2.4; 3.4.2; 4.2.5; 4.2.31; 4.3.1; 4.3.2; 4.3.5; 4.3.6; 4.3.7b; 4.4.1; 4.5.1; 4.5.3; 5.1.1; 5.1.3; 5.1.4; 5.2.1; 5.2.2; 5.3.3; 5.3.5; 5.3.9; 5.4.1; 5.5.1; 7.14.1; 7.14.2; 8.7.7; 8.7.8; 8.7.9; 8.7.11; 8.8.5; 8.8.6; 8.8.7; 10.1.1.

seethe, once.¹⁰⁹ The other cooking words are *caleo*, to make warm (this only appears once),¹¹⁰ *tepesco*, also to warm (once),¹¹¹ and—oddly—*asso*, to roast (once).¹¹²

Variations of *coquo* appear fourteen times.¹¹³

There are few specific cooking instructions for the *caccabus*. In two recipes it was to be chilled, either by placing it in the snow,¹¹⁴ or in cold water.¹¹⁵ The bulk of the time, however, it was used for heating. The *caccabus* does not appear to have been meant for the oven. Apicius only mentions heating it on a *lentus ignis*,¹¹⁶ or slow fire, or *vapor ignis*, a term whose meaning is contested, but likely means smoke or steam.¹¹⁷ This suggests that the base of the *caccabus* need not have been flat.

The versatility of the *caccabus* gives clues as to its size and shape: although some of the meals cooked in it could possibly have been prepared in shallow vessels, the fact that liquid-based dishes, such as soups and stews, could also be made in the *caccabus* indicate the vessel was of some depth, enough to hold liquid without spilling. That it

¹⁰⁹ Bullio: Ibid., 4.2.14; 6.1.1; 6.8.13; Elixo: Ibid., 3.2.4.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 2.2.2.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 6.8.13.

¹¹² Ibid., See Grocock and Grainger, 225 n.3, which argues that this is likely scribal error.

¹¹³ Apicius, 2.2.9; 4.2.14; 4.3.1; 4.3.4; 5.1.3; 5.3.2; 5.3.3; 5.3.8; 7.4.2; 8.6.2; 8.6.11; 8.7.10; 8.8.4; 8.8.6.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 4.1.2: “ius supra perfundes; insuper nivem sub ora, asparges et inferes.”

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 4.1.1: “ius perfundes, super frigidam collocabis et sic appones.”

¹¹⁶ E.g. Ibid., 5.1.3: “pultes tractogalatae: lactes sextarium et aquae modicum mittes in **caccabo novo et lento igni ferveat.**”

¹¹⁷ E.g. Ibid., 2.2.2: “et cum esicia **ad vaporem ignis** pones et caleat et sic sorbendum inferes.” For more on the meaning of vaporem ignis, see Grocock and Grainger 93, who argue it must mean smoke (presumably from charcoal) and not steam.

could make either roasts or liquids indicates the *caccabus* had a relatively wide mouth.¹¹⁸

In addition, the vessel could have been rather large, as several recipes call for the cooking of animals, including a kid, crane, and flamingo.¹¹⁹

The vessel mentioned with the next greatest frequency is the *patina*, which is referred to thirty times. Like the *caccabus*, the *patina* had many roles in Apicius's cookbook: it served as a mixing bowl,¹²⁰ and a serving dish.¹²¹ Unlike the *caccabus*, however, the *patina* was not used to prepare a sauce which would be added to another vessel. In fact, when a sauce is discussed in context with a *patina*, it is often one that has been made in a separate vessel, usually a *caccabus*, and then added over food in a *patina* and made to cook together.¹²²

The verb *ferveo* is used seventeen times when discussing the *patina*, most often in recipes where a sauce previously prepared in a *caccabus* had been added over some other food already warmed in the *patina*, with the two then to be cooked together. *Coquo*, the more generic verb, appears nine times. The *patina* was not placed over a fire, unlike the

¹¹⁸ The wide mouth would make this, under Arthur's model (see previous chapter), an open form, and thus unsuitable for the creation of sauce-rich dishes. But Apicius specifically tells us that the *caccabus* is primarily for creating sauces.

¹¹⁹ Apicius, 8.6.11: "**hedum** curas, exossas, interanea euis cum coagulo tolles, lavas...hac inpena intestina replis et super hedum conponis in giro, et omentum carta cooperies; surelas. **in caccabum vel patellam conpones hedum**"; 6.2.3: "**gruem vel anatem** ex rapis: lavas, ornas **et in olla elixabis** cum aqua sale et aneto dimida **coctura**...levabis de olla et iterum lavabis, **et in caccabum mittis anatem** cum oleo et liquamine et fasciculo porri et coriandri"; 6.2.21: "**fenicopteram** eliberas, lavas, ornas, **includis in caccabum**."

¹²⁰ Ibid., 3.2.1: "pulmentarium ad ventrem: betas minutas et porros requietos elixabis; in **patina** conpones."

¹²¹ Ibid., 3.1.2: "ferventem **patenam** fundes, cooperies, statim depones ut uteris."

¹²² E.g. Ibid., 8.7.11: "exinanies in **caccabum**, facies ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit amulo obligas. porcellum compositum in **patina** perfundes, piper asparges et inferes"; 8.8.13: "coques ex vino liquamine aqua sinape modicum aneto porro cum capillo suo...modicum bulliat. contitura lepus in **patina** perfunditur."

caccabus. Rather, it went in the *furnus*¹²³ or in a *termospodium*.¹²⁴ That the vessel could be cooked in an oven (*in furno*) indicates that the *patina* had a flat bottom, and confirms that this was often a vessel used for baking and roasting.¹²⁵ This flatness is confirmed by the many times it is used as effective service vessel on the table. In addition, in two cases the ashes from the fire were to be placed above and below the vessel, indicative that the *patina* could be covered with a lid.¹²⁶

Particularly important for determining the role of the *patina* is a series of thirty-six recipes that use the name of the vessel as the name of the meal. These recipes are named after the vessel itself, e.g. “*patina* of asparagus” or “*patina* of elderberries.”¹²⁷ These meals required the addition of a substantial number of eggs. In one recipe eggs are specifically called for in order to make the meal a *patina*.¹²⁸ The eggs were stirred into the mix, heated, and then allowed to set. The result was a thick dish with a quiche-like consistency. Given that the *patina* led to the creation of many eponymous recipes, it seems safe to assume that this was both a very popular type of meal and the one the vessel was used most often to cook.

¹²³ Ibid., 10.1.4.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 4.2.4; Cubberley et al., 116, state that this term refers to a vessel. For reasons too complex to discuss here, I do not believe this to be the case.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 10.1.4: “**adicies in patinam**, cooperies, gipsabis. **coques in furno**. cum coctus fuerint, tolles, aceto acerrimo asparges et inferes.”

¹²⁶ Ibid., 4.2.33: “**patinam** mundam perunges et in termospodio pones, et sic eam inpensam mittes, **ut subtus supra termospodium habeat**. cum cocta fuerint piper minutum aspargis et inferes.”

¹²⁷ Ibid., 4.2.5; 4.2.8.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 4.2.35: “**ovis missis patinam facies**.”

There is some overlap of use between the *caccabus* and the *patina*, especially in that both were used in the preparation of sauce-rich meals. The main differences between the two seems to have been 1) the *patina* also had a more specific purpose, the creation of the egg-based dish that bore its name, 2) the *caccabus* is referenced more often in the creation of soups and other liquid dishes, and 3) their shapes. The *patina*, given its role in producing omelet- or soufflé-like meals, was a more open form than the *caccabus*, which often made stews, soups, and sauces. Given the great frequency of these vessels in Apicius (the two appear in a total of 115 recipes, while the next-mentioned cooking vessel, the *patella*, appears in 18), meals cooked with one of these two vessels were the ones most likely consumed regularly in an elite Greco-Roman household. This marks a significant break from the past. Sauces are much more frequent in Apicius. There is also a difference in how the vessel was used. In Pliny and Juvenal the *patina* was almost exclusively for roasting or frying. Here, however, it primarily used for baking or creating liquid-based dishes. Verbs associated with boiling were not used with the *patina* in the past.

The *patella* appears with the next greatest frequency, mentioned nine times. Apicius lists several uses for the *patella*, including a container used to hold a cooking kid in the oven, which indicates it could be sizeable,¹²⁹ to a vessel used for preparing a lasagna-like dish,¹³⁰ to a mixing bowl for a dessert which was then cooked separately in

¹²⁹ Ibid., 8.6.11. See above, n.168, as in this recipe the *caccabus* is interchangeable with the *patella*.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 4.2.14.

an oven.¹³¹ This seems quite similar to the *patina*. Indeed, in six recipes the *patella* was used for preparing the meal known as the *patina*.¹³² However, the *patella* could also be used in the manner of a *caccabus*, as stated in recipe 8.6.11, where a meal was to be cooked *in caccabum vel patellam*. The *patella* could be placed both in an oven¹³³ and over a fire.¹³⁴ There is a different range of cooking words used with this vessel than with the *patina* or *caccabus*: *coquo* is used six times,¹³⁵ *frigo* (to fry) twice,¹³⁶ and *calefacio* (to make warm),¹³⁷ *percoxerit* (to cook through),¹³⁸ *ferveo* and *bullio* are each used once.¹³⁹ In addition, the *patella* is one of the few vessels that Apicius mentions that could be made of metal.¹⁴⁰ The *patella*, I believe, occupied in the kitchen a multi-purpose middle ground between the *caccabus* and the *patina*, one that had a variety of uses, and perhaps had higher walls than a *patina* and was less deep than a *caccabus*. We saw this versatility earlier, in Pliny, and will see it again in Chapter Four.

¹³¹ Ibid., 7.11.6.

¹³² Ibid., 4.2.6; 4.2.14; 4.2.15; 4.2.25; 4.2.30; 4.2.31.

¹³³ Ibid., 8.6.9: “**in furno, in patella quae oleum habeat cum percoxerit**, perfundes in patellam **inpensam**.”

¹³⁴ Ibid., 4.2.6: “**sucum tranferes in patellam** perunctam et si volueris ova dissolves ad **ignem** ut obliget.”

¹³⁵ Ibid., 2.1.5; 4.2.17; 4.2.18; 4.2.19; 4.2.25; 4.2.30.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 7.4.4, 7.11.6.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 4.2.17.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 8.6.9.

¹³⁹ *Ferveo*: Ibid., 4.2.31; *Elixo*: Ibid., 4.2.25.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 2.1.5: “et in **patella aenea** exinanies.”

The *olla*, “le récipient par excellence de la cuisine romaine depuis l’Age du Bronze,” and the most prominently mentioned vessel in the earlier works, is the next vessel mentioned, appearing eight times in Apicius.¹⁴¹ This is a pronounced continuation of the decline of the *olla* noted earlier. The *olla* has a specific use: to boil meals, ranging from crane or duck¹⁴² to stuffed pig stomach.¹⁴³ It was large enough that certain meals, such as a stuffed chicken,¹⁴⁴ were first placed in a basket and then lowered into the vessel. While one could have conserved the water to make a broth, this does not seem to have been the primary use of this vessel, though it must be noted that the discussion of the storage of broth or other quotidian foodstuff is not typically seen in this text. Apicius’ recipes for soups are prepared in other vessels. The most common cooking verb to appear with the *olla* is *bullio*, to make bubble or boil, which is used three times,¹⁴⁵ followed by *ferveo*, to simmer or boil, which appears twice.¹⁴⁶ *Coquo* and *elixo* were each used once.¹⁴⁷ The use of the *olla* is identical to that of the *zema*, which is mentioned only twice

¹⁴¹ Bats, *Vaisselle et alimentation*, 65.

¹⁴² Apicius, 6.2.1: “**gruem vel anatem**: lavas vel ornas et **includis in olla**. adicies in aquam salem anatum. **dimidia coctura dequoques dum obturetur.**”

¹⁴³ Ibid., 7.7.1: “**ventrem porcinum** bene exinancies . . . surclas ambas **et in ollam bullientem** summittis . . . qua dimidias **coctum fuerit, levas et ad fumum suspendis ut coloretur**, et denuo eum perelixabis ut **coqui** possit.”

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 6.8.10: “farcies **inelixum** etiam olivis columbaribus, non valde ita ut laxamentum habeat ne dissiliat dum **quoquitur in ollam submissus in sportellam. cum bullierit**, frequenter levas et ponis ne dissiliat.”

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 6.8.10; 7.7.1; 9.4.2.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 8.7.3, 8.7.4.

¹⁴⁷ *Coquo*: Ibid., 6.2.1; *Elixo*: Ibid., 6.2.3.

in Apicius, once with *bullio*,¹⁴⁸ and once with *elixo*.¹⁴⁹ What differences existed between the two cannot be determined from the text. This overlap is not uncommon, and could reflect morphological variations in the cookpots which necessitated a specific name yet did not alter the cooking process. The relative infrequency of these words suggests that the *olla* and *zema* were not vessels closely associated with elite cooking, further corroborating the relationship between poorer cooking and this form observed above in Juvenal.

The next several vessels appear infrequently enough that approximating a relationship with a specific ceramic form seems unlikely. There are two exceptions. The *angularis* is only mentioned twice, and only once as a cooking vessel used as a mold for a pea dish (the verb is *coquo*).¹⁵⁰ The name gives the biggest clue as to the vessel's shape—it presumably had a pronounced angle between the wall and floor—and one of the recipes indicates it was small enough to be placed in an oven (a *furnus*, but this meal could also be prepared over *lentus ignis*) but steep enough to serve as a vessel for layering food. The *angularis*, therefore, is as difficult to identify as the *patella*, for the overlap between it and other, identifiable forms is too great.

The *sartago* is only referenced twice. One recipe is for cooking *ofella*, or meaty tidbits, and this recipe includes no cooking verb.¹⁵¹ The other, which uses *coquo*, is for

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 8.6.6.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 8.1.10.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 5.3.2: “**Angularem** accipies qui versari potest et omentis tegis . . . **coques in furno vel lento igni** imponis.”

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 7.4.5.

cooking a fish in sauce.¹⁵² The *sartago* is traditionally translated as “frying pan,” and frying is likely what was occurring in the former recipe, as other recipes for *ofella* in Apicius—ones that do not use a vessel word—do use the verb *frigo*. The vessel best suited for the sort of cooking in the second recipe would be pan-shaped. The infrequency of the appearance of the *sartago* is striking, though it is clear that frying is occurring in other vessels as well. The verb *frigo* is also something we have not seen in earlier works. Frying, by this time, appears to be increasingly common.

The *pultarius* is often thought to be a type of porridge-pot.¹⁵³ It is used for this purpose in Apicius, but only once, the creation of a celery mash.¹⁵⁴ But in two other recipes it is used to make a sauce, one for birds (which is paired with the verb *calefacio*)¹⁵⁵ and one for sea-urchins (which used both *ferveo*, *bullio*, and *coquo*).¹⁵⁶ In these instances the *pultarius* seems to duplicate the function of the *caccabus*. The reason a *pultarius* was called for in these latter two cases is unknown, though it is apparent that the *pultarius* was not exclusively limited to cooking porridge.

¹⁵² Ibid., 10.1.5: “cum curaveris **piscem**, adicies **in sartaginem** semen aquam anetum viridem et ipsum piscem. **Cum coctus fuerit**, asperges aceto et inferes.”

¹⁵³ Vehling, *Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome*, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Apicius, 3.15.2: “**apium** quoques ex aqua nitrata, exprimes et concides minutatim. in mortario teres **piper lingusticum origanum cepam vinum liquamen et oleum. quoques in pultario** et sic **apium commisces.**”

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 6.2.15: “oleum **in pultarium** super ius mittis, **calefacies**, ius agitabis apio viridi et nepeta. Incaraxas et perfundis.”

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 9.8.1: “accipies **pultarium novum**, oleum modicum, liquamen vinum dulce piper minutum. **facies ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit in singulos echinos mittes**, agitabis; ter **bulliat**. cum **coxeris** piper asperges et inferes.”

This examination of Apicius shows that a great range of ceramic vessels appear in this text, that these vessels often had semi-standard functions, and that they were used in conjunction while cooking. Metal vessels appear extremely infrequently. Apicius also notes that ceramic vessels seem to have had a limited life-span: this is indicated by a relatively frequent request to use a “new” ceramic vessel, which suggests that the vessel could be fouled or tainted by the cooking process.¹⁵⁷ In addition, Apicius provides information about cooking places and how one cooked with the vessel. Smoking food was mentioned rarely, and usually only as a way to color and flavor food (e.g. 7.7.1, mentioned above). The most common cooking place was the *furnus*, which appears 26 times in the text. Direct fire—*ignis* or *lentus ignis*—appears 18 times. Cooking on a *craticula*, or grill was mentioned only six times, as was the *termospodium*. The *craticula* was clearly another roasting vessel, paired with *asso* five times.¹⁵⁸ Verbs for boiling—*bullio*, *elixo*, and *ferveo*—appear prominently, but so too do *asso* and *frigo*, the words for roasting, baking, and frying. As we will see, this will change.

Bread appears in Apicius infrequently, though this does not mean it was not consumed frequently. Three times it was used in salads: bread soaked in *posca*, a mix of wine and water, was an ingredient of one salad;¹⁵⁹ pieces of Picentine bread were part of a second salad;¹⁶⁰ and crumbs from a loaf of Alexandrian bread were an ingredient of a

¹⁵⁷ Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*, 57.

¹⁵⁸ Apicius, 7.2.6; 7.3.2; 7.8.1; 8.6.4; 9.2.1. In the other reference (7.4.2) it is linked with *sicco*, a verb with a very similar meaning as *asso*.

¹⁵⁹ Apicius, 4.1.1

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.1.2.

third.¹⁶¹ Later, Apicius notes that pieces of kid or lamb can be used as a relish on pieces of bread.¹⁶² The casual reference to relish on bread and the variety of types of bread used in salads hint that this form of food was far more ubiquitous than indicated by the few references in the text. There are, in addition, other starches: Apicius mentions *amulum*, a type of starchy thickener, many times, and several of his recipes call for the inclusion of *tracta*. In addition, *oryza*, which we first saw in Pliny, is also used in Apicius as food. In one recipe either *amulum* or the juice (*sucum*) from rice is added to a sauce for meat.¹⁶³ Rice itself is added to a second sauce recipe.¹⁶⁴ These two recipes speak to the cosmopolitan nature of the text and illustrate a difference between Pliny's time, when rice was an eastern luxury good, and the age of Apicius, while still an import, was more accessible to elite consumers.

Apician dishes were also extremely sauce-heavy.¹⁶⁵ *Liquamen* or *garum*, often described as a staple of the cuisine, were not used for dipping, but instead formed was one of the base ingredients, along with wine and oil, in the preparation of sauces. Perhaps as a result of this reliance on sauce, these recipes demand a significant number and variety of vessels.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 4.1.3.

¹⁶² Ibid., 8.6.1.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 2.2.8.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 2.2.9.

¹⁶⁵ Jon Solomon, "The Apician Sauce: *Ius Apicianum*," in *Food in Antiquity*, 115-131, attempts to reconstruct several of these sauces, noting that the incredible variety of sauces is both impossible to categorize and difficult to reproduce due to the number of details (such as amount of ingredients) missing from the majority of recipes.

There are unknowns in the text that we cannot resolve. For example, how did an *angularis* differ from a *caccabus*? They seem to have been used in exactly the same manner. It could be that the variations in the cookpots that did not affect function directly. The presence of stubby handles instead of long, elegant ones, for example, could have been enough of a morphological difference to require a specific name yet would not alter the cooking process.

However, the most important observation for this study is that we can, in fact, use Apicius to inform us about the function of ceramic vessels present in archaeological contexts. In addition, these vessels had primary functions in the Roman kitchen, e.g., the *caccabus* could do several things, but primarily made sauces. The *patina* primarily prepared egg-based dishes that needed to set and cooked food that a sauce was then added to.

In addition, we see developments in Apicius that show an evolution, or at least change, between the time it was written and earlier Roman dining customs. The *olla* was no longer a stewpot, but rather a cauldron used for boiling. The role of the *caccabus* became more standardized, and indeed sauces were now an extremely important part of the meal. Meat, too, was now present in many recipes.¹⁶⁶ Apicius represents the height of Roman cuisine, the work of a culture that had mastered the Mediterranean, was extremely wealthy, and capable of bringing rare ingredients—food, spice, and vessel—to the table.

¹⁶⁶ For more on the rise of meat consumption, especially in the elite classes, during the Empire and, especially, Late Antiquity, see Liliane Plouvier, “L’alimentation carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d’après le *De observatione ciborum* d’Anthime et les *Excerpta* de Vinidarius,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 80 (2002): 1357.

The change in the meaning of the word *olla* merits further discussion. The decline of the word does not mean that rounded pots were no longer used. Indeed, the *caccabus* in Apicius could fulfill the role of the *olla* in several recipes seen in earlier authors. But what did change was how cooking was conducted. I do not mean that boiling decreased. As we have seen, boiling continued, and was quite prominent in Apicius. Rather, how food was prepared and what meals were made was now extremely different. It is quite possible that the very same shape and size pot in Cato's age could have been primarily used as a porridge-pot, while in Apicius' day would have made rich sauces. Knowing this helps us make sense of a seemingly myriad number of vessels. A functional kitchen—something we have not really seen to this point—was not merely composed of open and closed forms, nor was the assigned function of these forms so simple. And yet, even with such a high variation of words for vessels, those words did not have extremely specific meanings. Each word exhibits some variance in use, though that use hewed to a general pattern.

Barbarian Influence: Vinidarius and Anthimus

The fifth and sixth centuries were a period of political transformation and, at least initially, destabilization in Italy. Rome was sacked in 410 by the Goths and again in 455 by the Vandals. The monarchs that emerged in the wake of the decline of the western Empire's administration would, first with Odoacer in 476, and then Theoderic in 493, identify themselves as Goths, though they maintained Roman customs and institutions.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ See, among many, Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Jonathan Arnold, M. Shane Bjornlie, and Kristina Sessa, eds. *A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); and the discussion below in Chapter Three on Gothic ethnicity.

What emerges is a period of cultural hybridity, with old and new customs integrated, and an attempt to preserve aspects of Roman tradition yet accommodate new cultural practices. The next cookbook is a product of this period of transformation and reflective of it. Its author identifies himself as Vinidarius.¹⁶⁸ Like Apicius, little is known of him, though he did not attract the legendary status that Apicius did.¹⁶⁹ The text appears as an emendation to the manuscript of Apicius, though the reason why it was added is not known. The name Vinidarius closely matches the Gothic name “Winitharius,” which appears in both Cassiodorus and Jordanes.¹⁷⁰ That, combined with his rank listed in the manuscript (a *vir inlustris*), and the relatively vulgar Latin of the text, indicate that Vinidarius was alive in either the fifth or sixth century AD. Given this information and the date of composition, just as Apicius represents a “Greco-Roman” tradition, so does Vinidarius represent a “Romano-Gothic” tradition.

Vinidarius contains only 31 recipes. He uses a different range of verbs than Apicius, and there are far fewer vessels mentioned in this work. The *patina* appears the most frequently in Vinidarius, at seven times. The verb *coquo* appears in all seven *patina*

¹⁶⁸ Marcus Gavius Apicius, Mary Ella Milham, and Vinidarius. *Apicii decem libri qui dicuntur De re coquinaria et Excerpta a Vinidario conscripta* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969).

¹⁶⁹ A fine introduction to the man and his text is in Grocock and Grainger, 32-35. Lindsay, “Who Was Apicius?” 145-6, covers the relationship between Vinidarius and Apicius and argues why they should, based on structure, be studied in conjunction; he later (148) notes that Vinidarius may have had access to a separate Greek cookbook in addition to Apicius, but does not indicate why he believes this. This Greek connection is also mentioned by Andrew F. Smith, “From Garum to Ketchup. A Spicy Tale of Two Fish Sauces,” in *Fish: Food From the Waters: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 1997*, ed. Harlan Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1998), 300, but he, too, provides no evidence for this connection.

¹⁷⁰ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11.1.9; Jordanes, *Getica*, 79.

recipes,¹⁷¹ and *ferveo* once, in conjunction with *coquo* in one of the recipes.¹⁷² The *patina* dishes are all variations of a similar recipe. Meat or fish was placed in a *patina* to cook. The *patina* either already contained a sauce which cooked together with food added to it or the sauce was prepared in a separate vessel and added to the *patina* to set. On two occasions the vessel was used to cook a meal to which a sauce prepared in a *caccabus* was added.¹⁷³ This is very similar to Apicius. The only time a cooking place is mentioned with a *patina* is recipe 19, which calls for the *patina* to be placed over *lentus ignis*. This is an unusual use, for the *patina* in Apicius was typically heated in an oven. Neither the *clibanus* nor the *testa* is present. In recipe 15 the *patina* is used interchangeably with the *patella* (this is the only appearance of the latter in the text), mirroring the overlap of vocabulary present in Apicius.

The *caccabus* is the other prominent vessel, appearing five times. It is twice used as mentioned above and once to cook a lamb stew.¹⁷⁴ *Ferveo* was used for the creation of the sauces, while *bullio* was used for the stew. In the other two references the vessel was used for sauce: to boil (*ferveo*) a sauce containing chunks of fish, and to make a sauce (which also would ultimately boil, *bullio*) for a piglet.¹⁷⁵ In the latter recipe the vessel

¹⁷¹ Vinidarius, 2; 13; 14; 15; 19; 21.

¹⁷² Ibid., 2.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 14; 15.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁷⁵ Vinidarius 8: “hec omnia temperabis et **in cacabulo mittis et ferbeat. cum calefeciris** eosdem pisces superfundes.” Note that *ferveo* is used here for the sauce, but *calefio* is used for the whole meal, which includes both the fish and the sauce. 24: “simul temperas [all the ingredients] **in caccabulo. Mittis in eo porcellum. dum bullire ceperit**, sepius agitavis ut spissum fiat.”

must have been large enough not only to hold a piglet but also to stir it around (*agito*). In Vinidarius the *caccabus*, much like the *patina* in Apicius, is a vessel after which a meal was named. Three recipes are for “*caccabina*,” a meal that strongly resembles the *patina* of Anthimus, including the addition of eggs. Surprisingly (though recall that vessels other than the *patina* could make the meal known as the *patina* in Apicius), the *caccabus* is not mentioned in the preparation of *caccabina*: rather, the one cooking pot discussed is a *patina*.¹⁷⁶ In another case the *caccabina* (in an un-named vessel) is prepared in *ciner calidum*.¹⁷⁷ As we will see below, this overlap between *caccabus* and *patina*, which is a suggestion that the two words likely refer to the same (or similar) vessel form, is a sign of the cultural transformation mentioned above.

The *sartago* is mentioned twice, the same number of times as in Apicius. In both cases it is for the cooking of *ofella*, and the verb “*frigo*” is used on both occasions.¹⁷⁸ This is similar to Apicius, but because of the specific pairing of verb with vessel the role of the *sartago* is more clearly defined in Vinidarius.

Vinidarius’s cookbook indicates that dining culture in Italy was similar to the Greco-Roman tradition in Apicius mentioned above and possessed a certain amount of continuity of tradition. Sauces were still prevalent, and vessels like the *patina* and the *caccabus* were still used in a familiar two-stage manner of elite cooking. Meat is

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 1a.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 3: “**ponis ofellae in sartagine, adices liquamen libra I, olei similiter, mellis aliquantum et sic frigis.**” 4: “**exbromabis diligenter et in sartagine mittis. friges inogaru,** postea simul cum ipsu inogaru inferes et piper aspargis.”

common. As Liliane Plouvier notes, vegetables, which had been a major part of Apician meals, were, in Vinidarius, now little more than garnishes.¹⁷⁹ Spices were still quite common: indeed, Vinidarius opens his text with a list of spices and herbs needed in the kitchen, though only half of these are used in the text itself.¹⁸⁰ Frying continues to be important. Bread and grains are not in this text other than the use of the starchy *amulum* to thicken meals.¹⁸¹ An exception is rice, *oryza*, which is also present in two recipes. In one a rice starch is used to thicken a sauce for fish.¹⁸² In the second, rice itself is added as a thickening agent to a sauce for fish.¹⁸³ These are both similar to Apicius. But there is a key difference. Apicius represented a variety of Mediterranean traditions, and the inclusion of any specific ingredient did not mean that this particular ingredient was consumed throughout the Empire. Vinidarius is a more local text, one that represents part of a nascent Italian tradition. This new Italian, Romano-Gothic tradition included recipes using an ingredient that was, in Pliny's day, a decidedly eastern food. The differences between Vinidarius and the past thus suggest an emerging cultural transformation. The most striking is the absence of cooking places. Ovens are never mentioned, and the only two examples of where food was cooked in the text are listed above, a strong reminder of

¹⁷⁹ Plouvier, "L'alimentation carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d'après le *De observatione ciborum* d'Anthime et les *Excerpta* de Vinidarius," 1361. I should note it is possible that the Vinidarius emendation is incomplete. The one unique manuscript that contains it begins with a numbered Section III. (For more, see Grocock and Grainger, 33.) It is possible that vegetable dishes made up the meals in the other two sections. Even if this were the case, however, the relative absence of vegetables from what remains stands out.

¹⁸⁰ Grocock and Grainger, 33-34.

¹⁸¹ Vinidarius 9; 15; 21; 26.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 7.

Arthur's argument about the decline of ovens discussed in the previous chapter. The oven's disappearance would have an effect on the ability to use the flat-bottomed pan, and it is likely that the more rounded casserole would be easier to heat and cook with over a fire or brazier. There is also a simplification of forms: there were 19 different words for cooking pots in Apicius, and only 7 in Vinidarius. Fish sauce, a staple of Apician cuisine, is never mentioned. The *olla*—once the primary cookpot of the Roman people—does not appear in this Romano-Gothic Vinidarius text at all, suggesting that the word *caccabus* may have also filled the role of the *olla* in this period. As we will see in Chapter Four, the word *caccabus*, by the early fifth century, also existed as an adjective, which I argue is evidence of its ubiquity. But it does not mean the deep pot associated with the word *olla* vanished. Indeed, as we have already discussed and will examine below, the fifth and sixth centuries saw a surge in the use of this vessel form.

The relationship between the *caccabus* and *patina* is important. We saw in Apicius that there was a potential overlap between these two vessel words. But here that overlap is more pronounced. Indeed, the meal formerly known as a *patina* is now named after the *caccabus*. This linguistic change is, I believe, related to archaeological changes. By the fifth century the pan—the form most closely associated with the *patina*—was disappearing from the archaeological record, replaced by the casserole, which was surging. What we see in Vinidarius is an example of an attempt to continue elite cooking tradition in the face of economic and technological change.

The final recipe book in this section is the sixth-century *De observatione ciborum* by the physician Anthimus.¹⁸⁴ Anthimus the person, like Apicius and Vinidarius, is relatively unknown. He appears to have been Greek, based on his name, and later in life came west and served as a legate at the court of the Frankish king Theuderic.¹⁸⁵ That Anthimus identifies himself as both a *vir inlustris* as well as a *legatus* suggests that he had been sent to the Frankish king from another court, possibly that of Theoderic the Great in Italy.¹⁸⁶ What to make of this Italian connection is uncertain. *De observatione ciborum* is a letter written to the Frank Theuderic regarding the dietary practice of the Frankish people, and there is little reason to assume that Theoderic “had any role in [its] production.”¹⁸⁷ In addition, the philologist J.N. Adams notes that, though Latin was not Anthimus’ first language, he was familiar with Gallic Latin, indicative of more than just a

¹⁸⁴ Anthimus, *De observatione ciborum ad Theodericum regem Francorum epistula*, ed. Eduard Liechtenhan (Berolini: Adad. Scient., 1963). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

¹⁸⁵ There is a mention of the name Anthimus outside of this work only in the sixth-century history of Malchus. See R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981), 422-423. Many other scholars, such as Mark Grant, *Anthimus, De Observatione Ciborum: On the Observance of Foods*, include and expand upon Malchus’ biographical information, which includes a failed plot against the eastern emperor Zeno and subsequent exile to the west. A very strong rebuttal of making too much of this is Yitzhak Hen, “Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul,” in *Tätigkeitsfelder und Erfahrungshorizonte des ländlichen Menschen in der frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft* (bis ca. 1000), ed. Brigitte Kasten (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006), 100-101.

¹⁸⁶ J.N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC-AD 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 330.

¹⁸⁷ Hen, “Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul,” 102. Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*, 65, argues that the treatise was part of a diplomatic movement between Theoderic the Great of Italy and Theuderic, and instigated by Theoderic. Hen encourages caution with this observation, and while he indeed argues that there is cultural tension between the Greco-Roman author and his barbarian audience—as we will see in the conclusion of this dissertation—he states it is largely impossible to ascribe this text to a larger diplomatic strategy coming from Italy.

passing understanding of Frankish culture.¹⁸⁸ The letter is a contrast in styles, as Anthimus' Greco-Roman background merges with the Frankish diet he is discussing, resulting in a hybrid text. Plouvier notes a Levi-Straussian struggle within the text, and therein sees both a Frankish method of cooking that preferred raw or roasted food, and a Roman one, which she labels Aristotelian, that preferred boiling.¹⁸⁹ Plouvier also labels him a visionary, a “diététique diététicienne” who invented several long-lasting meals and recipes.¹⁹⁰ Unlike Apicius, and more like the Latin Oribasius, whom I will discuss in Chapter Four, this is a medical text, not a cookbook, though it is so rich in information as to allow a significant amount of observations about diet in Francia in this time period.¹⁹¹

That Anthimus is caught between two cultural groups makes him perfect for inclusion in this study. Written in the sixth century, he discusses aspects of diet in the Frankish world yet always tinged with Mediterranean sentiment, and the result is a “pastiche of Gallicisms, Germanisms, and Greekisms on a Latin base.”¹⁹² In this chapter I treat him as indicative of a “barbarian” or “Frankish” diet, though I will explore this more completely when I discuss ethnicity in the conclusion.¹⁹³ Regardless, the work is a clear

¹⁸⁸ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 331-5.

¹⁸⁹ Plouvier, “L'alimentation carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d'après le *De observatione ciborum* d'Anthime et les *Excerpta* de Vinidarius,” 1362-3.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1360.

¹⁹¹ For the role of humors in Anthimus (and the argument that Anthimus' humoral theory was simplified and vulgarized), see Paola Paolucci, “Volgarizzamenti tardoantichi della teoria umorale in ambito dietetico. Esempi da Anthimus medicus,” *Bollettino di Studi Latini* XLI (2001): 115-131.

¹⁹² Eadem, *Profilo di una dietetica tardoantica: saggio sull'Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum* (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2002), 63.

¹⁹³ Given the number of cultural variables present in the text, it is not surprising that Anthimus would draw on a number of barbarian loan words. For a discussion of several Germanic ones, see Maria Luisa

break from the other volumes on food already discussed. The text is almost a-ceramic, as such vessels are only mentioned in three of the ninety-four recipes. This is an elite text, and thus meat is very prominent. The use of spices continues, though the variety is far smaller than in earlier texts. Vegetables, unlike in Vinidarius, are prominent, and are prepared in a variety of ways. Indeed, it is in a discussion of cucumbers that Anthimus betrays he was a civilized man in a barbarian land. Cucumbers seeds, he notes, are good for the kidneys but, alas, were not to be found in this area at this time.¹⁹⁴

The first vessel mentioned is the *olla* (a word Anthimus uses interchangeably with *vas*), which was used to heat a significant quantity of watery sauce into which previously-cooked meat was placed and allowed to soak.¹⁹⁵ The only cooking word used is *coquo*, which is very vague, though Anthimus does instruct that the vessel be placed over a *lentus focus*, or slow hearth, a term not seen in the other works but reminiscent of Apicius's *lentus ignis*. In this particular case, unlike Apicius, the *olla* was used as a sort of stew-pot. In addition, in this recipe Anthimus suggests that one should make sure to use a ceramic *olla* because such a vessel prepares a better meal than a small *bucula*, an

Caparrini, "Per un approfondimento dei germanismi dell'Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum: *bridum* / *spiss*, *sodinga* / *prue*," *Linguistica e filologia* 29 (2009): 179-196.

¹⁹⁴ Anthimus, 57: "**cucumeres enim etsi hic non sunt**, tamen quando fuerint, **semen illorum quod intus est manducetur: congruum est praeterea ad renium vitia.**"

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 3: "De carnibus uero uaccinis uaporatas factas et in *sodinga* coctas utendum, etiam et in iuscello, ut prius expromatas una unda mittat, et sic in nitida aqua, quantum ratio poscit, coquantur, ut non addatur aqua, et cum cocta fuerit caro, mittis acetum acerrimum quantum media *bucula*, et mittis capita porrorum et *puledium* modicum, *apii* radices uel *finiculum*, et coquat in una hora, et sic addis mel quantum medietatem de aceto uel quis dulcedinem habere uoluerit, **et sic coquat lento foco agetando ipsa olla frequenter manibus**, et bene ius cum carne ipsa temperetur, et sic teri: *piper grana* L, *costo* et *spicanardi* per singula quantum medietatem solidi, et *cariofili* quantum pinsat tremisis I."

unknown word that must refer to either stone or metal vessel.¹⁹⁶ The theme of earthenware's advantage appears in recipe 75, in which he suggests an *olla* is better than an *aeramine*, a copper or bronze vessel, for keeping fresh milk warm.¹⁹⁷ This contrast suggests that the *olla* was, to Anthimus, typically made of earthenware, and that the Franks may have preferred metal cooking vessels.

Rice—now spelled *oriza*—is present here as well. *Oriza*, which aids those suffering from dysentery, was to be boiled (*elixo*) in fresh water (*aqua pura*).¹⁹⁸ When it has cooked (*coquo*), the excess water is removed and goat's milk added. The *olla* containing this is placed on the coals and cooked (*coquo*) slowly until it becomes a single mass, and then eaten hot without salt or oil. This reference is the most traditional use of the *olla* in this text, though the vessel was being used to cook a food that in, say, Cato's day simply was not a part of dietary patterns in the western Mediterranean.

The only two other examples of vessels in the text are an unknown word and a corruption. The *gavata*, meaning unknown, is referenced in recipe 34 as a cookpot for preparing a meal Anthimus calls *afratum* in Greek or *spumeum* in Latin.¹⁹⁹ This is a dish

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.: “ubi tamen fuerit mel aut sapa uel carenum, unum de ipsis, sicut superius contenit, mittatur, **et in bucculare non coquat, sed in olla fictile meliorem saporem facit.**” The word *bucculare* is also present in the medical text of the Gallic writer Marcellus Medicus (8.127; 23.17), which suggests it, too, is a loan-word.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 75.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 70: “De oriza enim et ipsa bene cocta facit; nam si crudior fuerit, nocet. facit enim oriza et ad desentericus, ut bene coquatur et sic comedatur, **etiam et elixa in pura aqua ita, ut, quando incipit bene coquere, aqua illa exculetur, et sic mittantur lactis capruni. et ponatur olla in carbonibus et coquat lente,** ut unum corpus deueniat, ita, ut sine sale et oleo comedatur caleda, et non frigida.”

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 34: “Afratus graece quod Latine dicitur spumeo, quod de pullo fit et de albumen de oua; sed multum albumen ouarum mittatur, ita, ut quomodo spuma sic deueniat opus ipsut afratu, quod desuper iuscello facto et in egrogario in **gauata** conponatur quomodo monticlos, et sic **gauata ponitur in carbonis et sic uapore ipsius iuscelli coquat ipsut afratu, et sic ponitur in medio missorio grauata ipsa,** et

of chicken and egg whites with broth and fish sauce (*egrogario* – this is likely a corruption of *hydrogarum*) added that was cooked (*coquo*) in the steam or smoke of burning coal. The *gauata* would then be placed in a serving dish, the *missoio* (which must be a corruption of *missorium*, a type of service vessel). Given the necessary shape of the *gauata* (to arrange the layers of food properly, it must have been relatively open), and that it had a flat bottom, this would seem to be a vessel similar to a deep *patina* or very open *caccabus*. It is tempting to associate this word with the appearance of the *pietra ollare* soapstone vessels we will see in the next chapter, though this is only conjecture at this point.

The most striking thing about the text is the absence of vessels. Anthimus provides tantalizing reminders that food was not always prepared in cooking pots, and several recipes call for food to be cooked in other manners. Fried pig's liver could be cut up, coated in oil or fat, and roasted (*asso*) on an iron *craticula* with wide sticks over charcoal.²⁰⁰ This description provides an interesting contrast in language, for while the food is referred to as a fried (*frigo*) pig's liver, the method of cooking is on skewers over a heat source, and to us would seem much more like grilling. The verb for the actual cooking process, in fact, is *asso*. This suggests either a lack of understanding on

superfunditur modicum mero et mel et sic cum coeliar uel nouela tenera manducatur.” Caparrini, “Per un approfondimento dei germanismi dell’Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum,” 185, argues that this is one of the Germanic loan words in Anthimus. The *gabata* also appears in Isidore *Etymologies* 20,4.11, as a bowl, indicating a wide range of cultural penetration of this word and vessel. It is tempting to see this word refer to the *pietra ollare* cookpots found at Late Antique sites, especially, Ostrogothic Monte Barro (see below), though this is purely conjecture.

²⁰⁰ Anthimus, 21: “De ficato **porcino frixo** penitus non expedit nec sanis nec infirmis. sani tamen, si uolunt, sic manducant: inciso bene in graticula ferrea, quae habet latas uirgas, unguat aut de oleo aut de uncto et sic in subtilis carbonis assent ita.”

Anthimus' part or, I suspect, a complexity of vocabulary that must be accounted for, one where one verb refers to the cooking process, such as roasting, and the other to the finished product, a crisp, juicy, flavor-filled tidbit of meat that resembled a fried morsel.²⁰¹

Eels, as well, may be roasted (*asso*) via a skewer over fire.²⁰² In fact, Anthimus notes, eels cooked this way were better for a person than if they were boiled (*elixo*). In other words, it was considered healthier in this case not to use a vessel, ceramic or otherwise. This stated preference for non-ceramic cooking is a change from what we have seen. Also of note is the change in cooking locations. The *furnus* appears in Anthimus only once, in a recipe for suckling pig.²⁰³ The most common word in this text is *focus*, or

²⁰¹ The appearance of *asso* here is striking, for the verb was starting to decline in use by this time period. I discuss this further in the next chapters, which look at a change in the language of roasting. See Johnson, "An Etymological Exploration of Foodstuffs and Utensils," 270, who argues that at the time of Anthimus' composition the Germanic word **raustjan* became a replacement for Latin *asso* in France and the Italian peninsula, and Johnson cites scholarship that links this transformation with increased use of a spit for cooking meat. This is another example of the sort of borrowing evident throughout Anthimus though, oddly, while the use of a spit—and a Germanic word for it!—is present here, the new Germanic word for roasting is not.

²⁰² Ibid., 43: "**Anguilae** uero, quae in glarea aspera uel in saxosis locis nascuntur, melioris sunt quam illi, qui in limosis locis uel lutosi nascuntur. **assae ita**, ut cappellentur partes et sic in brido assentur, aptioris sunt quam elixae, ita, ut in salemoria tangantur, dum assant, ut magis durior fiat ipsa caro." *Bridum* is another likely Germanic loan word, and translated by many, including the TLL, as "broth," and coming from the Germanic *brod*, or sauce. Mark Grant, "A Problematic Word in Anthimus' *De Observatione Ciborum* Epistula 43," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 136 (1993), 377-79, argues instead that the word means "spit," and comes from the same Germanic word that produced "bridle." Caparrini, "Per un approfondimento dei germanismi dell'Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum," 186-187, also believes the word is spit and not broth despite her uncomfotability with the philological leaps necessary to get there.

²⁰³ Anthimus, 10. Anthimus notes in this recipe there were several ways to cook a suckling pig: not only could it be roasted in a *furnus*, it could be boiled (*elixo*) or prepared (there is no verb) in a broth (*iuscellum*).

hearth, which appears 8 times,²⁰⁴ followed by *carbones*, or coals, which appears in 7 recipes.²⁰⁵ The *furnus*, so common in Apicius, is a rarity in Anthimus.

This leads to another point: in Apicius, recipes that call for heating via fire do so by instructing that the vessel be placed on or above the flame. Anthimus recommended that food be placed “at a long distance” from the fire,²⁰⁶ indicative that food need not be cooked above the flames, but rather alongside them. Though ceramics are not present in large quantity in Anthimus, if a ceramic vessel were used this way it would blacken differently than one suspended over a fire. Where a vessel is blackened is thus a potential way to examine cooking and cultural dietary preference. (See Figure 28.)



Figure 28. Traditional Portuguese cooking pots. Note the second vessel on the right, which is blackened on one side only. Photo taken by the author at the Museu do Barro (Clay Museum), Redondo, Portugal.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 3; 4; 8; 14; 23; 35; 67; 75.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 21; 34; 35; 67; 70; 75; 82.

²⁰⁶ E.g. Ibid., 4: “**veruecinae vero carnes** et si frequenter utantur aptae sunt, et in iuscello simplici et in assatura, **ut delonge a foco coquantur.**” “The meat of a sheep is suitable even if used frequently, either in a simple broth or roasted, as long as it is cooked a long way from the focus.” This, he notes, is because meat will cook unevenly if placed too close to the fire, which was harmful; Anthimus did not believe in the sublime virtues of rare meat.

Anthimus suggests that ceramic vessels were less popular with the Franks than were metal or stone pots. This is evident from his repetition that ceramic vessels were better than metal for cooking as if they were remonstrations against practices he saw every day. This is indicative, perhaps, of a contrast in cooking practice the learned Byzantine observed between the land of his birth and his new home. The lack of ceramics and cooking infrastructure hints that kitchens were not as ubiquitous in Anthimus' day as they were in Apicius'. There is nothing in the recipe that indicates a kitchen or room for cooking would be necessary for the production of meals. Indeed, open flame, coal-pits, a fireplace, and the occasional cooking pot or spit are all that is needed to cook the majority of these meals. Nor are there any of the more complex two-vessel recipes that Apicius and others indicated was a hallmark Roman elite cooking. Anthimus' recipes are too luxurious to be anything other than a description of high-status food. The abundance of meat alone confirms this. And yet, the food itself is so different, and cooked in such a different way, as to indicate that cooking was becoming less technologically complex, relied on less infrastructure, and was the product of different cultural tastes and preferences.

Anthimus and Vinidarius offer a study in contrasts. Anthimus is speaking about barbarians outside of the Roman world, ones with their own cooking traditions. The kitchen of Vinidarius, however, is a place of accommodation. His text contains new words for food and new verbs for cooking. Yet this is not the text of an outsider looking to preserve his own, non-Roman traditions. This is a work emphasizing the emulation, even adoption, of Roman cooking customs in the face of cultural and technological

change. Vinidarius' work is a reminder of the complex political and social negotiations taking place at Theoderic's court under Ostrogothic rule. Anthimus offers us a post-Roman kingdom where elite cooking is decidedly different.

Despite this contrast, Vinidarius and Anthimus indicate an increasing preference for meat. This frequency of reference to the consumption of meat is reflective of a change in contemporary cooking practice. Though these two authors describe elite cooking traditions, this increase in meat consumption in Late Antiquity was not limited to elites. The change in cooking described in these texts came at the same time as, at least in parts of the peninsula, Italian villagers were increasingly healthier, taller, and freer to pursue a varied diet.

Massimo Montanari associates the arrival of barbarians with this rise in meat consumption.²⁰⁷ It is difficult to determine the specific reason for this transformation. Perhaps it is related to the arrival of a barbarian people with new tastes. Equally possible is that the new barbarian kingdoms imposed fewer restrictions on peasants, resulting in a people freer to choose what they consumed.²⁰⁸

It is not difficult, however, to determine the timing of this transformation. The increase in the cooking and eating of meat in Late Antiquity, in a period nearly contemporaneous with the arrival of the Ostrogoths and Lombards, is borne out by

²⁰⁷ Massimo Montanari, "Production Structures and Food Systems in the Early Middle Ages," in *Food: A Culinary History*, 169.

²⁰⁸ See Irene Barbiera and Gianpiero Dalla-Zuanna, "Population Dynamics in Italy in the Middle Ages: New Insights from Archaeological Findings," *Population and Development Review* 35 (2009), 369-370, who attempt to situate improvements in nutrition within the larger socio-political landscape. Much of this is based on the work by Chris Wickham, and for more on the increasingly independent early medieval peasant see *Framing the Middle Ages*, 519-570.

skeletal evidence. Human remains from a number of Imperial sites dating between the first and third centuries AD suggest that meat was eaten by the poor rarely, if at all.²⁰⁹ Millet was a staple among the poor, but other aspects of diet varied, often for reasons that are not entirely apparent.²¹⁰ At Portus, for example, which is on the coast, fish made up a portion of the population's diet.²¹¹ At Velia, a port city south of Naples, seafood was a negligible part of the diet.²¹² The vessels used to cook in this time period, as we will see in Chapter Three, varied significantly from site to site, even in a period of intense connectivity. The ingredients used in these vessels also varied.

By the sixth century, however, much had changed. Meat was consumed with greater frequency.²¹³ Accompanying this was a healthier peasant population. Living conditions under the Empire were not easy for non-elites, especially in rural areas. By the arrival of the Ostrogoths and, later, Lombards, these conditions seem to have at the very worst stayed the same and, more frequently, gotten better.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Kristina Killgrove and Robert H. Tykot, "Food for Rome: a Stable Isotope Investigation of Diet in the Imperial Period (1st–3rd centuries AD)," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 32 (2013), 36-37; Oliver E. Craig et al., "Stable Isotopic Evidence for Diet at the Imperial Roman Coastal Site of Velia (1st and 2nd Centuries AD) in Southern Italy," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 139 (2009), 572-583.

²¹⁰ Kilgrove and Tykot, "Food for Rome," 36.

²¹¹ Tracy Lynn Prowse, "Isotopic and Dental Evidence for Diet from the Necropolis of Isola Sacra (1st-3rd Centuries AD), Italy" (PhD Diss., McMaster University, 2001), 256.

²¹² Craig et al., "Stable Isotopic Evidence," 581.

²¹³ Giovanna Belcastro, Elisa Rastelli, Valentina Mariotti, Chiara Consiglio, Fiorenzo Facchini, and Benedetta Bonfiglioli, "Continuity or Discontinuity of the Life-style in Central Italy During the Roman Imperial Age-Early Middle Ages Transition: Diet, Health, and Behavior," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 132 (2007), 392.

²¹⁴ Monica Giannecchini and Jacopo Moggi-Cecch, "Stature in Archaeological Samples from Central Italy: Methodological Issues and Diachronic Changes," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 135 (2008), 284-292.

This transformation in diet and health was taking place, as we will see, while the variety of cooking forms decreased. We need not think the homogenization of cooking pots—which is seen as an example of the decrease in sophistication in Italy—is necessarily indicative of a poorer and less healthy population. Rather, those who survived the wars and plague of the sixth century were likely more autonomous and had access to a greater range of foodstuffs. This will be important to consider when we consider the technological change in this period. Just because available forms winnowed and technological sophistication declined does not mean that people ate less well or had a less nutritious diet.

Later work: Isidore

Our final author in this chapter is Isidore, the Bishop of Seville active from the late sixth and early seventh century.²¹⁵ Neither from Italy nor did he dwell there, Isidore is nevertheless important to us. His Spain was experiencing many of the same political and cultural events as was Italy, most notably the merging of old Roman and new barbarian customs and the growing dominance of a foreign elite. For the purposes of this dissertation Isidore is useful to examine for two reasons. First, and quite simply, he mentions, often with some sort of context, a significant number of vessel words. Sources

²¹⁵ As Gregory I. Halfond, review of *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, by John Henderson, *The Medieval Review* 08.05.18 (2008) notes, “the twenty-first century has been very kind to Bishop of Isidore of Seville.” Multiple volumes have been published on him of late, often concerning the *Etymologies*. Henderson’s work is a commentary; an excellent recent translation is Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, trans. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For the Latin, I have used the following: Isidore and W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originvm libri XX ; recognovit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit W.M. Lindsay* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1957). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

that discuss cooking are rare, and the opportunity to consult one as complete as Isidore is welcome. Second, not only was Isidore living in the chronological scope of this dissertation, he was writing in a part of the former Roman world that looked remarkably similar to Italy.²¹⁶ Institutions were changing, cultures were melding, and as I believe that transformations in cooking are hallmarks of cultural change, examining what occurred in Isidore regarding cooking will help us understand how cooking changed in his own era and, perhaps, how similar this was to what occurred in Italy.

There are a number of cooking vessels mentioned in Isidore, who notes that that the word *coculum* is a generic word for cooking pot.²¹⁷ The *caccabus*, that very important word in Apicius, appears twice. In the first reference, in a discussion of the herb comfrey (*symphyton*), Isidore notes that when its roots are added to a *caccabus* that contains small pieces of meat that meal being cooked thickens.²¹⁸ We have seen thickeners in the past, but usually they are starches, such as *amulum*, *tracta*, or *oryza*. From this we learn that the *caccabus* could be used to cook meat, and based on the need for thickening it is tempting to assume that the meal here is a stew or other liquid-based dish. Isidore later states that the *caccabus* (along with another vessel, the *cucuma*) earned its name from the sound of boiling (*ferveo*). If one imagines the sound of boiling water this onomatopoeic association, while perhaps not believable, is at least understandable, and indicates the

²¹⁶ J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, 338-9, observes that Isidore's Spain was one experiencing a revival under the Visigothic court. This, broadly speaking, makes it rather similar to Italy until Justinian's invasion in the 530s.

²¹⁷ Isidore, 20.8.1: "Omnia **uasa coquendi** causa parata **cocula dicuntur.**"

²¹⁸ Ibid., 17.9.61: "**Symphytos** Graece dictus eo quod tantam in radice uirtutem habeat ut **frusta carnis adsparsa in caccabo coagulet.**"

vessel was again used to heat liquid.²¹⁹ All of these references are in keeping with what we saw in Apicius.

The *olla* appears four times. Yellow ochre was made of red ochre that had been burnt (or dried—the verb is *exuro*) mixed with yellow mud in a new olla (*nova olla*). The longer it burned (*ardeo*) inside a *caminus*, or oven, the better it would be.²²⁰ It is tempting to see this is an example of an *olla* being used in an oven, something that is quite unusual, but I do not believe this to be the case. Rather, I think the red ocher and mud mix was merely stored in an *olla* for an unspecified time then heated—note that a separate verb is used for heating the material here—in the *caminus*.²²¹ The other two references are linked to cooking. The etymology of the word *olla*, Isidore observes, comes from the boiling (*ebullio*) of water that takes place inside of it when it is placed over a fire (*ignis*). This also sounds very much the Apician use of the word.

The other two references are more in passing. The *aeneum*, called a *lebes* by the Greeks, was a small *olla* for preparing food that was to be cooked (*coquo*).²²² There is an important distinction present here, one that we have seen in Apicius. To Isidore, the *olla*, when used for cooking, was for boiling water, just as in Apicius, while smaller but

²¹⁹ Ibid., 20.8.3: “**Caccabus et cucuma a sono feruoris cognominantur.**”

²²⁰ Ibid., 19.17.13: “Fit quoque et ochra **exusta** rubrica in **ollis nouis** luto circumlitis, quae quanto magis **in camino** arserit tanto melior fit.”

²²¹ The *caminus* appears as a source of heat in other authors, especially Cato, but never in a cooking context, serving instead as a word more closely resembling “furnace” than “oven.” Whether Isidore’s Spain still supported the creation and maintenance of such structures is an important question but outside the scope of this examination.

²²² Ibid., 20.8.4: “**Lebetae aeneae sunt Graeco sermone uocatae; sunt enim ollae minores in usum coquendi paratae.**”

similarly-shaped pots were for cooking foodstuffs. In a break from Apicius, however, the word *patella* is also described as being similar in shape to the *olla*. The *patella* comes from *patula*, or wide open, and to Isidore was an *olla* with a wider mouth.²²³ This is a decidedly different understanding of the word *patella* than we have seen in earlier authors where, from the perspective of use, it resembled the *patina*. My suspicion is that the word *patella* was, to Isidore, a relic of the past, something he had read about but neither seen nor heard discussed in contemporary use.

The *sartago* appears once, and earns its name from the noisy sound (a crackle is implied) it made when oil burns (*ardeo*) in it, and thus was used for frying.²²⁴ The *patina* appears twice. Isidore notes it is so named because its sides are spread out and wide, coming from the word *patens*.²²⁵ Isidore also observes that quicksilver is made from red lead placed in an iron vessel (*ferrea conchula*, and one can assume the vessel had a rounded shape) with an earthenware *patina* (*patena testea*) placed on top of it.²²⁶ This vessel combination, now called a *vasculum*, has charcoal placed all around it, and the quicksilver would be drawn out of the lead. The wording is unusual, especially as a *patina* has never previously served as a lid. The vessel combination and method of heating is reminiscent of the old *sub testum* style of cooking discussed earlier.

²²³ Ibid., 20, 8, 2: “**Patella quasi patula; olla est enim oris patentioribus.**”

²²⁴ Ibid., 20.8, 5: “**Sartago** ab strepitu sonus uocata quando **ardet in ea oleum.**”

²²⁵ Ibid., 20.4.10: “**Patena**, quod dispansis **patentibus** que sit oris.”

²²⁶ Ibid., 16.19.2: “Fit etiam et ex mineo inposito conchulae ferreae patena testea superposita; tum circumlito uasculo circumdantur carbones, sic que argentum uiuum ex mineo distillat; sine hoc neque argentum neque aes inaurari potest.”

Isidore notes the existence of several cooking places. The coals mentioned above are one; fire is another. The *furnus* appears twice. It takes its name from the word *far*, or husked wheat, since bread was cooked (*coquo*) in them.²²⁷ This is important, for it indicates that bread production still occurred in Isidore's Spain. In addition, we learn about the shape of the *furnus*: discussing the shape of Numidian peasant homes, he notes they have curved sides, resembling the hulls of ships, and are round in the manner of a *furnus*.²²⁸ The *focus* also appears, as Isidore observes that the word comes from the Greek word for fire, *φῶς*, and that wood was burned in one.²²⁹

A good deal of Isidore's text indicates continuity with the past, a continuity that is stronger than in, say, Anthimus. The *caccabus* continues to be an important vessel for boiling meaty meals. Bread-ovens endure. The consumption of a variety of types of bread remained. The more recent past is acknowledged as well: the *sartago*, for example, was vessel only seen for frying in Apicius, and continued this role in Isidore. The *olla* boiled water.

And yet there are breaks with earlier tradition as well. The starchy thickeners we have seen so often are not mentioned, replaced by a simple herb. The *patina*, a vessel of great importance in Apicius (though of waning significance in Vinidarius), is striking both for the infrequency of its mentions and the very odd way it was used when it was

²²⁷ Ibid., 15.6.6: "**Furnum** per derivationem a **farre dictum**, quoniam **panis ex eo** factus ibi **coquitur**."

²²⁸ Ibid., 15.12.4: "Magalia **aedificia** Numidarum agrestium oblonga, **incuruis lateris tecta**, **quasi navium carinae sunt**, **sive rotunda in modum furnorum**."

²²⁹ Ibid., 20.10.1: "Ab igne **colendo** et **ligna antique appellauerunt focum**: **φῶς enim Graece**, Latine ignis est, unde et iuxta philosophos quosdam cuncta procreantur.

mentioned. Vessels are not used in conjunction. There is a mix of complexity, such as evidence for large bread-baking ovens, and simplicity, such as vessel use, that tantalizingly hints at the reality of Isidore's world, one caught between Roman and barbarian, and experiencing a renewal that existed on a knife's blade. The barbarian presence is seen in Isidore's vocabulary as well. There are no barbarian cooking words like **raustjan* or *bridum*. When roasting is discussed, it is with the verb *asso*. But the word *gavata*—a cooking pot in Anthimus, used to cook a dish with many names in several languages—is present here, this time as a simple bowl, one that earns its name because it is hollow, *cavata*.²³⁰

The presence of *gavata* is striking. It does not appear to be a cooking word, and is mentioned in a section on vessels used in the act of eating, not cooking. But its appearance here, is important, especially given its presence in Anthimus. This is evident of the cultural penetration of barbarian norms and ways of cooking into Isidore's understanding of the kitchen and dining.

Isidore serves as an example of someone working with feet straddling more than one time period and who was influenced by more than one culture. The vocabulary of his *Etymologies* helps us to understand one way that certain cultural practices endured (such as commercial bread-making and the continued importance of the *caccabus*), while other, seemingly very important methods of cooking, such as the *patina*, disappeared. We do not have a book that defines so many cooking terms like Isidore's *Etymologies* from the

²³⁰ Ibid., 20.4.11: “**Gavata, quia cavata**, G pro C littera posita.”

Ostrogothic kingdom or Justinian's reconquest. Isidore's text gives us a lens with which to examine a similar period of cultural change.

Conclusion

The main sources discussed here allow for the creation of a general pattern of cooking from the second century BC to the sixth century AD. Isidore, meanwhile, possibly provides a touchstone of sorts for understanding the establishment of barbarian kingdoms in Italy and the impact of the Ostrogothic arrival on the food culture of Italy.

In Cato's day cooking was simple and usually involved boiling in deep pots. This may have been, deliberately archaic language used on Cato's part to promote dwindling virtues, but we must remember what we learned in Chapter One, namely, that the archaeological record bears this simplicity out. As Bats and other confirm, the rounded cooking pot—one well-suited to Cato and Columella's needs—was the dominant vessel at the time.

By the dawn of the Empire, however, cooking had changed. This is borne out in the archaeological record and evident in the texts. Pliny provides the greatest textual evidence of this change. The pan was increasingly prominent, both textually and archaeologically. The use of verbs for baking and roasting increased. As we will see, this is reflected in the great morphological variety present in the peninsula. This variety is complex, however, and not entirely related to the textual evidence examined thus far. Our texts, unsurprisingly, correlate best in this period to urban and elite areas. Rural, poorer areas are morphologically complex, largely due to their variety, and I discuss this in Chapter Three.

Continuing through the heyday of the empire there was an increased complexity in the language of the kitchen, culminating in the text of Apicius, with its great variety of vessel words, verbs for cooking, and ingredients that could only be collected during a period of significant Mediterranean connectivity. In Apicius we see a kitchen where pots were used in conjunction, sauces were prominent, meat and vegetables appeared in abundance, and fish sauce formed the base of many meals. Archaeologically there is much similarity here, as the pan and casserole are the dominant vessel present in elite contexts, indicative of a thriving elite food culture.

And then, both archaeologically and textually, things began to change again. The proliferation of the pan, as we saw in the previous chapter, began to decline. But morphological change is not enough to discuss dietary change. Diet is complex, depending on foodstuff available; other, diverse ingredients that flavor food and serve to make it local; technology for cooking, including ovens and spits; and vessels or other means of cooking. The lacuna provided by the archaeological material is the reason for this chapter. As this chapter shows, all of these factors must be addressed in conjunction in order to discuss cooking change.

Part of the nascent dietary transformation involved pots. We saw this in the previous chapter. The frequency of the pan, which had been for so long the hallmark of Roman cooking that its presence in the Mediterranean is seen by modern scholars as evidence of Roman occupation, began to wane. This is borne out textually. Words like *patina* and *patella* slowly ceded their prominence. The roasting or baking of food in vessels and ovens declined. But other events—events much harder to detect in the

archaeological record—happened as well. Fish sauce, first in Vinidarius and then in Anthimus, ceases to be mentioned. Large ovens disappeared. The common hearth became the center of cooking. To look at pottery in Vinidarius is to see a text similar to Apicius but with some significant change. The *olla* was gone. The *caccabus* endured, as did the *patina*. The two were used in conjunction. Vinidarius is similar to Isidore, each a text produced by men influenced by more than one cultural group. Hints of accommodation, of a hybrid culture seeking to emulate Rome but influenced by the barbarians, peek through in both texts. In the Frankish culture present in Anthimus, however, we see something entirely different. Even pots themselves began to lose their prominence, replaced by other means of cooking, including the spit. Yet Vinidarius and Anthimus both suggest a move towards greater meat consumption, an event confirmed by skeletal analysis as occurring in parts of Italy at the time of their writing.

This is very generally sketched, and is why I turn to more regionally-based sources in the next two chapters. There are other questions that the texts here do not entirely address. Chief among them concerns the diet of the non-elites. The majority of these texts focus on what the wealthy cooked and consumed. Meat is prominently featured, so much so that these works must reflect the tastes, desires, and economic command of the elite. Snippets of information about the lower classes seep through, however, such as Juvenal's smoking cookpots and Isidore's discussion of bread varieties. Archaeology, here, may provide more information than the texts. Peasants did not produce texts, nor were they prominently featured in them. But they did own things. We will see more about peasant diet in the next two chapters, and in them I look primarily at

sources that do not focus on cooking. This may sound counter-intuitive, but works that do not have cooking as their focus, I believe, reveal through small clues a great deal about quotidian diets. Works that do focus on food, on the other hand, are almost always documents that reflect elite tastes and customs.

The largest question, and the one that has driven these first two chapters, is: Can pottery and textual sources be used in conjunction to discuss diet? The answer is that they must, for what each addresses well is different enough from the other to demand that they be studied in conjunction. Texts alone do not adequately address diet. Nor do cooking pots. But the two studied together give us, for now, the clearest picture of what people cooked. Changes in these patterns that are evident via a combination of textual and archaeological evidence are hallmarks of social, political, and ethnic changes and reflect evolving diets and patterns of taste. We are left here with a picture of Italy that was at no point static. The simple tastes of the Republic were replaced by more sophisticated palates that were nourished by the tremendous wealth and access of the Empire. By Late Antiquity, diet was changing again, a product of economic decline and the arrival of new peoples. In the next two chapters I look at the specifics of this narrative and the implications of this change for the peninsula and the enduring and emerging identities of the Italian people.

CHAPTER THREE

MOVING PAST A “POTTED HISTORY”: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF COOKING

2. Caccabina mold: arrange mallows, leeks, and beets, or boiled cabbage, or thrush or chicken forcemeat, or pork tidbits, or chicken and anything else you may have . . . put in a patina and make it so that it boils gently, and while it is cooking add one pint of milk, with eggs dissolved in it.¹

This chapter concerns archaeological evidence for cooking pottery in Italy from approximately the early empire to the seventh century. The thrust of it is as follows: under the Empire, there is no one “Roman” method of cooking. The one recognizable pattern of cooking vessels present in the archaeological record was left behind by elites, whose sites are marked by elaborate cooking assemblages used to prepare lavish meals. But in rural and poor sites there is no consistent pattern of vessels used. Pans were popular at some; pots at others; and casseroles at even others. Geography, resources, and local identities played important roles in defining and shaping the quite varied cooking practices throughout the peninsula. But this was not to last. As the Empire waned and Italy entered Late Antiquity, home now to a smaller economy, fewer resources, and the arrival of peoples like the Ostrogoths and Byzantines, cooking practice became largely unrecognizable from what had come before. Diet slowly transformed, as some vessels fell out of use, and meals no doubt changed correspondingly. By the sixth and seventh centuries, Roman elite cooking habits had largely disappeared, replaced by the customs

¹ Vinidarius 2. II. caccabina fusile: malbas porros betas sive colielos elixatos turdos atque ecsisia de pullu copadia porcina sive pullina et cetera que in presenti habere poteris composes]variatis. . . . mittis in patina et fac ut modice ferveat, et cum quotuitur adicies lactes sextario uno, ova dissolute cum lacte...

of newer, non-Italian elites who preferred other meals. Increasing material poverty, along with newer Christian traditions that directly shaped elite identity, were also factors in this change. This cooking transformation, somewhat surprisingly, also occurred in the countryside, as the hodgepodge of different cooking styles present throughout the peninsula were replaced by an increasing reliance on the deep pot. Yet this simplification of forms did not mean an increased material poverty for those who lived in the countryside. As we saw in the previous chapter, the diet and living conditions of peasants often improved in Late Antiquity. Elite cooking endured in Italy for centuries in urban centers. But, other than that, there never was one Roman style of cooking. Italy, even under the Empire, was until the fifth century a patchwork of tastes, preferences, and pottery.

The passage from Vinidarius quoted above, which we have already seen in the previous chapter, presents one of the many transitions in cooking practice that took place during this period and offers insight into how these transformation were perceived, understood, and experienced by the people they directly affected. Vinidarius, describes a *caccabina*, a meal that sounds very much like an Apician *patina*. What stands out here is the juxtaposition of terms. The word *caccabina* calls to mind vessel word *caccabus*, which we associate with the casserole. The Apician *patina*, however, was prepared in a pan, and indeed the vessel used here to prepare Vinidarius' *caccabina* is a *patina*. Why the overlap of cooking vocabulary? As we discussed earlier, there is a hybridity of terminology at play here. The reason for this hybridity becomes apparent when we turn to contemporary archaeological evidence. In Italy in the time Vinidarius was writing, the

pan had practically disappeared from the archaeological record, replaced by the casserole. If that is the case, what vessel was Vinidarius speaking of when he used the word *patina*?

The answer, based on the accumulation of archaeological evidence, is that Vinidarius' choice of vocabulary represents the decline of a centuries-long tradition of Roman elite cooking. By the time he was writing, one of the vessel types that was so important for preparing elite, or Apician, meals—the pan—was no longer widely in use. The casserole, a multipurpose vessel, took the place of the pan for a time. Thus we see in Vinidarius words for two cooking pots mixed together, with the meal now named after the casserole, or *caccabus*, it was now known for but—likely anachronistically—described as being prepared in a pan, or *patina*.

Before I begin examining the material, I offer an important caveat. Calculating the number of cooking vessels present at an archaeological site is, to put it nicely, difficult. This difficulty takes a toll on a study such as this one. While quantification of sherds is relatively easy, using that data to determine how many vessels of a certain type existed at that site is much harder. Sherd counts present useful data, but they alone can be unreliable indicators of the relative frequency of a vessel: larger vessels, for example, will naturally leave behind more diagnostic sherds than smaller vessels, which can disproportionately skew a straight sherd count.² One cannot base an argument for vessel prominence on the appearance at a site of, say, 27 sherds of a casserole versus 15 of a pan. More importantly, many of the site reports consulted for this chapter do not reveal the number of sherds or vessels found, presenting instead a relative sampling of

² Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 115.

diagnostic material. The excavation of the Palatine East has been scrupulously documented. Most sites excavated more than three decades ago have not been. In addition, more recent excavations do not always publish the entirety of their material. At Elizabeth Fentress' recent dig in Cosa, for example, the coarse ware sherds were "jettisoned" after cataloging, thus removing these objects from any analysis future materials science research may be able to provide.³ Different excavators, of course, have different motives, and budgets are not unlimited. Ikäheimo's work at the Palatine East is not a site report, but a lengthy report on a specific set of ceramics. His goals are decidedly different than, say, Fentress'. For this project, however, the reality is that comparing ceramics reports is not as difficult as comparing apples to oranges, but rather apples to apple seeds. The raw matter is the same, but the presentation and information available can be quite different.

There is, however, more than enough information in many site reports for my goals in this dissertation. While there is a comfort in numbers, I am writing about patterns. It is not currently possible to look at the majority of the extant reports and note that a site possessed "seven pans, three pots, and a pan-casserole." But that level of specificity is not required for what I am doing, as my work focuses more on the ebb and flow of patterns in the deposition of vessel forms, which does not require absolute numbers. Thus I use general words like "many," "few," and "some" when discussing the frequency of vessels at a site which, though not specific, offers the shape of a pattern,

³ Elizabeth Fentress, ed., *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991-1997* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 8.

which allows for observations to be made about diet and dietary change and provides evidence to be compared to contemporary textual sources.

My interpretation of forms and their use is shaped by the work of scholars discussed in the first chapter, especially Bats, Ikaheimo and, especially, Berlin. I focus on several shapes. They include the pan, a vessel often with a flat base used for roasting and baking, often in an oven. I include in this category vessels described as “pans” in reports but also Berlin’s baking dishes and Bats’ *plat à four*. Pots are rounded vessels used for boiling and the creation of liquid meals. Casseroles are open-form vessels with high walls and flat or rounded bases, and often served a middle ground in the preparation of food. Similarly, pan-casseroles are a version of the pan but with higher walls, sometimes with a rounded base and other times with a flat one, all of which suggest they could be used to handle more liquid than a typical pan. I also briefly mention jugs, sometimes called jars, which were for heating liquid, often wine, and cooking bowls, very small, rounded vessels whose use is not often discussed.⁴ I include these vessels for the sake of completeness, but focus my attention on the pan, pan-casserole, casserole, and pot.

Unification of Practice? Italian Cooking in the Early Empire

I begin with archaeological material from the first century AD. This time period is earlier than the main thrust of this dissertation but important to examine, in part to document change on a wider scale and in part to determine how earlier sources relate to the found ceramics. The authors from the Republican period that we have discussed, Cato and Varro, indicate, possibly anachronistically, that Romans of their time primarily

⁴ Ikaheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 70.

cooked with pots. This assumption is to a certain extent corroborated by Bats. By the first century AD, however, our texts indicate that while the *olla*, the noun generally associated with the cookpot, was still was an important part of the Roman kitchen, other vessels, such as the *caccabus*, *patina*, *patella*, and *sartago*, were increasing in prominence. Boiling in large vessels was no longer the preferred or predominant method of cooking. I have argued above that texts and archaeological material must be examined in conjunction to discuss changes in cooking patterns. For this period, I examine five sites: Cosa, Filattiera-Sorano, Mola di Monte Gelato, Otranto, and Valesio. (See Figure 29.) As we will see, the archaeological record shares similarities with the texts regarding cooking, as deep cookpots—important not only to the authors named above but also to Bats’ arguments about Republican diet—lost prominence, replaced by a myriad of other forms, ones relate to the Latin words named above. Patterns emerge as well. Elite cooking assemblages are clearly identifiable, marked by an incredibly diversity of forms. Less clear are the patterns of cooking vessels present at rural and poorer sites, which are defined in part by how they do not correlate with each other. If assemblages can be used to discuss identity in this period, it is primarily in relationship to elites.

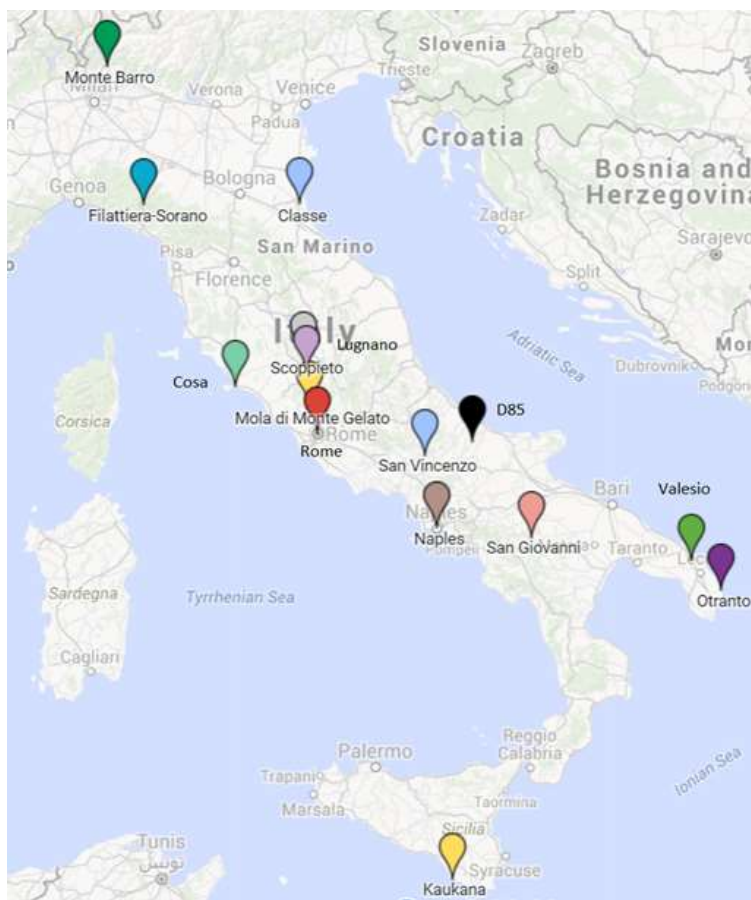


Figure 29. Map of the sites examined in Chapter Three. Created with Google Maps.

Cosa, a formerly bustling port that by the first century had become home to an “elaborate seaside villa,”⁵ contains two relevant contexts: 22 II, which dates to the first half of the first century,⁶ and LS, which runs from the late first century to the early third.⁷ In 22 II there is a wide range of cooking material, including many pans and pan-casseroles, many deep casseroles (called “saucepans” by Dyson), a few cooking pots, and

⁵ Anna Marguerite McCann, *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 2002), 39.

⁶ Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery*, 115-136.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 139-157.

some lids. Shallow casseroles are not represented, though it is possible pan-casseroles may have fulfilled their role. This is an example of a very well-rounded kitchen or kitchens that were capable of cooking a variety of foods. The assemblage correlates well with what we observed first in Columella and, later, Pliny, who stressed the use of multiple vessels used on conjunction. Dyson notes that the appearance of deep casseroles in this phase is new, and a break from the previous phase (which I do not examine here), that dates to the first quarter of the first century BC. This is a bit of a surprise, as Varro's texts indicate that casseroles were used by the late first century BC, and thus their absence at Cosa a few decades later is unusual. This assemblage, and the presence of this type of casserole, is a sign of preference and status. The wealthy inhabitants of the villa likely preferred, and their status demanded, the sauce-rich dishes I associate with the deep casserole in a way the residents of the earlier port city did not. By the time of Augustus the inhabitants of the site had a full range of cooking implements and a populace that consumed aristocratic meals.

This assemblage at 22II is similar to what was found in the next phase of the site, LS, which also contained deep casseroles, pans and pan-casseroles, cooking jugs and pots, lids, and a few shallow casseroles. These two phases indicate kitchens at Cosa were stocked with a diverse array of cooking ware. This abundance of multiple vessel forms in both layers is indicative, I believe, of the elite or "Apician" style of cooking discussed in the previous chapter, evidence of a kitchen that produced meals in a variety of vessels used in conjunction. A particularly telling point about the status of the inhabitants, and the relationship of that status to the kitchens, is that, despite a gap of several decades

between 22 II and LS—a gap that included an abandonment and resettlement of the site—there is very little difference in these ceramic assemblages. This suggests that the multi-vessel, elite manner of cooking was present in areas other than Cosa and could easily be brought back to and replicated in the city once the site was reoccupied. While diet was often regional, elite cooking may transcended that regionality. In addition, while the deep pot is present, it is not the predominant form found at Cosa, indicative that the elite residents of the villa preferred meals cooked in other vessels. This very closely mirrors what we see in Apicius.

This was not the case for all of Italy, as this wealth of material is not present in similar variety or numbers at the other three sites. Cosa's cooking assemblage was quite diverse in the early first century AD. At Valesio, a village far to the south in Puglia, about 4.5 km from the Adriatic and 10 km southeast of Brindisi, pans were the only cooking form present at this time.⁸ Valesio, unlike Cosa, was a small site with few inhabitants, and consequently the ceramic record is rather sparse. But its assemblage is telling nonetheless. The pans were supplemented by the arrival of *orlo bifido*, or fork-rimmed, casseroles around the middle of that century.⁹ Before the turn of the century the pans disappeared and were replaced by cooking pots. In the early second century shallow casseroles from North Africa arrived, appearing at the site just as the deeper, Italian *orlo bifido* casseroles fell out of use.

⁸ Johannes Boersma, *Mutatio Valentia: The Late Roman Baths at Valesio, Salento* (Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers, 1995).

⁹ For more on this form, see Andrea Berlin, "Italian Cooking Vessels and Cuisine from Tel Anafa," *Israel Exploration Journal* 43 (1993): 43; Susan Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 192-193.

This constant change in assemblage is puzzling. This does not resemble what we observed in our textual sources. While multiple forms are present at Valesio, they are rarely so in conjunction. The pan, early on, existed alone. The dynamic nature of the ceramic record at Valesio hints at changes in the economic fortunes and social status of the site's inhabitants and that cooking changed according to these factors. This variation in found vessel morphology would continue in the second century, as deep casseroles returned to Valesio in the second half of the this century. Now, however, they, like the shallow casseroles and lids, came from North Africa. The site's pans also now came from North Africa. This is a more complete assemblage than in earlier phasing. Here Valesio again presents an interesting contrast with Cosa. Valesio was almost continuously occupied, while Cosa experienced a period of abandonment. At the former, cooking varied significantly despite this continued inhabitation, while at the latter, which we might not expect, given its abandonment, similar vessels continued to be used across time periods. It is only in the late second and early third centuries that the two sites' assemblages resembled each other. The changes at Valesio offer evidence for an ebb and flow of dietary habit, as the ceramics indicate that no one style of cooking dominated the site's entire chronology. This variation, I believe, is an entry point for discussions of aspects of status and identity at these sites. Cooking at Cosa reflected and reinforced a specific identity. Cooking was much more dynamic at Valesio. It is possible that the identity of the inhabitants was as well. These changes happened at Valesio while the site remained occupied. This suggests a fluidity in cooking practice that is not present at Cosa. The reason for this fluidity is uncertain, though I suspect it can be linked to the one

thing we know about the village's inhabitants, their poverty. Wealth allowed Cosa to maintain a cooking tradition that a poorer site like Valesio could not sustain. Whether the cooking transformations in Valesio were due to the availability of resources, the changing fortunes of the site's inhabitants, or the imposition of the controlling hand of a landlord on what was provided to the inhabitants of this site is, for now, unknown.

The late second century combination of pan and deep casserole present at Valesio, at first glance, may seem like another example of Apician cooking. But we must be cautious. The pan and casserole combination are only found together for a short time, quickly replaced by a reliance on deeper pots and shallower casseroles. With the exception of Pliny, whose uses of the pan were primarily medicinal, we have become accustomed to seeing this vessel as a marker of high-status cuisine. However, according to the textual sources the sort of elite cooking that involved the pan also relied on multiple forms and was dependent on the casserole. This is a reminder that, while Apicius is informative, the information about cooking it contains is not absolute. Even if the pan and casserole combination were a hallmark of elite, Apician cuisine, the presence of these two vessels in conjunction at a particular site is not indicative that must have been used to prepare Apician dishes. The pan was likely used by a variety of social strata. That the pan was present by itself indicates this very point, and that it cooked many more meals than just the Apician *patina* or similar dishes. The archaeological record confirms that vessel use was a more dynamic, complicated affair than the textual sources indicate. The fact that cooking vessels at Valesio began to resemble those at Cosa indicates, possibly, an increase in the status of the inhabitants of the site. It may also indicate a growing

homogenization of diet in the peninsula. No matter the case, we have discussed that continuity of vessel use across time should not be assumed. But so too must we avoid doing this across the relatively limited space of the Italian peninsula. Cooking, at least at some sites, was often in flux. Tradition, at least one rooted in cooking with ceramics, did not always endure. Roman Italy was home to many different cooking traditions.

At Otranto, which is not far from Valesio, the assemblage is again quite different from what we see at Cosa.¹⁰ It was dominated in the first century, just as Valesio was, by pans.¹¹ Pans would continue into the second century, which is when jugs and pots arrived. All would remain until the beginning of the third century, when the site was abandoned for a time. This a relatively simple first century followed by a more complex assemblage in later layers is similar to Valesio. The presence of the pan indicates a similarity in cooking between the sites. The pan was not always a vessel for elite cooking. As Pliny makes clear, this vessel form had a variety of uses, often medicinal, and thus their presence need not speak to status. What stands out here is the absence of casseroles. This lack of casseroles, which also occurs in the earliest phase at Valesio, again calls into question the relationship between pan and casserole discussed above. It is possible the site simply was not wealthy enough to warrant the acquisition of multi-tiered cooking methods, but it is equally likely that such a method was not preferred. Arthur's argument for a geographic imperative governing distribution is tempting to consider

¹⁰ Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs, *Excavations at Otranto* (Lecce: Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità, Università degli studi).

¹¹ For the ceramics examined in this chapter, see Maria Teresa Giannotta, "La Ceramica Africana e Microasiatica," *Excavations at Otranto*, 46-61, and Grazia Semeraro, "La Ceramica Comune Pre-Romana e Romana," *Excavations at Otranto*, 64-78.

here—perhaps liquid-based meals or sauces were less important in the diet of the inhabitants of the southern part of the peninsula, or that the deeper pots which ultimately arrived were enough—but given that the casserole was present in several phases at Valesio, just a few miles away, geography alone does not appear to be the determining factor in vessel distribution and use.¹² We see here instead evidence of microregional diets, areas where diets and cooking varied in ways that are quite difficult to detect archaeologically. The reason for these variations are due to available resources, or preference, or tradition.

In the farming village of Filattiera-Sorano, far to the north in the Ligurian region of the peninsula, we see a different pattern.¹³ In the earliest phases of this site, which date to the Augustan period, there are only deep pots and a few casseroles.¹⁴ In the next phases, one of which covers the first-second centuries AD and the other the second century, there is an expansion of forms. In this first of these two phases the assemblage is almost entirely locally-made pots, but there are also some local bowls and deep casseroles. There are even a few fragments of pans, which were made both locally and in North Africa. The two second century phases are also dominated by local pots, but also include local bowls, Tyrrhenian pots and lids, and North African lids and casseroles.

Pots are the norm here. This vessel form, as we have seen, is often considered the primary cooking vessel used in rural sites. But Filattiera-Sorano is the only one of the

¹² Arthur, “Pots and Boundaries,” 17.

¹³ Enrico Giannichedda and Emilio Bellatalla, eds. *Filattiera-Sorano: l'insediamento di età romana e tardo antica : scavi 1986-1995* (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 1998).

¹⁴ For the cooking wares from this site in all phases, see *ibid.*, 114-155.

three villages examined here to have pots in any significant quantity. This again speaks to the idea that in the first and second centuries there were multiple diets and preferred methods of cooking food, even in rustic sites. And, despite its rural setting, Filattiera-Sorano had access to many wares and forms. Not only were casseroles locally made, vessels—including pans—were imported. This importation speaks to the site's access to markets. This village was able to acquire ceramics manufactured in other regions, which in turn allowed for the importation of other, possibly non-local forms. But pans here never dominate, which suggests that the use of pots was not solely the function of economic imperative. The inhabitants imported some pans and manufactured some of their own, and perhaps, as Luley suggests, the presence of this vessel speaks to a social stratification or hierarchy.¹⁵ But, even if that is the case, it appears the majority of the village's inhabitants—unlike the villages to the south—primarily cooked in pots.

The villa of Mola di Monte Gelato offers a final point of context for this first period.¹⁶ The well-appointed *pars urbana* of a villa complex located approximately 30 km north of Rome, was excavated between 1986 and 1990. The site was founded in the Augustan period and reinhabited in the second century. The ceramics report does not treat ceramics from specific layers.¹⁷ Rather, it is a collection of chronologically-focused contexts. For this period, there are two assemblages: Group 1, from 120-130 AD, and Group 2, from 170-190 AD. In both groups there is a great variety of cooking forms.

¹⁵ Luley, "Cooking, Class, and Colonial Transformations in Roman Mediterranean France," 53-56.

¹⁶ T.W. Potter and A. King, eds. *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato: A Roman and Medieval Settlement in South Etruria* (London: The British School at Rome, 1997).

¹⁷ Paul Roberts, "The Roman Pottery," in *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato*, 316-357.

Group 1 has a range of pans, pan-casseroles, bowls, jars, deep casseroles, and cooking pots. This is a diverse collection of material, almost all locally made, and the deep casserole is the predominant vessel. All told, this assemblage is very Apician, as we might expect in a villa.

The late second century villa seems to have experienced some change. The fish pond, a defining feature of the early second century villa, was filled in, and in general there is a decline of luxury believed to have occurred at the site. This assumption, I believe, is projected on to the ceramics, as the ceramicist notes that the course wares were all of a lower quality than they were in the previous period.¹⁸ I believe this betrays a somewhat dated assumption about the material, especially as a significant portion of the site's assemblage now came from North Africa. As we saw in Chapter One, ceramicists for a long time held a significant bias against non-Italian wares. To use a "decline" in ceramic quality as a sign of general economic decline is a mistake. This is borne out in an analysis of the forms, which reveals significant and continued diversity. North African cooking imports include deep casseroles, pan-casseroles, and at least one pan, while local casseroles also are present, though they are less numerous than they were in Group 1. There is perhaps a decline in ceramic quality, but the meals that were produced at this site were likely still complex, and the decline of the fortune of the villa's inhabitants may be overstated.

Vessels are found in different proportions at each site. The most commonly occurring at these early sites is the pan. This does not mean it was the most prevalent

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 320.

vessel at any site, nor that it was used consistent across sites. The other vessels present in these assemblages indicate that, while flat-bottomed pans were an important part of cooking in Italy in the first and second centuries, these pans were not used in the same way at each site or across time. There is enough variation in these four early assemblages discussed here to call into question arguments of uniformity of “Roman” cooking under the Empire, even in the Italian peninsula. Cosa and Mola di Monte Gelato’s assemblage was complex, indicative of the status and tastes of their wealthy inhabitants. Filattiera-Sorano’s was simpler, with a variety of forms but dominated by one, suggesting, perhaps, a local manner of cooking and also an elite presence with different tastes. Otranto and Valesio, both of which experienced considerable upheaval, were also farming villages, though each had different assemblages that were not at all similar to Filattiera-Sorano, nor very similar to each other. This early period, therefore, indicates a level of site-by-site complexity the textual sources do not address. Even in a period we might think of Italy as the most “Roman,” there was no one “Roman” diet. The primary unifying force that established continuity in cooking practice, other than necessity, was status.

Dietary Division Continued: The Later Empire

In this second period, which runs from roughly the third century to the first half of the fourth, there are many similarities to what we observed in the first period. Elite dining continues, especially in Rome, which we examine for the first time. But the pan begins to wane, and the casserole in this period is increasingly the dominant form at sites of all types. Rome and Naples are interesting contrasts here: although both are urban sites with similar assemblages, when context is considered it is clear their inhabitants did not

prepare identical meals. We also see a consistent diversity of cooking tradition in rural, non-elite sites. The village of Filatteria-Sorano continued the cooking tradition observed in the previous period, while Valesio once again experienced a transformation in its ceramic assemblage. This again reminds that there was no one preferred Roman method of cooking.

The portions of Otranto that have been excavated were abandoned by the beginning of the third century, as was Cosa. Settlement at Valesio, and thus cooking pottery, continued for some time. Cookpots were used until the latter half of the third century. Pans, lids, and shallow casseroles (the *ceramica a patina cenerognola*, a type first identified by Carandini, and now recognized to be from North Africa¹⁹) endured until the site was abandoned in the early fourth century. The site once again experienced a transformation in cooking style. The cookpots endured for a few years into the arrival of the new forms and then disappear from the record, replaced by the familiar pan and casserole combination. It is tempting to see this as an improvement in the fortunes of the inhabitants of Valesio, or the arrival of a people who preferred other methods of cooking. I stress again that it is a mistake to assume the pan/casserole combination is always indicative of the Apician style of cooking. There is nothing otherwise about the site to indicate an upturn in economic fortune for the site's inhabitants. Also, Apician cooking relied on other vessels forms, none of which are found here. And yet, Valesio remains a

¹⁹ Andrea Carandini, "La sigillata africana, la ceramica a patina cenerognola e a orlo annerito," in *Instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età Imperiale. Quaderni di cultura materiale* 1, ed. Maria Anecchino (Roma : L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1977), 23-24. For the connection with Africa, see Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*, 3.

bit of a mystery. Continuously inhabited, it experienced several transformations in how those inhabitants cooked food. This transformation is different than the one we will see later, when production of new and diverse forms that were widely available simply ceased to exist. Here that level of production still existed, but the wares only intermittently made it to Valesio. Whether this is a function of the role a small village played in trading networks, the preference of its inhabitants, or the potential transformation of the identity of those inhabitants across time is unknown. What is clear, however, is that the inhabitants of this site did not have a long-established, traditional way of cooking. A resident of Valesio from one period would not recognize the meals prepared just a handful of decades before or after his or her lifetime.

Turning north, Filattiera-Sorano, in Liguria, contains an occupation layer from the late second century through the very early third. The forms present include shallow casseroles, lids, and a single pan or pan-casserole. The majority of the vessels, by a significant amount, is pots. This assemblage is similar though less complex than what we saw in the previous layers of occupation. There is a consistency of tradition here, one that will endure.

The site provides an excellent contrast with the very urban Naples.²⁰ This excavation was of a residential insula from inside the city walls. Phase IV of the site extended between the second and fourth centuries AD. The assemblage from this phase is

²⁰ Paul Arthur, *Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi: Napoli (scavi, 1983-1984)* (Le Galatina: Congedo, 1994).

dominated by many deep casseroles, pans, a single pan-casserole, lids, and a jar.²¹ The contrast between Naples and Filattiera-Sorano is striking: the farm community of Filattiera-Sorano cooked food primarily in pots, an economical method of food preparation that allows for little waste and needs no structure for preparation other than fire.²² The urban dwellers of Naples, however, eschewed pots, relying on a great variety of smaller, more personalized food preparation vessels that may have been used together. The vessels at Naples are small, and urban kitchens were a rarity. The ceramics found here would have been excellent for transporting meals or portions of meals from a *taberna*, vendor, or public oven to the home for heating on a small brazier.²³

Naples' assemblage seems similar to some of the ceramics found at Valesio, especially the layer from the third century. It is tempting to argue for similar cooking patterns at these two sites based on this morphological similarity. But context matters: it is far likelier that the vessels at Valesio were the only ones the inhabitants had access to. At Naples, however, this is unlikely, and the latter's assemblage instead reflects the pots the inhabitants of this particular insula used on a regular basis. Deep pots would have been present at Naples, but in other urban structures meant for cooking, such as the above-mentioned *tabernae*. Valesio's assemblage is likely more representative of cooking in its entirety than is Naples', which reflects instead only a portion of cooking, though it was the aspect most familiar to the inhabitants of a block of apartments. This is

²¹ Helena Fracchia, "La Ceramica Comune e da Cucina di Età Repubblicana e della Prima e Media età Imperiale," in *Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi: Napoli*, 173-179.

²² Arthur, "Pots and Boundaries," 18.

²³ Simon P. Ellis, "The 'Palace of the Dux' at Apollonia and Related Houses," 17.

a reminder of how much our respective assemblages tell us: at a farming village, where food preparation was likely done from start to finish by the same person or people, the assemblages are reflective of the entire process of cooking. The inhabitants of this insula did not cook the entirety of their meals, and their ceramics only reflect a portion of the creation of the meal. Thus, though the ceramics at the two sites were similar, the diets they represent were likely much different, with more options and variety available to the inhabitants of Naples.

The large ceramic assemblage from the excavation on the eastern slope of the Palatine Hill in Rome provides a significant amount of information for this project.²⁴ This site, a “late Roman domus” on the northeast slope of the Palatine Hill, is one of the few sites whose material can be accurately quantified.²⁵ The site produced over 20 metric tons of pottery, which is a massive amount of material. The ceramicist, Ikäheimo, focused his efforts on the African cooking forms, and the local and other cooking wares to be published in the future. This focus means that there will not be many cooking pots, as African ateliers rarely produced this form. The material for this period is from phases 6-8 of the site, which dates between 270-325, and represents the largest collection of pottery in any period that I examine here.²⁶ Given the time period and location, we should expect to see a great variety in forms. This was, after all, the capital of the Empire, the center of a sophisticated redistributive economy, and home to people of diverse and

²⁴ Ikäheimo, *Late Roman African Cookware of the Palatine East Excavations*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁶ For the site’s phasing, see *Ibid.*, 9.

assorted backgrounds and status. This diversity is exactly what we see: the assemblage consists of vast quantities of shallow (264) and deep casseroles (340) and pans (199), with far fewer pan-casseroles (23). Of all of our sites from this period, this is one that can most reasonably be used as a sort of control group for examining elite dining. If we cannot expect to see examples of elite cuisine on the eastern slope of the Palatine Hill, then where? Rome represents the pinnacle of elite cooking, and provides an excellent example of what that cooking would have looked like.

There is not much that is surprising here. Like Cosa, there is a wide range of forms, and it seems that Apician, wealthy meals could easily have been prepared. What stands out from the previous period is that the casserole, and not the pan, is the vessel that appears at the majority of sites. Though scholars like Berlin have argued for the primacy of the pan in Roman cuisine, the dominance of the casserole should not be surprising. This is where our textual sources prove to be invaluable. In Chapter Two we learned that in Apicius, the *caccabus*, the word most closely associated with the casserole, appeared much more frequently in elite cuisine than did the *patina*, the vessel word associated with the pan. Thus, at an elite site, we should expect casseroles to be the dominant form, which is exactly the case at the Palatine East.

The pottery present at these sites makes it clear that, even under a unified empire with the ability to access cooking material and foodstuffs from a wide range of production sites, cooking in Italy was quite varied. The pan was not ubiquitous. It was prevalent in urban areas—though, admittedly, the number of such sites consulted here is

small—while pots were present in greatest numbers in rural contexts. The vessel that most sites have in common is the casserole.

The shadows of Bats and Berlin loom large here. To each of them, a specific cooking form was emblematic of a “Roman” presence. To Bats it was the deep pot; to Berlin (and Dyson, to an extent), it was the flat pan. But here we see that their arguments are incomplete, and that a closer examination of pottery present at sites in Italy under the Empire problematizes these straightforward narratives. There is no one vessel that represents a “Roman” method of cooking or is the hallmark of Roman cuisine. A variety of forms are present on their own at certain sites, and there is no one time where a single vessel type was dominant. There does seem to be a correlation between wealth, poverty, and vessels found. The casserole in this period is ubiquitous, but its use is not static. The cooking pot appears in greater numbers at more rural or poorer sites, while the pan is often present in urban or wealthier sites. But this is not always the case: for example, the cooking pot is present at Cosa, which had a great variety of forms, while the pans found at Valesio had no supporting vessels. This suggests that, while certain vessels could be associated with specific social strata or method of cooking, they were not always used in a particular fashion or by a particular people. Thus the cooking pot was used by the poor, and may well have been the vessel most popular in rural communities, but it also appeared in wealthier contexts. The pan may have been used in a well-appointed kitchen to prepare elegant foodstuffs, such as the eponymous *patina*, but was also present by itself at sites and used, perhaps, for more quotidian tasks such as cooking simpler fare or preparing medicine. This does not mean that there are not visible patterns in the

assemblages. Far from it! There are, for example, profound differences between urban and rural sites. The assemblage at Naples and Filattiera-Sorano vary significantly, while Rome and Naples do not. There is a consistency at wealthy, urbanized sites that we do not see at more rural ones.

An examination of material from the first two periods indicates that there is, ultimately, no standard or “Roman” method of cooking. This does not mean, however, that the pan is not an effective marker of Roman identity. Indeed, its ubiquity in the Mediterranean at sites associated with Romans indicates it had great importance in the definition of what it meant to be Roman. But it was not the dominant vessel used in Italy.

I find in this analysis a reversal of expectations. Apicius indicates, and the assemblages confirm, that elite cooking is marked by complexity. Poor diets, therefore, are marked by simplicity. Juvenal reminds of this with his depiction of a great porridge in a smoking pot. Analyzing and interpreting these assemblages, however, forces us to alter these preconceived notions. An elite assemblage is relatively easy to identify. The cooking habits of the poor, however, are harder to determine, as they are so diverse. Though they may be “simpler,” non-elite assemblages are not straightforward or easy to interpret. Nor are they homogenous. Getting to the specifics of rural cooking is, I believe, much more complex than has been previously thought, and determining that specificity requires residue analysis, an examination of faunal evidence, seeds, and a host of other fields. It is clear, however, that the poor were not merely subsisting on whatever provender could be scrapped together and prepared in the large, solitary pot in the home.

Cooking Change at the Advent of Late Antiquity

I now turn to the next period, which runs from c. 350 AD until, roughly, 450. This was a period of great upheaval for Italy. Now no longer the center of the Roman world, Rome itself suffered the grim indignity of a sack by Alaric in 410. As we might expect, diet and cooking experienced a transformation in this period, with certain traditional methods of cooking beginning to wane and an overall homogenization of cooking practice in rural areas. The pan, an almost ubiquitous vessel in the first period and important at elite sites in the second, is almost entirely absent from this period. This is accompanied by a rise in the use of pots, a tradition that would only continue. Elite cooking assemblages, consistent for so long, were affected by this transformation.

In the next chapter I will discuss several texts from this period. Here I examine eleven sites. Five—Filatteria-Sorano, Mola di Monte Gelato, Naples, Otranto, and Rome—we have already discussed. Five others—Classe, Scoppieto, Lugnano, San Giovanni, and another site in Rome, the Schola Praeconum—are new. All contain significant and, as we might expect, varied information. The hodgepodge of forms found in the previous section is, (to a large extent) replaced by a greater similarity of forms across sites. I begin with the sites already discussed.

At Filattiera-Sorano, Liguria, which was occupied from the late fourth to the early sixth, the majority of forms were locally-made deep pots, just as they were in the earlier period. Local cooking bowls are also present. African forms were also found, and these include lids, casseroles, and pans. Pans, in fact, are present in greater number here than in any other phase of the site, though their numbers are still small when compared to

cookpots. That some are from Africa is once again striking, in part because it means this rather remote rural site continued to maintain connections to a relatively distant manufacturer. Filattiera-Sorano is one of our sites that appears to have maintained a centuries-long cooking tradition. This must relate to its occupation history, which was continuous, though as we saw at Valesio, continuous occupation does not guarantee continuity of cooking practice. This area, remote and removed from the sea, was likely not too affected by major upheaval, allowing for the continuity we do not see throughout the peninsula.

At Naples there are two archaeological layers found that date to this time period, each to around the middle of the fifth century.²⁷ Both are waste dumps. The first (Phase VIa) contains some shallow casseroles, larger number of deeper casseroles, lids, and a smaller amount of pots or jugs and pan-casseroles.²⁸ All are in local fabrics. The second (VIb), contains a few local deep and shallow casseroles, deep pots, African deep casseroles, African pan or pan-casserole, and lids in both fabrics. The dominance of casseroles is relatively unchanged from previous eras. The pan declines somewhat, though there are not enough hard numbers to speak convincingly of this as a pattern. The presence of the pots is not surprising, especially as the site is a waste dump. As we discussed in the previous section on Naples, pots were used in the city.

²⁷ Arthur, *Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi: Napoli*, 62-4.

²⁸ For the pottery from Phases VIa and VIb see Vittoria Carsana, "Ceramica da Cucina Tardo Antica e Alto Medievale," in *Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi: Napoli*, 221-258.

At Otranto, meanwhile, which by this period was a larger town, there was a collection of both local and African forms. The latter includes shallow casseroles, lids, and a few pan-casseroles, while local wares included many pots and fewer small, deep casseroles. The cooking pot is, as is the case at Filattiera-Sorano, the dominant form, though the assemblage here is a much more diverse than what was found in previous layers. This particular form is not new, though its increased prevalence is. The casserole is present here, another break from previous eras. What is missing, however—as it is in many of our sites in this period—is the pan.

The Mola di Monte Gelato contains one ceramic group from this period. Group 4 dates to the mid-fourth century, which corresponds to the site's third phase. Now no longer a villa, the site was reoccupied in the middle of the century after over a hundred years of abandonment. A church was constructed in the early portion of this phase, and in general the site seems more utilitarian in nature than in previous iterations. The ceramics reflect this transformation. While in previous groups the ceramics were the hodgepodge we associate with elite cooking, here there are only deep casseroles. The casserole is the most versatile form, but even still, this is a marked transformation.

In this time period there are two sites in Rome. The first is the Palatine East, which we have already examined. The relevant layers, 9 and 10, date between 325 and 425. Here we find a precipitous drop in all forms (lids remain abundant). Pan-casseroles (4) are almost negligible in their presence, and pans are reduced in significant quantities (34). Casseroles, both shallow (97) and deep (54), again make up the majority of the site's assemblage. While the numbers are down, these are still similar patterns. The

reason for the reduction in numbers is unknown, and perhaps a result of the change in the political fortunes of the city. But the patterns are similar to the past, and it seems that elite cooking continued in similar fashion.

The other site in Rome is the Schola Praeconum, a cistern fill at the foot of the Palatine that dates to 430-440 AD.²⁹ The site was excavated between 1978 and 1980, and it is clear from the report that the field of ceramics was not where it is now. African wares other than ARS, for example, are not identified, which means African cooking fabrics cannot be discussed, and Paul Reynolds later noted the paucity of information made commenting on the coarse wares “almost impossible.”³⁰ From the original report, there are a variety of forms in the three cookware fabrics, including pots, deep and shallow casseroles, and bowls. Casseroles are dominant, just as they are at the Palatine East. Unlike the Palatine East, pans are not present, a similarity the Schola Praeconum shares with several other sites we have looked at.

The site of San Giovanni is about 100 km east of Naples, further south than San Vincenzo (see below), and near the Bradano River in Lucania. There were three iterations of villa at this site, resulting in an “archaeological mess.”³¹ For my purposes here I look at two phases of San Giovanni: Period 2, which runs from approximately 350-400, and period 3, from 400-550. Period 2 featured the reoccupation of the site after over a century

²⁹ David Whitehouse, et al., “The Schola Praeconum I: The Coins, Pottery, Lamps and Fauna,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 50 (1982), 53-101.

³⁰ Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean*, 330.

³¹ Alastair M. Small and Robert J. Buck, eds. *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti: Volume I: The Villas and their Environment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 4.

of abandonment, a restoration the archaeologists attribute to the return to prosperous economic conditions following the ascension of Diocletian and Constantine.³² This phase was mostly a reoccupation of the previous buildings followed by a rebuilding of a portion of the site and the construction of a bath complex. This was destroyed in period 3, replaced by a much larger and more impressive structure, including a large apsidal building and a massive bath complex.³³

Given the great amount of money spent on reconstructing the villa, it seems natural to expect the site was fully integrated into existing trade routes. This is the case, to an extent, as ARS and other foreign imports are present. But this level of diversity does not extend to the cooking wares, as the simple globular cooking pot is the only clearly identified cooking vessel found at the site.

This assemblage is surprising. A significant amount of work went into making this a luxurious residence. The ceramic assemblage indicates, however, that meals were not prepared in the elite manner we have seen both in the past and in this phase. I suspect that the vessels here present an incomplete picture of diet at San Vincenzo. Not only was the site opulent, but it served as a production site for pigs, which were brought to Rome to help satisfy the pork dole.³⁴ It is possible that the cook pots prepared the food not for the residents of the opulent villa, but the poorer workers who cared for and raised San Vincenzo's herds.

³² For the pottery of period 2, see Freed, "Pottery," *The Excavations of San Giovanni di Ruoti*, 65-66.

³³ Period 3's pottery is eadem, "Pottery," 82-84 and 102-105.

³⁴ S. J. B. Barnish, "Pigs, Plebeians and Potentes: Rome's Economic Hinterland," 165.

The pottery at Lugnano, which was still a villa complex, though perhaps, like the Mola di Monte Gelato, less opulent a residence, comes from a dump dated to circa 450 AD, and the ceramics in the dump range from the fourth-fifth centuries. They include pans and pan-casseroles, shallow casseroles, deep casseroles, both large and small, and pots and jugs, and lids. There is a very wide entire range of forms here, which is intriguing given the site's remote location.

An excavation of a warehouse at Ravenna's port of Classe revealed, perhaps surprisingly, only two forms: pots and casseroles.³⁵ This site dates to the first half of the fifth century. The bulk of the assemblage is pots, and approximately half of these are of local manufacture. Yet there is complexity to this site, as a significant amount of the material is from North Africa or the Aegean. The connection with Africa is intriguing, as the lack of pans despite a connection with the geographic area known for their production indicates a sense of preference. Pans likely could have been acquired, yet they were not. The dating of the site and eastward orientation of its trade hints at a divergence of dietary tradition not seen at other sites along the Adriatic coast. Ravenna was now capital of Italy in this period under, among others, the emperor Honorius. The fact that the pan is not present, and the casserole not dominant, indicates, perhaps, differing tastes in this city, perhaps related to a new dietary preference brought in from a different geographic area.

³⁵ Marco Cavalazzi and Eliza Fabbri, "Cooking Ware from the Excavation of a 5th-7th Century Context in Classe (Ravenna, Italy)," *LRCW* 3, 623-633.

Scoppieto was, at one time a center for the production of Italian sigillata.³⁶ By the fourth century, however, it was a small village.³⁷ Despite this, the site—like Lugnano—it had a varied assemblage, including pots, bowls, pan-casseroles, casseroles, and lids, of both local and African fabrics. This is quite a well-connected village, and my suspicion is that further archaeological investigation will show there is more to the site at this time.

In the previous period, an elite cooking assemblage contained a variety of forms, from pans to casseroles to pots. While the casserole was often the most prominent elite vessel, there were a variety of others present, and the pan was a crucial one for the creation of certain elite meals. In rural assemblages there was less diversity in any one given assemblage but more variety across assemblages. While such sites often had simpler collections of material, comparing several more rural or poorer sites reveals a great amount of variety in their cooking wares, indicative of a significant amount of diversity in cooking practice across the peninsula.

Matters are quite different by this period. Pans wane. There are some exceptions to this. They continue at the Palatine East, for example, which is not entirely surprising given the wealth of the site and Rome's economic draw. If any site were still about to acquire African pans used for the preparing of traditional, elite dishes, it would be Rome. Their presence at Lugnano, Scoppieto, and Filattiera-Sorano is a bit more surprising. Lugnano was a villa, and thus it is possible the pans were a remnant of a cooking style that was rapidly disappearing. It is equally possible that they are residual—they were

³⁶ Natalia Nicoletta, "I produttori di terra sigillata di Scoppieto," *Acta* 38 (2003), 145-152.

³⁷ Margherita Bergamini et al., "Ceramiche da fuoco da strati di IV – V sec. d.C. da Scoppieto: studio preliminare," in *LRCW* 3, 397-407.

found in a dump—artifacts manufactured in a previous era that were still used or, possible, preserved for their rarity in this period.³⁸ Scoppieto and Filattiera-Sorano, however, were villages. At a significant number of sites—rural, urban, elite, and wealthy—the pan, which was once thought of as the quintessentially Italian vessel, is no longer present. Pan-casseroles remain at a few sites, and I touch on those below. They appear infrequently and never in large quantities. The decline of pans is surprising, and indicates a transformation in cooking practice.

This transformation, I believe, is related to a corresponding surge in casseroles and deep pots in this period. At elite sites, such as the Palatine East, or urban sites, such as Naples, or Ravenna, casseroles are increasingly the dominant vessel, much more so than they had been in the past. I believe Vinidarius is the key to understanding this change. I noted above his use of the word *caccabina* and that it replaced the word *patina* as the name of a specific quiche-like meal named after the vessel it was prepared in. This, I believe, is a textual representation of the material change we see here. The flat-bottomed pan was disappearing. The meals prepared in that pan, however, were a hallmark of Roman elite cuisine. Those meals displayed Roman elite identity, and that identity and its display remained important in an increasingly turbulent time period. The increasing presence of casseroles indicates that this type of vessel, which I associate with the word *caccabus*, took on a new role, and was now used in place of the pan, which was no longer accessible to most.

³⁸ Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*, 193-208.

The decline of pans also likely explains the increased presence of casseroles at Naples. Pans, like casseroles, are small, portable vessels. With the increasing absence of the pan, it makes sense that another small form would prove popular in the small, cramped conditions of the insula. The pan-casserole, which is present at this site, also exists at Scoppieto, Lugnano, and Otranto. They are very infrequent, yet important, for I believe they represent the very sort of hybridity discussed above. These are not new forms. Yet their endurance, even in limited numbers, while the pan disappears, suggests that the fact they could be used for multiple methods of cooking was deemed important.

Casseroles are also present at other sites, such as the villas at Mola di Monte Gelato and Lugnano and the village of Scoppieto. Far more important are pots, which are now increasingly prevalent. The casseroles are likely markers of diversity in cooking habits present among the inhabitants of the site, and perhaps evidence of social stratification. But it is hard not to notice the commanding presence of deep pots at so many diverse sites across the peninsula. At Filattiera-Sorano, in the north, they had always been dominant. At Otranto, in the south, their dominance was something new. And the presence of pots at San Giovanni, given its status as an elite structure, is surprising. As we saw above, in the previous period rural Italy was a home to a variety of forms and, therefore, cooking traditions. Now, however, there is a seeming homogenization of that cooking practice. I do not think this increasing homogenization of cooking practice in this period is necessarily a sign of increasing poverty, however, even though this is often how, as we have seen, the presence of pots is viewed. Indeed, it is in the previous period—one marked by great diversity of forms between rural and poorer

sites—that sites are the most marked by turmoil and sudden and drastic shifts in cooking practice. The adoption and continued use of cooking pots that we see here is, to my mind, a hallmark of a relative stability and the development of local cooking habits that were allowed to take hold and become tradition.

The archaeological material present here, with the exception of Rome, does not reconcile well with Apicius, and is a reminder that we must be cautious when assuming Apicius can be relied on as a source for information on how the majority of Italy's inhabitants cooked and ate food.³⁹ Apicius, of course, represents the most elite of diets, and not every site consulted here was inhabited by Italy's elite. Only Rome was able to continue producing “Apician” meals in significant amounts, and even here we see accommodations made, especially in the replacement of the pan by the casserole.

There is ultimately, in this period, the beginning of simplification in Italian cooking. Elite assemblages are now less diverse, with fewer forms of vessels and casseroles now filling the role formerly occupied by the pan. Rural assemblages are increasingly similar, dominated by pots. I interpret this transformation in two ways. For elites, this material transformation is an attempt to maintain certain cooking practices in the face of a lack of available cooking material. It hints at the material poverty that will come, but it is a mistake to assume that the poverty that will come later means the decline of pans in this period is somehow emblematic of a steep fall off a precipice. This is material change to be sure, but traditional elite meals likely continued to be cooked. An elite from an earlier period would likely feel quite comfortable eating the meals prepared

³⁹ Günther Schörner, “Pots and Bones: Cuisine in Roman Tuscany – the Example of Il Monte,” in *Cooking, Cuisine and Culture*, 213.

in this one. Real, noticeable change came later. For the poorer, however, assemblages increasingly appear similar across the peninsula. I believe, however, this is indicative of relative stability of tradition, something we did not see in our previous period.

The Early Middle Ages and The End of “Roman” Cooking

I now turn to the final time period, which runs from the fifth century into the seventh. This period saw the greatest amount of cultural change, with the arrival of Goths and Byzantines, as well as the greatest amount of decline in the diversity in ceramic morphology. The elite meals of old practically disappear, save for Rome, the last bastion of a tradition of elite cooking that had endured for centuries. Poorer and rural sites continue the trend of preparing meals in pots. Pots are increasingly present at all sites. Sites like Ravenna, oriented to the east, and Monte Barro, a Gothic stronghold, indicate that Italy’s new elites broke with Roman aristocratic custom and cooked food ways that would be disdained or deemed as foreign in previous centuries.

Cosa at this time was now no longer a villa. Writing of a journey that passed by “desolate Cosa,” in 416, Rutilius Namantius noted the site was little more than “ancient ruins and filthy walls.”⁴⁰ But such desolation would not endure, and by the sixth century Cosa was home to a farming community. We might, given Rutilius’ observations, expect a hardscrabble life for the site’s occupants. Perhaps it was. The ceramics present at Cosa, however, indicate that these farmers had access to a relatively wide range of forms. Two deposits come from the site, which dates to approximately the early sixth century. The

⁴⁰ Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reddito Suo*, ed. E. Baehrens (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883), I.285-6, “cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas/et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae.”

first was excavated by Dyson.⁴¹ Dyson believed the ceramics found in this layer (layer FC, or Forum Cistern) indicate a significant cultural change occurred between it and the previous one.⁴² Cooking ware at Cosa had traditionally been a mix of forms. This trend continued in this period, as the site contained many pots, many shallow casseroles, few deep casseroles, and lids. What is missing, however, is the pan. Dyson's suggestion of a cultural change is prudent, though not perhaps for the reasons he believed. The other excavation at the site was conducted by Fentress.⁴³ The ceramics here come from a fill dating between the late fifth and early sixth centuries (Phase VII), and the assemblage remarkably similar to Dyson's FC, consisting of many pots and a smaller number of casseroles.⁴⁴

The site of San Vincenzo al Volturno is located in Molise, along the Volturno River not far from Monte Cassino (c. 20 km) and east of Rome by about 100 km.⁴⁵ The site is believed to have been occupied by perhaps 50-60 people, and was likely a bishop's seat or some other ecclesiastical center.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery*, 161-167. Dyson believed this layer dated between the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Subsequent work, however, has indicated that this need be re-dated to the 6th century. See Reynolds *Trade in the Western Mediterranean*, 92; Fentress, *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town*, 3.

⁴² Dyson, *Cosa, The Utilitarian Pottery*, 171.

⁴³ Fentress, *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town*.

⁴⁴ Elisa Gusberti, "La tarda età imperiale (Fase VII)" in *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town*, 305-307.

⁴⁵ Richard Hodges, John Mitchell, and Catherine Coutts, eds., *San Vincenzo al Volturno: the 1980-86 Excavations* (London: British School in Rome, 1993).

⁴⁶ For population size, *Ibid.*, 127. For the ecclesiastical connection, 130.

Cooking material found here consists of pots, a much smaller number of small, deep casseroles and shallow ones, and lids.⁴⁷ This is similar to Cosa, though with fewer casseroles, and suggests there may be a pattern present at rural sites. There is also a soapstone vessel that Patterson identifies as a *piastra*, a flat surface used for roasting and baking.⁴⁸ The *piastra* is still used today in modern Italian cuisine. This is an important find. Much of the cookware in this period indicates a move away from vessels used for roasting. The *piastra*, however, suggests that the ability and desire to cook this way had not abated entirely, and that alternative methods on at least a limited basis were sought out to allow this sort of cooking to continue. At the same time, it underscores the significance of the decline of the pan, serving as a reminder that, in order to have roasted or fried foods, a different and likely newer method of cooking was required.

Another rural site is the fortified village identified as D85, a hilltop settlement in Molise that was most likely a peasant site.⁴⁹ It was occupied in either the sixth or seventh century. The ceramic fabrics here are primarily local, though there are enough sherds of glass vessels present to indicate access to more trade networks than might seem obvious given the village's humble status. The only cooking form is the closed-mouthed pot.⁵⁰ It is clear from the other finds that D85 had access to material from multiple locations. The site was connected to the Adriatic which, as we will see, was itself connected to the

⁴⁷ Helen Patterson, "The Pottery," in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, 297-325.

⁴⁸ Eadem, "The Soapstone," in *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, 327-8.

⁴⁹ Richard Hodges, Graeme Barker, and Keith Wade, "Excavations at D85 (Santa Maria in Cività): An Early Medieval Hilltop Settlement," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980): 70-124.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 86-91.

Byzantine east, and where in at least one site, Ravenna, multiple vessel forms were found.⁵¹ We can surmise that multiple cooking forms were available to the peasants of this site and that they chose not to use them. Until this point I have resisted the idea that the pot and rural diets were inherently connected. It is only in this final phase where I think this relationship can be identified.

The Mola di Monte Gelato has two relevant ceramic groups from this period. This is the poorest iteration of the formerly grand villa complex, and the post-holes and rubble indicate to the excavators that the site was occupied by little more than squatters.⁵² The only cooking forms present are large pots. I am uncomfortable with this assumption about the site's inhabitants. Construction out of wood does not imply squatters.⁵³ The site's cookware is less complex than it was previously, but this need not imply abject poverty or destitution.

The site of Kaukana, located in southeast Sicily near Ragusa and very close to the coast, was occupied from the fourth through seventh centuries.⁵⁴ This settlement was under Byzantine control, and is the site mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation. The excavation focused on one building, Building 6, inhabited between 580 and 660. The

⁵¹ Ibid., 91-92.

⁵² Potter and King. *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato*, 42.

⁵³ See Gisela Ripoll and Javier Arce, "The Transformation and End of Roman Villae in the West (Fourth-Seventh Centuries): Problems and Perspectives," in *Towns and Their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie (Boston: Brill, 2000), 63-114; Tamara Lewit, "'Vanishing Villas': What Happened to Elite Rural Habitation in the West in the 5th-6th c?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003): 261-274; Kim Bowes and Adam Gutteridge, "Rethinking the Later Roman Landscape," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 405-413.

⁵⁴ Wilson, "Funerary Feasting in Early Byzantine Sicily."

body of a young woman, perhaps a holy woman, and her small child are interred in a tomb in the northwest corner of one of the rooms of the building. Based on the finds, including two hearths, cooking pots, biological remains of food, and a libation hole in the tomb, this site was used for funerary feasting.

There are not many cooking vessels.⁵⁵ Two, of Pantellerian ware, are a cooking pot and a pan-casserole or cooking bowl. There are two other cooking pots in local fabrics and one flat-bottomed casserole of a type often referred to as “lug-handled.”

This is the smallest assemblage I examine. It is a very important one, in part due to its size. Only here do we have an assemblage used for one very specific purpose, in this case to prepare the food used for a funerary feast. We have the chance here to examine the preparation of a single meal, not a series of meals cooked daily. Kaukana is a moment caught in time. Although small, the assemblage is diverse and contains imported Pantellerian vessels. Multiple and varied meals could have been made here. This is not rudimentary. It suggests a richness of material and the preservation of cooking tradition. It is possible that the origin of this tradition may have come from North Africa. As we recall from Arthur’s “Pots and Boundaries,” the rise of casseroles in late antique southern Italy can be linked to a North African diaspora in the wake of the Vandal conquest. The feast at Kaukauna may be an example of some form of preservation of North African cooking customs. It is equally possible, however, that the vessels present at Kaukauna have less to do with a geographic tradition, e.g. a connection to North Africa, than they do with the vestiges of elite cooking. There are three distinct forms present at this site.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 283-294.

This may well be a feast that resembles a vanishing elite method of cooking. As we will see in Chapter Four, aspects of elite cooking were adapted and transformed as elites converted to Christianity. The funerary feast at Kaukana was at the tomb of an elite, and it is possible this feast involved a manner of cooking that was disappearing and whose meaning had been altered by the transformation of aristocratic identity under the aegis of Christianity.

A final rural site is the fortress of Monte Barro, which dates to the first half of the sixth century.⁵⁶ Monte Barro was a wealthy countryside residence, and the finds include smaller luxury items, such as colored plaster, a cloisonné ring, metal riding spurs, and a hanging crown meant to adorn a throne. It is believed to have been the residence of a Gothic aristocrat. Occupation of the site ended in the mid sixth century, when the site was burned, perhaps deliberately, during the Gothic wars with the Byzantines.

The majority of ceramic cooking vessels at the site are deep pots and lids.⁵⁷ The only other forms are bowls and jars, though neither are present in significant numbers. There are other vessels made of *pietra ollare*, or soapstone.⁵⁸ Almost all are deep, open-mouthed pots, though there is one vessel that more closely resembles a casserole.

⁵⁶ Gian Pietro Brogiolo, ed. *Archeologia a Monte Barro* (Lecco: Stefanoni, 1991).

⁵⁷ See Isabella Nobile, "Ceramica Grezza," in *Archeologia a Monte Barro*, 63-76. I have until this point not discussed in great detail the Italian form known as the *catino-coperchio*, or "dish-lid." Cubberley et al. speculate that these vessels may have been a type of *clibanus*, or portable oven. Ikäheimo insists, based on his work at the Palatine East, that this is impossible. The vessels at Monte Barro, however, are not only massive, in at least one case around 60 cm, but are almost hemispherical in nature. These do not seem to be lids, and their role in the cooking process deserves further scrutiny.

⁵⁸ Margherita Bolla, "Recipienti in Pietra Ollare," in *Archeologia a Monte Barro*, 101-102. For more on soapstone in late antiquity, see Silvia Lusuardi Siena and Marco Sanazzaro, "La pietra ollare," in *Ad Mensam*, 157-188.

The assemblage at Monte Barro is surprising. The site, though rural, is an elite residence. It is not the seat of a Roman aristocrat, however, but of a Gothic noble. The cooking vessels present here reflect this. The material indicates elite cooking for Italy's new masters in the sixth century produced very different meals than what had been consumed in the past. This does not mean that all meals at Monte Barro were cooked in pots. It is possible, as we saw in Anthimus, that other, non-ceramic forms of cooking, such as roasting on a spit, were used. But even if that were the case, the assemblage does not correlate with what we observed in Vinidarius, whose recipes stressed a level of accommodation between old aristocratic preferences and newer socioeconomic realities. I examine this further below.

Another break in tradition relates to the presence of *pietra ollare* pots. While these vessels appear in earlier contexts at other sites, they are only found in significant quantities by this period. They, by the Early Middle Ages, represent the only major bulk commodity available across northern Italy.⁵⁹ Their presence here, as with the *pietra ollare piastra* at San Vincenzo, suggests that there was an industry accommodating this newer cooking preference. *Pietra ollare* vessels looked different than ones made of ceramic, which perhaps contributed to the perceived status of their owners, but the material also holds heat very well, making it a useful commodity.⁶⁰ As I noted above, the

⁵⁹ Chris Wickham, "Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Ashgate: Burlington, 2008), 28.

⁶⁰ George Rapp, *Archaeomineralogy* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2009), 62.

appearance of these vessels coincides with the use of word *gabata* for a cooking pot in Anthimus.

It is striking that the vessels present at Monte Barro are more similar to what we see at D85 than what we do at Cosa. Cosa was a farming village, while Monte Barro was the home of a Gothic noble. That diversity of forms is present not at the elite site but the rural one indicates a dramatic change in how food was cooked and the importance placed on traditional methods of cooking.

This assemblage, contextualized within our previous discussion of Vinidarius and Anthimus, allows us to examine the subject of ethnicity. Scholarly interest in this aspect of identity has waned of late, as it was realized that the topic was so closely related to aspects of modern nationalism.⁶¹ Much ink has been spilled concerning Gothic identity, with Walter Pohl's "Vienna School" in the vanguard of the scholars who argue that the Goths were a distinct people.⁶² The main opponent of this is Patrick Amory, who opines that the term "Goth" means little more than the word "soldier."⁶³ Rather than solve the

⁶¹ Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations: the Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁶² The field was founded by Reinhard Wenskus, who argued for a core tradition, or *Traditionskern*, that unified barbarian tribes. Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1961); later works include Wolfram, *History of the Goths*; idem, *Gotische Studien: Volk und Herrschaft im frühen Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 2005); Walter Pohl, "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity," in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities*, 300-800, ed. Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (Boston: Brill, 1998), 17-69. Central to Wolfram's idea of *Traditionskern* is the argument that it was an idea imposed by a small aristocracy. This view is countered by Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1998), 303-321, who argues that Gothic *Traditionskern* was enforced by a larger groups of families of less-significant social standing.

⁶³ Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Alexander C. Murray, ed. *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), the Festschrift for Walter Goffart, serves as another—and, at times, quite acrimonious—critique of Pohl.

debate, food and cooking problematizes it. For example, as we have seen, Gothic cooking was, in terms of vessels, plain. Yet Cassiodorus, in a letter to the *canonicarius* (a collector of tribute) of the Venetii, notes how impressive the food for the king's table must be.⁶⁴ While a private citizen should eat what is local, he writes, it behooves a king to bring in food from all over, so that his table, and this his power, might be marveled at. The Gothic king's table should include carp from the Danube; a fish known as the *anchora* from the Rhine; the *exormiston*, another fish, from Sicily; and *acennia*, yet another fish, from Bruttium. Flavorful fish should be brought from all coasts so that the king might seem to possess and control everything.

This is fanciful, to be sure, but it shows that, even in Gothic-controlled Italy, the feast was still an important part of the display of power and prestige. The quote from Cassiodorus is presented here because his piscine feast is at odds with the assemblage at Monte Barro. This disconnect is a function of the relationship of identity to physical space. The Gothic king at Cassiodorus' table is displaying his power, but in a ritualized and very Roman context. This is a meal to be held at court, in the presence of a variety of people of multiple heritages. The meals at Monte Barro were likely for a group of Gothic nobles and their soldiers. If this is the case, this seems to be an entry point to discussing Gothic identity. Cassiodorus' Goth is a Roman emperor. The Gothic soldiers and nobles of Monte Barro, meanwhile, cooked meals in vessels very similar to many rural, non-

⁶⁴ Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Variarum libri duodecim*, ed. Åke Josefsson Fridh (Turholt: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1973), 12.4. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>: "privati est habere quod locus continet: in principali convivio hoc profecto decet exquiri, quod visum debeat ammirari. destinet carpam Danuvius, a Rheno veniat anchorago, exormiston Sicula quibuslibet laboribus offeratur: Bruttiorum mare dulces mittat acernias: saporis pisces de diversis finibus afferantur. sic decet regem pascere, ut a legatis gentium credatur paene omnia possidere."

Gothic residents of Italy and, perhaps, the Franks of Anthimus' text. Monte Barro reminds us that ethnicity was situational, even in the context of preferred meals, and what a Goth cooked at court varied significantly from what would be prepared in an enclave built solely for Goths.

The remaining sites are urban. We have already visited Classe. In this period there are three relevant phases to the site.⁶⁵ Phase 2 runs from the end of the fifth century to the first half of sixth; phase 3 covers the second half of the sixth century; and phase 4 runs into the seventh. The forms do not change across the phases, nor do they differ from what we saw earlier, as cookpots and casseroles dominate throughout. What stands out is that, over time, Ravenna's orientation turns almost completely to the eastern Mediterranean, as African material declines in each successive phase. Ravenna was a financially powerful city. As the excavators note, the number of *argentarii* in the city dwarfed that of Rome.⁶⁶ This importation of material suggests increasing ties with the Byzantine east. It also indicates that these cookpots, and the continuity of cooking tradition they helped reinforce, were inherently tied to Ravenna's connection to the east, especially under the Exarchate. The forms present, however, are very similar to what existed in the city before the Byzantine arrival, and it seems that this eastward connection served to allow local cooking customs to continue. Such combinations of cookpot and casserole were also

⁶⁵ Cavalazzi and Fabbri, "Cooking Ware from the Excavation of a 5th-7th Century Context in Classe," 624-625.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 623.

common in Late Antique Syria, indicative perhaps of a common cooking culture that Ravenna was a part of.⁶⁷

The city of Rome again has two locations. The first is the Schola Praeconum II, a waste dump originally dated to around 600 AD but subsequently redated to between 500 and 530.⁶⁸ The problems with the cookware present at Schola Praeconum I exist here as well. The forms are casseroles, cook pots, and a pan.

The Palatine East has a deposit of locally-made vessels that dates to between 400-550. The forms include casseroles, cooking bowls, and pans. There are no pots. This corresponds well with the African forms from the site, which have a similar date (c. 425-550), and include pans (59), pan-casseroles (11), shallow casseroles (31), and deep casseroles (28). The decline of casseroles in this period is surprising, but overall this remains an elite assemblage, likely the last of its kind this late in the Italian peninsula. That it exists here and not in Ravenna, the new seat of power, suggests that elite, Apician dining had an association with the past that was closely maintained only in Rome. It seems the new aristocracy established outside the city of Rome chose to eat differently and display their identity with different meals, while the elites still living in Rome maintained centuries-long traditions.

⁶⁷ Agnès Vokaer, "Pottery Production and Exchange in Late Antique Syria (Fourth-Eighth Century A.D.). A Study of Some Imported and Local Wares," in *Local Economies? Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquities*, ed. Luke Lavan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 578-83.

⁶⁸ Whitehouse et al., "The Schola Praeconum II," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53 (1985), 163-210. For redating, see Ikaheimo *LRCW* 3, 409; Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean*, 331.

Egnazia was a port city not too far north of Otranto on the Adriatic.⁶⁹ Excavations of the northwest corner of the city unearthed a workshop near the via Traiana used from the fourth century onward. The workshop originally made products of bone and metal. Later it made pottery, both amphoras and cooking pots, and in the sixth and seventh centuries had two circular kilns. One of these kilns produced cooking wares, and was found with a fired load of ceramics inside. This gives us one of our few examples of a production center in Italy. The vessels are almost exclusively deep pots, with a very small number of deep casseroles, and numerous lids. That this is a production site means we cannot say for certain if the vessels found here were to be used in Egnazia. However, the relative uniformity of the assemblage, and the wide distribution and rise in the use of the deep pot, indicates that what was produced at the site was likely the main vessel used there.

I examine one final site, a series of well deposits from Modena region.⁷⁰ Over a dozen of these wells were discovered in this area, all dating to around 600 AD. They appear to have been communal deposits of important every day and rarer items by farmers and villagers fleeing the area, perhaps ahead of an invasion.⁷¹ The wells hold an abundance of material, including tools and, germane to our purpose, vessels. Of the ceramic material, the only cooking pots present in the wells are pots and lids. However,

⁶⁹ Raffaella Cassano, Rosa Conte, and Maria Domenica de Filippis, "Ceramiche Comuni Dipinte e da Fuoco dalle Fornaci di Egnazia (Brindisi-Italia): Archeologia e Archeometria," *LRCW* 3, 669-680.

⁷⁰ Sauro Gelichi, *Il tesoro nel pozzo : pozzi deposito e tesaurizzazioni nell'antica Emilia* (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1994)

⁷¹ Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy* (Burlington, Ashgate, 2006), 5.

and what makes the well deposits stand out, there is an abundance of metal vessels here as well. (Figure 30.) Many of these shapes should look exceedingly familiar, as they strongly resemble the cooking forms that we have seen. As we saw in Chapter One, some of the earliest scholars working on cooking material over-emphasized the importance of metal vessels, assuming they were the norm, even normative, rather than the exception. The metal vessels from Modena are, for the most part, casseroles and pots, or forms we are used to seeing in this period. There are also pans, however, a form we have not seen in this period outside of Rome. The well-deposits at Modena must give us pause, because they serve as a reminder that while ceramics are the most ubiquitous archaeological find, they are not the only evidence for cooking. Anthimus reminded us that food need not be cooked in ceramics. The material left behind at Modena, material that was never reclaimed, a stark reminder of the turmoil in the area, at this time reminds us, as does San Vincenzo's *piastra*, that cooking took place on and in a variety of objects, and a site's ceramic assemblage may not be enough to discuss cooking.

The final period is marked by three things. First, elite, Apician cooking, which had endured for centuries, waned significantly. It was present for certain only in Rome. Second, rural sites in Italy increasingly had similar assemblages, and those assemblages were dominated by pots. The wars of the sixth century, and plague, and economic and political turmoil led to greater misfortune throughout the peninsula.⁷² The rise of cooking pots, the most economical and cost-effective method of preparing food, is likely tied to these events. And yet it may not be the only reason. Third, there are suggestions of

⁷² Lester Little, ed. *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

changes in cooking tradition that seem to be related to other cultures. Ravenna had an eastward orientation. The feast at Kaukauna may have preserved vestiges of cooking tradition taken from North Africa. It equally may represent a Christian incarnation of the very Roman elite feast. Monte Barro can be associated with the Goths, though its assemblage, similar to that of so many other rural sites, calls into question assigning solely an economic imperative to the move to pots. Perhaps a new cultural paradigm was taking hold in Italy. It was stimulated by increased poverty, to be sure, but also perhaps by a new group of outsiders, one who brought their own cooking traditions with them, traditions that were enhanced by the growing trade of soapstone vessels.



Figure 30. Metal Cooking Vessels from the Wells at Modena. From Gelichi, *Il tesoro nel pozzo*.

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence, taken on its own, tells us much about cooking and culture in Italy. It is clear by now that there is no one Roman method of cooking, nor one quintessentially Roman vessel. The pan is the most uniquely Roman in the early empire, the casserole prevalent for much of the later Empire and parts of Late Antiquity, and the pot increasingly predominant in the early middle ages. Despite the lack of uniformity, there are patterns in the various assemblages. Some sites, like Valesio, experienced upheaval and turmoil, leaving behind no one defined cooking tradition. In others, like Filattiera-Sorano, cooking tradition endured for centuries. Elite cooking is an observable phenomenon, marked by multiple vessel forms.

There were also new traditions. Byzantine Ravenna developed and maintained a tie to the east. Its ceramic assemblage differs from the rest of Italy and is similar to others found in Byzantine territories in the Middle East. The Ostrogoths of Monte Barro, part of the new aristocracy, eschewed Roman traditional elite cooking, instead using the same cookpots that would be found in any rustic village. But they also helped usher in a new industry of soapstone vessels, and likely used other, non-ceramic methods of cooking. This is echoed in the abandoned wells of Modena, whose metal pots and pans remind us that, while ceramics were ubiquitous, they were not the only available vessel material.

We are left with a dynamic picture. Cooking patterns were in flux in Italy. Some traditions endured. Others did not. Regional availability, preference, economic routes, status and, possibly, ethnicity, were all factors in play shaping how cooking developed in various regions throughout the peninsula. In some places there was disruption. In others

there was continuity. In the beginning of the chapter there was no one preferred method of cooking. By the sixth century, however, it is clear that at almost every site, at least in terms of ceramic vessels, that boiling was now the predominant method of cooking. This is a very significant transformation. The reasons for these changes are murky at best. Monte Barro is worth singling out, for the observed cooking patterns at the fortress are at a stark contrast with what Cassiodorus says about supplying the royal table. More nuance is required than ceramic forms allow. The textual evidence considered in the second chapter helped guide my interpretation of the forms and patterns present here. More information is required. And thus I will turn in my last chapter to those textual sources, as a way of adding that nuance to our understanding of the found ceramics and cooking practice.

CHAPTER FOUR

COOKING POTS IN TEXTS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Nevertheless, he spared me a bit by combining only beans with the millet and dough, though perhaps this was more due to his forgetfulness than intent. For by the caution of faith the holy man would have been afraid to take away anything from me that was sanctified by scripture, and so that he might complete the preparation of the prophet's loaf near to the word of god, he would have also mixed into the *crumilum* (an unknown vessel word) lentils, and barley, and vetch, so that the *olla* might have rattled and cracked open because the different vegetables were seething and boiling over the rim, as if fighting the cooking.

Nevertheless, however, filling a sizable *testa* with the fewer ingredients, and brought to me steaming *catinas* with a strong smell, covering with a stinking fog not only the area around my table but my room, and to increase the blessing on me, he also brought to me a meal of the supper of another prophet, bringing to me the *olla* of Elijah, into which he had put flour. And he had not cooked poisonous herbs, but the seasoning of salvation, doing all of these actions in the name of the lord. Therefore, safe and secure, I did not exclaim to him "death is in the pot, man of god." Because now our life is in the pot, after the lord Jesus, the word of god, was flesh and lived with us. ...¹

Paulinus' letter 23 contains an anecdote regarding cooking that is worth investigating. He, as he wrote to his friend Sulpicius Severus, the Christian writer and

¹ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistulae*, ed. Wilhelm von Hartel (Vondobonae: Tempsky, 1894), 23.7. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: "quamuis ex parte nobis pepercerit fabam tantum milio panicio que confundens, quod tamen forsitan obliuionis magis quam moderaminis fuerit. nam homo sanctus fideli cautione metuisset aliquid nobis de scriptura sancta subtrahere, et ut totam iuxta dei uerbum confectionem prophetici panis inpleret, lentem quoque et hordeum et uiciam miscuisset in crumilum, ut aestuantibus extra sui labra feruoribus dissimilium sibi fructuum quasi repugnante coctura fatiscens rimis olla crepitaret. nihilominus tamen de paucioribus frugibus testam capacem replens intulit nobis multo nidore catina fumantia totum que non solum mensulae nostrae ambitum sed et cellulae nostrae spatium olida caligine uaporauit atque, ut multiplicaret nobis benedictionem, alterius quoque prophetae prandium cenulae nostrae contulit, ut Elisaei nobis ollam inferret, in quam misit farinam; nec herbam ueneni sed condimentum salutis incoxit, in nomine domini gerens omne quod agebat. quo tuti atque securi non exclamauius ad eum: homo dei, mors in olla, quia iam in olla nostra uita est, postquam dominus Iesus dei uerbum caro factus est et habitauit in nobis."

biographer living in Gaul, had been encouraged by his letter-bearer and, in this case, cook, Victor to engage in fasting. Victor had also suggested Paulinus consume another meal, similar to one eaten by the prophet Ezekiel. The simple and apparently foul-smelling meal was prepared in a pot, or *olla*, then ladled out and brought to Paulinus in a serving vessel, and then another dish, holding food linked with the prophet Elijah, was placed alongside the meal.

The passage is significant for several reasons. The meal itself is not only humble, it seems disgusting to the nose and tongue, a point that Paulinus is at great pains to stress. This act of consumption is not just a pious endeavor, though it certainly causes Paulinus to suffer. But there is more to this story. The language used here and ritual present here is sophisticated, from the servant preparing the food, to the use of a platter to serve Paulinus, to the side vessel reminiscent of a pot of sauce or seasoning. This is a foul, humble meal, but one served to Paulinus in a manner appropriate for one of aristocratic status. We would not be surprised if, a century earlier, similar language were used to describe the placement of a *patina* before a senator.

This duality, this juxtaposition of elite views and poor material, is at the heart of this final chapter. We saw in the previous chapter evidence of transformation in terms of a change in available forms. The pan gradually disappeared from use. Poorer sites increasingly cooked with the deep pot, though this did not happen everywhere. The casserole remained at some sites, and I argue that it often fulfilled the role once occupied by the pan. Elite cooking transformed, and the elites of, say, Constantine's day would not recognize the meals prepared for their sixth-century counterparts.

In this chapter I examine nuances of that change. I begin in the fourth century, where references to vessel use in the texts remains static and continue to match the archaeological record. It is in the fifth and sixth century that we see change in the textual sources, and these changes again mirror what we observed in the archaeological record. What stands out in the example with Paulinus above is both the simplicity of the meal itself and the complex manner of its creation. These sort of changes abound. Much of this is related to the advent of the church and the transformation of elite dining custom. We discussed some of this transformation in the last chapter, as the assemblages indicate that complex, multi-vessel meals were no longer consumed. But does this mean the Roman elite cuisine disappeared? As we will see here, and as the above example indicates, a portion of that elite adopted newer dining customs, ones far less complex and dependent on fewer exotic ingredients and combinations of vessels. And yet some of the language and ritual of those elite meals endures in their descriptions of these simpler repasts. In addition, the language of cooking fills ecclesiastical texts at this time, and helped to illustrate powerful images of sin, salvation, and human nature.

There are other transformations as well. We discussed in the previous chapter the potential influence of outsiders, Goths and Byzantines, on patterns of cooking in the Italian peninsula. Here we see some textual evidence of this, primarily in the use of certain words for cooking vessels limited to Italy. This linguistic innovation is largely limited to the area around Ravenna and, based on the date of the textual sources, is likely linked to the arrival of the Byzantines in the sixth century, though autochthonous or “barbarian” influence cannot be ruled out.

Vessels for Roasting, Baking, and Frying

The archaeological record indicates that these vessels, at least in ceramic form, gradually disappear beginning in the fourth century. The textual evidence I examine here largely corroborates this, and suggests several developments, including an ecclesiastical adoption of the *patina*, a modified continuation of elite dining, and a new Italian tradition of roasting or frying. I focus here on four vessel words: *patina*, *patella*, *frixorium*, and *sartago*.

The *patina*, the vessel most closely associated with the pan, and one whose presence I have scrutinized carefully in the last two chapters, appears several times in fourth century texts. These uses are very much in keeping with what we have seen in textual sources already examined. Then, almost abruptly, the word disappears, returning a handful of times in the sixth century, all in references unrelated to cooking. This mirrors the pattern observed in the found ceramics, as the pan declines in appearance from the archaeological record beginning in the latter fourth century.

The word appears three times in the *Medicina Plinii*, a fourth century medical text.² A medicine to help prevent vomiting in cholera patients involves cooking (*coquo*) lettuce stalks in a *patina* with water.³ In another example the *patina* was used to roast

² Caius Plinius Secundus Maior and Quintus Gargilius Martialis, *Medicina*, ed. Valentino Rose (Leipzig: Teubner, 1875). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/ltb>.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.7: “adversus quam lactucae caules quanto maiores et amariores **in patina coquantur** ex aqua et sic eduntur.” For the use of *ex* in recipes and its meaning, see J.N. Adams, *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 440-41.

(*torreo*) an egg,⁴ and in a third it cooked (*decoquo*) a fish with lettuce and pieces of bread.⁵ Nothing is unusual here, and these are all uses we might expect for the *patina*.

Another series of references occur in the *Historia Augusta*, which likely dates to the very late fourth or early fifth century.⁶ The vessel appears twice. The first is in the life of the emperor Probus.⁷ The author quotes a letter written by the emperor Valerian in which Probus was mentioned: a young man not yet established in name or wealth, Probus was to be given a variety of items, including a silver *patina* of ten pounds that was polished to a mirror sheen.⁸ This is a decorative or service vessel, and not anything to be used in the kitchen. The second reference is in the life of the emperor Elagabalus. The emperor was described as extremely decadent, to the point of esteeming Apicius above all other commoners,⁹ and hosted incredibly lavish banquets with extremely unusual ingredients.¹⁰ The author notes one of these banquets featured several *patina* loaded with mullet bowels, flamingo brains, partridge eggs, thrush brains, and other delicacies.¹¹ At

⁴ Ibid., 2.11: “quidam eadem ova resolvunt et **in patinis tosta** dant in cibo.”

⁵ Ibid., 2.9: “ius piscium maritimorum **in patina decoctorum** cum lactucis sorbetur aut pane colligitur.”

⁶ Anthony R. Birley, “Rewriting Second- and Third-century History in Late Antique Rome: the *Historia Augusta*,” *Classica* 19 (2006), 19.

⁷ *Scriptores historiae augustae*, ed. Ernst Hohl and Christa Samburger (Leipzig: Teubner, 1971). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

⁸ Ibid., XXVIII, 4.5: “patinam argenteam librarum decem specellatam.”

⁹ Ibid., XVII, 18.4.

¹⁰ Ibid., 20.4-7.

¹¹ Ibid., 20.6: “exhibuit et Palatinis <patinas> ingentes extis mullorum refertas et cerebellis foenicopterum et perdicum ovis et cerebellis turdorum et capitibus psittacorum et fasianorum et pavonum.”

first glance this, too, seems like nothing more than a serving vessel. But the ingredients listed are similar to an Apician *patina*, and the *patina* here may be a vessel which, once food was cooked in it, was brought directly to the table for consumption. Though there are no cooking verbs present, these are standard, accustomed uses of the *patina*, which in the *Historia Augusta* retains the dual role we see in Apicius and other texts, serving as both a decorative service vessel and one used to prepare a meal.

Ammianus Marcellinus, the late fourth century Greek soldier and historian writing in Rome, provides an additional reference.¹² In a lengthy digression on the moral character of the people of Rome he makes the following observation, one that contains words for cooking pots:

The greater number of these [people], devoted to being stuffed by feasting, led by the sharp smell and the voices of the women, from daybreak in the manner of peacocks screaming from hunger, the tips of their toes on the earth, stand by the *aula* with their talons reaching, nibbling their fingers, while the *patina* cooled off (*deferueo*). Others watching over the nauseous horrid meat while it cooks (*excoquo*)...¹³

This is a revealing passage. The food dole may have been considered a badge of citizenship, but to Ammianus the people who consumed it were little more than gluttons and beggars. And yet, despite his disdain, the language he uses tells much about cooking practice. The food was prepared in a large vessel, or *olla*. It was then distributed to each

¹² Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. Wolfgang Seyfarth, Liselotte Jacob-Karau, and Ilse Ulmann (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1978). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

¹³ Ibid., 28.4.34: “In his plerique distentioribus saginis addicti praeceunte nidoris indagine acutis que uocibus feminarum a galliciniis ipsis in modum pauorum ieiunitate clangentium humum summis pedum unguibus contingentes aulis assistunt digitos praerodentes, dum patinae deferuescent: alii nauseam horridae carnis, dum excoquitur...”

person in a smaller, personal vessel, the *patina*. Once again the *patina* acts as a service vessel for food. We have now seen this several times. Ammianus' description of the dole helps contextualize urban ceramic assemblages, such as the one we examined at Naples. In my examination of that assemblage I argued that food, in urban contexts, was not cooked in its entirety in the home by members of the lower classes. Urban dwellers instead acquired food first cooked elsewhere in a prepared or partially-prepared state, and used smaller, more personalized vessels to finish the meal and consume it. Ammianus provides an excellent example that this sort of practice was present in cities in the fourth century.

The *patina* appears two times as a vessel in Palladius' *Opus agriculturae*, written in the late fourth or early fifth century¹⁴. The first is as a device for trapping mice: if *amurca*, the watery fluid contained inside the olive along with its oil, is poured into a *patina* and left out overnight, mice will become attached to it.¹⁵ This tells us little except, perhaps that the *patina* still maintained its flat bottom, which would assist in easily resting it on the floor and trapping mice in its sticky contents. The other reference is as a storage vessel for pears, which were to be placed in a new *patina* covered with dried pitch and buried.¹⁶ The *patina* serves as a storage vessel and had other household uses in earlier works on farming, which again indicates some sort of continuity of tradition.

¹⁴ Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, *Opus agriculturae*, ed. Robert Howard Rodgers (Leipzig: Teubner, 1975). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.35.9: "Mures, si amurcam spissam patinae infuderis et in domo nocte posueris, adhaerebunt."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.25:26: "alii in patina noua sicco gypso obruunt separata cydonea."

Writing around the same time, Macrobius recounts in his *Saturnalia* a feast hosted by Julius Caesar. One course of the lavish meal includes a *patina* of oysters and mussels.¹⁷ A subsequent course included, among others foods, a *patina* of fish and another of sow udders.¹⁸ Macrobius states that he is quoting this from an earlier source, and thus it is not possible to know based on this text alone if the word still had significance in his own day or if it was, by this time, more of a memory.¹⁹ Given that the *patina* still appeared in Vinidarius, however, and Macrobius' above-mentioned belief in understanding the vessel words he used in his work, it seems likely that its meaning as a cooking vessel had not been lost.

After this reference, however, the *patina* disappears as a cooking vessel. We see it almost a century later, in an appearance in the *Rule of the Master*, the lengthy, anonymous sixth-century collection of monastic instruction.²⁰ On the Friday before Easter, the sacrament of the altar is to be finished. That sacrament is contained on or in a large glass *patina*.²¹ This word recalls the *patina*'s role as a serving vessel, and still for food, though that food now has a sacral context.

¹⁷ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.13.13: “cena haec fuit: ante cenam echinos, ostreas crudas quantum vellent, peloridas, sphondylos, turdum asparagos subtus, gallinam altilem, **patinam ostrearum peloridum**, balanos nigros, balanos albos.”

¹⁸ Ibid.: “in cena sumina, sinciput aprugnum, **patinam piscium, patinam suminis**, anates, querquedulas elixas, lepores, altilia assa, amulum, panes Picentes.” For *sumen* specifically as a sow's udders, see Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, 68.

¹⁹ Ibid., 3.13.10.

²⁰ *Regula Magistri*, ed. Adalbert de de Vogüé (Paris: Cerf, 1965). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

²¹ Ibid., 55.56: “Sacramenta vero altaris in patina maiore vitrea finiantur.”

The diminutive of *patina*, *patella*, is another word found some of our earlier authors, notably Pliny and Apicius. It appears in the *Medicina Plinii*, which notes that cicadas roasted (*torreo*) in a *patella* are useful to drink for bladder pain.²² I noted in my examination of Apicius that the word *patella* had a hybrid role in the text, able to cook *patina*-like meals but also used to boil liquids. The reference in the *Medicina Plinii* is in keeping with the sort of cooking we have seen for this vessel.

The *patella* appears much later, in the Latin translations of Oribasius.²³ Oribasius was the physician to the emperor Julian, and originally wrote in Greek. Two manuscripts (Aa and La) exist in Latin, and were likely produced in Ravenna somewhere between 450-600 AD.²⁴ The work consists of two parts, the *Synopsis* and the *Euporista*. If we assume the latter half of this dating range, this puts them in the period where Byzantium controlled Ravenna. The entire date range, however, puts the texts in a wealthy and economically powerful city and one, as we saw in the previous chapter, that was developing its own foodways by this time.

One recipe in the *Synopsis*, and contained in version Aa of the manuscript, calls for the *patella* to be used to prepare a meal of gourds cut into cubes with sardines.²⁵ These foods would be arranged in one of these vessels. There is no cooking verb, but the language is similar to Apicius' discussion of preparing a *patina*, though Apicius uses

²² *Medicina Plinii*, 2.17: "cicadas tostas in patella in vesicae dolore utile est bibere."

²³ *Oeuvres d'Oribase VI*, ed. Ulco Bussemaker and Charles Daremberg (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale: 1876).

²⁴ See Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 472-73.

²⁵ Oribasius, 38: "Est enim cybus de cocurbitis cum sardenis vel incatera in patella confectus;"

compono and not *confiero*. The other manuscript, La, is a bit more explicit, and uses the verb *coquo*, and does not contain another vessel word.²⁶ The *patella* also appears in the *Euporista*, as a vessel for drying out (*sicco*) a juice, though this drying does not occur over a fire, but by the sun.²⁷ One final appearance is in the *Synopsis*, for a medicinal paste, which is added to a *patella* and melted (*resolvo*).²⁸

The lone other textual appearance of the *patella* is in the *Rule of the Master*. Here it has two purposes. It is both a mixing vessel for a beverage given to a greedy guest,²⁹ and a dish that ingredients will be cooked in (*coquo*).³⁰ That dish is described in the 25th chapter, entitled “The *patella* of crumbs to be cooked by the weekly servers on the seventh day.”³¹ This was a dessert made of bread crumbs that had been gathered from the table on a daily basis. The *patella* was cooked (*coquo*) with either flour or eggs.³² A spoonful of this meal would be given to each of the brothers in the refectory following the meal. Those not at the abbot’s table were served a dollop of this meal on a different vessel, the *scutella*.³³

²⁶ Ibid., “Bonus autem et suavis cibus cocurbitas cum sardenas cum patella coctas.”

²⁷ Ibid., 431: “Sucum autem ipsum in patella mittis et ad solem ponis ut siccetur.”

²⁸ Ibid., 160: “Oleu roseu et adipis et medulla et cera mittis in patella et resolvis.”

²⁹ *Regula Magistri*, 1.20: “rogatur hospis in ipsa patella ut misceat.”

³⁰ Ibid., 23.37: “De quibus in exitu eudomae suae patellam coquant.”

³¹ Ibid., 25: “De patella micinarum ab eudomarariis septimo die coquenda.”

³² Ibid., 25.2: “et patella exinde cocta, aut cum farre aut cum ouis astricta.”

³³ Ibid.: “Deinde quot mensae fuerint, tot scutellas abbati eudomadarii porrigant.”

These last use is a telling reference. The dessert served in the *patella* is similar to an Apician *patina*, down to the eggs. It is far simpler than an Apician *patina*, but given the monastic context and corresponding emphasis on a simple diet, this is not surprising. Oribasius gives us a few references to *patina*-style meals, but what is consumed in the *Rule of the Master* not only resembles a *patina*, it resembles how such a meal might be eaten, i.e. it is to be shared. Though monastic poverty can be assumed, and thus large portion sizes and exotic ingredients are no longer *de rigueur*—this is not Elagabalus’ table—there is a ritualized aspect to the meal here, with the abbot serving as the host, giving a portion of a luxurious repast to his guests. As we will see below when we discuss other vessel words, there is an increase in the use of the diminutive in this period, so it is perhaps not surprising that *patella* is preferred here over *patina*.³⁴

How does this relate to the archaeological material discussed in the previous chapter? The textual appearances of the *patina* and *patella* decline at the same time as the pan fades from the archaeological record. We see in this overlap the sort of patterns we were hoping to find. The texts add nuance to the archaeological narrative. Here we see an added dimension to the *patina* and *patella*, one archaeology alone cannot address. The vessel remains in later medicinal texts, as it had for centuries, though it is telling that those texts came from Ravenna, and were likely influenced both by the Greeks and the long-standing presence of the remaining Roman aristocracy. The other uses of the words by the sixth century, however, were sacral. The *patina* was now a vessel to hold the Eucharist. The *patina* of old continued, but now served a much more humble, though still

³⁴ For other examples of the diminutive in Italy, see Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 458-9, 514.

elite, meal. This food was for a lord's table, but now—as with the letter from Paulinus—the context had changed. Elite, in this case clerical, meals were marked by their simplicity. With the *Rule of the Master* we see the last textual evidence for the cooking customs of a Roman elite transformed yet still enduring.

This speaks to a transformation in Roman elite identity. Roman elite cooking seems transformed by Christianity, and here we see one of the hallmarks of that elite status, the very vessels that once helped to prepare the most elite of meals, being used primarily in ecclesiastical contexts, now cooking a much more humble *patina* for a refectory and a serving platter for the most divine meal of all. The *patina* (and *patella*), in elite contexts, still had an important purpose, but that role was as transformed by Christianity as were the elites themselves who adopted this faith.

There are two other words, *frixorium* and *sartago*, related to this form of cooking. As we will see, one is much more closely tied to Italy than the other. *Sartago* appeared twice in the second chapter. In Pliny it was used to heat oil, while in Vinidarius it was used to fry *ofella*. The *sartago* appears three times in Ambrose's commentary on Psalm 38.³⁵ All three refer, however, to Ezekiel 4:3: "Then take up an iron *sartago*, and place it as an iron wall between you and the city, and lock your face towards it, and you will be besieged, and you will surround it: this is a sign to the house of Israel."³⁶ There is contextual information, as Ambrose notes the metaphorical *sartago* (which would melt

³⁵ Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio psalmodum XII*, ed. Michael Petschenig (Vindobonae: Tempus, 1919), 34.3; 34.4, Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

³⁶ Ezekiel 4.3: "Et tu sume tibi sartagine ferream, et pones eam in murum ferreum inter te et inter civitatem: et obfirmabis faciem tuam ad eam, et erit in obsidionem, et circumdabis eam: signum est domui Israel."

flesh, “*liquefio caro*”) required wood to be heated, possibly indicative that he believed the vessel was used over open flame.³⁷ We recall that a similar vessel—the *patina*—was used to melt (*liquo*) bird fat in Pliny.

Another reference comes from Apponius’ commentary on the *Song of Songs*, but only because it groups the word *sartago* with *craticula*, or cooking grate, which suggests similar use, namely roasting.³⁸ Maximinus of Turin, a bishop active in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, mentions a “burning *sartago*” (*sartago succendo*), a torture implement in 2 Maccabees.³⁹ While the vessel word endures in this period—and I note it was not common earlier—it is only in ecclesiastical contexts, and never involves cooking.

The *frixorium*, meanwhile, did not appear in the works we examined in Chapter Two. Its corresponding verb, *frigo*, did appear, but this only occurred, quite tellingly, in later works. It appears in several Italian texts by the fourth century and, unlike the *sartago*, is used both metaphorically and in reference to actual cooking. The word itself is related to the verb *frigo*, to fry, according to the *De verborum graeci et latini differentiis*

³⁷ Ambrose, *Explanatio psalmorum*, 38.34: “sed ego magnum faciam titionem et multiplicabo ligna et succendam ignem, ut liquefiat caro et imminuatur ius.”

³⁸ Apponius, *In canticum canticorum expositionem*, ed. Bernard de Bregille and Louis Neyrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 3.176. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>. “craticulae et sartagine in mollissimam plumam.”

³⁹ Maximus Taurinensis, *Collectio sermonum antiqua nonnullis sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), LXXXIII. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

vel societatibus excerpta, a grammar attributed to Macrobius.⁴⁰ Even if the association is not linguistically correct, it indicates that he understood the primary use of the vessel.

A very specific instance involving the *frixorium* is worth investigating. Several authors, when discussing Psalm 101, use a variant of the phrase “just as my bones are burned up in a *frixorium*” (*ossa mea sicut in frixorio confixa sunt*). We also see this in Rufinus of Aquileia’s translation of Origen’s *Homilies on Leviticus*⁴¹ and Cassiodorus’ *Exposition on the Psalms*.⁴² The phrase does not exist in the Vulgate, which instead reads “for my days pass away like smoke, and my bones dry up (*aresco*) just as in a *cremium*.”⁴³ The phrase using *frixorium* has its origins in a version of the Psalm much more closely associated with Italy, namely the fourth century *Psalterium Romanorum*, “a rushed reworking of the Old Latin Vulgate which was current in Rome at the time.”⁴⁴

Frixorium, therefore, is an Italian word. Its appearance coincides with the rise of the verb *frigo* in our textual sources. I believe *frixorium* endures in commentaries on this Psalm not just because it has a root in the *Vetus Latina* but also because it was a word that was in use to describe cooking in Italy. It was commonly used, and the word that an

⁴⁰ Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, *De verborum graeci et latini differentiis vel societatibus excerpta*, ed. Paolo de Paolis (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1990), V 606, 36: “‘frigo frixi’ a tertia, unde ‘frixum, frixorium’ id est calefactorium.”

⁴¹ *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung. Teil 1: Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus und Leviticus*, ed. Wilhelm Adolf Baehrens (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1920), 2.4. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

⁴² Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum I-LXX*, ed. Marc Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 101.1.4. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

⁴³ Psalm 101.4: “Quia defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei, et ossa mea sicut cremium aruerunt.”

⁴⁴ Klaus Sebold, *Introducing the Psalms*, trans. R. Graeme Dunphy (London: Bloomsbury, 1990), 32.

audience would most likely understand. This usage would evolve. As Adams notes, by Late Antiquity “*frixoria*,” now feminine, was in use primarily in Northern Italy.⁴⁵ We see examples of this usage in the *Synopsis* of the Latin *Oribasius*, manuscript Aa, in a recipe for pimples. *Exanthemata*, a type of herb, was to be dried (*sicco*) and worn down (*tero*) in a *frixoria*.⁴⁶ In a treatment for dysentery in the *Synopsis*, manuscript La, Oribasius instructs the reader to fry (*frigo*) an egg in a *frixoria* above coals (“*super carbones*”) that are not smoking.⁴⁷ This is one of the few egg-based meals we see this late, and is far simpler than the egg-based *patina* we saw earlier. The use of *carbo* as a heat source reminds us of the changes in the way that food was cooked, and it is possible that the soufflé-like *patina* would be much harder to prepare over an open flame or in coals. We also see the vessel in Rufus of Ephesus’ *De podagra*, which Adams indicates is linguistically similar enough to Oribasius to suggest a common background with Oribasius’ Ravennan text.⁴⁸ The topic here is lentils, which Rufus notes have a drying effect when fried (*frigo*, and given the lack of any oil, perhaps “dry roasted” is a better translation) in a *frixoria*.⁴⁹

This represents the extent of the appearances of this vessel. The textual sources indicate some continued use of pans and other flat-bottomed vessels. Cooking in texts is

⁴⁵ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 479.

⁴⁶ *Oribasius*, 138: “Stafidagria in frixoria siccas et teris, et libanum cum oleo solves et superlinis. Eta molle coquis et teris et imponis cataplasma.”

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 299: “Ante frigas cum ova in frixoria super carbones non habentes fumum.”

⁴⁸ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 480.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 479: “mediocriter autem dessicat lentiola in frixoria frixa.”

largely medicinal by this point. The other appearances, such as the *patella* in the *Rule of the Master*, suggest a maintenance of aspects of elite cooking, though much different than had existed a century or two earlier. There is also a strong indication of Italian-specific cooking emerging in this period, primarily through the use of the noun *frixoria* and the verb *frigo*, and also with the *caccabellus*, which I discuss below. It is worth noting that *frigo* does not appear in the earlier texts, though it is in Apicius, which is itself a later text, at least in portions, as well as Vinidarius and Anthimus. The presence of the soapstone *piastra* at San Vincenzo, a form Patterson notes is unique to Italy, may have a connection with the rise of *frigo* and *frixoria*. In addition, *frigo* is one of the few instances of specialized verbs for this sort of cooking. Verbs used with the *patina* and *patella* are far simpler than they used to be. *Coquo* is standard now, though *torreo* also appears twice, and *sicco* once. Cooking verbs are often unmentioned in context with these two vessel words.

Casseroles

Words for casseroles appear more frequently and are present in greater numbers than roasting vessels, which correlates closely with the archaeological record. In this section I look at two words, *caccabus* and *pultarius*.

The first examples, and some of the most informative for cooking practice, appear in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a fourth century treatise on equine medicine with “hints” of a connection to Italy.⁵⁰ The role of the *caccabus* here is very similar to what we have

⁵⁰ Ibid., 468; *Mulomedicina Chironis*, ed. Eugen Oder (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lltb>.

seen in previous chapters. It appears six times, almost always for the creation of veterinary poultices. Sieved ingredients are placed in a *cacabus novus* along with six pints of water. Half of this liquid is to boil off (*decoquo*) before the poultice is ready to be used.⁵¹ This type of formula is repeated several times.⁵² *Decoquo* is used in four of the six recipes that contain the *caccabus*.⁵³ One of the others uses the more generic *coquo*.⁵⁴ In two recipes (9.856 and 9.875), the vessel is to be placed over a *lentus ignis*, the slow-burning fire we have seen previously. In addition, we are given clues as to cooking times: one of those same recipes indicates that the vessel should be heated for four days (“*4 dies decoques igne lento*”). The majority of uses here, as they were earlier, are for the heating of liquids.

There is one exception that confirms my earlier statement about the vessel’s multipurpose role. One recipe calls for a variety of solid ingredients to be added to the *caccabus*, including a certain type of clay along with a measure of fresh gazelle dung.⁵⁵ This vessel is to be placed *super carbones*, above or in the coals, a phrase we saw only in the Latin Oribasius. There is nothing about heating liquids in this recipe. This use means

⁵¹ Ibid., 3.157: “haec omnia tusa et criblata in **cacabo novo**, ex aqua que sextarios sex admiscito, ficus duplices IX **decoquantur** ad dimidiam partem.”

⁵² Ibid., 9.925: “haec omnia commixta **decoques** in **cacabo novo**, ad mellis grassitudinem evertantur.”; 9.875: “haec sic **decoques** in **cacabo novo**, mittes salem, deinde singula adicies et ex **lento igne** coquatur bene.”

⁵³ See, for example, Ibid., 9.856: “haec omnia in unum commisces ex aceto I in **cacabum novum** cum vino et oleo, quae s. s. est, et per triduum macerabis, 4-or dies **decoques igne lento**.”

⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.850: “haec omnia trita bene in **cacabo coques**.”

⁵⁵ Ibid., 3.268: “creta Cimolea ex aceto [et] infusam et merdam bubalam recentem et cominum tritum, haec omnia admisces, bene maturam facito et in **cacabo super carbonibus** bene caldum linito.”

that the *caccabus* was of an apparent shape that serving as a vessel for heating a relative solid was well with its purview.

That the *caccabus* was still present in wealthy kitchens is seen in the biography of Elagabalus in the *Historia Augusta*. As we saw above, the emperor is portrayed as extremely decadent. Another aspect of this decadence is present in his tableware. The *caccabus* was present, but his were silver and decorated with lewd designs.⁵⁶ This example suggests two possibilities, neither of which excludes the other. In other authors, the *caccabus* is used for cooking, not serving, and fire would damage a silver vessel. Thus Elagabalus was so decadent that he made ostentatious even the most quotidian item. Equally possible is that the silver *caccabus* on the table is taking the place of the *patina* as a service vessel. The transformation we see in Vinidarius, where the *caccabus* stood in for the *patina*, may have been occurring not just in cookware, but also in tableware.

Writing around the same time, Zeno, bishop of Verona in the late fourth century, mentions the vessel in one of his tractates.⁵⁷ The passage involves the preparation of the host, and is highly metaphoric, yet does use cooking terms.⁵⁸ The host contains salt, is made smooth by oil, and has a pleasant aroma due to its distinguished cooking (*coquo*). It

⁵⁶ Ibid., 19.3: primus deinde aut epsas argenteas habuit, primus etiam **caccabos**, vasa deinde centenaria argentea scalpta et nonnulla schematibus libidinosissimis inquinata.

⁵⁷ Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>.

⁵⁸ Zeno, *Tractate XLIV, 7*: “Sal inditum est illi; levigata est oleo cremiali, officii competentibus temperata, in panes azymos reddita. Hi, quos videtis, egregia **coctura** suave redolentes, qui **excocti sunt non furno**, sed fonte; non humano, sed igne divino: non illos aura corrumpit: non fumus amarus infecit: non frigus elisit: (quod plus est) sine fermento levati sunt. Certe **cacabacii** non sunt, non vetusti, non usti, non crudi, non mucidi. Lacteus illis color est: lacteus sapor est.”

was not cooked (*excoquo*) in an oven (*furnus*), however, but in the font, and not by a human, but rather by divine fire (*ignis divinus*). As a result, the host lacked several negative qualities: it was not old, nor rough, nor moldy, nor “*cacabacius*.” This use of *caccabus* in the adjectival sense is unusual, and I address the meaning of this word below. In addition to this vessel word, the passage makes clear that bread was still produced in ovens in Zeno’s time.

A reference in a letter of Paulinus of Nola shines light on the meaning of this word.⁵⁹ Writing again to Severus, Paulinus notes that if Severus were to decorate a chapel with a prayer written earlier in the letter by Paulinus, Severus would grow ill because his walls would be rendered “*caccabata*.”⁶⁰ That both authors use the word so casually indicates it was common enough that someone who did not cook would be aware of its colloquial meaning. It is also clear that this meaning is negative. Paulinus indicates that it is nearly an epithet, noting that it is a word “worthy of his verses,” which he considers to be poor.

What do “*cacabacii*” and “*caccabata*” mean? According to Jules César Boulenger’s 1627 work on the meal, “*cacabacii*” referred to “a foul taste retained in the water in the pot it was cooked in.”⁶¹ However, as the editor of the *Patrologia Latina*

⁵⁹ For more on Paulinus see Dennis Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), especially 23-52 for his aristocratic upbringing.

⁶⁰ Paulinus *Epistle* 32.9: “credo enim uel tunc de meis ineptiis erubescas et poenitebit te desiderii et exactionis tuae, cum aedificia, quae immaculata adhuc operis tui gratia splendent, obscurata naeniis insipientiae meae et, ut digno meis uersibus uerbo utar, **caccabata** ridentibus multis uel nauseantibus confusus adspicies.”

⁶¹ Jules César Boulenger, *De conviviis: libri quator* (Sumptibus Ludovici Prost: Haeredis Roville, 1627), 18: “panes cacabacii, qui saporem malum ex aqua in cacabo calefacta retinerent.”

observes, this is an unlikely definition, as bread was typically not cooked in water. He suspects, based in part on a reference in Pelagius' *De Vitis Patrum*, that the term means "common" or "cheap," connoting a connection with peasant food and relating to the presence of poorer wheat that was not well-sifted.⁶²

This does not make sense, and is one of the reasons why a study of vessels and vessel words is so important. "Cheap" may well be what the adjectival uses of *caccabus* indicates, but I do not believe it relates specifically to peasant vessels or low-quality ingredients. Indeed, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the *caccabus* was typically used in a variety of settings. Elababalus' silver *caccabus* was not cheap. A lavish Apician meal often depended on rich ingredients and decadent sauces cooked in a *caccabus*. Casseroles are found at rural sites, but they also appear at wealthier ones. There are two other, more likely meanings. The first is "fouled by the pot," that is, a vessel that had absorbed too much cooked material and returned that flavoring to other meals cooked in it. We have seen this was a common occurrence when cooking with ceramic vessels, especially as so many recipes call for a pot to be new.⁶³ The second possibility, and one that I think is more likely, relates to how a *caccabus* was used. We know the vessel could be placed over an open flame. This adjectival form might mean "blackened," referring to the sooted exterior of a vessel that had been placed over an open fire.⁶⁴

⁶² *PL* 498 n. 6: "itaque panes cacabacii sunt vulgares et viles panes, ex farina non lectissima nec bene cribrata conditi."

⁶³ Peña, *Roman Pottery*, 57.

⁶⁴ See Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883–1887), s.v. "cacabatus."

This use of “*cacabacii*” and “*caccabata*” not only confirms the vessel was associated with scorch-marks, and thus most often used over open flame, but also that the vessel was ubiquitous enough to warrant this term entering the lexicon. I have noted above that the decline of the pan and surge of the casserole began around this time. It is telling that, as this was taking place, this reference to the vessel begins to appear.

It may be that the *caccabus*, by this period, had—as did the *frixoria*—become a uniquely Italian word. This would appear to be confirmed by its appearance in the *Codex Vercellensis*, the fourth century gospel produced in Italy.⁶⁵ Here, in the Gospel of Mark, there is a reference to the Pharisees obsession with cleanliness, which led to washing not only their persons, but also their items, which included the *caccabus*, a word that does not appear in Jerome or in the Greek.⁶⁶ The presence of words like *frixoria* and *caccabus* in passages from the *Vetus Latina* is a function of local tradition influencing the vocabulary of the passages. Local words, words which would have made the most sense to a local population, are used in locally-produced manuscripts and texts. This suggests the ubiquity of such words and hints at an Italian language of cooking that archaeology alone cannot reveal. However, a more systematic study of the cooking vocabulary in different versions of the *Vetus Latina* would be needed to confirm this.

The vessel would endure in texts into the sixth century. Eugippius, in his sixth-century *Life of Severinus*, the late fifth-century saint, referred to the *caccabus* as a vessel

⁶⁵ H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 26.

⁶⁶ Mark 7: 3-4: “Pharisaei...et omnes Judaei nisi momento laverint manus, non edunt panem, tenentes traditionem seniorum: 4. et, a foro cum venerint, nisi baptizati fuerint, non edunt: et alia multa sunt illis, quae acceperunt tradita, baptismos calicum, et urceorum, et caccaborum, et lectorum.”

used by Severus for the distribution of oil.⁶⁷ This is perfectly in keeping with this form, as the casserole is rounded, with high walls, and small enough to be held when full by an individual. Cassiodorus refers to the vessel in a letter on dowsing. Part of the ritual for finding water, he writes, involves placing a *caccabus* on a dry piece of fleece.⁶⁸

In the Latin Oribasius the vessel appears several times. A recipe for curing deafness involves warm oil poured into a *caccabus* with the plant asphodel. The mix is then applied to the ears.⁶⁹ A salve for gout involves several ingredients mixed in a *caccabus* with oil and pig grease, which was cooked (*coquo*) in a *focus* until it smelled.⁷⁰ There are others, but in general they conform to what we have seen previously, in that they primarily make liquid-based medicines. More importantly, just as was the case with *frixoria*, there are hints of newer cooking traditions. The word “*caccavellus*,” a diminutive for *caccabus*, appears once in the text.⁷¹ This word also appears in the Ravenna Papyri, a series of administrative documents from Ravenna dated between 445-700.⁷² It appears once, in Papyrus 8, a listing of household items. This list includes an

⁶⁷ Eugippius, *Commemoratorium de vita sancti Severini*, ed. Philippe Régerat (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1991), XXVIII. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: “domine mi, crescit hic **caccabus olei** et in modum fontis exundat.”

⁶⁸ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 3.53: “Sunt et alia huius artis indicia: cum nocte adueniente lana sicca in terram ponitur iam prouisam et rudi caccabo tecta relinquitur, tunc, si aquae proximitas arriserit, mane umida reperitur.”

⁶⁹ Oribasius, 65: “Postea tolles et infundes oleo tepido in caccavo cum asfodili radices, mittis in aures.”

⁷⁰ Ibid., 400: “Ievas postmodum et mittas in caccavo et addes oleum veterem xvi, axungia porcina xvi, coquis in foco donec amolentum fiat.”

⁷¹ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 459, 486-9.

⁷² *Die Nichtliterarischen Lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700*, ed. Jan-Olof Tjäder (Lund: Gleerup, 1955).

entry for “a broken *caccabellus* weighed at one pound.”⁷³ Adams notes that this word specifically survives only in Italian dialects, and that it must have been in use at the time of the work’s composition.⁷⁴ This means, in Ravenna, we have the introduction of a new diminutive for the *caccabus*, which stands as yet another example of the flowering of local cooking culture in this dynamic city and its surrounds.

Two entries in the *Rule of the Master* provide additional context for the vessel. The first is a comment on kitchen service. Garments are given to those entering their appointed week of service. It is expected that these garments would get soiled from contact with the *caccabus*, and the *cucuma*, and the heat of the *focus*, and the general filth of the kitchen.⁷⁵ This places the *caccabus* in the monastic kitchen, and suggests quite strongly that it was heated on the *focus*. A second reference notes that, on days when certain monks are fasting, oil should not be put in the *caccabus*, but on the platters (*ferculum*).⁷⁶ There is little to be gained of cooking knowledge except that oil was usually added to monastic meals, and that *caccabus* was the dominant word for vessels associated with cooking in the text.

In the second chapter the few references to the *pultarius* seemed to indicate that it was a vessel similar in function to a *caccabus*, and was not the specific porridge-pot often

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 242: “Caccavello rupto pensante libra una.”

⁷⁴ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 459

⁷⁵ *Regula Magistri*, 81.22: “Quae tales res, maxime intra monasterium, sine uerecundia omnem sordium iniuriam, simul inquinamenta caccaborum, cucumae uel gemarum necnon et foci calorem uel cocinae sordes diuersas sustineant.”

⁷⁶ *Regula Magistri*, 53.7: “Oleum non in caccabis, sed in ferculis propter abstinentes mittatur.”

assumed due to its name. The *pultarius* appears in this period two times, once in Palladius and once in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*. In the latter a poultice is made by combining a pint of wine and white dog feces into a new *pultarius* which has a capacity of three pints, and then placing the *pultarius* under the sky, assumedly to dry.⁷⁷ This is reminiscent of a recipe from the previous chapter which used a *patina* as a drying vessel, though there is no reason to assume a *caccabus*-shaped vessel would not be appropriate.

The reference in Palladius is more what we might expect from this sort of vessel. When discussing how to take care of bees, Palladius mentions how to create a smoke-pot: resin was put together with dry cow dung into a *pultarius*, which was made excited with coals.⁷⁸ Whether this was heated to the point of smoking over coals or if the coals were placed inside seems relatively immaterial: what is important is that the *pultarius* seems to have been relatively similar to its previously understood shape and use.

The texts show continued use of the vessels words we associate with the casserole. It appears well into the fifth century in several texts, and seems to eclipse the *patina* in importance in the texts just as it does archaeologically. It remains a vessel for making sauces and liquid-based dishes, but also acted as a service vessel. The ubiquity of the *caccabus* is indicated not just by this continued presence in the texts, but by its newer adjectival presence. By the sixth century, however, the casserole's presence is limited to an ecclesiastical text and works from Ravenna. These latter works provide a significant

⁷⁷ *Mulomedicina Chironis*, 4.413: “si hoc non potueris + vincerari vini sextarium addito in **pultario novo**, qui capit sextarios III, et caninum stercus album (nota) admisceto, pultarium sub divum ponito.”

⁷⁸ Palladius, 7.7: “fumus admouetur ex galbano et arido fimo bubulo, quem in **pultario** factis carbonibus conuenit excitare.”

number of examples of the *caccabus*, as well as new, Italian-specific diminutives for the vessel. Similarly, archaeological evidence for the casserole exists in the sixth century only in limited contexts, such as Rome, Ravenna, and Kaukana. This may well be no more than a question of available site examined. Casseroles at Rome may be a product of a cooking tradition that had endured for centuries. The single casserole at Kaukana is likely an example of transforming elite cooking, a merging of old elite feasting customs with newer Christian tradition. Ravenna, however, stands out as dynamic. This dynamism is also shown by another cooking noun we have not yet looked at, the *cucumella*. This appears twice in Late Antiquity and is, to Adams, another uniquely Italian word.⁷⁹ It is/may be the diminutive of *cucuma*, a noun we saw in Petronius and Isidore, the latter of whom compares it to the *caccabus*. The two late antique appearances both occur in the *Ravenna Papyri*. It appears twice in Papyrus 8. One is a simple reference to “*cucumella una*,” and the second, a few lines below, mentions “an old *cocumella* with an iron handle weighing two and a half pounds.”⁸⁰

Cooking Pots

The cooking pot was present at multiple sites in multiple periods. By the fifth century there was a surge in the presence of pots at sites, and began to eclipse all other vessels. Is this the case here? The *olla* appears frequently in this time period: indeed, it is the most often named vessel we come across.

⁷⁹ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 458, notes *cucumella* appears only one other time, “in the Digest...of the jurist P. Alfenus Varus of Cremona, cos. 39 BC.”

⁸⁰ Tjäder, 342: “*cocumella cum manica ferrea vetere pensante libras suas semis.*”

The *Mulomedicina Chironis* is once again an invaluable reference. The *olla* appears thirteen times. The majority of these are for the heating of liquid-based recipes. Eleven of the thirteen recipes involve the mixing of ingredients and water and use either the generic verb *coquo* (6)⁸¹ or the more specific *decoquo* (5).⁸² Cooking vocabulary here is simpler, and verbs common in Apicius, such as *bullio* and *elixo*, are not present. Several of these refer to reducing the medicine by a certain amount, and one recipe notes that the pot should cook for several days, which implies either a narrow neck or the presence of a lid.⁸³ Another involves the cooking (*coquo*) of the corpse of a lactating dog until all the flesh comes loose from the bones, indicative that there is some size to the vessel.⁸⁴ Heating places are only mentioned twice: once is noted below and the other is an oven (*furnus*), which the *olla* should be kept in as long as it contains ashes.⁸⁵ This is not a typical location for the *olla* to be placed, but for burning ingredients it does seem appropriate, and we have seen the *olla* used in a *furnus* in Pliny.

⁸¹ *Mulomedicina Chironis*, 9.837: “ysopum IIII, irin Illirica, murra, panacis radicem, spica nardi, ficum, apium et rutam coicies in **ollam novam** et **coques in tertiam partem** per triduo.; 9.911: **sucum marrubii coquito in ollam novam** et coquito calidam.”

⁸² *Ibid.*, “haec omnia in **ollam**, in qua succus erit, sumito decoctum, ut non ferveat, paulisper tantum, ut se animet, deinde eximito et contrito in pixidam plumbeam.; 9.926: hoc **decoque** in **olla** et ad tertias.; 9.951: haec in **olla nova** decoques et refrigerabis et melle commisceas et ex eo potionem dabis.”

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4.353: “et totum per triduo origanum **decoctum in olla nova** per nares proicito, ut bibere des per triduo, aut per alternis diebus **stet pluribus diebus**.”

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.812: “catulam lactantem occides et interiora eius proicies, lavabis eum, et adicies in ollam aquam et eundem coques, usque donec ossa remaneant, et commiscebis pusillum mellis et condis eum quomodo pulmentarium.”

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.325: “nidum hirundinum cum pullis hirundinis in ollam novam fictilem coquito in furno et sinito, dum cinis fiat.”

The remaining two recipes use different cooking words. One calls for fox or bear grease to be made warm (*calefacio*) in a new *olla*;⁸⁶ another does not contain a specific cooking word but calls for an *olla* containing a “nearly-flying stork” to be placed over the coals (*carbo*).⁸⁷

There are three references in Servius, the Roman grammarian active in the latter half of the fourth century AD, in his commentary on Vergil’s *Aeneid*.⁸⁸ One is a gloss of the word *lebes*, which Servius notes is a golden *olla*.⁸⁹ The other is a line regarding the labors of Heracles, and Servius states that he crossed the ocean in a golden olla (*aerea olla*) given to him by the sun-god.⁹⁰ The final reference, however, is the most telling. Discussing the rousing of Turnus by the Fury Alecto in Book 7, Servius comments on a line comparing the Turnus’ growing anger to the heat of a vessel (*aeneum*) with sticks placed underneath.⁹¹ Servius notes that “under” need not be assumed, as Vergil well may have meant “alongside,” for it was “the custom of the ancients not to suspend the *olla*, but to use them placed around the fire.”⁹²

⁸⁶ Ibid., 9.973: “nitri libra, adipe ursinum vel axungia vulpina calfacito in ollam novam et perunge iumentum.”

⁸⁷ Ibid., 10.965: “ciconinas iam paene volantes in ollam rudi cum plumis omnibus et pinnis mittis, et postquam carbo fuerit factus, in quolibet vaso pulverem tritum habebis.”

⁸⁸ Servius grammaticus, *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/lta>.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 3.466: “LEBETAS ollas aereas.”

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⁹⁰ Ibid., 2.7: “qui ideo fingitur ad eum olla aerea transvectus, quod habuit navem fortem et aere munitam.”

⁹¹ *Aeneid* 7.462-3: “magno veluti cum flamma sonore/virgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni/exsultantque aestu lattices.”

⁹² Servius, *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos*, 2.7: “et bene antiquum respexit morem: nam ollas non suspendebant, sed positas circumcirca ignem adhibebant.”

This is an important reference, and echoes Macrobius' earlier question about the historical use of vessels in texts. We have seen examples of cooking alongside a fire in Chapter Two in both modern Portugal and in Anthimus. The latter was associated with Frankish, or barbarian, cooking customs. This method of cooking, to Servius, is primitive. To a contemporary Italian, an *olla* was to be hung over a fire, not alongside it.

There are many examples of the *olla* in ecclesiastical writing.⁹³ We see the vessel several times in the writing of St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan for the majority of the final quarter of the fourth century, especially in his *Explanation on the Psalms*, *On the Institution of Virginity*, and *Exhortation to Virginity*. Many of these references are recitations of Biblical passages. For example, the phrase “Moab is the *olla* of my hopes” from Psalm 59(60):10 is referred to in passing in *On the Institution of Virginity*, though in this case it is a vessel containing unguent.⁹⁴ He refers to Moab's *olla* in a previous chapter in this same work, noting that this *olla* of hope refers to the womb of the Virgin Mary, and that the holy spirit inside her steams or boils (*ferveo*) in the manner of an *olla*.⁹⁵

⁹³ One I do not address here is in Zeno of Verona, as the vessel's appearance is likely a textual error. See *Tractate* 24.19: “Isaac innocenter **ollam** portat et ligna.” There is little reason Isaac would carry a pot to his own potential demise. *Oleum*, or oil, makes much more sense than “*ollam*.”

⁹⁴ Psalm 60:10: “Moab **olla** spei meae. In Idumaeam extendam calceamentum meum: mihi alienigenae subditi sunt.” Aurelius Ambrosianus, *De institutione virginis et sanctae Mariae virginitate perpetua ad Eusebium Bibliotheca Ambrosiana* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 13.83. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: “Excipite itaque ex hac Moabitide **olla** gratiae caelestis **unguentum**.”

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.79: “Ipse ergo rex Israel transiuit hanc portam, ipse dux sedit in ea, quando uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis, quasi rex sedens in aula regali uteri uirginalis uel in **olla feruenti**, sicut scriptum est: Moab aula spei, uel **olla** spei meae. Vtrumque enim diuersis in codicibus inuenitur. Aula regalis est uirgo, quae non est uiro subdita, sed deo soli. Est et **olla** uterus Mariae, quae spiritu **feruenti** qui superuenit in eam repleuit orbem terrarum, cum peperit saluatorem, qui manducauit in porta sedens, utique cibum illum de quo dixit: Meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem patris mei qui in caelo est.” This very evocative

The verb “*ferveo*” is of particular interest here. This is the verb we have often seen used with the *olla*, though that has been not the case in this chapter. Ambrose uses this same verb in other places as well. Referring to the book of Jeremiah in his Commentary on Psalm 39, Ambrose recalls a passage that discusses the threat of warfare from the north. The image of this threat, shown to the prophet, is of an “*ollam ferventem*,” or boiling pot.⁹⁶ The association between the vessel and boiling is present in another reference to Mary’s womb, in which he notes that because it is an *olla*, it steams (*vaporo*) with the eternal spirit.⁹⁷

Ambrose does not always use this verb when discussing the *olla*. In two occasions he quotes from Ecclesiastes 7:7 (*quia sicut sonitus spinarum ardentium sub olla, sic risus stulti. Sed et hoc vanitas*), and in both cases there are no cooking verbs present.⁹⁸ The crackling of the burning thorns, however, suggests the vessel was placed above the fire.

This use of cooking language regarding spiritual matters also exists in the one reference to the *olla* in the *Tractates* written by Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, near

image is repeated in *Ibid.*, 13.81: “O diuitias Marianae uirginitatis! Quasi **olla ferbuit** et quasi nubes pluit in terras gratiam Christi. Scriptum est enim de ea: Ecce dominus uenit sedens super nubem leuem.”

⁹⁶ *Idem*, *Explanatio psalmorum xii*, 38.34: “ideo et Hieremias primum baculum uidit nucinum, deinde **ollam feruentem**, ut tabesceret anima prophetae incipientis, quo culpa decederet, ut accederet gratia.”

⁹⁷ *Idem*, *De institutione uirginis*, 13.82: “Quia **olla** est, spiritu **uaporet** aeterno.”

⁹⁸ Ambrose of Milan, *Exhortatio uirginitatis*, ed. F. Gori (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 11.76: Accessed online: <http://clt.brepols.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: “Quid autem idem Ecclesiastes monuerit nos omnes de immoderatione ridendi, consideremus: Sicut uox, inquit, spinarum sub **olla**, ita risus stultorum; and *Ibid.*, Sic ergo est risus stultorum, qui sine gratia sonat et **ollam** corporis sui urit.”

Milan, in the end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth. He notes that the sacrament in the *olla* of the human heart is not cooked the way ordinary food is.⁹⁹

The vessel appears five times in Palladius' *Opus Agriculturae*. Two are taken from Gargilius Martialis's third-century text on botany, and in both cases the *olla* is used as a vessel for gardening.¹⁰⁰ Another, original entry also discusses the role the *olla* plays in the garden, in this case a vessel for growing roses.¹⁰¹ Two, however, do use cooking vocabulary, though only one involves the preparation of food. One of many methods Palladius provides for preserving olives involves adding two parts of honey and one part of wine to an *olla*, which is then boiled off (*deferueo*) until only half remains.¹⁰² This is very much in keeping with what we have seen. The other involves preparing a type of wall-patching material: tar and grease are mixed in an *olla* and cooked (*coques*) until the mix foams (*spumet*); then this is removed from the fire.¹⁰³ This, while it does not involve food, suggests the pot is placed over a fire.

Paulinus of Nola also uses the word quite frequently. The letter I opened this chapter with mentions a porridge boiled (*ferueo*) in an *olla*. This meal lies at the center of this chapter, an example of the ecclesiastical transformation of the elite meal. Another

⁹⁹ Gaudentius of Brescia, *Tractatus XXI*, ed. A. Glück (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 2,26. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: "Neque in **olla** cordis carnei humoribus per naturam semper obnoxii ipsum **decoquas** sacramentum, commune illud ac terrenum esse existimans, sed ut per ignem divini spiritus id effectum, quod adnuntiatum est, credas, quia, quod accipis, corpus est illius panis caelestis et sanguis est illius sacrae vitis."

¹⁰⁰ Palladius, 4.10; 6.17.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 6.17: "aliqui olla rudi conditas ac bene munitas sub diuo obruunt ac reseruant."

¹⁰² Ibid., 12.22: "tunc ollae adicis mellis partes duas, uini unam, defriti dimidiam."

¹⁰³ Ibid., 1.17: "tunc in olla utrumque miscebis et coques, donec spumet; deinde ab igne remouebis."

letter refers, briefly, to Moab and the *olla*, though cooking is not discussed in any way.¹⁰⁴ In that same letter Paulinus recalls the passage from Jeremiah mentioned above: unlike Ambrose, however, Paulinus provides no specific word for the cooking process itself. He notes, however, in a twist that will be common as we proceed through this chapter, that this very burning (*uro*) *olla* will serve as a source of punishment for sinners, who will be consumed (*consumens*) by the fire (*igni*).¹⁰⁵ Though not typical, these words in and of themselves are perfectly context-appropriate: while the liquid in such a vessel might boil or roil, what is placed inside that liquid would could be burnt. In addition, as we have seen above and will see below, it is not uncommon for the *olla* to be used to burn its ingredients.

An exception to these increasingly ecclesiastical appearances is Oribasius, where the *olla* appears multiple times, as both *ulla* (in 15 recipes) and *olla* (3). A recipe for elephantitis calls for parts of a snake to be put in an *olla* in a manner similar to how eels are cooked (*coquo*) with a mixture of water and oil (“*leucozomo*,” from *leucocunus*).¹⁰⁶ Oribasius later uses *bullio* to describe the cooking process. Another for a healing unguent involves placing ingredients in a new olla (*ulla nova*) and cooking (*coquo*) on gentle coals (*lene pruna*) until one of the ingredients, vinegar, disappears.¹⁰⁷ Reducing is

¹⁰⁴ Paulinus of Nola, *Epistle* 29.23: “et ideo dicit: Moab **olla** spei meae, quia non solum ex Iuda sed ex Moab, hoc est non solum de sanctorum sed etiam de peccatorum origine corpus adsumpsit.”

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, “ipsa est et illa secundum Hieremiam **olla urens** peccata et illo **igni consumens**.”

¹⁰⁶ Oribasius, 197: “primo ampotatis caput et cauda usque ad digitos quaternos et sic omnes interamina projecta in olla quomodo anguillas similiter coquis in leucozomo.”

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 191: “omnia simul mittis in ulla nova et coquis ad lenes prunas donec consumatur acetus.”

common in Oribasius. In another recipe for an unguent, several ingredients are added to three cups of water in a new (*nova*) *olla*, which cooks (*coquo*) until reduced by a third.¹⁰⁸

Much of this seems familiar. But in certain recipes in Oribasius we see additional uses for the *olla* that do not mirror what we have seen in the past. A recipe for mouth ulcers a variety of ingredients are placed in a coarse (*rudis*) *olla*, which is covered with an earthenware lid and smeared with a clay then placed in an oven (*furnus*), where the ingredients are roasted (*asso*) until they are ash.¹⁰⁹ There are unusual cooking verbs as well. In a cure for itching, Oribasius notes the bark of an old vine should be placed in a copper vessel (*aerea*) or an *ulla* and fried or roasted (*frigo*).¹¹⁰ *Frigo* appears again in a cure for asthma. Ingredients are placed in a new (*nova*) *olla*, which is fried or roasted (*frigo*) above the coals (*super carbo*).¹¹¹ The *olla*, in Oribasius, is used differently than in any other text. In addition, it is the only vessel in this work that is used in so many non-traditional ways. Recall that in Ravenna the *olla* appeared in great quantities. It could be, and this is no more than a guess, that the translators of the Oribasius manuscript, confronted with Greek vessel words that now no longer had many cognates in the Italian material culture, used *olla* as a catch-all word for “vessel.”

There are two final authors who mention the *olla*. The first is Cassiodorus, in a letter on the Fountain of Arethusa, near Squillace. The fountain, he notes, is normally

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 401: “mittis in ulla nova cum aqua fiolas tres, coquis ad tertias.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 585: “tollis et mittis in olla rude et cooperis de coperculo testeo et linies in gyro de creta et in furno mittis, assas donec carbones fiant.”

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 139: “aut viti antique corticem frixam in aeream aut in ulla.”

¹¹¹ Ibid., 278: “mitis in ulla nova, friges super carvones...”

quite still. But should anyone cough, or speak in a loud voice, the fountain's water rapidly jumps forth and bubbles violently, so that one might think the still water had begun boiling (*ferveo*) like a burning (*succendo*) *olla*.¹¹² This is perhaps the most traditional of our later references. And finally, it appears multiple times in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*. All are examples similar to what we saw above in Ambrose. For example, commenting on human nature, Gregory notes "the burning (*succendo*) *olla* is the heart of man, boiling (*ferveo*) with the ardor of worldly cares and anxieties of desires."¹¹³

In short, the *olla* in this period functions much like we saw in the previous chapter. It primarily boiled food, and its ubiquity both in cooking and ecclesiastical texts indicates it had a widespread use. This use correlates, again, with what is found in the archaeological record, as the pot endures throughout the time period covered by this dissertation, and increases in distribution in the fifth century, becoming the standard cooking vessel throughout much of the peninsula.

The entries in the Latin Oribasius must give us pause, however. This is the one text where the *olla* is used in a manner that is far different from we are accustomed to. There have been other examples of the *olla* used for burning and combustion, but it is only in Oribasius where this occurs on a consistent basis, and the only time where the *olla* is paired with a *furnus*. I have speculated above on the connection between Ravenna

¹¹² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 8.32: "at ubi concrepans tussis emissa fuerit aut sermo clarior fortasse sonuerit, nescio qua vi statim aquae ibidem concitatae prosiliunt: os illud gurgitis ebullire videas graviter excitatum, ut putes aquam rigentem succensae ollae suscepisse fervorem."

¹¹³ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen (Turnhout, Brepols, 1985), 18.20. Accessed online: <http://clt.brepolis.net.flagship.luc.edu/llta>: "Olla namque succensa est cor humanum, saecularium curarum ardoribus, desideriorum que anxietatibus feruens."

and evidence of cooking tradition emerging from this city, focusing on words such as *frixoria*, *cucumella*, and *caccabellus*. Here we have textual examples of vessels used in new manners, another example of emerging or transforming cooking culture. Perhaps this transformation is a function of reduced access to material. Or a linguistic change, where *olla* simply is a stand-in for the word “vessel.” This would speak to the ubiquity of the *olla*, which the archaeological record bears out. In any event, we only see it in Ravenna. In all other sources the *olla* acts as it always had.

Conclusion

There is significant overlap between textual references to vessels and the archaeological record. The pattern that emerges is one of transformation in cooking practice. Elite cooking and the grand meals that involved multiple pots used in conjunction largely disappears. The pan wanes and, ultimately, vanishes from almost all sites, at least in ceramic form. Both the casserole and deep pot continue, with the casserole increasingly limited to certain sites, while the pot ultimately dominates the peninsula.

To use a food-related metaphor, if the pots are the meal, the texts are the spices that enhance the flavor. We have a rough understanding of cooking practice based on the vessels alone. Apicius provided information about elite dining. From Vinidarius we learn about changes in elite cooking in the fifth and sixth centuries, and how cooking developed in elite Gothic-Roman culture. Anthimus sheds light on the differences in cooking between the Mediterranean and the barbarians across the northern *limes*. But it is the authors in this chapter who provide the most information on the transformations in

cooking in late antique Italy. Traditional elite cooking was disappearing—well before the barbarian invasions—indicated both by the texts and the decline of complex assemblages. Yet vestiges of this elite cooking remained, though they were transformed, rendered simpler yet maintaining hints and reminders of the old aristocratic rituals of feasting. This legacy was bound to Christianity, as the bishops and aristocratic converts brought with them the language of feasting to a religion that eschewed grand display. Even monks, sworn to poverty, held on to the traditions of their elite forebears, marking ascetic Christianity with the customs of the old Roman elite. This transformation, in turn, may explain the collection of cookpots at Kaukana. This example of multi-stage cooking at a holy site is likely an example of older, Roman feasting traditions melding with newer Christian ones.

We also see the emergence of new cooking traditions. New words appear, occurring in texts produced in areas connected to the Mediterranean east and increasingly divorced from the old Roman seats of power. Ravenna stands out as a dynamic center of transformation in cooking practice, the result of a city oriented ever eastward. This transformation seems to begin in the Theodosian period. The assemblage at Ravenna, a mix of casseroles and pots, by the sixth century came resembles eastern assemblages far more than anything found in Italy. The cooking practice of elites, but not only elites, was transforming. Although the deep pot was, once again, the preferred cooking vessel of the day, this does not mean the cooking practice discussed at the beginning of this dissertation, the simplicity of Cato, was the same as it was at the end of our narrative. Indeed, the dietary developments discussed in the previous chapter indicate that cooking

practice in Late Antiquity yielded a healthier, more nutritious and meat-rich diet for many of the inhabitants of Italy. The developments between Cato and the arrival of the Ostrogoths and Byzantines indicate there was no linear narrative of cooking, but rather a variety of cooking cultures present in one peninsula for a period of several hundred years, transformed by the decline of an Empire's economic connectivity and arrival of new peoples.

CONCLUSION

One day, our visitors to the home in Kaukana concluded their meal, as they had many times before. The fire in the hearth was put out. Lamps were extinguished and set to the side. The cooking pots, the pan, and the casserole were carefully placed in one part of the room, one pot neatly stacked inside another. One day soon the feasters would return to clean, and cook, and eat, and worship together again. Perhaps a final libation was poured for the deceased, or one last prayer offered. And then our feasters departed. What they did not know, but we do, is that they would not come back. All things come to an end, including the convivial feasting at this site. The dust slowly crept back into the room, gradually covering the pots and the lamps, obscuring the hearth, and removing this room from the annals of history for almost a thousand and a half years.

The archaeological evidence for Kaukana is a haunting, powerful reminder of the humanity of the deceased and the people who visited the site. We have evidence of people who cared, who mourned, and who feasted in honor of a local saint or holy woman, a woman whose name was quickly forgotten and will never again be known. They celebrated by cleaning, by cooking, and by eating. The air filled with the smell of their feast, the crackling of the fire, and the boiling of the pots.

I opened the first chapter of this dissertation with a quotation from Cornelia Harcum regarding the ubiquity of the deep cooking pot. This vessel, she noted, was the earliest and most common of the Roman cooking vessels. I have argued that there was a

Republican past that esteemed the *olla*, though how dominant the vessel was before the turn of the millennium is beyond the scope of this dissertation. We end our examination of vessel words almost where we started, in a peninsula dominated by cooking pots. Cato's pastoral setting, imagined or no, is not present at our conclusion. Italy was in the throes of a war that would cause damage that endured for decades, even centuries. Byzantines killed Goths, Lombards killed Byzantines, and plague killed many others. But this does not mean that life ceased. Peasants were healthier than they had been in centuries. Elite identity transformed, as did the way they cooked and ate. Our feast at Kaukana is one of many reminders of how humanity endured even in this difficult time. Life, and food, and cooking, and community, persevered.

What lies between our chronological points is neither static nor linear. Our examination of texts and archaeology presents a significant amount of information, one that speaks to an incredible diversity of cooking traditions. As the empire grew so, too, did, did an elite diet, one marked by the use of multiple forms in conjunction for the preparation of complex meals. This diet did not exist throughout the entire peninsula, and was restricted to the aristocrats of urban environments and luxurious country villas. The poor, in the first and second century, had no one cooking tradition. Many such traditions existed in Italy at this time, indicative that the connectivity of the Principate was not enough to alter entirely local customs.

Casseroles were the vessel most commonly found throughout the peninsula, and are thus perhaps the most "Roman." Yet pans also had a special place of importance, especially in elite cooking, and were the vessel most affected by the social and economic

transformations in Italy. By the fourth century, there is a winnowing of ceramic forms and vocabulary for cooking pots. The pan gradually disappears, its role taken, to some extent, by the casserole. The elite manner of cooking wanes. Words for formerly elite vessels remain in the language, but now appear in new contexts, often sacral. The rounded pot, formerly the cooking vessel of Cato's Republic, returns to a position of primacy as the cultural and economic conditions of the peninsula transformed. Some of this is related to a decline in Mediterranean connectivity, and some is related to an economic downturn that made community-based cooking that relied on ovens, especially in cities, more difficult to accomplish. New vessel words and verbs appear in documents from Ravenna, indicative of a new emerging elite cooking tradition or traditions.

The information we glean from cooking and cooking change lies at the intersection of several key debates. The first is ethnicity. An important theme in the study of the barbarian identity is the idea of *Traditionskern*, the core tradition that bound and unified the tribes. This term was first introduced by Reinhard Wenskus in 1961 as a method of determining how barbarians perceived and understood their own identity. Some historians, such as Patrick Amory, are not convinced that Ostrogothic or Lombard "ethnicity" existed at all, arguing instead that names like "Ostrogoth" are no more than temporary constructs created by a political authority.

Was cooking part of this *Traditionskern*? If cooking changed following the Ostrogothic, Byzantine, or Lombard invasions, can diet therefore be seen as part of the "core tradition" of these newcomers? The answer lies between "yes" and "no." For the Ostrogoths, three sources stand at the crux of this: Vinidarius, Anthimus, and the fortress

of Monte Barro. Vinidarius hints that cooking at this time was adaptive. Certain vessels were disappearing, as were certain technologies, such as the oven, that made elite cooking a possibility. Vinidarius, a Romanized Goth, was writing about the endurance of feasting in the face of technological and social change. Here we see integration of barbarian customs with Roman traditions. Vinidarius is not that different from Apicius, but enough stands out to mark it as something new and distinct.

The archaeological evidence at Monte Barro, however, seems much more in keeping with the cooking practices laid out in Anthimus or, for that matter, the general developments in the Italian countryside at the time. This suggests that Vinidarius does not speak to the entirety of the Gothic diet, or identity. I believe that Vinidarius represents the public face of the Goths, such as Theoderic, who ruled from Ravenna an increasingly mixed kingdom of Romans and barbarians and stressed the adoption of Roman customs and ideals. Monte Barro, however, is the more private face of the Gothic elite, a site where older traditions could be maintained and ties to an older *Traditionskern* could be preserved.¹ Monte Barro and its *pietra ollare* cookpots offered a place where a Gothic identity could endure outside of Romanized world they had to conform to in order to rule.²

The second is the debate over how to view the greater economic and political events in Italy in late antiquity. Italy's external and internal connectivity destabilized

¹ See Pohl, "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity."

² My thoughts on the public (Roman) and private (Gothic) facets of Ostrogothic identity have been influenced by James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1990).

during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.³ The Vandal conquest of North Africa ended the grain shipments, or *annona*, to the city of Rome. The subsequent Gothic Wars, Justinianic Plague, and the arrival of the Lombards further weakened the peninsula. Archaeological evidence indicates that goods entering the peninsula decreased following the fifth and sixth centuries. This included not only the *annona*, which was a catastrophic loss for Rome, but also bulk pottery like African and Phocian Red Slip wares.⁴ In addition, with the decline of a central political authority – the ultimate facilitator of connectivity – the Italian peninsula became divided into various semi-isolated regions of trade and contact.⁵ And yet, as cooking practice became more uniform, people ate better.

How does our cooking evidence help with these debates? In short, it problematizes them. For each argument of simplification or cultural stagnation there is an equally powerful rebuttal. There is absolutely technological change, as Arthur asserts. Vessels are ruder and less sophisticated. Assemblages are rarely complex. Ovens almost disappear. Yet people ate a greater range of food. They grew taller. They lived longer. The transformation of cooking assemblages and simplification of forms does not mean

³ The debate over how fragmented Italy became after the empire is best (and humorously) summed up by Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Continuists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997): 157-76, who graphs the intellectual positions of the main proponents of the debate. It should be noted that Ward-Perkins’ own opinions regarding this debate (in the 1997 article he placed himself on the chart as a moderate) seem to have shifted rather drastically with the publication of his *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Newer entries include catastrophist J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman* and continuists Bowes and Gutteridge, “Rethinking the Later Roman Landscape.”

⁴ For the *annona*, see Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312-609*, trans. Antonia Nevill (New York: Routledge, 2000), 119-120.

⁵ Federico Marazzi, “The Destinies of the Late Antique Italies: Politico-economic Developments of the Sixth Century,” in *The Sixth Century. Production, Distribution and Demand*, ed. Richard Hodges and William Bowden (Boston: Brill, 1998), 119-159.

that the majority of the population experienced a decline in their quality of life. An examination of some sites even in the early years of the Empire reveals incredibly tumultuous histories, with little in the way of cooking tradition. Indeed, the assemblage at the site of Valesio transforms several times in a span of decades. It is unlikely that this inability to hold to a cooking tradition spoke to the economic fortune of the site's inhabitants.

To use cooking transformation to argue for decline is an argument only for elites, for they were the ones most visibly affected by the transformations we have seen in this dissertation. And yet, to assume that economic poverty was the only driving force behind these changes is foolhardy. Our letter from Paulinus, or the information from the *Rule of the Master*, indicates that aristocratic identity was being transformed in this period by religion. The pomp, grandeur, and decadence of the old aristocratic table did not mesh well with Christianity's moral standards. Many elites had adopted the new faith, and many left behind the trappings of wealth that once accompanied their status. Yet they brought vestiges of their background with them, and thus we see the absorption of elite cooking and dining customs by the church as those new bishops and abbots expressed authority, power, and identity in a manner was infused by a new Christian ethos yet maintained connections to older elite traditions. The arrival of the Byzantines stresses both continuity, as it is only at these sites where vessel forms like casseroles endure, and transformation, as it is in Ravenna that we have the greatest amount of evidence for newer cooking traditions. The word "transformation" is important here. Neither

continuity nor catastrophe adequately addresses what we see in this dissertation. Nothing is static. Few things disappear forever. Strands endure.

It is here, at the beginning of our understanding of these transformations, that I conclude this dissertation. Cooking is an essential part of human existence. A study of humble vessels and references to those vessels in texts reveals a great deal about their use. But these old pots and obscure references tell us so much more, providing information about the display of elite power and identity, the transformation of that identity in the face of economic, cultural, and religious factors, and the emergence of new Italian traditions in the wake the Roman Empire's collapse. Italy was developing its own foodways, but many of those foodways were grounded in the pan-Mediterranean world that it had once connected. Our feasters likely did not know it, but their final seaside meal was bound together and infused with not just their Christian faith, but by cooking customs – and vessels! – that had endured for hundreds of years.

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VITA

Andrew Donnelly is interested in the formation of identities in the Late Antique world, especially Italy. He realized that food is an excellent source of evidence for this, and focused on an understudied aspect of food history, cooking. He has published a portion of this work as “Cooking Pots in Ancient and Late Antique Cookbooks” in the collection *Cooking, Cuisine and Culture*, Oxbow, 2015. He is currently under contract to produce an edited volume with Oxford University Press entitled *Fonds of Food: Sauces and Identity in the Western World*, and is working on another article on faunal evidence for monastic vegetarianism for Adam Shprintzen’s *The Vegetarian’s Dilemma*, to be published by the University of Arkansas Press.

Donnelly has graduate degrees in history and classical archaeology. He has participated on excavations in Italy (Sicily, Tuscany, and Ostia Antica), England, and Portugal. He is currently working on a publication of the cooking and coarse wares from the AAI/DAR excavation of a Constantinian basilica in Ostia. Donnelly also maintains a relationship with Stanford University’s Marzamemi Cultural Heritage Project, an excavation of a sixth-century Byzantine wreck, where he serves as historian and ceramicist. He recently co-wrote an article for this project, “Revisiting the Origin and Destination of the Late Antique Marzamemi ‘Church Wreck’ Cargo,” to be published in the proceedings of the 11th ASMOSIA conference.

He has presented at numerous conferences. He held a teaching assistantship at Tufts University (2002-3), and a teaching assistantship (2004-2007), teaching fellowship

(2007-2008), advanced doctoral fellowship (2008-2009), and Arthur J. Schmitt Foundation fellowship (2009-2010) while at Loyola. In the summer of 2007 he attended the Howard Comfort, FAAR '29, Summer Program in Roman Pottery at the American Academy in Rome. Donnelly has taught at a number of courses at several universities, including Loyola, Quincy College, and Harvard University, with distinction.