

**Wine, Roman Imports, and Culture Contact in
Late Iron Age Europe**

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Declaration

I, Charles Barnett, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

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Summary

Alcohol consumption habits provide students of history, archaeology, and anthropology with a medium that allows them to investigate a range of cultural and social phenomena. This thesis investigates the alcohol consumption habits of the inhabitants of Late Iron Age northern and western Europe, focusing on three case studies that ask questions about the adoption and rejection of Mediterranean wine and associated accoutrements by indigenous groups. Its aims and approach draw upon themes inherent in Late Iron Age studies, including culture contact between temperate European groups and Mediterranean civilizations, the increase of sociopolitical complexity in certain areas during this period, and feasting and consumption habits. Archaeological and anthropological models relevant to the selective adoption of foreign influences and material culture, particularly alcohol consumption habits, that have been developed over the past twenty-five years are discussed and utilized as a basis for the research undertaken. The conclusions reached suggest that the selective adoption and rejection of wine and Mediterranean feasting gear among the groups identified here was closely linked to local political economies and existing modes of social discourse.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The research undertaken for this thesis aimed to explore the selective nature of the adoption of Mediterranean influences by Late Iron Age groups in temperate Europe, and the focus has inevitably been on wine and associated feasting gear due to the fact that these items make up the vast majority of southern imports into northern and western Europe in the archaeological record from this period. The aim was to determine why certain indigenous groups in temperate Europe did not adopt wine and associated Roman feasting gear, while others did. The scope of the project was limited to three case studies from the Late Iron Age where literary and archaeological evidence appeared to indicate that there was a rejection of wine consumption by indigenous groups.

Literary and archaeological evidence reveal that by the Late Iron Age wine consumption was widespread in Gaul, while certain parts of central Europe and southern Britain had also become accustomed to the beverage. The significance of the Roman wine trade in this period is demonstrated by the many thousands of Italian amphorae sherds found within Late Iron Age contexts in central and western Europe, and the scholarship on this phenomenon is vast.¹ Greco-Roman literary sources and archaeological evidence generally

¹ For example, see A. Tchernia, "Italian Wine in Gaul at the End of the Republic", in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins & C. R. Whittaker, (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983), pp. 92-5; P. S. Wells, *Farms, Villages, and Cities: Commerce and Urban Origins in Late Prehistoric Europe*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 153; A. Fitzpatrick, "The Distribution of Dressel 1 Amphorae in North-West Europe", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4(3), (1985), pp. 305-19; D.P. S. Peacock, & D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*, (London: Longman, 1986); D. F. Williams, "The Impact of the Roman Amphora Trade on pre-Roman Britain", in T. C. Champion (eds.), *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*, (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 145-51; E. Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine and its Associated Accoutrements in Later Iron Age Britain*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 325 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001); M. E. Loughton, "The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22, (2003), p. 189ff; M. Pitts, "Pots and Pits: Drinking and Deposition in Late Iron Age South-East Britain", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(2), (2005), pp. 144ff; M. E. Loughton, "Getting Smashed: The

point to inhabitants of Late Iron Age Europe being largely indiscriminate in their selection and adoption of different types of alcoholic beverages that were available.² However, there are several instances where literary sources suggest certain groups consciously resisted the adoption of wine consumption. Caesar claims that the Belgian Nervii and Germanic Suebi forbade the importation of wine and other luxuries, which they thought would slacken their courage and cause effeminacy.³ Tacitus mentions that the Germani closest to the Rhine drank wine, implying those in the interior of Germania did not.⁴ Cassius Dio relates a speech given by the British Icenian queen Boudica in which she disparages the Romans for requiring wine to stop them from perishing,⁵ and derided the drinking of wine as unmanly;⁶ this has been interpreted as indicating that the Iceni were not wine drinkers.⁷ The archaeological evidence appears to agree with these statements. There is an absence of amphorae, the type of vessels used to transport wine, and other Mediterranean vessels related to the consumption of wine, in the areas associated with the Nervii (central Belgium) and Iceni (northern East Anglia) during the Late Iron Age, suggesting wine was not consumed by these groups.⁸ This is in marked contrast to other areas in Gaul, central Europe, and southern Britain, where wine amphorae

Deposition of Amphorae and the Drinking of Wine in Gaul during the Late Iron Age”, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 28(1), (2009), pp. 78-85.

² See p. 20, n. 2.

³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.15.4 (Nervii), 4.2.6 (Suebi).

⁴ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1.

⁵ Dio. 62.5.5.

⁶ Dio. 62.6.4.

⁷ See Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, p. 81; P. R. Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt Against Rome*, 2nd ed., (Princes Risborough: Shire Archaeology, 2004), p. 6; M. Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 65.

⁸ On Nervii see Fitzpatrick, “The Distribution of Dressel 1”, pp. 311-12; Peacock, & Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*, p. 26, fig. 8; B. Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, (London: Batsford, 1988), pp. 178-9; C. Haselgrove, “Roman Impact on Rural Settlement and Society in Southern Picardy”, in N. Roymans (eds.), *From the Sword to the Plough: Three Studies on the Earliest Romanization of Northern Gaul*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 168-9, fig. 19; Loughton, “The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France”, p. 189, fig. 7. On Iceni, see Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, pp. 43-4, 81, figs. 3-4; J. A. Davies, *The Land of Boudica: Prehistoric and Roman Norfolk*, (Oxford: Heritage, 2008), p. 127.

are found in significant quantities, as noted above. The fact that the literary and archaeological evidence agree so well appears to suggest that the apparent conscious rejection of wine consumption by these groups, indicated through the statements of Caesar and Dio, were real phenomena in the Late Iron Age. Wine amphorae are also absent from the areas inhabited by the ancient Germani (Germany and southern Scandinavia), suggesting that Caesar and Tacitus' comments on a lack of wine among the Germani reflect historical reality. However, Roman wine-drinking vessels are found in these regions.⁹ There has been much debate as to whether this indicates the Germani were consuming wine, possibly imported in barrels, or not.¹⁰

The main aim of this thesis is to explore these case studies in order to analyze the selective adoption and rejection of wine and Roman feasting equipment in Late Iron Age Europe, and formulate hypotheses concerning their consumption habits. This approach requires consideration of a wide assemblage of data, including literary and archaeological evidence relating to consumption habits, sociopolitical organization, and cross-cultural influences among the identified groups. The contrasting conclusions found in each chapter highlight the need for such a broad and amenable approach. Chapter Two outlines drinking habits in antiquity and analyzes two case studies, from research undertaken by M. Dietler and D. Dzino, relating to the selective adoption and rejection of wine and Mediterranean feasting gear by indigenous groups in Iron Age Europe. These case studies have been particularly influential in the development of the themes and approach of this thesis, and require detailed explanation beyond the scope of the literature review. Chapter Three investigates the literary and archaeological evidence relating to the Nervii and other groups in northern Belgic Gaul

⁹ Fitzpatrick, "The Distribution of Dressel 1", pp. 311-12; Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, pp. 178-9; P. S. Wells, "Beyond the Frontier in Europe: Roman Imports, Complex Ornaments, and the formation of New Politics", in P. S. Wells, (eds.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 49, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013), p. 46.

¹⁰ See p. 81ff.

(*Belgica*), demonstrating the importance that levels of sociopolitical organization can have in the importation of foreign luxury goods by drawing regional comparisons of levels of centralization and complexity. The archaeological record reveals that the Iceni had a unique identity, in the context of Late Iron Age Britain, and Chapter Four highlights that the maintenance of existing foodways in northern East Anglia (including beer consumption and a lack of wine) was part of a broader resistance to outside influences. The ambiguous nature of the evidence relating to the Suebi that Caesar described (as opposed to the Suebi described by later authors), and the presence of Mediterranean feasting gear, but not wine amphorae, in Germania, means that Chapter Five deals more broadly with literary and archaeological evidence for the alcohol consumption and feasting habits of the Germani in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Early Roman Iron Age. It also engages in a debate within modern scholarship as to whether the presence of Roman feasting vessels in Germania indicates that Germanic groups were imitating Roman wine drinking rituals. While the overall purpose of this project is to investigate cases of the selective adoption of wine and associated feasting gear, each chapter can stand alone due to the unique approaches to the evidence, and nature of the data sets. Chapters Three and Four look for proxies of certain behaviors that might provide a framework of meaning in the literary and archaeological evidence for a lack of wine amongst the Nervii and Iceni. Chapter Five, while also investigating potential indications of a rejection of wine, deals more directly with evidence for consumption of alcoholic beverages in Germania, due to the nature of the available evidence.

The multi-disciplinary approach outlined above resembles that of many studies in the field over the past thirty years. Scholarship on the Late Iron Age in temperate Europe has in recent years become increasingly tied to the study of the Mediterranean world. This is due to increasing interest among scholars of both Iron Age Archaeology and Classical Studies into systems at work in societies of the past and the study of trade and exchange between these

two areas.¹¹ A question being put forward today by scholars researching the European Iron Age is, how can we understand the relationship between the two categories of evidence that shed light on this period? Between the depictions of so-called ‘barbarian’ peoples we have from Greco-Roman writers and the picture of their social and cultural environment that we interpret through the archaeological record.¹² Does either field boast more authority in the study of ancient peoples? Is it possible to confirm statements and descriptions of ancient peoples from literary sources with our account of them from archaeological evidence? This thesis project asks these same questions in its investigation of literary descriptions about the alcohol consumption habits of several groups inhabiting Late Iron Age Europe.

In its discussion on the adoption and rejection of wine and Mediterranean drinking vessels, this research covers several topics of particular interest to researchers investigating the European Iron Age, such as colonial encounters, cross-cultural exchange, and the link between contact with Rome and the development of sociopolitical organization among small-scale societies.¹³ Using the consumption of Italian wine as a case study, the arguments of this project agree with the general consensus among scholars that sees the Late Iron Age in Europe as a series of interactive societies that were ever changing. They shared broad

¹¹ Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, p. 1.

¹² L. Bonfante, “Classical and Barbarian”, in L. Bonfante (eds.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 2.

¹³ For example M. Rowlands, M. Larsen, & K. Kristiansen, (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*; L. Bonfante (eds.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); M. Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power: The Transformation of Iron Age Societies in Northeast Gaul*, Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 21, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014). See particularly the studies of M. Dietler from the past twenty-five years, largely summarized in his recent work, M. Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2010).

similarities, and yet exhibited marked local differences in material culture and sociopolitical organization.¹⁴

Literature Review

To provide a background to scholarship related to this topic and the identified case studies, this section will include a literature review of relevant works. This thesis draws upon a variety of themes given significant attention in literature relating to Late Iron Age Europe over the past hundred years, and particularly since the 1980s, including Greco-Roman depictions of the so-called ‘barbarians’, alcohol consumption habits in antiquity, and cross-cultural interactions. It also employs a vast array of scholarship relating to local and national archaeologies, relevant to each particular case study. The most significant items for this topic will be outlined below in thematic order.

Edward Said’s classic work, *Orientalism*, initiated scholarly interest and debate on the portrayal of foreigners in Western literature, particularly within scholarship concerning Classical texts.¹⁵ Before the 1980s, a number of scholars had gathered examples of negative depictions of foreigners in Greco-Roman literature, though they provided little analysis or discussion on the mentalities behind these constructions.¹⁶ François Hartog brought attention to methods of depicting the ‘Other’ in Classical literature with his landmark book, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, where he demonstrated, with a post-structuralist analysis, that Herodotus’ depictions of the Scythians were in many ways meant to reflect the antithesis of the Greek way of life.¹⁷ Following from this discussion, the concept of the ‘barbarian’ as developing in

¹⁴ T. Thurston, “Unity and Diversity in the European Iron Age: Out of the Mists, Some Clarity?” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17, (2009), p. 347.

¹⁵ E. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Random House, 1978).

¹⁶ For example A. N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*, (London: Duckworth, 1979).

¹⁷ F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. J. Lloyd, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 10-11.

fifth century Athenian ideology as a result of a Hellenic identity evolving in the post-Persian Wars era, became a concept entrenched in scholarship on Greco-Roman literature.¹⁸

A major emphasis has since been put on analysis of Greco-Roman constructions of the barbarian in scholarship. In 2004, B. Isaac argued that imperialism had been the primary factor in the formation of a dichotomy between Greeks and Romans and barbarians in Greco-Roman literature.¹⁹ Recent discussion has leaned towards viewing Greco-Roman constructions of the barbarian as having far more mixed motivations. Many scholars have emphasized the way in which Roman authors constructed depictions of foreigners in order to reflectively critique their own society.²⁰ Scholarship has also demonstrated that political agendas were often behind depictions of barbarians and barbarian societies, as we see in the case of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.²¹ E. Gruen recently provided a reassessment of Greco-Roman constructions of the barbarian, offering an alternative to the view that the framing of

¹⁸ E. Hall, *The Invention of the Barbarian: Greek Self-definition through Tragedy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 5-6; J. M. Hall, *Hellenicity*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 172-89; F. Lissarrague, "The Athenian Image of the Foreigner", trans. A. Nevill, in T. Harrison (eds.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), p. 117; Bonfante, "Classical and Barbarian", p. 7.

¹⁹ B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 39-44, 297, 304-23.

²⁰ For example E. O'Gorman, "No Place like Rome: Identity and Difference in the *Germania* of Tacitus", *Ramus* 22(2), (1993), particularly pp. 135, 140, 146; J. B Rives, *Tacitus: Germania*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 51-6; E. Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians: Enemy Speeches in Roman Historiography*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), pp. 164-73.

²¹ S. B. Dunham, "Caesar's perception of Gallic social structure", in B. Arnold & D. Blair Gibson, *Celtic Chieftain, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 110-15; T. P. Wiseman, "The Publication of *De Bello Gallico*", in K. Welch & A. Powell, *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, (London: Duckworth, 1998), pp. 3-4; C. Torigian, "The λόγος of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* Especially as Revealed in its First Five Chapters", in K. Welch & A. Powell, *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter*, (London: Duckworth, 1998), pp. 48-9; C. B. Krebs, "'Imaginary Geography' in Caesar's 'Bellum Gallicum'", *The American Journal of Philology*, 127, (2006), pp. 119-32; H. Schadee, "Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe: Inquiry, Contact and Corruption in *De Bello Gallico*", *The Classical Quarterly* 58, (2008), pp. 163-5; C. B. Krebs, "Borealism: Caesar, Seneca, Tacitus and the Roman discourse about the Germanic North", in E. S. Gruen, (ed.) *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), pp. 202-21.

self-identity required a division between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, and suggested that barbarians were not necessarily objects of abuse and slander in Greco-Roman literature.²² Developments in the analysis of Greco-Roman constructions of the barbarian are important for this project due to its investigation into the veracity of statements relating to the selective adoption of Roman influences by Late Iron Age groups, who were identified as barbarians, and because the questions posed here ultimately developed out of these statements.

Habits relating to the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Iron Age societies have recently received significant attention in scholarship. Dietler has written over the past twenty-five years about the importance of alcohol in small-scale societies, using anthropological models and undertaking comparative studies to investigate the importance of feasting in Iron Age Europe. His work focuses on the Early Iron Age (800-450 BCE), and discusses the sociopolitical and economic motivations behind the selective adoption of Mediterranean wine and its associated accoutrements among indigenous groups in the Lower Rhône basin and Western Hallstatt regions.²³ Dietler’s investigations into colonial interactions and ‘cultural entanglement’ in Early Iron Age Europe led him to critique established models of cultural interaction, including the ‘Hellenization/Romanization’ and ‘World-System/Core-periphery’ models.²⁴ B. Arnold has analyzed the importance of drinking vessels in relation to Iron Age feasting and legitimation of power through analysis of material culture and ancient literary sources. However, Arnold employs archaeological evidence from the Late Hallstatt (8th-5th

²² E. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 3, 353.

²³ M. Dietler, “Greeks, Etruscans, and Thirsty Barbarians: Early Iron Age Interaction in the Rhône Basin of France”, in T. C. Champion (eds.), *Centre and Periphery: Comparative studies in archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 127-41; M. Dietler, “Driven by Drink: the Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France”, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9, (1990), pp. 352-406. A detailed discussion of one of Dietler’s case studies will be included in Chapter Two, p. 24ff.

²⁴ M. Dietler, “Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter”, in J. G. Cusick (eds.) *Studies in Culture Contact*, (Carbondale: Centre for Archaeological Investigations Press, University of Southern Illinois, 1998), pp. 295-300; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, pp. 45-50.

centuries BCE) and Early La Tène periods (6th-5th centuries BCE), and literary evidence relating to groups from the Late La Tène period (150-50 BCE).²⁵ It is questionable how relevant these later literary sources are with regards to understanding the feasting behaviors of the Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods. This project draws upon the work of Dietler and Arnold on alcohol consumption habits and cultural interaction, though focuses on the Later Iron Age, which has received less attention from the anthropologically inclined prehistoric archaeologists studying this area.

M. Nelson added greatly to discourse on ancient habits relating to alcohol consumption in his monumental work on representations of beer as a barbarian beverage in Greco-Roman literature, based upon research from his PhD Thesis and previous articles.²⁶ Nelson discusses evidence for a dichotomy in the drinking habits of the inhabitants of temperate Europe and those in the Mediterranean in antiquity.²⁷ He draws primarily on literary evidence, though makes some mention of epigraphic and archaeological material relating to the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages.²⁸ Dzino has discussed alcohol consumption habits in ancient Illyricum. His work focuses on social and cultural prejudices relating to alcohol consumption habits in Greco-Roman literature,²⁹ as well as the

²⁵ B. Arnold, "Drinking the Feast: Alcohol and the Legitimation of Power in Celtic Europe", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9(1), (1999), pp. 72-5.

²⁶ M. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, PhD Thesis, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2001); M. Nelson, "The Cultural Construction of Beer among Greeks and Romans", *Syllecta Classica* 14, (2003), pp. 101-120; M. Nelson, "On a Beautiful Girl and Some Good Barley Beer", *Etudes Celtiques* 35, (2003), pp. 257-59; Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*.

²⁷ Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 38-44. For his most recent discussion on the topic, including analysis of relevant modern literature, see M. Nelson, "The Geography of Beer in Europe from 1000 BC to AD 1000", in M. Patterson & N. Hoalst-Pullen, (eds.), *The Geography of Beer: Regions, Environment, and Societies*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), pp. 9-11.

²⁸ Nelson's work is discussed further in Chapter 2, p. 19ff.

²⁹ D. Dzino, "Sabaiarius: Beer, Wine and Ammianus Marcellinus", in W. Mayer & S. Trzcionka (eds.), *Feast, Fast or Famine: Food and Drink in Byzantium*, (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2005), see especially pp. 57-8, 65-8.

importance of such habits in construction of ethnic identities.³⁰ His work has included an investigation into the rejection of wine by the Delmatae of central Dalmatia during the Late Iron Age, which has directly influenced the approach of this thesis and will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

The literature mentioned above has discussed alcohol consumption habits in antiquity, feasting and the selective adoption of Mediterranean artifacts relating to wine in Early Iron Age contexts, and the rejection of wine in central Dalmatia in the Late Iron Age. This project draws upon the themes and methodologies developed in these works, looking at alcohol consumption habits and the selective adoption or rejection of Mediterranean wine and associated feasting gear, and applies them to several case studies in the Late Iron Age that have been mentioned by several scholars in passing, though have yet to be investigated.³¹ An investigation into these case studies required an extensive review of literature relating to archaeological evidence relevant to each group (the Nervii, Iceni, and Suebi/Germani).

Literature relating to archaeological evidence from Late Iron Age Belgica has developed little over the past twenty years. Research by R. Hachmann et al. and C. Hawkes in the mid twentieth century discussed regional variations in Belgica in terms of ethnic and cultural identity through consideration of archaeological, literary, and linguistic evidence.³² N. Roymans' work, taking an anthropological approach to the literary and archaeological evidence, remains the benchmark in scholarship on Late Iron Age Belgic society.³³ M.

³⁰ D. Dzino, "Delmati, Vino i Formiranje Etničkog Identiteta u Prerimskom Iliriku" *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 99, (2006), see summary in English p. 80.

³¹ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381; Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 55, 79; Dzino, "Delmati", p. 76.

³² R. Hachmann, G. Kossack, & H. Kuhn, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1962), pp. 127-8; C. Hawkes, "New Thoughts on the Belgae", *Antiquity* 42, (1968), pp. 6-9; R. Hachmann, "The Problem of the *Belgae* Seen from the Continent", *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 13, (London: University of London, Institute of Archaeology, 1976), pp. 123-5.

³³ N. Roymans, "The North Belgic tribes in the 1st century B.C.", in R. Brandt & J. Slofstra (eds.), *Roman and Native in the Low Countries: Spheres of Interaction*, British Archaeological Reports: International Series 184,

Fernández-Götz's recent work on transformations in Iron Age northern Gallic society focuses on the Middle Rhine-Moselle region, though has some helpful passages relevant to Belgica,³⁴ and is useful in its assessment of Gallic society in general.³⁵

A substantial account of Iron Age northern East Anglia, by R. Clarke, had been published as early as 1939.³⁶ Following D. Allen's systematic study of Icenian coins,³⁷ Iron Age studies in this region expanded in the 1980s and 90s. Fieldwork and research by the late T. Gregory,³⁸ and the beginning of J. Davies' contributions,³⁹ were particularly influential to this expansion. Following a volume edited by Davies and T. Williamson in 1999, it became apparent that a distinct identity existed in the 'Land of the Iceni', compared to other regions in Britain. This was identifiable in the indigenous material culture of northern East Anglia,⁴⁰ with its distinctive metal items,⁴¹ primitive pottery,⁴² and settlement patterns.⁴³ Much

(Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1983), pp. 52-5; N. Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul: An Anthropological Perspective*, (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 14-44.

³⁴ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 47, 72, 143-59, 204, 210-13, 217.

³⁵ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 41-2, 52-9, 66.

³⁶ R. R. Clarke, "The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk", *Archaeological Journal* 96, (1939), see especially p. 14ff.

³⁷ D. F. Allens, "The Coins of the Iceni", *Britannia* 1, (1970).

³⁸ For example T. Gregory, & D. Gurney, *Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 30, (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, 1986); T. Gregory, *Excavations in Thetford, 1980-1982: Fisons Way*, East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 53, (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, 1992).

³⁹ J. A. Davies, et al., *The Iron Age Forts of Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 54 (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, 1992); J. A. Davies, "Where the Eagles Dare: The Iron Age of Norfolk", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 62, (1996), pp. 63-92. See chapters in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999).

⁴⁰ J. A. Davies & T. Williamson, "Studying the Iron Age", in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), p. 8.

⁴¹ J. A. Davies, "Patterns, Power and Political Progress", in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), pp. 38-9; A. Chadburn, "Tasking the Iron Age: The Iceni and Minting", in J. Davies & T.

subsequent research has investigated the nature and extent of the uniqueness of material culture in northern East Anglia within a regional context.⁴⁴ S. Ralph's research on feasting in the Late Iron Age has emphasized contrasts in consumption habits and methods of social discourse and manifestation of wealth in northern and southern East Anglia, and has been indispensable to this thesis.⁴⁵

The subject of Roman imports has been prolific in literature on Iron Age Germania since H. J. Eggers' comprehensive analysis of Roman goods in northern Europe, in which he sought to shed light on Roman-Germanic exchange and create a key to absolute chronology.⁴⁶ Developments during the latter twentieth and early twenty-first centuries sought to build upon Eggers' chronology, enhance his catalogue, and identify mechanisms by which goods were

Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), pp. 162-3.

⁴² S. Percival, "Iron Age Pottery in Norfolk", in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), p. 182.

⁴³ T. Ashwin, "Studying Iron Age Settlement in Norfolk", in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), pp. 119, 122; J. D. Hill, "Settlement, Landscape and Regionality: Norfolk and Suffolk in the Pre-Roman Iron Age of Britain and Beyond", in J. Davies & T. Williamson (eds.), *Land of the Iceni: The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia*, (Norwich: The University of East Anglia – Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1999), pp. 186-95.

⁴⁴ For example N. C. G. Hutcheson, *Later Iron Age Norfolk: Metalwork, Landscape and Society*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 361, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), pp. 12-22; S. Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain: A Ceramic Approach", in A. Gibson (eds.), *Prehistoric Pottery: Some Recent Research*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series S1509 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), pp. 105-12; S. Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity in Later Iron Age East Anglia*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 451, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), see especially pp. 57-8, 109; J. A. Davies, "Ten Years After: The Land of the Iceni in 2010", in J. A. Davies (eds.), *The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia: New Work in the Land of the Iceni*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 549, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵ Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain", pp. 105-12; Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, pp. 57-8, 109.

⁴⁶ H. J. Eggers, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*, (Hamburg: Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, 1951), p. 11.

exchanged between the Empire and Germania.⁴⁷ In a recent volume on Roman imports beyond the frontier, edited by P. Wells, several authors have challenged the traditional view that Roman vessels preserved their original meaning when exported outside the Empire, and that Roman practices and influences came with them.⁴⁸

Methodology

This section discusses approaches to the interpretation of literary and archaeological evidence that will be employed in the following chapters, and outlines the main methodological frameworks this project works within. Study of protohistoric periods, such as the European Iron Age, can be approached through archaeological, textual and linguistic evidence. Until recently, Greco-Roman authors' descriptions of the inhabitants of Late Iron Age temperate Europe, whom they referred to as 'barbarians', were largely privileged over other sources and archaeological evidence was often made to conform to templates created by the classical texts.⁴⁹ Since the 1980s, new approaches to analysis and interpretation of textual

⁴⁷ J. Kunow, *Der römische Import in der Germania libera bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*, Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 21, (Neumünster: K. Wachholtz, 1983), pp. 15-7, 28-9, 41; U. Lund Hansen, *Römischer Import im Norden*, Nordiske Fortidsminder 10, (København: Det Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 1987), pp. 36, 161-3; S. Berke, *Römische Bronzegefäße und Terra Sigillata in der Germania Libera*, Boreas: Beiheft 7, (Münster: Archäologisches Seminar der Universität Münster, 1990), pp. 2, 10-29; M. Erdrich, *Rom und die Barbaren*, Römisch-germanische Forschungen 58, (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 2001), pp. 2, 71-2; J. Jensen, *Danmarks Oldtid*, (København: Gyldendal, 2003), pp. 340-58; cited from T. Grane, *The Roman Empire and Southern Scandinavia*, PhD Thesis, (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2007), pp. 137-51.

⁴⁸ F. Hunter, "The Lives of Roman Objects Beyond the Frontier", in P. S. Wells, (eds.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 49, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013), p. 17; T. Grane, "Roman Imports in Scandinavia: Their Purpose and Meaning?", in P. S. Wells, (eds.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 49, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013), p. 30; P. S. Wells, "Roman Imports in a Larger Context: Some questions for Future Research", in P. S. Wells, (eds.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 49, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013), p. 122.

⁴⁹ S. Dunham, "Greek and Roman Descriptions of Iron-Age Europe", in *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, (1989), p. 265.

and archaeological evidence have largely turned this situation on its head.⁵⁰ The following chapters draw upon both types of evidence to study the alcohol consumption habits of the identified groups.

As mentioned in the previous section, for the past thirty years, depictions of the barbarian in Greco-Roman literature have become a major subject of discussion in Classical Studies. This has largely been due to the increasing influence of social anthropology and also of structuralism and post-structuralism.⁵¹ Structuralist and post-structuralist approaches towards the study of classical texts have led scholars to ask questions about how Greeks and Romans understood and represented the customs and beliefs of so-called ‘barbarian’ peoples. Greco-Roman writers evaluated other cultures according to preconceptions that originated in the standards and customs of their own culture, and their works reflected the cultural consciousness of the social elite who wrote most of the literature.⁵² This investigation examines literary depictions of the alcohol consumption habits of several Late Iron Age groups with a post-structuralist approach in order to critically analyze the meaning behind these representations. Such an approach requires a reading of the relevant sources that is alert to the ethnographic and political framework within which they were composed.

The development of processualism and post-processualism has led to archaeologists asking questions concerning the contextualizing of local developments within local frameworks,⁵³ and about economic and social aspects of consumption and feasting.⁵⁴

Investigation into the alcohol consumption habits and the selective adoption of Mediterranean

⁵⁰ Thurston, “Unity and Diversity”, p. 354.

⁵¹ T. Harrison, “General Introduction”, in T. Harrison (eds.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 13.

⁵² P. S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 100; P. S. Wells, *Beyond Celts, Germans, and Scythians*, (London: Duckworth, 2001), p. 108.

⁵³ P. J. Ucko, “Introduction: Archaeological Interpretation in a World Context”, in P. J. Ucko, *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 20-1.

⁵⁴ Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, p. 33.

influences among groups in Late Iron Age temperate Europe requires comparative analyses of regional contrasts and variations in consumption habits and social practices to determine what factors influenced selection. This project takes a post-processualist perspective towards human agency in its interpretation of the intercultural adoption of objects and practices as a process of conscious decision-making by individuals and social groups, rather than taking place at the level of cultures or abstract structures (as suggested by Dietler).⁵⁵ An investigation into the sociopolitical and economic organization of the groups being examined is necessary with this approach.

In Late Iron Age Europe a multitude of societies with varied levels of centralization and social hierarchies coexisted,⁵⁶ and thus regional studies of sociopolitical systems are important when interpreting local organizational frameworks. The term *heterarchy* is frequently used to describe sociopolitical systems where a number of institutions, groups, or individuals ('Big-Men') share power and authority equally and independently within a unified organizational structure.⁵⁷ This framework has been used in recent years to describe certain Iron Age communities, and will be applied in following chapters.⁵⁸ Interpreting sociopolitical organization requires a focus on social relations and on how power and authority are maintained by individuals and institutions within a group. The social organization of a society is tied to both internal politics and intercommunity relations, and in societies with as low levels of complexity as some of those under investigation here, political subsystems are

⁵⁵ Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement", p. 299.

⁵⁶ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 218.

⁵⁷ Societies in which power and authority were shared and negotiated horizontally by groups linked in sociopolitical systems through adoptive kinship and clientage, C. L. Crumley, "Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies", in R. M. Ehrenreich & J. E. Levy, (eds.), *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies* (Washington DC: American Anthropological Association, 1995), p. 3. The term 'Big-man' was coined by M. D. Sahlins in the 1960s, M. D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5.3, (1963), p. 288.

⁵⁸ Thurston, "Unity and Diversity", p. 360.

tightly interwoven with social, economic, and religious spheres.⁵⁹ Measuring levels of sociopolitical complexity includes establishing the dominant cultural elements of a society and existing methods in social discourse. Criteria to be tested to determine such levels include interpreting political organization (are central authorities and specialized bureaucratic apparatuses functioning?), social organization (is there evidence for social stratification?), settlement patterns (is there evidence for any settlement hierarchy or functional diversity?), and economic organization (determining degrees of craft specialization, urbanization, regional specialization, external trade, and development of a monetary market).⁶⁰ These factors can give some indication of the type of political economies existing in the societies under investigation, and the political logic of consumption within those societies.⁶¹

A. Appadurai has argued that demand is never an automatic response to the availability of goods, and that explanations for the adoption of foreign influences should be understood within the logic of the political economy of particular societies,⁶² and Dietler has maintained that this includes the adoption of alcoholic beverages.⁶³ As Dietler notes, consumption is culturally specific, and demand for goods is always socially constructed.⁶⁴ The importance of foreign objects is not in what they represent in the society from which they originated, but for their cultural meaning and social use in the context of consumption among those who adopted them.⁶⁵ Thus, the adoption and rejection of foreign goods needs to be understood in terms of local cultural practices and modes of social discourse. This again highlights the importance of undertaking regional studies and comparative analyses in the

⁵⁹ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Roymans, "The North Belgic Tribes", pp. 44-5.

⁶¹ A. Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in A. Appadurai, (eds.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 29-31; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 203.

⁶² Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value", pp. 29-31.

⁶³ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381.

⁶⁴ Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement", p. 300.

⁶⁵ Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement", p. 299.

material culture of different areas, while being alert to the range of possible organic and dynamic attitudes towards foreign imports, from positive desire to conscious rejection.⁶⁶

The outcomes of this project highlight some of the impracticalities of certain theoretical and methodological frameworks that scholars have utilized when working within the area of culture contact and colonialism in Iron Age contexts. The World-System/Core-Periphery model can be overly simplifying and mask important socioeconomic circumstances and processes in indigenous ‘peripheral’ societies. In its explanation of the development of secondary centres in peripheral areas through contact with a core region, the core-periphery model tends to ignore areas that do not fit into the presumed network of dependent relations.⁶⁷ Agency in this model is usually confined to the ‘core’ societies, with the peripheries simply reacting.⁶⁸ This presumption neglects local choice and resistance, the multitude of local experiences and attitudes, and the importance of the political economy in ‘peripheral’ areas. The conclusions of this thesis see these factors as highly significant in terms of cultural entanglement and the adoption of foreign influences. In its emphasis on exploring the role of indigenous agency and situating local histories within wider contexts, this project adopts the broad perspectives of the historical anthropology of colonialism and postcolonial studies. This is particularly true in terms of postcolonial attitudes towards cultural exchange in colonial contexts, which emphasize the multitude of attitudes towards the creative, sometimes subversive, appropriation and domestication of alien influences by indigenous groups.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ S. Willis, “Roman Imports into Late Iron Age British Societies: Towards a Critique of Existing Models”, in S. Cottam et al., (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), p. 144.

⁶⁷ Dietler, “Greeks, Etruscans, and Thirsty Barbarians”, p. 127.

⁶⁸ Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, p. 49.

⁶⁹ Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, pp. 50-1.

Conclusion

This Chapter has sought to introduce the themes and goals of this thesis, providing a background to relevant scholarship and an outline of the methodological frameworks employed within. The main aim here is to analyze the selective adoption and rejection of wine and Mediterranean feasting gear among the Nervii, Icenii, and Suebi, as well as the Germani more broadly, during the Late Iron Age. The approach to this task includes assessing a broad assemblage of data relevant to each case study, including evidence for consumption habits, sociopolitical organization, and reception of foreign influences. This project fits within recent scholarship on alcohol consumption habits and the selective adoption of Mediterranean wine and feasting gear in Iron Age Europe, particularly the work of Nelson, Dietler, and Dzino. It undertakes several case studies that have been identified by scholars, though have yet to be analyzed. The methodological framework utilized here has its roots in the anthropological approaches to Iron Age social structure and cultural entanglement employed by Roymans and Dietler, that see consumption patterns as largely determined by sociopolitical organization and the logic of the political economy.

Chapter 2

Alcohol Consumption and Cultural Entanglement in

Iron Age Europe: Frameworks of Investigation

The previous Chapter outlined scholarship on themes relevant to this project in the broadest terms. A further analysis of the state of research into particular aspects of the topic of alcohol consumption habits and cross-cultural exchange in antiquity is undertaken here as a basis for introducing the current investigation. This Chapter looks to introduce the topic of drinking cultures in ancient Europe, and critically analyze two key case studies on the reception and rejection of Mediterranean wine and feasting gear in Iron Age Europe, in order to establish a set of principles and models to base the research undertaken here on, and to compare and contrast with the picture drawn from the case studies in the following Chapters. The topics discussed here largely draw upon the work of Nelson, Dietler, and Dzino, briefly introduced in the previous Chapter, and analyze particular aspects of their research that have influenced the approach and direction of this investigation.

Two Drinking Cultures

Archaeological evidence suggests that the inhabitants of both northern and southern Europe during the Bronze Age (around 3000-1000 BCE) made alcoholic beverages from a variety of fermentable products, which were often indiscriminately mixed together.¹ During the Iron Age, the production of these mixed drinks decreased. It appears that two different drinking cultures evolved in Iron Age Europe, one relating to the Mediterranean and Greco-Roman civilization, where wine was consumed, ideally in moderation, and another relating to temperate Europe, where beer, mead, and even wine (imported from the south) were

¹ Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 11-16; Nelson, "The Geography of Beer", p. 10.

consumed, and drunkenness was tolerated.² The evidence for these drinking habits comes from both literary and archaeological sources. Eating and drinking, and particularly the consumption of alcohol, are usually embedded in sociocultural values, attitudes, and norms, as they tend to be carried out in social contexts.³ Thus, drinking can become a marker of identity and alterity, both within and between cultures,⁴ and this is emphasized in literary accounts of the alcohol consumption habits of ‘barbarians’. Hartog identified two ways of engaging in a ‘rhetoric of alterity’; through schemas of inversion, and of comparison.⁵ Greco-Roman descriptions of beer engaged in both types of schemas, through their perception of the comparative primacy of wine, and in inversion due to the marginalization of beer as a barbarian’s beverage.⁶

Most literary sources relating to beer are neutral, though, evidence for a Greco-Roman prejudice towards beer appeared among Greek dramatists in the fifth century BCE, who referred to beer as an effeminate drink, and which continued throughout antiquity.⁷ Through

² R. C. Engs, “Do Traditional Western European Practices Have Origins in Antiquity?” *Addiction Research* 2(3), (1995), pp. 232-5; Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, pp. 38-44; Nelson, “The Geography of Beer”, pp. 9-11. In certain areas, such as parts of Scandinavia, mixed fermented drinks continued to be made, as shown from archaeobotanical analyses of residues from vessels found in burials on the island of Gotland, in the Baltic Sea, dating to the Viking Age (around 800-1100 CE), P. E. McGovern, *Uncorking the Past: The Quest for Wine, Beer, and Other Alcoholic Beverages*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 153-4.

³ O. Murray, “Histories of Pleasure”, in O. Murray & M. Tecuşan, (eds.), *In Vino Veritas*, (London: British School at Rome, 1995), pp. 4-5; A. H. Joffe, “Alcohol and Social Complexity in Ancient Western Asia”, *Current Anthropology* 39, (1998), pp. 297-8; Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 358-9; Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, p. 3.

⁴ A. Sherratt, “Alcohol and its Alternatives: Symbol and Substance in Pre-Industrial Cultures”, in J. Goodman, P. E. Lovejoy, & A. Sherratt, (eds.), *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 12-14.

⁵ Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus*, pp. 213-24 (inversion), pp. 225-30 (comparison).

⁶ Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, p. 189.

⁷ Aeschylus, the first ‘beer basher’, associated beer drinking with effeminacy, Aesch. *Supp.* 952. The association with effeminate qualities became a common insult for beer among Athenian dramatists whose plays were written for performance at the annual festival of Dionysus in Athens. For example, in a fragment of Antiphanes’ *Asclepius*, preserved in Athenaeus, Antiphanes refers to a ‘beery old woman’, Antiph. *Ascl.* fr. 47 Kassel and

analysis of Greco-Roman literary sources relating to alcoholic beverages, Nelson argues that an antithesis contrasting beer and wine appears to have arisen due to a misunderstanding of the nature of alcohol and the fermentation process.⁸ Beer's association with non-Greek or non-Roman groups meant it was marginalized as a barbarian's beverage,⁹ whereas wine became practically synonymous with Greco-Roman civilization.¹⁰ P. Garnsey argues that the Greeks and Romans contrasted food choices with their own in order to emphasize the identity, singularity and superiority of their dominant culture over those of the 'barbarians' they described.¹¹ What is clear from both archaeological and literary evidence is that while inhabitants of Iron Age northern and western Europe drank mostly beer and its derivatives, certain groups also drank imported wine.

From as early as the seventh century BCE, Greek writers referred to their closer 'barbarian' neighbors, including the Thracians, Phrygians and Paeonians, as drinkers of beer as well as wine.¹² However, references to northern and western European groups consuming

Austin, in Athen. *Deipn.* 11.485b, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T12, p. 278. See Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 25-32.

⁸ This is best illustrated in an extract of Aristotle's *On Intoxication* in Athenaeus, where Aristotle describes intoxication from beer having different effects to that of wine, Arist. *Symp. Sive de ebriet.* fr. 106 Rose³, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.447a-b, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T14a, p. 288. See also, Arist. *Symp. Sive de ebriet.* fr. 106 Rose³, in Athen. *Deipn.* 1.34b epit., cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T14b, pp. 288-9, and Arist. *De somn.* 3 (456b). Another misconception concerning beer was that it was not known that in wine making, as with beer, yeast interacted with sugar to produce alcohol, for example, Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 6.11.2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.11.1; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 109; Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; see Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 33-7.

⁹ For example, Diodorus Siculus says the 'barbarians' had barley beer where as the Greeks had wine, Diod. Sic. 3.73.6. See also, Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; Plin. *HN.* 14.29, 149.

¹⁰ Sherratt, "Alcohol and its Alternatives", p. 17.

¹¹ P. Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 62.

¹² Archilochus provides our earliest reference to beer amongst northern and western European groups. In what has been interpreted as a lewd metaphor, Archilochus describes Thracian and Phrygian men as beer drinkers, "...[she fellated him] just like a Thracian or Phrygian man sucked *brūtos* (beer) through a reed...", Archil., fr. 42 West, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.447b, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T1, p. 282. Aeschylus, in his play, *Lycurgus*, mentions the Thracian king Lycurgus drinking beer, Aesch. *Lyc.* fr. 56 Smyth, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.477c. Hellanicus says that Thracians drank a beverage made from barley, Hellan. *Fund.* fr.

beer did not occur until much later. Posidonius, writing in the first century BCE, explained that the Gauls drank beer because their cold climate did not permit them to grow vines.¹³ He also mentioned that wine was imported into Gaul from Italy and Massalia and was the preferred drink of the elite, though, unlike Greeks and Romans, they drank it unmixed.¹⁴ Little is mentioned about the alcohol consumption habits of the inhabitants of Britain in the pre-Roman period, as we shall see.¹⁵ Tacitus informs us that the Germani were beer drinkers, while some close to the Rhine bought wine from traders in the Roman Empire.¹⁶ The archaeological evidence tends to agree with the literary sources, indicating that most groups in northern and western Europe drank beer, while some also adopted wine consumption.

During the Early Iron Age, from around 800-450 BCE, groups associated with the Hallstatt culture of central and western Europe are assumed to have drunk beverages related to beer and mead. This is suggested from finds of indigenous drinking vessels, such as gold bowls, drinking horns, and bronze cauldrons found in Hallstatt regions, often as grave goods.¹⁷ Chemical residues found inside some of these vessels, for example a cauldron discovered in the famous chieftain grave from Hochdorf, in south-west Germany, and a bowl from a female grave discovered at Niedererlbach, in Bavaria, indicate they were used in the

110 Müller, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.447c, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T9, p. 286. Hecataeus describes the Paeonians as drinkers of beverages made from barley, millet and fleabane, Hecat. *Descr. Eur.* fr. 123 Müller, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.477d, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T3, p. 283. Homer, *Il.* 9. 71-2, 119, 196-211, mentions Thracian wine. For a detailed analysis of early Greek sources on alcohol consumption amongst barbarian groups see Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, pp. 16-24.

¹³ Posid. *Hist.* 23, fr. 169 Theiler, in Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 5.26.2, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T26, p. 294. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, possibly following Posidonius, also mentions that the Celts did not have wine, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.11.1.

¹⁴ Posid. *Hist.* 23, fr. 67 Kidd, in Athen. *Deipn.* 4.151e + 152c-d. This wine trade is confirmed by vast amounts of archaeological evidence, see below, p. 23. n. 22.

¹⁵ Chapter Four, see p. 68.

¹⁶ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1.

¹⁷ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 382; Arnold, "Drinking the Feast", p. 71ff.

consumption of mead.¹⁸ Large deposits of hulled barley that show traces of germination, found at the Hochdorf settlement and on nearby sites, are thought to be signs that beer was being produced here.¹⁹ Finds of Greek and Etruscan amphorae indicate that wine was being imported into Gaul from around 650 BCE, though this trade appears to have ceased sometime in the fifth century,²⁰ and does not seem to have reached the West Hallstatt region in significant quantities.²¹ The hundreds of thousands of fragments of Italian amphorae discovered at sites in France, dating from the late second century BCE, confirm the literary evidence that suggests the Gauls imported significant amounts of wine in the Late Iron Age.²² Archaeological evidence indicates that wine was also being imported into the southern parts of Britain from the early first century BCE,²³ and it is often assumed that the Britons, along with the Gauls, drank indigenous beverages such as beer and mead prior to and after the introduction of wine.²⁴ Archaeological finds indicate the inhabitants of northern Europe drank beer (as Tacitus suggests) and other locally made beverages such as mead, though the evidence is ambiguous as to whether groups in the interior of Germania drank wine, as we shall see in Chapter Five.²⁵

¹⁸ W. Van Zeist, “Economic Aspects”, in W. Van Zeist, K. Wasylikowa, & K.-E. Behre, (eds.), *Progress in Old World Palaeoethnobotany*, (Rotterdam: Balkema, 1991), p. 121; M. Rösch, “Pollen Analysis of the Contents of Excavated Vessels: Direct Archaeobotanical Evidence for Beverages”, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 14, (2005), p. 180; McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, pp. 150-1.

¹⁹ H. P. Stika, “Traces of a Possible Celtic Brewery in Eberdingen-Hochdorf, Kreis Ludwigsburg, southwest Germany”, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 5, (1996), pp. 86-7.

²⁰ Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 382.

²¹ See below, p. 25, n. 29.

²² Tchernia, “Italian Wine in Gaul”, pp. 92-5; Fitzpatrick, “The Distribution of Dressel 1”, pp. 305-19; Loughton, “The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France”, p. 189ff; Loughton, “Getting Smashed”, pp. 78-85.

²³ Pitts, “Pots and Pits”, pp. 144ff.

²⁴ Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, pp. 63-6; see p. 65.

²⁵ Chapter Five, p. 81ff.

Wine, Cultural Entanglement, and Sociopolitical Organization in Early Iron Age Europe

Several studies into culture contact during the Iron Age in Europe have focused on the selective adoption of alcoholic beverages, largely due to the fact that nearly all items imported from the Mediterranean region into northern and western Europe during this period were associated with wine consumption. Research undertaken by Dietler in this area has been particularly influential to this project, in terms of themes and the development of theoretical and methodological models, and requires a brief explanation before an analysis of the case studies under investigation here can begin.

As noted in Chapter One, Appadurai has argued that demand is never an automatic response to the availability of goods, and that explanations for the adoption of foreign influences should be understood within the logic of the political economy of particular societies.²⁶ Dietler has explored the social roles drinking has in small-scale societies by examining the selective adoption of wine and its associated accoutrements among groups associated with the Hallstatt culture and those inhabiting the Lower Rhône Basin during the Early Iron Age (from around the seventh to fifth centuries BCE). Almost all objects imported into both the West Hallstatt (*Fürstentum*) Region and the Lower Rhône Basin from Etruria and Greece were items associated with the transport (amphorae) and consumption of wine (kantharoi, oinochoai, and kylixes), though the nature and context of finds is markedly different between the two regions.²⁷ There are relatively few imports in the West Hallstatt region, though they tend to be spectacular luxury items, such as the 1.6 metre tall bronze crater found in the Vix tumulus in Burgundy, and the 500 litre bronze cauldron from the

²⁶ Appadurai, “Commodities and the Politics of Value”, pp. 29-31. See also Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 381; Dietler, “Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement”, p. 300.

²⁷ Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 355.

Hochdorf tumulus.²⁸ Finds of imported drinking cups are rare, and amphorae are extremely scarce. The spectacular finds, and some drinking cups, tend to be found in elaborate tumulus burials, accompanied by local prestige items, while what amphorae sherds have been discovered, and most of the drinking cups, are found on fortified settlements.²⁹ This is contrasted by the situation in the Lower Rhône Basin, where Mediterranean imports are numerous, though far less spectacular, including mostly wine amphorae and simple drinking cups. They are also found on a wide variety of settlement types and sizes, and only a few in burials, which are lacking in extravagant furnishings or structures. This contrast is exemplified by the settlement of La Liquière, in Eastern Languedoc, which has yielded more amphorae sherds than the entire West Hallstatt region combined.³⁰ The emerging pattern suggests that groups in the West Hallstatt region selectively adopted durable, often impressive, feasting paraphernalia, and rarely wine, while groups in the Lower Rhône Basin focused on the wine itself.³¹

Dietler argues that Mediterranean imports in the West Hallstatt Region served as ‘luxury goods’, in Appadurai’s terms.³² They were welcome additions to an existing feasting

²⁸ McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, pp. 150-3.

²⁹ Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, p. 210.

³⁰ Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, pp. 210-1. Several other Lower Rhône Basin sites have also yielded similar amounts of amphorae sherds. By the late sixth century BCE, Mediterranean wine vessels are found on nearly every settlement site in the region, Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 356; M. Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations: Ideological Representation and Social Competition in Dynamic Comparative Perspective”, in B. Arnold & D. Blair Gibson, (eds.), *Celtic Chieftdom. Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 67.

³¹ Finds of Attic pottery, in the form of wine drinking vessels, are much higher than amphorae in the Hallstatt region, and are also found in much higher quantities here than in the Lower Rhône Basin. This has led Dietler to argue that the lack of wine amphorae in the Hallstatt region is not due to recovery issues, Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations”, p. 68. It is also unlikely that wine was transported to the West Hallstatt Region in skins, as these would be too costly for disposal, and were usually only used to transport liquids locally, A. Tchernia, “Résumés des discussions”, in M. Bats et al. (eds.), *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, Etudes Massaliètes 3, (Lattes: ADAM Editions, 1992), p. 475. It is also possible that barrels were used to transport wine, which are archaeologically less visible, though their use is only attested in later periods, see p. 50, n. 85.

³² Appadurai, “Commodities and the Politics of Value”, p. 38.

repertoire that aided in differentiating elite status, even though the elite were probably consuming the same local beverages (beer and mead) as everyone else.³³ Wine was incorporated into local feasting institutions in the Lower Rhône Basin more generally, being utilized by a wider range of individuals and groups in commensal politics, for the mobilization of labor, and in acquiring prestige and informal power through hospitality.³⁴ Dietler points out that the difference in the selective adoption of Mediterranean imports between these two regions is consistent with what the archaeological evidence implies about their models of sociopolitical relations, evident from analysis of settlements and burials. The West Hallstatt Region exhibited signs of developed social hierarchies and political centralization in its burials, including the elite tumulus graves furnished with spectacular imports and locally made items, as well as settlement patterns that indicate a hierarchical structure and specialization.³⁵ In contrast, groups inhabiting the Lower Rhône Basin during this period lacked any kind of settlement hierarchy, in terms of size, location, or specialization, or any discernible hierarchical patterning in burials, which were relatively small and simply arranged and furnished.³⁶ This points to the existence of fairly egalitarian, heterarchical societies inhabiting this region during the Early Iron Age.³⁷ In these kinds of societies, apparently less politically centralized and lacking in sharp social differentiations, such as those in the Lower Rhône Region, overt displays of differences portrayed through accumulated wealth, such as we see with the spectacular imported Mediterranean wine vessels in elite Hallstatt burials, might be negatively sanctioned (the theory of the ‘Limited Good’).³⁸ A new exotic beverage, however, provided means for manipulating informal

³³ Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations”, p. 68.

³⁴ Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 387.

³⁵ Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations”, pp. 65-6; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, p. 321.

³⁶ Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations”, pp. 66-7; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, pp. 321-22.

³⁷ Dietler, “Early ‘Celtic’ Socio-political Relations”, p. 68; Crumley, “Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies”, p. 3; Thurston, “Unity and Diversity”, p. 360.

³⁸ The term was coined by G. M. Foster, G. M. Foster, “Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good”, *American Anthropologist* 67, (1965), p. 296ff. This theory maintains that certain societies see one person’s profit

political prestige and power through existing social institutions, such as feasting and hospitality (commensal politics), and was ideal due to its very consumability.³⁹ Dietler's analysis demonstrates that sociopolitical models were influential in the selective adoption of Mediterranean wine and its associated accoutrements in Early Iron Age central and western Europe. This project aims to investigate the selective adoption of Mediterranean wine and feasting gear in several case studies from the Late Iron Age in order to determine what sociopolitical or cultural motives might have influenced similar discriminations.

Wine and Ethnic Identity in Late Iron Age Dalmatia

Dzino has undertaken studies into identities and culture contact in the western and central regions of the Balkans during the Iron Age and Roman periods, including an investigation into the apparent rejection of wine consumption by the Dalmatian group known in literary texts as the Delmatae. His investigation into the Delmatae has been particularly influential in framing the aims of this project and the questions it poses, and will be explained here.

From around 400 BCE, exposure to Mediterranean culture increased dramatically in the eastern Adriatic due to the settlement of several Greek colonies in this area.⁴⁰ Indigenous

as a loss for others, because goods are finite. Thus, we see strongly egalitarian societies that are resistant to social change. See T. Allen, "Taking Culture Seriously", in T. Allen & A. Thomas, (eds.), *Poverty and Development in the 21st Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 443-68.

³⁹ What R. F. Salisbury called, 'free-floating power', in contrast to fixed, institutionalized authority derived through social status or roles, R. F. Salisbury, *From Stone to Steel: Economic Consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962), p. 190.

⁴⁰ D. Dzino, "The Celts in Illyricum – Whoever They May Be: the Hybridization and Construction of Identities in southeastern Europe in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC", *Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, (2007), pp. 53-55; D. Dzino, "The Impact of Roman Imperialism on the Formation of Group Identities in Some Indigenous Societies from the Eastern Adriatic Hinterland", in A. Rufin Solas (ed.) *Armées Grecques et romaines dans le Nord des Balkans*, (Gdansk: Akanthina, 2012), p. 145. For a full analysis of sources concerning Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic see P. Cabanes, "Greek Colonisation in the Adriatic", in G. R. Tsetschladze (eds.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*, Vol.2, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 155-85.

groups of the eastern Adriatic during this period can be characterized as heterarchical.⁴¹ The first visible (evident) incentive towards change in the social templates of Iron Age communities in the eastern Adriatic occurred as a result of increased interactions with the Mediterranean.⁴² Greek colonies in the eastern Adriatic served as points from which Mediterranean and indigenous cultures interacted, and this led to transformations in both colonial and local societies. Mediterranean symbols and artifacts were introduced to the region increasingly from 400 BCE, and were appropriated into indigenous contexts.⁴³

In certain areas of the eastern Adriatic, including that associated with the Liburnian archaeological culture, and in the south-east along the coast of modern Albania, increased interaction with the Mediterranean after around 400 BCE led to the development of proto-urban structures. The development of early urbanization among these communities affected the way power was negotiated, with the formation of urban elites and the beginnings of a monetary economy. Mediterranean influences in burial customs became visible from the third century BCE, with the presence of Greek artifacts in elite graves, such as in the Gostilj cemetery near Lake Scodra.⁴⁴ Finds of Hellenistic pottery and amphorae, including wine drinking vessels, in Central Dalmatia indicate that trade with the Greek world increased

⁴¹ D. Dzino, "Contesting Identities of Pre-Roman Illyricum", *Ancient West & East*, Vol. 11 (2012), p. 73.

⁴² Cabanes, "Greek Colonisation in the Adriatic", pp. 155-85.

⁴³ Dzino, "Contesting Identities", pp. 74-5. Such interaction is highly visible in the sacral and mythological spheres. For example, the cult of Diomedes is archaeologically attested along the coast of the eastern Adriatic, M. Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2005), pp. 115-17, fig. 21. An indigenous sanctuary in the Nakovana cave, on the Pelješac Peninsula, displays the use of Hellenistic wine drinking vessels and rituals that focused on a phallic stalagmite, suggesting Dionysian rites were performed, T. Kaiser, & T. Forenbaher, "Archaeological Caving in Croatia. The Illyrian Rituals of Nakovana Cave", *Excavation Magazine* 47, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), p. 29.

⁴⁴ Dzino, "Contesting Identities", p. 78.

dramatically during the fourth and third centuries BCE, and also reveal that the habit of wine consumption was adopted by many indigenous coastal communities.⁴⁵

After increased Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic, indigenous elites of the future Roman Dalmatia became strongly influenced by Hellenistic cultural and social templates and began to acquire and redistribute imported Mediterranean goods in order to strengthen their power and authority within their own groups. This led to competition amongst indigenous communities on the Adriatic coast, and the development of new methods of displaying wealth, and increased social stratification, visible in the archaeological record.⁴⁶ From an anthropological point of view, this increased competition and social stratification indicated a transition from heterarchical societies, dominated by 'Big men', into hierarchic chiefdoms (as argued by Dzino).⁴⁷ Inter-communal competition, which soon spread from the coastal communities to those in the hinterland, led to the formation of political groups, evidenced through the appearance of ethnic identities in the ancient sources, such as the Delmatae and Iapodes, and the disappearance of others.⁴⁸

The Delmatae are noticeably absent from the ethnographic accounts of early Greek authors, which has led Dzino to argue that the formation of this political alliance probably took place some time in the third century.⁴⁹ The earliest appearance they make in the written sources is in a passage from Polybius describing their revolt against the Illyrian kingdom in 180 BCE.⁵⁰ The Delmatae inhabited the hinterland of Central Dalmatia, between the Titius (Krka) and Nestos/Hippius (Cetina) Rivers on the Glamočko, Livanjsko, Duvanjsko, Sinjsko

⁴⁵ B. Kirigin, et. al., "Amfore i Fina Keramika (od 4. do 1. st. pr. Kr.) iz srednje Dalmacije: Preliminarni Ekonomski i Socijalni Pokazatelji", *Vjesnik Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku* 98, (2005), p. 11-13, 15.

⁴⁶ Dzino, "The Impact of Roman Imperialism", p. 154.

⁴⁷ Dzino, "Contesting Identities", p. 78.

⁴⁸ Dzino, "The Impact of Roman Imperialism", p. 155.

⁴⁹ Early Greek authors such as Hecataeus, Theopompus, Ephorus, pseudo-Aristotle, the periploi of pseudo-Scylax, and pseudo-Scymnus, Dzino, "The Impact of Roman Imperialism", p. 148.

⁵⁰ Polyb. 32.9.3-4.

and Imotsko *polje*.⁵¹ They appear to have initially developed as a political alliance of culturally akin groups in the hinterland where a sense of identity was forming, as a result of social and economic changes occurring that related to increased Greek penetration into the eastern Adriatic, which was distinct from that in the coastal regions.⁵² In the ancient world the formation of identity was often linked to the development of political structures among culturally akin groups. Proto-political institutions created a perception of identity that often led to the use of a common name and the process of Othering, of distinguishing between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, that is inherent in the formation of identity. This process developed in Illyricum in two ways. Firstly with external Othering, distinguishing between indigenous groups and the Greeks and Romans who were arriving on the eastern Adriatic coast from around 400 BCE, and internal Othering between local groups, which related to the extent to which certain communities adopted or resisted Mediterranean influences, and the social and political developments that were occurring as a result of cultural integration.⁵³

Similarly to other Iron Age groups in temperate Europe, the Delmatae lived in hill-forts, known in this region as *gradine*.⁵⁴ Strabo indicates that the Delmatae derived their name from their capital, Dalmion, a large settlement in the Duvanjsko *polje*, which was destroyed by a Roman army under Scipio Nasica in 155 BCE.⁵⁵ The existence of a capital indicates that they had a high degree of social organization and an established hierarchy.⁵⁶ Scholars usually assume that the Delmataean economy was based on pastoralism, and the *karst*-dominated landscape they inhabited was important to their way of life and the formation and maintenance of their identity, evidenced by the clustering of settlements on the edges of *polje*

⁵¹ Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, p. 293.

⁵² D. Dzino, “Deconstructing ‘Illyrians’: Zeitgeist, changing perceptions and the identity of peoples from Ancient Illyricum”, *Croatian Studies Review* 5, (2008), p. 49.

⁵³ Dzino, “Deconstructing ‘Illyrians’”, p. 48.

⁵⁴ M. Zaninović, “Ilirsko pleme Delmati II – The Illyrian Tribe of the Delmatae”, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* V/3, (1967), p. 95.

⁵⁵ Strabo, 7.5.5.

⁵⁶ Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, p. 293.

or in the river valleys of the hinterland.⁵⁷ The ethnic identity of the Delmatae is a problematic issue. Their material culture links them to other groups in Dalmatia, and the Illyrians in the south, though onomastics identifies them as closer to the Pannonians in the north.⁵⁸ While the ancient sources describe the Delmatae as a specific ethnic group, we cannot be certain to what extent this labeling reflected a sense of shared identity.⁵⁹ A regional identity can be identified in the material record among the Delmatae due to their common use of joint sacral spaces, such as the hill-fort known as Mandina gradina in Duvanjsko *polje*, or the sanctuary in Gorica near Grude.⁶⁰

Unlike their coastal neighbors, the Delmatae seem to have been particularly restrictive towards Mediterranean influences. As with their continental neighbors, the Pannonians and Iapodes, the Delmatae appear not to have made princely tombs or tumulus burials, and no major necropolis has been found in their area.⁶¹ Strabo indicates that the Delmatae did not adopt the use of coined money, which was peculiar to them compared with most indigenous groups in the eastern Adriatic, though he notes it was common among other ‘barbarian’ peoples.⁶² Interestingly, this is the only instance where Strabo applies the term ‘barbarian’ to any of the inhabitants of Illyricum in his treatise on the region, possibly indicating that the Delmatae were culturally or socially distinguished from their Illyrian neighbors, at least from

⁵⁷ Zaninović, “Ilirsko pleme Delmati”, p. 100.

⁵⁸ J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 163; J. J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), p. 80.

⁵⁹ Dzino, “Contesting Identities”, p. 82.

⁶⁰ Dzino, “The Impact of Roman Imperialism”, p. 149.

⁶¹ Zaninović, “Ilirsko pleme Delmati”, p. 96; Dzino, “The Impact of Roman Imperialism”, p. 146.

⁶² Strabo, 7.5.5. It is possible that Strabo infers this comment from a passage in Polybius, where the Delmatae are said to have derived tribute from subjugated neighbors in the form of grain and stock, Polyb. 32.9; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p. 185. While the Delmatae did not mint their own coins, there have been some finds of pre-Roman coinage in the Central Dalmatian hinterland, suggesting the Delmatae made some limited use of coinage, S. Čače, “Dalmatica Straboniana” (title of English summary), *Diadora* 16-17, (1994/5), pp. 120-7.

a Greco-Roman perspective.⁶³ Strabo also mentions that the Delmatae redistributed their land every eight years, which probably related to religious ceremonies of purification and renewal, and ensured equality between the families and groups was maintained.⁶⁴ That the customs of land redistribution and restricted use (or at least production) of coinage lasted until the Roman period has led M. Zaninović to suggest that the Delmatae were conservative towards the relinquishing of old customs, and cautious about adopting new ones.⁶⁵

Archaeological evidence suggests that wine consumption became popular among many coastal indigenous communities in Central Dalmatia from around 400 BCE, probably influenced by Greek settlements in the area. However, in the Central Dalmatian hinterland there is a lack of material evidence relating to the trade and consumption of wine,⁶⁶ suggesting that the Delmatae, who inhabited this region, resisted it. Dzino has argued that this apparent resistance needs to be understood in the context of the active process of regional and cultural interaction in the eastern Adriatic, and in the broader framework of economic and social changes that were occurring between the fourth and first centuries BCE.⁶⁷ While modern scholars are divided on the topic,⁶⁸ the ancient written sources seem to imply that the people living in the region of Illyricum followed the habit of alcohol consumption associated with temperate Europe.⁶⁹ The lack of evidence relating to wine consumption in the hinterland

⁶³ D. Dzino, "Welcome to the Mediterranean Semi-Periphery: The Place of Illyricum in Book 7 of Strabo", *Živa Antika* 56, (2006), p. 120.

⁶⁴ Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, p. 293.

⁶⁵ Zaninović, "Ilirsko pleme Delmati", p. 96.

⁶⁶ Kirigin et. al. "Amfore i Fina Keramika", pp. 14, 21.

⁶⁷ Dzino, "Delmati", p. 74.

⁶⁸ Dzino, "Delmati", p. 74; M. Zaninović, "Vine in Ancient Dalmatia" (English summary), *Historia Antiqua* 15 (2007), p. 31.

⁶⁹ The earliest indication comes from Hecataeus, writing in the fifth century BCE, who mentioned a beer made from barley (*bryton*) and a blend of millet and fleabane, brewed by Paeonians, who bordered the Illyrians, Macedonians and Thracians, Hecat. *Descr. Eur.* fr. 123 Müller, in Athen. *Deipn.* 10.477d, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T3, p. 283. Cassius Dio complained that Pannonians did not drink wine, but rather a drink made from barley and millet, 49.36.3. Strabo, mentioned the scarcity of wine in Illyricum,

of the Delmatae has been explained as due to wine being not a favorite drink of the locals, or that it was too expensive.⁷⁰ However, Dzino argues this is an unsatisfactory explanation. The indigenous neighbors of the Delmatae, including the Daorsi and the Liburni, readily adopted wine, at least on the elite level, and this helps shed light on reasons why the Delmatae resisted it.⁷¹

Over the past few decades, anthropologists have demonstrated the significant role that alcohol can play in constructing and maintaining group identities.⁷² The psychotropic properties of alcohol mean it often plays an important role in ritual contexts, and encompasses a set of cultural rules and beliefs closer to the individual than most foodstuffs. The labor required to sustain alcohol production and consumption means it has an important role in political and economic life. Thus, alcohol is important in terms of the negotiation and display of power and authority.⁷³ It is quite possible that the resistance to wine was initiated, or exploited, by the Delmatae in the context of identity formation.⁷⁴ The Delmataean political union was the basis for the construction of a new ethnic identity, and when two cultures and drinking ideologies clashed in Central Dalmatia during the third century BCE, alcoholic beverages became a meaningful factor in the process of Othering and identity formation. Dzino argues that the rejection of wine must be seen in the context of the Delmatae incorporating a strong anti-Mediterranean sentiment in the process of constructing their identity.⁷⁵

7.5.10. Ammianus Marcellinus related an anecdote in which the emperor Valens was labeled Sabaiarius, 'beer drinker', by defenders of Chalcedon, which identified him with his Pannonian ancestry, see Dzino, "Sabaiarius", p. 67; Dzino, "Delmati", p. 74. On the drinking habits of temperate Europeans, see above pp. 19-23.

⁷⁰ Kirigin, et. al. "Amfore i Fina Keramika", p. 14.

⁷¹ Dzino, "Delmati", p. 75.

⁷² M. Dietler, "Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35, (2006), p. 235.

⁷³ Dietler, "Alcohol", p. 232.

⁷⁴ Dzino, "Contesting Identities", p. 77.

⁷⁵ Dzino, "Delmati", p. 80.

The conflicts with the Romans that the Delmatae engaged in indicate they attempted to control existing exchange networks that connected the Mediterranean world to Central Dalmatia.⁷⁶ Polybius reports that in 158/7 BCE the Delmatae attacked the Issaeian mainland colonies of Tragurium and Epetium, control of which would allow access to the Issaeian *emporion* of Salona in the Bay of Kašteli, as well as Daorsi territory in the valley of the Neretva.⁷⁷ Polybius mentions the attacks in the context of Issaeian and Daorsi complaints to their ally, the Romans, about the Delmataean incursions. The fact that they wished to control the networks of exchange was perhaps linked to their wish to resist, or at least control, cultural changes associated with interaction with the Mediterranean world. These conflicts, which occurred between the Delmatae and other indigenous groups, Greek colonies, and the Roman Republic, served to strengthen the newly formed Delmataean ethnic identity.⁷⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief analysis of drinking cultures in ancient Europe, and two case studies into the adoption and rejection of alien forms of alcohol and associated feasting gear. Two drinking cultures existed during the Iron Age, and the work of Dietler and Dzino has opened discussion into the significance of selective cultural exchange between them. Dietler's work on the Early Iron Age groups in the West Hallstatt and Lower Rhône Basin regions has shown a link between local sociopolitical models and the selective adoption of wine and Mediterranean feasting gear. Dzino has argued that the choice of alcoholic beverage can become an 'ethnic boundary', and significantly influence the construction of group identity among certain societies.⁷⁹ This current project follows on from the work of

⁷⁶ Dzino, "The Impact of Roman Imperialism", p. 155.

⁷⁷ Polyb. 32.9; Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, p. 296ff; D. Dzino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics 229 BC-AD 68*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 62-3.

⁷⁸ Creating a 'sense of solidarity', one of Smith's foundations of ethnic community, A. D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 29-31, 37-41.

⁷⁹ Dzino, "Delmati", p. 80.

Dietler and Dzino, choosing case studies that, though highlighted by these two scholars and also by Nelson, have yet to be investigated.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Dietler, “Driven by Drink”, p. 381; Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, pp. 55, 79; Dzino, “Delmati”, p. 76.

CHAPTER 3

Northern Belgica

Caesar relates that Gallic legates informed him that the Belgic group known as the Nervii forbade the importation of wine and other luxury items into their territory.¹ Archaeological evidence, showing a lack of amphorae and Italian wine drinking vessels in northern Belgica, where the Nervii resided, appears to support Caesar's statement. This phenomenon has been the subject of a number of interpretations and hypotheses. M. Rambaud suggested that Caesar here revealed a potential new market for Italian wine-exporters.² Dietler cited the Nervian prohibition on wine as an example of the selective nature of consumption of foreign goods, particularly alcoholic beverages, among indigenous societies.³ It has also been suggested that such abstinence implied the Nervii actively rejected Roman cultural forms as part of a political resistance to Roman hegemony,⁴ or because Mediterranean imports threatened traditional values and group identity.⁵ To gain a fuller comprehension of this phenomenon an investigation into the literary and archaeological evidence relating to sociopolitical circumstances in Late La Tène Gaul (150-50 BCE), as well as a reading of Caesar's work that is alert to the ethnographic framework and political aims therein, is required. Taking into account Dietler's thesis that demand for alien forms of drink must be understood within the logic of the political economy,⁶ this chapter undertakes a comparative analysis of sociopolitical and economic models in Late La Tène Gaul in order to explain why

¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.15.4.

² M. Rambaud, *L'Art de la déformation historique dans les Commentaires de César*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), p. 296.

³ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381; Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement", p. 300.

⁴ J. Slofstra, "Batavians and Romans on the Lower Rhine", *Archaeological Dialogues* 9, (2002), p. 19. Similarly, A. Riggsby suggests the prohibition on wine was part of some kind of sumptuary legislation implemented by the Nervian nobility to delegitimize authoritative symbols of Roman imperialism, A. Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words*, (Austin: University of Texas, 2006), p. 17.

⁵ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 213.

⁶ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381.

groups in southern Belgica adopted Mediterranean wine and associated feasting gear, while those in northern parts of the region appear to have not.

Sociopolitical Institutions and Centralization in Late Iron Age Belgica

In the first lines of his commentary on the Gallic Wars, Caesar famously describes Gaul as separated into three parts; the Belgae inhabit one, the Aquitani another, and the Gauls, or ‘Celts’ in their own language, the third.⁷ The Belgae were, according to Caesar, Gauls, living in the northern part of the country. He describes them as the bravest of the Gauls, and says that most were descended from *Germani* who had crossed the Rhine in an earlier period.⁸ Interpreting the ethnicity of groups inhabiting Belgica through Caesar’s work can be problematic. Caesar appears to only use the term *Belgium* when referring to groups inhabiting the south-west of the region, modern day Picardie and Upper Normandie, though the term Belgae is applied to all groups in Belgica.⁹ Caesar describes the Eburones and several other smaller groups who lived closest to the Rhine as Germani or *Germani cisrhenani*, ‘Germans on this side of the Rhine’.¹⁰ Caesar was the first Greco-Roman author to establish the Rhine as an ethnocultural border that separated the Gauls and the Germani, and later historians adopted his broad definition.¹¹ Whether the category ‘Belgae’ had any emic value in defining

⁷ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1.1.

⁸ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1.1-3. Strabo also mentions the valor and warlike character of the Belgae, Str. 4.4.3. Caesar says that the Belgae were mostly descended from Germani, 2.4.2, though indicates specifically that the Aduatuci were descendants of the Germanic Cimbri and Teutones, 2.29.4, while Tacitus indicates that the Treveri and Nervii also claimed a Germanic origin, Tac. *Germ.* 28.4.

⁹ From his fifth book onwards, Caesar begins to use the term “Belgium” when referring to the region inhabited by the Ambiani, Bellovaci, Caleti, Velocasses, Atrebates and Suessiones, but not for other groups he had previously listed as among the ‘Belgae’, see Hawkes, “New Thoughts on the Belgae”, pp. 6-9; Hachmann, “The Problem of the *Belgae*”, pp. 123-5; S. Fichtl, “Cité et Territoire Celtique à travers l’exemple du *Belgium*”, *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 76, (2003), pp. 97-8; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 72-3.

¹⁰ Including the Segni, Condrusi, Paemani and Caerosi, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.10, 6.32.1.

¹¹ An inscription celebrating M. Claudius Marcellus’ victory over the *Germ[an(eis)]* dating to 222 BCE, possibly refers to Germani, as does Posidonius, Posid. *Hist.* 30, fr. 73 Kidd, in Athen. *Deipn.* 4.153e, though it is unclear whether either of these refer to Germani as a sub-group or a broader ethnic group, see Krebs, “Imaginary Geography”, p. 119.

the groups that inhabited Belgica is not entirely clear. Caesar refers to various temporary alliances between certain Belgic groups, including an alliance of all the Belgae,¹² and also to a general council of the Belgae.¹³ Based on this limited evidence, it seems possible that a Belgic identity existed in the pre-Roman period, and that the groups Caesar referred to as Belgae identified themselves as such.¹⁴



Fig. 3.1. Map of Belgic *civitates* in the mid first century BCE, after Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 144.

The archaeological and philological evidence point to northern Belgica being what W. Wightman describes as a transition zone between Gallic (La Tène) and North Germanic cultures.¹⁵ Based on a study of personal names, group names, and toponymic data, the groups occupying the southern half of Belgic Gaul, those within the region of Caesar's 'Belgium', as well as the Remi and Treveri, are identified as having spoken Celtic dialects.¹⁶ However,

¹² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.1.1.

¹³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.4.

¹⁴ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 72.

¹⁵ E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, (London: B.T. Batsford LTD, 1985), p. 12.

¹⁶ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 13.

Hachmann et al. have shown, through analysis of place names and early river names, that groups in the northern half of Belgica, and adjacent regions in north-west Germany, spoke dialects related to Celtic and Germanic languages in a broad sense, though distinguished from both, and considered to be older. Inscriptions in these regions from the Roman period also indicate a third element in local dialects.¹⁷ The different dialects were no doubt one of the major characteristics that led Caesar to distinguish the Belgae from other Gauls, as he notes they differed in their language, customs and laws.¹⁸ The language factor is one of several indications that the groups in northern Belgica developed in a separate way from groups in southern Belgica, and the rest of Gaul, towards the later stages of the La Tène period.¹⁹

The sociopolitical categories that literary sources refer to in Late La Tène Gaul were strongly associated with group identities.²⁰ These sources suggest that three main sociopolitical levels existed in Gaul during this period; extended family groups, sub-ethnic communities (*pagi*), and ethnic communities (*civitates*). Caesar describes the Gallic *civitas* as a ‘federation’ of *pagi*, and the *pagi* as being made up of several extended families, themselves including several households.²¹ It should be noted that Caesar used Roman terms, such as *civitas* and *pagi*, to describe aspects of Gallic society, and he defined the components of Gallic social structure in a way that reflected that of the Roman Republic.²² This is not surprising given his comprehension of that system, and his intended audience, namely the

¹⁷ Hachmann, et al., *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, pp. 127-8; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, p. 12.

¹⁸ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1.2.

¹⁹ Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, p. 11.

²⁰ N. Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), p. 3; F. Gerritsen & N. Roymans, “Central Places and the Construction of Tribal Identities: The Case of the Late Iron Age Lower Rhine Region”, in C. Haselgrove (eds.), *Celtes et Gaulois, l’Archéologie Face à l’Histoire*, (Glux-en-Glenne: Centre Archéologique Européen, 2006), p. 255.

²¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.11.2-5. See Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, pp. 18-23; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 41, 52-9.

²² Caesar used terms such as *reges*, *nobiles*, *principes*, *senatus*, *magistri*, *equites*, and *plebes*, to define elements of Gallic society, Dunham, “Caesar’s Perception”, pp. 112-3.

Roman Senate and people.²³ The impression of Gallic social structure provided by the *Bellum Gallicum* is better understood as a Roman product of the mid-first century BCE, rather than as part of the Classical ethnographic tradition, and probably had much to do with Caesar's inaccurate, but politically motivated, identification of Gaul as a single nation.²⁴ The Gallic *civitates* (as opposed to the Italian *civitates*, which usually referred to central places, their inhabitants, and territory),²⁵ from Caesar's description, might best be described as politicized ethnic communities, what the Greeks referred to as an *ethne*, while the *pagi* were sub-ethnic communities.²⁶ The central 'paradigm of power' that influenced Late La Tène Gallic society was that of clientship, which involved a complex series of reciprocal relations that might exist between members of different social hierarchies, *pagi* within a *civitas*, or even between *civitates*.²⁷ The Gallic elite attracted and maintained clientele through gift exchanging and hospitality, including displaying largesse through organizing communal feasts. An example of this is seen in the story, told by Posidonius and related through Athenaeus, of the Arvernian king Luernios who won the favor of his people by holding a feast and dispensing expensive wine and large amounts of food.²⁸

Historical sources indicate that three main sociopolitical institutions existed in Gallic societies prior to the Roman conquest. These were the public assembly, the council of nobles (*concilia/senatus*), and the kingship (*regnum*). The public assembly was essentially a political

²³ Wiseman, "The Publication of *De Bello Gallico*", pp. 3-4.

²⁴ D. Nash, "Territory and State Formation in Central Gaul", in D. Green, C. Haselgrove, & M. Spriggs, (eds.), *Social Organisation and Settlement: Contributions from Anthropology, Archaeology and Geography*, II, British Archaeological Reports: Supplementary Series, 47, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), p. 462; Krebs, "Imaginary Geography", pp. 114-7; Krebs, "Borealism", p. 204. See below, p. 73.

²⁵ H. Galsterer, "Civitas", *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 2, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), pp. 1224-6.

²⁶ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 52, 56.

²⁷ For example, Caesar explains that the Eburones and the Condrusi were clients of the Treveri, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.6.4; Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, pp. 29, 39-43; T. Champion, "Power, Politics and Status", in M. Green, (eds.), *The Celtic World*, (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 91; D. Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*, (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 131; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 42.

²⁸ Posid. *Hist.* 23, fr. 67 Kidd, in Athen. *Deipn.* 4.152d-e. See Dietler, "Driven by Drink", pp. 371-2.

meeting attended by all free men of a particular *civitas*.²⁹ These kinds of assemblies are characteristic of less centralized societies lacking a complex social hierarchy, where it is particularly important for the elite to listen to public opinion and retain popular support.³⁰ Within Belgica, Caesar mentions a *concilia*, or *senatus*, existing among the Nervii, Remi, and Bellovaci, as well as several Germanic groups across the Rhine, including the Ubii, Tencteri, and Usipetes.³¹ Fernández-Götz points out several instances in which decisions were taken against such council's wishes,³² and suggests their power varied from one *civitas* to another.³³ The replacement of the kingship with oligarchic leadership among Gallic and West Germanic groups is generally accepted as arising from tensions in power relations between the king and the aristocracy, and the growing importance of clientage.³⁴ This phenomenon is recognizable during the Late La Tène period in some *civitates* in central, southern and eastern Gaul as well as in the southern half of Belgic Gaul.

The level of centralization and sociopolitical and economic complexity varied greatly between regions in pre-Roman Gaul. Some *civitates* of central Gaul, such as the Aedui and Arverni, are considered as having higher degrees of centralization and complexity than in the North, and within Belgica we can notice a difference between the groups in the northern part of the region and those in the South.³⁵ Roymans points out that there are indications in literary

²⁹ Public assemblies are mentioned by Caesar among the Gauls, e.g. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.56.1-2, 7.21.1, and among the Germans by Tacitus, e.g., Tac. *Hist.* 5.17; *Germ.* 11.

³⁰ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 30.

³¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* Nervii - 2.28.2; Remi - 2.5.1; Bellovaci - 8.22.2; Ubii - 4.11.3; Tencteri and Usipetes - 4.13.4; Caesar and other Latin sources often describe this council as a *senatus*, and its members as *senatores*, for example, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.5.1, 3.16; Dunham, "Caesar's Perception", pp. 112-3.

³² For example, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3.17.3.

³³ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 66.

³⁴ In some instances, for example among the Suessiones, the kingship was in a powerful enough position already to retain its influence, see below p. 43 n. 52. Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 35.

³⁵ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 44; C. Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul: Some Archaeological Perspectives", in T. Blagg & M. Millter, (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1990), p. 48; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 47.

sources that groups inhabiting the northern part of Belgica, including the Nervii, Menapii, Morini, Aduatuci, and Eburones, formed looser political formations than those in southern Belgica and other regions of Gaul.³⁶ Unlike in his discussions of other groups elsewhere in Gaul, Caesar does not mention any central political leaders among the Menapii, Morini, and Aduatuci.³⁷ Caesar does mention a military leader among the Nervii, Boduognatus, who was chief in command (*dux*) in 57 BCE.³⁸ However, this appears to have been a position only held during wartime, and no overall leader acting in a political role during peacetime is mentioned among the Nervii. Boduognatus does not appear again in Caesar's commentaries, and the *duces* and *principes* of the Nervii are only mentioned elsewhere in the context of negotiating with Caesar's general Quintus Tullius Cicero.³⁹ Caesar even refers to the Nervii as a *gens* and *homines feri*.⁴⁰ Kings are only mentioned in northern Belgica among the Eburones. Caesar refers to the *regnum* of Ambiorix and Catuvolcus,⁴¹ and later to Catuvolcus as *rex dimidiae partis Eburorum*.⁴² However, it is questionable whether these two held any substantial authority. Caesar relates an oration by Ambiorix in which he discusses the nature of his government, indicating his people had as much authority over him as he had over them.⁴³ Particularly revealing of the segmented organization of the northern groups is the situation among the Morini. In 55 BCE, the majority of the *pagi* of the Morini came to make peace with Caesar, though others remained hostile.⁴⁴ This indicates that there was little or no overall political or cohesive military leadership among the Morini, and the *pagi* could act

³⁶ See fig. 3.1.

³⁷ Roymans, "The North Belgic Tribes", p. 53.

³⁸ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.23.4.

³⁹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.41.1; Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 64.

⁴⁰ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.28.1; 2.15.5.

⁴¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.26.1-2.

⁴² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.31.5.

⁴³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.27.3.

⁴⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.22.1, 37.1.

independently.⁴⁵ The impression of the sociopolitical organization of the groups in northern Belgica is one of loosely organized ethnic groups headed by petty chiefs, whose status was probably determined by lineage and kinship.⁴⁶ Caesar describes a similar political organization among Germanic groups across the Rhine, where tribes chose common leaders during wartime, who were given power of life and death. Though during peacetime there was no central magistracy, and chiefs administered their *pagi* independently of the rest.⁴⁷

Increasing sociopolitical hierarchism is apparent among certain groups in central, southern, and eastern Gaul, as well as the southern Belgic *civitates*, from the second to first centuries BCE, caused by increasing competition among nobility and extension of clientage networks. Roymans points out evidence in Caesar's work for such developments occurring among the groups in southern Belgica.⁴⁸ For example, two leaders of the Treveri, Indutiomarus and Cingetorix, led separate factions that contended for the position of supreme power among their *civitas*.⁴⁹ Indutiomarus was able to convince the public assembly to condemn Cingetorix as an enemy of the Treveri.⁵⁰ Similarly, Correus, leader of the Bellovaci, had been able to expand his power within his *civitas* to such an extent that he had more influence over the people than the *senatus*.⁵¹ Caesar mentions the Suessiones as having had a king within memory known as Divitiacus, who had been the most powerful man in all of Gaul, and had even ruled over part of Britain. In Caesar's time they were led by a king named Galba.⁵²

⁴⁵ Nash, "Territory and State Formation in Central Gaul", p. 462, n. 5.

⁴⁶ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 54; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 210.

⁴⁷ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.23.4-5.

⁴⁸ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.3.1-2.

⁵⁰ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.56.3.

⁵¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 8.21-22.

⁵² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.7.

Among the groups in northern Belgica, however, there is little evidence for the kind of increased competition among the elite and sociopolitical hierarchism that we see in the southern half of Belgica, and other parts of Gaul, and it appears that the public assembly continued to have significant influence.⁵³ Caesar does not mention an elite controlling clients and slaves in large numbers among the groups in this area, as he does in the case of elites in other parts of Gaul. It appears that the client-patron system, which was the foundation of the private power expansion leading to increased social hierarchy in central, southern, and eastern Gaul, as well as the southern half of Belgica, had not developed to the same extent among the groups in northern Belgica by Caesar's time.⁵⁴ Caesar does write of some nobles among groups in northern Belgica, for example among the Nervii, who had a *senatus*.⁵⁵ However, as Fernández-Götz has shown, we should be wary of interpreting the significance of the Gallic *senatus* as an influential group in all instances.⁵⁶ Caesar's interpretation here may simply reflect the appointment of temporary leaders and unification into a larger group during wartime.⁵⁷ The general picture we get from the literary evidence is of decentralized political conditions in northern Belgica, contrasted by circumstances in southern Belgica where there was increasing centralization and development of client networks.⁵⁸ These situations are also reflected in the archaeological evidence.

Sociopolitical Complexity: The Archaeological Evidence

There is no indication in the archaeological record from northern Belgica of a truly high level elite social group. The quality and quantity of artifacts found in graves here is much lower than further south. The artifacts that are found in graves in the northern areas

⁵³ Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 32.

⁵⁴ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 54.

⁵⁵ The Nervii *senatus* was decimated in a battle against Caesar, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.28.2.

⁵⁶ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 66.

⁵⁷ Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul", p. 47. See p. 43, n. 47.

⁵⁸ Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul", p. 48.

include primitive handmade pottery fragments, and in rare cases simple metal objects such as fibulae.⁵⁹ It is impossible to directly correlate a dearth of burial artifacts with the lack of an elite in northern Belgica, since mortuary rituals may have been performed in this region that leave little or no archaeological trace.⁶⁰ However, the mortuary evidence supports the general picture of regional differences that indicates a low level of sociopolitical hierarchy in the area. The few relatively rich hoards found here can most probably be interpreted as belonging to local petty chiefs.⁶¹ In the southern areas of Belgica, luxury items such as Italian imports (see below), weapons, parts of wagons, and horseman's equipment, are found in what are clearly elite graves, and the heterogeneous nature of these graves is indicative of several layers of vertical social differentiation.⁶²

The northern Belgica area also lacks any definable settlement hierarchy. Archaeological evidence suggests that *oppida* are largely lacking in northern Belgica, and the only ones found in this region appear to have been temporary fortifications inhabited primarily in times of war.⁶³ The fortified settlements that did exist in northern Belgica show no signs of the kind of proto-urbanization that we see in the *oppida* of central Gaul and the

⁵⁹ W. J. H. Willems, "Archeologische Kroniek van Limburg over 1984", *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 121, (1985), pp. 165-7; Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, p. 236.

⁶⁰ P. J. Ucko, "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains", *World Archaeology* 1(2), (1969), pp. 266-7.

⁶¹ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", pp. 54, 64.

⁶² Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 255.

⁶³ Caesar does mention *oppida* in the northern Belgica areas, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.28.3 - Nervii; 2.29.2 - Aduatuci, but these may well have been relatively small fortifications used as refuges from raiders. It should be noted that Caesar employed the term *oppidum* quite loosely, for a wide range of fortifications, from relatively small ones to the large proto-urban complexes in central and eastern Gaul, J. Collis, *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps*, (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1984), p. 5. When discussing warfare between the Romans and the northern Belgic groups, Caesar only describes the Aduatuci as using fortifications to defend themselves, (2.29.2), while others fought guerilla-type warfare, Nervii, (2.16.5, 2.28.1), Morini and Menapii (3.28-9; 6.5.7), escaping with their possessions into marshes and woods; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, p. 11.

southern half of Belgica.⁶⁴ Caesar's comments on the settlements that existed among the groups in northern Belgica agree with the archaeological evidence which indicates that the area was dotted with widely dispersed, small rural settlements, rarely comprising of more than three or four farmhouses. The general uniformity of pre-Roman settlements in the region suggests a relatively egalitarian society was present in the Late La Tène period.⁶⁵ The archaeological evidence also indicates that there was little functional diversity among settlements in northern Belgica. Each appears to have been focused on agrarian occupations.⁶⁶ In the southern part of Belgica there is wider settlement diversity, where regional centers and large fortified settlements with specialized economic activities were present, some with proto-urban features, similar to the situation in central Gaul.⁶⁷ The settlement patterns reflect processes of increasing social complexity occurring during the Late La Tène period, which were far more advanced in the southern part of Belgica than in the northern.⁶⁸

The northern Belgic groups had a highly autarchic economic organization. As has been noted, northern Belgica lacked the proto-urban *oppida* of central Gaul and southern Belgica, as well as other larger settlements, features that were key to centralization and the storage and redistribution of tribute.⁶⁹ There is no archaeological or historical evidence of any redistribution systems, regional production specialization, or market places in this area. Craft production was local and of a relatively primitive nature. A specialized pottery industry was lacking, and traditional handmade ceramics continued to be produced locally in northern

⁶⁴ Nash, "Territory and State Formation in Central Gaul", pp. 457-9; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 143-59.

⁶⁵ Caesar mentions *vici* and *aedificia* in the northern areas, which the archaeological evidence suggests were small groups of irregularly arranged farmhouses, and isolated farmsteads, for example, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3.29.3; Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, p. 179-85.

⁶⁶ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 54.

⁶⁷ Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, p. 213; Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul", p. 52.

⁶⁸ Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul", p. 49.

⁶⁹ Caesar frequently comments on *oppida* in central Gaul being used as stores for goods, for example among the Aedui, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.23.1. Vercingetorix burns *oppida*, lest the Romans should capture them and their stores, 7.14.9. Caesar captured plenty of cereal and other provisions when he captured Avaricum, 7.32.1.

Belgica with relatively primitive technologies.⁷⁰ Archaeological evidence suggests that primitive agricultural tools such as the ard and simple flint sickles were still in use in northern Belgica during the Late La Tène period.⁷¹ Some pre-conquest gold coins do appear in the territory of the Nervii and Morini towards the mid first century BCE, and among the Eburones possibly as early as the second century.⁷² However, their relatively high value and widely dispersed distribution suggests they probably played a social role rather than economic, unlike in central Gaul and southern Belgica where a diverse range of coins were used from as early as the fourth century.⁷³

Absence of Wine and the Political Economy

A noteworthy characteristic of northern Belgica, compared to its Belgic and other Gallic neighbors to the south, is the absence of Mediterranean imports prior to the Gallo-Roman period. The Late La Tène period saw a vast increase in the number of imports found in non-Mediterranean Gaul, after a lull in trade with the Mediterranean from around 450 to 200 BCE.⁷⁴ Mediterranean imports into Gaul during this period were almost exclusively goods relating to the transport and consumption of wine, namely Dressel 1 amphorae and bronze feasting vessels.⁷⁵ These items are found in relatively significant numbers in the

⁷⁰ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 204, 217.

⁷¹ J. A. Brongers & P. J. Woltering, *De Prehistorie van Nederland, Economisch-Technologisch*, (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1978), pp. 22, 60.

⁷² Fernández-Götz points out that some signs of a developing social hierarchy are found in the territory of the Eburones towards the end of the La Tène period, from settlement patterns and finds of (relatively) valuable glass bracelets. However, as he notes, this had not reached anything like the levels of hierarchy and socioeconomic complexity seen in southern Belgica or elsewhere in Gaul, Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 212, 217. The same point is made by Roymans and S. Scheers, N. Roymans, & S. Scheers, “Eight Gold Hoards from the Low Countries: A Synthesis”, in N. Roymans, G. Creemers, & S. Scheers, (eds.), *Late Iron Age Gold Hoards from the Low Countries and the Caesarian Conquest of Northern Gaul*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), p. 27.

⁷³ Roymans, “North Belgic Tribes”, p. 53; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, pp. 204, 217.

⁷⁴ J. Collis, *The European Iron Age*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1984), p. 145.

⁷⁵ Fitzpatrick, “The Distribution of Dressel 1”, pp. 311-12; Peacock & Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*, p. 26, fig. 8; Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, pp. 178-9; Haselgrove, “Roman Impact on

southern part of Belgica though are lacking in the northern areas and the few finds here dating to before the Augustan-Tiberian period occur on early Roman military sites.⁷⁶ The distribution of amphorae throughout Late Iron Age Gaul indicates the existence of a mosaic of different patterns of wine use and systems of value put on the beverage.⁷⁷ In certain parts of central, eastern and southern Gaul, where amphorae finds are relatively numerous, wine was consumed on a range of settlement, agricultural, and industrial sites, and appears not to have been restricted to any particular social group.⁷⁸ The distribution of amphorae in southern Belgica, where they are found in much more limited numbers, suggests that redistribution was controlled by the elite and consumption was more restricted. Large amounts are found in some *oppida* within the region, which could function as storage and redistribution centres, where they were most probably bought from merchants by local elites and redistributed. Small amounts of amphorae are also found on rural sites, in both mortuary and settlement contexts, probably redistributed here by local elites rather than merchants themselves.⁷⁹ They are often found in wealthy graves and characteristically ‘aristocratic’ residences in southern Belgica.⁸⁰ Bronze vessels are extremely scarce, indicating they were probably a luxury item used by the elite to differentiate themselves from other social groups. The distribution of

Rural Settlement”, pp. 168-9, fig. 19; Loughton, “The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France”, p. 189, fig. 7. M. Loughton misinterprets the geographic limits of what Roymans (*Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*, p. 150) and Haselgrove (“Roman Impact on Rural Settlement”, p. 168) refer to as ‘northern’ and ‘southern’ Belgic Gaul when he claims that new findings show a more even distribution of amphorae between these two areas, as his own distribution map of Republican amphorae indicates (“The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France”, p. 189, fig. 7).

⁷⁶ In southern Belgica, there are concentrations of amphorae in the Trier region, the Aisne-Marne region, and around Paris, areas associated with the Treveri, Remi, and Suessiones. See Fitzpatrick, “The Distribution of Dressel 1”, p. 311.

⁷⁷ G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 179.

⁷⁸ Loughton, “Getting Smashed”, pp. 85-92.

⁷⁹ Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, pp. 147, 164-5.

⁸⁰ M. Poux, *L’âge du vin: Rites de boisson, festins et libations en Gaule indépendante*, (Montagnac: M. Mergoil, 2004), p. 614; Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 204.

Mediterranean imports in southern Belgica suggests that their trade moved along sociopolitical rather than commercial lines.⁸¹

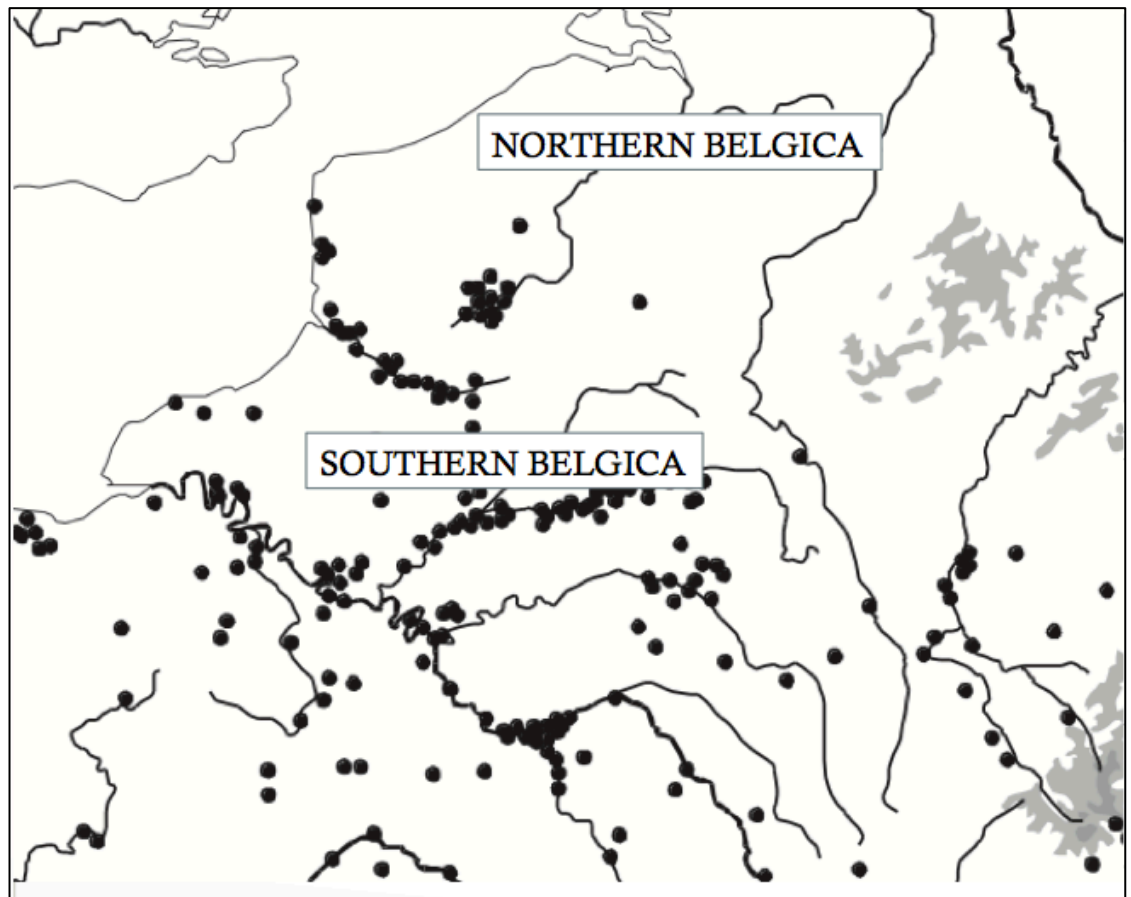


Fig. 3.2. Distribution of Republican Amphorae in Belgica, after Loughton, “The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France”, fig. 7, p. 189.

While distance from the source no doubt was an important factor in the diffusion of Mediterranean goods, the occurrence of amphorae and bronze vessels in southern Belgica and at early Roman military posts along the Rhine indicates a gradual distance-decay model probably does not account for the absence of such items in northern Belgica, as G. Woolf has argued.⁸² The absence of wine and other imports agrees with Caesar’s comment that the Nervii, who inhabited northern Belgica, forbade the import of wine and other luxuries,⁸³ and that merchants visited the Belgae less frequently than other Gauls.⁸⁴ It is possible that wine

⁸¹ Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, pp. 164-5.

⁸² G. Woolf, “The Social Significance of Trade in Late Iron Age Europe”, in C. Scarre & F. Healy (eds.), *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992), p. 216.

⁸³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.15.4.

⁸⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1.3.

was transported in wooden barrels, harder to detect archaeologically, and that the amount of wine being imported into Belgica is underrepresented in the archaeological record. However, it has only been established that wooden barrels were used for the transport of wine from the Early Imperial period,⁸⁵ and the remains of such barrels that have been recovered from this period are mostly found on Roman military sites.⁸⁶

As Dietler suggests in regards to the adoption and rejection of foreign drinks, the absence of wine and imported goods in northern Belgica should be understood in terms of local political economies.⁸⁷ It is clear that a contrast existed among groups in Belgica during the Late La Tène period. In southern Belgica we find groups exhibiting evidence of centralization and developed sociopolitical and economic complexity.⁸⁸ The northern part of the region is characterized by decentralized societies that lacked any settlement hierarchy, a high level elite, southern imports, or monetary coinage, with highly autarchic economies, and which continued to use primitive handmade pottery; societies that can be characterized as heterarchical.⁸⁹ As noted above, Mediterranean imports in southern Belgica moved along sociopolitical lines. It appears that the lack of wine and other Mediterranean imports in northern Belgica is due to the lack of sociopolitical and economic complexity, and a developed client-patron system, which meant that acquirement and redistribution of prestige goods, such as imported Italian wine and associated accoutrements, were not as important among these societies. This becomes apparent when we compare the situation in northern Belgica with that in the southern area, where imports were present, in more centralized, hierarchical, and complex societies. In the Lower Rhône Basin region in the Early Iron Age,

⁸⁵ See Str. 5.1.8 and Pliny. *HN*. 14, 132.

⁸⁶ G. Ulbert, "Römische Holzfässer aus Regensburg", *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 24, (1959), pp. 6-29, fig. 9; J. H. F. Bloemers, *Rijswijk (Z.H.), 'De Bult': Eine Siedlung der Cananefaten, I-III*, *Nederlandse Oudheden* 8, (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1978), p. 208ff, n. 3; cited in Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, p. 168.

⁸⁷ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381.

⁸⁸ Fernández-Götz, *Identity and Power*, p. 204.

⁸⁹ Thurston, "Unity and Diversity", p. 360 ff.

discussed in Chapter Two,⁹⁰ where similarly decentralized societies existed, wine was adopted. Proximity to Italy and Massalia meant a large and regular supply of wine was available in the Lower Rhône Basin. Dietler argues this large and regular supply of wine would have provided senior members of society ('Big-Men'), and even those previously disadvantaged, with a means of acquiring free-floating power through hospitality and feasting.⁹¹ In northern Gaul during the Late Iron Age, wine itself was an expensive luxury item, making it impractical for incorporation into local commensal politics in such decentralized societies as those in northern Belgica.⁹²

The fact that Mediterranean imports and wine amphorae did start to arrive in northern Belgica after a restructuring of the sociopolitical and economic organization of the region from the late first century BCE appears to support the argument presented above. During the Augustan-Tiberian period, Roman imports, including wine amphorae, began to appear in northern Belgica, including on rural (indigenous) settlements.⁹³ From around 20 BCE, Augustus undertook a number of initiatives that greatly altered the sociopolitical and economic organization of many parts of Gaul, including northern Belgica.⁹⁴ Political and administrative reorganization saw the gradual implementation of new *civitas* divisions based on the Mediterranean model, and the development of a limited market economy focused around Roman military centres.⁹⁵ Development of infrastructure, the beginnings of urbanization, and the appearance of craft specialization in northern Belgica were all stimulated by the stationing of Roman troops along the Rhine border and other parts of the

⁹⁰ See p. 26.

⁹¹ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 387.

⁹² Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, pp. 147, 165.

⁹³ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 58; Roymans, *Tribal Societies of Northern Gaul*, p. 150, n. 3.

⁹⁴ Dio. 53.22; Livy. *Per.* 134; Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, pp. 38-9.

⁹⁵ Roymans, "North Belgic Tribes", p. 57; Haselgrove, "The Romanization of Belgic Gaul", p. 50; N. Roymans, "The Sword and the Plough: Regional Dynamics in the Romanisation of Belgic Gaul and the Rhineland Area", in N. Roymans, (eds.), *From the Sword to the Plough: Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), pp. 58-60.

region.⁹⁶ As Roymans suggests, these factors led to increases in local economic production and exchange relations between Romans and indigenous groups and individuals, as well as the ‘commoditisation’ of Roman products in the region.⁹⁷ This explains the on-going lack of imports in the region through the immediate post-conquest period.⁹⁸

What then can be made of Caesar’s comment about the Nervii prohibiting wine and other luxuries into their territory? Caesar’s ethnographic treatments are often more telling about his aims than the reality of Late Iron Age Europe. He apparently acquired information concerning the Nervii from legates of the Remi, who he questioned about the other Belgic groups that had formed a league against Rome.⁹⁹ It is noteworthy that Caesar did not mention any such inquiries about the Helvetii or Ariovistus before the campaigns he discussed in the first book. Caesar’s decision to include this inquiry in his second book helped draw a picture of the Belgae that served his own aims. H. Schadee suggests that Caesar wrote about his inquiries into the Belgae in order to emphasize them as a category of peoples that were outside the Roman world of influence, and thereby portray himself as an innovative campaigner, crossing the boundaries of known Gaul.¹⁰⁰ Since he was describing a war he had just fought against the Belgae, he required a description of an enemy of stature.¹⁰¹ Caesar includes a comment from the legates that the Nervii were the most warlike among the Belgae.¹⁰² He clearly wanted to underline the fact that the Belgae were fierce opponents, and the Nervii, who had been the most resistant among them, were the fiercest. At the beginning

⁹⁶ Roymans, “North Belgic Tribes”, pp. 57-8; Haselgrove, “Roman Impact on Rural Settlement”, p. 138; A. Vanderhoeven, “The Earliest Urbanisation in Northern Gaul: Some Implications of Recent Research in Tongres”, in N. Roymans, (eds.), *From the Sword to the Plough: Three Studies on the Earliest Romanisation of Northern Gaul*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), p. 224ff.

⁹⁷ Roymans, “The Sword and the Plough”, p. 60.

⁹⁸ Roymans, “North Belgic Tribes”, pp. 57-8.

⁹⁹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.1.1, 2.4.1.

¹⁰⁰ Schadee, “Caesar’s Construction of Northern Europe”, p. 164.

¹⁰¹ Schadee, “Caesar’s Construction of Northern Europe”, p. 163.

¹⁰² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.7-8.

of his commentaries, Caesar stated that the Belgae were the bravest of all the Gauls due to their distance from civilization and the refinement of the Roman province of Narbonensis.¹⁰³ The Remi inform Caesar that most of the Belgae were ancestors of Germani who had crossed the Rhine in search of fertile country.¹⁰⁴ These comments recall a tradition in classical ethnography in which climatic and geographic conditions influence physiology and character.¹⁰⁵ The comments on their distance from civilization emphasized the barbarity of the Nervii, and their prohibition of wine and luxury items had the same effect.¹⁰⁶ Caesar says that the Nervii refused wine and other imported luxuries because they thought these things slackened their courage.¹⁰⁷ Caesar employs traditional ideas about the softening effects caused by proximity to civilization and use of luxuries.¹⁰⁸ The statement about the Nervii forbidding wine and other luxuries appears to be a stereotypical comment that might be expected from a classical ethnographer describing any northern barbarian group. It helped draw a picture of the Nervii as the most ‘Belgic’ of the Belgae. The Nervii were Caesar’s last foes in the campaign described in Book Two, and his defeat of them signaled the subjugation of all the Belgae.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1.3.

¹⁰⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.1.

¹⁰⁵ For example, Hdt. 1.71, 3.12, 9.122; Xen. *Ages.* 1.27-28; Cic. *Div.* 2.96-7; Pliny, *HN.* 279-80. See J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 45-9, 67-77; K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 27-31; J. S. Romm, “Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure”, in K. A. Raaflaub & R. J. A. Talbert, (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 220ff; P. T. Keyser, ‘Greek Geography of the Western Barbarians’, in L. Bonfante (ed.) *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 46.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 21 on the barbarization of foreign drinking practices in Greco-Roman literature.

¹⁰⁷ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.15.4.

¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Tacitus says the Germani living on the bank of the Rhine drank wine, Tac. *Germ.* 23.1, and became accustomed to coinage, 5.5. Caesar also says that the Germanic Suebi, described as somewhat of an antithesis to Romans, forbade the importation of wine, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, *Bell. Gall.* 4.2.6; Gruen, *Rethinking the Other*, p. 149; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, pp. 414-16.

¹⁰⁹ Schadee, “Caesar’s Construction of Northern Europe”, pp. 164-5.

Conclusion

The archaeological evidence suggests there was an absence of imported wine and associated feasting gear among the Nervii and other northern Belgic groups in the pre-Roman period. Dietler has shown how the adoption or rejection of foreign forms of drink and feasting gear can be linked to the political economy, and the evidence collated in this case study substantiates this contention. The historical and archaeological evidence suggest that groups living in southern Belgica in the Late La Tène period were increasing in their degree of centralization and sociopolitical and economic complexity, while groups in northern Belgica were more decentralized, with a more heterarchical landscape, lacking a high level elite, settlement diversity, monetary coinage, and southern imports. Mediterranean goods in southern Belgica moved along sociopolitical lines, as noted earlier. It appears that the groups living in northern Belgica lacked imported wine and associated feasting gear because they lacked the sociopolitical and economic infrastructure, and developed client-patron power relations that existed in southern Belgica, and which were essential in acquiring and redistributing such luxury items. His statement that the Nervii forbade wine and other luxuries may well reflect an accurate account of the social and cultural environment of northern Belgica that Caesar had been provided with by legates of the Remi. Whether he had heard this or not, Caesar appears to have added this information to his work in order to portray the Nervii as warlike and courageous, unfamiliar to Rome, and the quintessential Belgians. This helped set him up as an explorer, adding to Roman knowledge, and signal the completion of his subjugation of the Belgae.

Chapter 4

The Iceni

An absence of wine has also been identified among a group inhabiting south-east Britain in the Late Iron Age and Roman period, known as the Iceni. Similarly to the case of the Nervii, this absence has been identified based on the lack of amphorae in Icenian territory, and literary references, here in Cassius Dio, that have been interpreted as suggesting that the Iceni did not drink wine.¹ Best known in regard to their mid-first century leader, Boudica, and her rebellion against the Romans, the Iceni appear to have had a unique material culture, including an absence of wine, in the context of Late Iron Age south-east Britain. The absence of wine among the Iceni needs to be understood in terms of the regional cultural differences that existed in this period, particularly within the context of south-east Britain. The Late Iron Age saw several sociopolitical, economic and cultural developments in the region, and the Iceni appear to have been resistant to many of these changes. While their neighbors in southern Britain adopted outside foodways, in the form of wheel-turned pottery and imported Italian wine and vessels, the Iceni appear to have been selective with what items they imported. Roman influences, particularly wine, are markedly absent from Icenian territory. However, the lack of wine and other imports appears not to have been due to their geographically peripheral location within south-east Britain, but due to a conscious choice. These were dynamic communities that interacted with their southern neighbors and the wider world. The Iceni appear to have rejected wine as part of a broader resistance to outside influences, and a continuation of insular traditions, which included the consumption of valuable metals and coin hoards.

¹ Dio. 62.5.5, 62.6.4; Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, pp. 43-4, 81, figs. 3-4; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt*, p. 6; Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, p. 65; Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 127.



Fig. 4.1. Map of British tribes in first century CE from J. A. Davies & B. Robinson, *Boudica: Her Life, Times, and Legacy*, (Cromer: Poppyland Publishing, 2009), p. 10.

The Iceni in Late Iron Age south-east Britain

The Iceni were a group that inhabited northern East Anglia during the Late Iron Age and Roman period. The territory that the Iceni occupied is thought to have encompassed modern Norfolk, the northern half of Suffolk and north-eastern Cambridgeshire. The main evidence for delineating their territory is distribution of Icenian coin hoards,² and the name of

² Allen, "The Coins of the Iceni", p. 3.

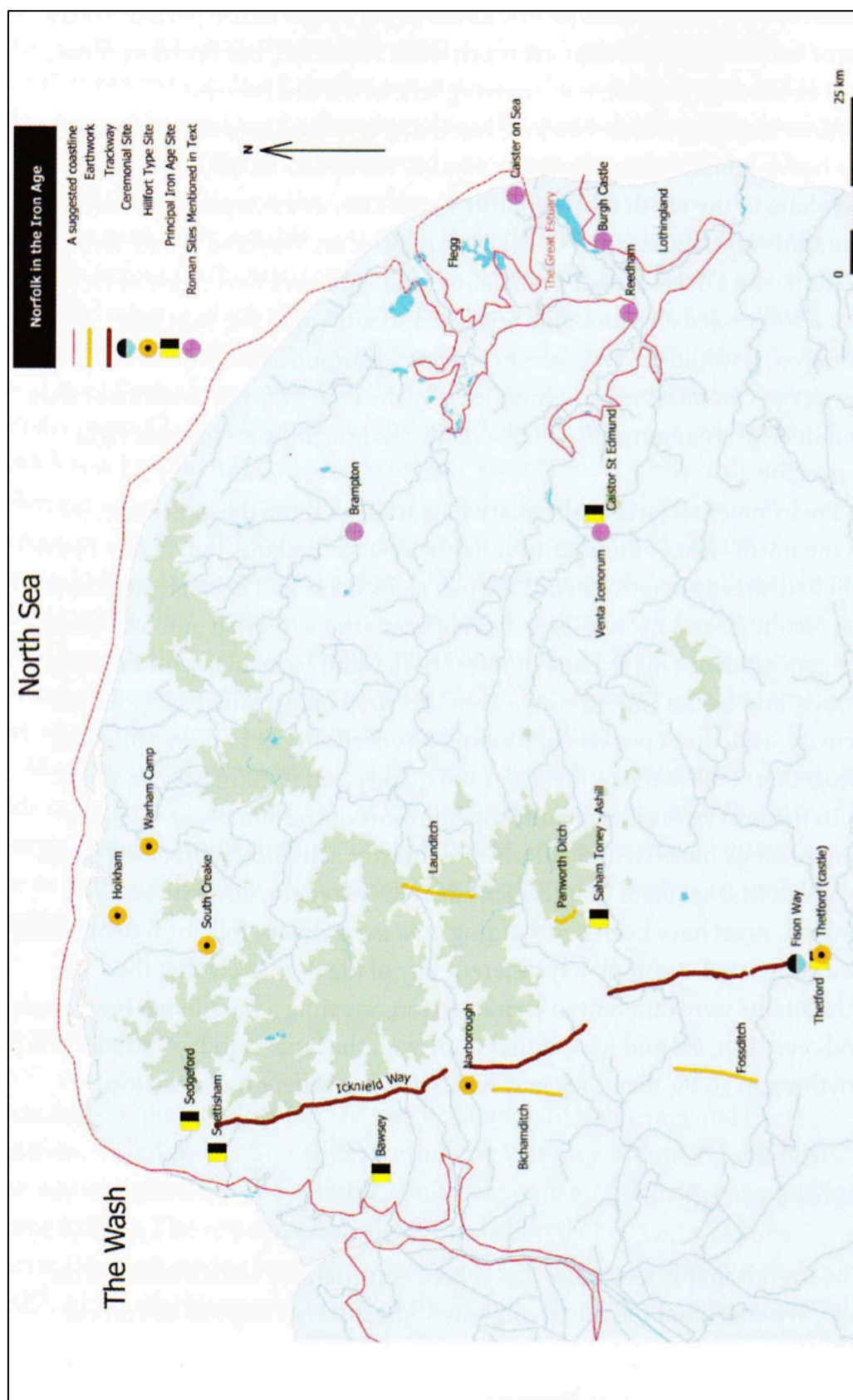


Fig. 4.2. Important sites in Late Iron Age and Roman northern East Anglia, after Davies & Robinson, *Boudica*, p. 14.

the Roman administrative center in this region, *Venta Icenorum*, or ‘market place of the Iceni’.³ The first possible reference to the Iceni in historical sources comes from Caesar’s records of his campaigns in Britain in 55 and 54 BCE. One tribe that Caesar mentions as surrendering to him was the *Cenimagni*, which has been interpreted as the Iceni.⁴ This name may have meant ‘Eceni Magni’, or ‘Great Iceni’,⁵ though perhaps the compound name referred to one sub-division of a larger group identified as the Iceni.⁶ The Iceni are not mentioned in historical sources again for another hundred years, until the period of the Roman conquest of Britain and the Boudican revolt.

The archaeological record indicates that the Late Iron Age saw important sociopolitical and economic developments in south-east Britain. These included the introduction of coinage, wheel-turned pottery, and the rite of cremation burial, as well as the expansion of settlement into new areas, the emergence of *oppida*, and the renewal of exchange contacts with continental Europe after several centuries of isolation,⁷ which led to the import of wine and other goods from the Mediterranean world.⁸ However, archaeologists are becoming increasingly aware that not all of these developments occurred everywhere. Local studies have revealed that significant cultural differences existed between the inhabitants of various regions and communities in Britain during this period, which are manifest in the archaeological record.⁹ Northern East Anglia was one region that was unique in terms of material culture. Unlike their neighbors in southern East Anglia, the inhabitants of northern East Anglia appear to have been particularly resistant to many of these developments, especially the importation of many Gallo-Belgic and Mediterranean goods.

³ Davies, “Patterns, Power and Political Progress”, p. 16.

⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 5.21; G. Webster, *The Roman Conquest of Britain: Boudica*, 2nd ed., (London: Batsford, 1993), p. 36.

⁵ Davies, “Patterns, Power and Political Progress”, p. 15.

⁶ Allen, “Coins of the Iceni”, p. 14.

⁷ Collis, *The European Iron Age*, pp. 158-62.

⁸ Davies, “Where the Eagles Dare”, p. 68.

⁹ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, pp. 107-8.

During the Late Iron Age, from around 150 BCE to 43 CE, a new range of pottery forms, influenced by northern Gallic and Roman originals, appeared in southern Britain. Along with these new styles came new technology, in the form of the fast potter's wheel. The distinctive 'Belgic' or 'Aylesford-Swarling' style of wheel-turned pottery appeared in parts of Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent, and West Sussex.¹⁰ As D. Braun puts it, 'Pots are tools', used for the storage, preparation, cooking and serving of food and drink, activities referred to as the 'foodways' of society.¹¹ J. Hill suggests that the need for specific types of ceramic tools relates to how cultural foodways require tools to prepare and serve certain foods and drinks in specific ways. Thus, these alterations in the range, form and type of pots might be evidence for a change in the way food was served and the types of food and drink consumed in south-east Britain.¹² This period also saw the beginning of the importation into these areas of Mediterranean ceramics in the form of Italian wine amphorae and tableware, fine pottery of Gallo-Belgic types, and metal vessels, including silver cups, bronze flagons, and bowls, manufactured in Gaul and Italy.¹³ Wine and its associated imports acted as prestige items used by local elites to display and enhance their status. The importation of exotic Mediterranean wine and vessels indicates an increased concern with using eating and drinking as a vehicle for social discourse in parts of south-east Britain.¹⁴

¹⁰ J. D. Hill, "Just About the Potter's Wheel? Using, Making and Depositing Middle and Later Iron Age Pots in East Anglia", in A. Woodward & J. D. Hill (eds.), *Prehistoric Britain: The Ceramic Basis*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), p. 143.

¹¹ D. Braun, "Pots as Tools", in J. A. Moore & A. S. Keene (eds.), *Archaeological Hammers and Theories*, (New York: Academic Press, 1983), pp. 107-34.

¹² Hill, "Just About the Potter's Wheel?" p. 144; M. Van der Veen, "Food As an Instrument of Social Change: Feasting in Iron Age and Early Roman Southern Britain", in K. C. Twiss (eds.), *The Archaeology of Food and Identity*, Occasional Paper 34, (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, 2007), p. 122.

¹³ Williams, "The Impact of the Roman Amphora", pp. 146-51; A. Fitzpatrick & J. Timby, "Roman Pottery in Iron Age Britain", in A. Woodward & J. D. Hill (eds.), *Prehistoric Britain: The Ceramic Basis*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), pp. 162-3; T. Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain*, (London: Routledge, 1987), p. 170.

¹⁴ Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain", p. 106.

However, in northern East Anglia, the ‘Land of the Iceni’, there appears to have been a general conservatism in pottery manufacture and use in the Late Iron Age. Many parts of this region continued to use hand-made sand and shell-tempered forms reminiscent of Middle Iron Age pottery traditions well into the Roman period.¹⁵ During the first century CE, wheel-turned pottery does appear in northern East Anglia, but only in relatively small quantities, some items being locally made and some imported from the south. Communities here appear to have adapted a very limited range of southern forms, and only those that fit within existing patterns of pottery use. They are mostly open bowl forms similar to those traditionally used in this area. Much of the repertoire developed in the south is missing or rare.¹⁶ Imports from the Mediterranean are largely absent in northern East Anglia, particularly amphorae, which are markedly rare.¹⁷ Seen from the perspective of the use of pottery and foodways, these regional variations in ceramic form and wine adoption indicate not only that different styles of pots were used, but also that significantly different foodways existed here in a different cultural environment. A noteworthy feature of ceramics in northern East Anglia in the early first century CE is a relative lack of differentiation and categorization, in contrast to what is found in southern East Anglia. Ceramics displayed little evidence of social differentiation or hierarchy, indicating that the Iceni engaged in social discourse and expressed their cultural identity in other ways.¹⁸

¹⁵ Gregory, *Excavations in Thetford*, p. 168; S. R. Bryant, “Iron Age”, in J. Glazebrook (eds.), *Research and Archaeology: A Framework for the Eastern Counties*, Occasional Paper 3 (Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology, 1997), p. 26; Percival, “Iron Age Pottery in Norfolk”, p. 182; G. Fincham, *Landscapes of Imperialism: Roman and Native Interaction in the East Anglian Fenland*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 338, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002), p. 12; C. Evans, “Britons and Romans at Chatteris: Investigations at Langwood Farm, Cambridgeshire”, *Britannia* 34, (2003), pp. 224, 249-50.

¹⁶ Hill, “Just About the Potter’s Wheel?” p. 158.

¹⁷ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 127; Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, pp. 43-4, 81, figs. 3-4; Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 172.

¹⁸ S. Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, p. 57; Hill, “Just About the Potter’s Wheel?” p. 158.

It should not be perceived that the groups inhabiting northern East Anglia lacked Gallo-Belgic and Roman pottery and amphorae because this region was geographically peripheral to the core zone of south-east Britain.¹⁹ As T. Darvill points out, the disparity in the availability of imported luxury goods between northern and southern East Anglia is greater than would be expected if distance from trading ports were solely to blame.²⁰ It appears that there was a lack of demand for these new pottery forms, be they made locally, in southern East Anglia, or elsewhere in Europe, as well as the exotic foods and beverages that were consumed in association with them.²¹ If changes were taking place during the Late Iron Age in northern East Anglia in terms of the consumption of food and beverages, the setting and social contexts of meals, and broader social discourses associated with such consumption, they did so within existing foodway traditions. This should not be interpreted to mean that these groups were backward or isolated. These were dynamic communities that interacted with each other and groups in the south.²² Archaeological finds suggest that gold and silver from the continent were being imported into northern East Anglia from the latter first century BCE, including bullion in the form of Gallic and Roman coins, to be melted down and reworked into local style artifacts and coins.²³ From 20 BC, large amounts of Roman *denarii* appear to have been imported into the region for this purpose.²⁴ This indicates that the Iceni were engaged in some trade with other parts of Britain and Europe, though they were

¹⁹ *Contra* C. Haselgrove, "Wealth, Prestige and Power: The Dynamics of Late Iron Age Centralization in South Eastern England", in C. Renfrew & S. Shennan (eds.), *Ranking, Resource, and Exchange: Aspects of the Archaeology of Early European Society*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 82-6.

²⁰ Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 172.

²¹ Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain", p. 109.

²² Hill, "Just About the Potter's Wheel?" p. 158.

²³ A. Chadburn, *Aspects of the Iron Age Coinages of Northern East Anglia with Especial Reference to Hoards*, PhD Thesis, (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 2006), pp. 378, 465.

²⁴ Chadburn, *Aspects of the Iron Age Coinages*, pp. 491-3.

selective with material they imported, acquiring a limited amount of metals for reuse in the production of local style items, but not foods or ceramics.²⁵

Identity, Consumption, and Social Discourse in the ‘Land of the Iceni’

The lack of amphorae and most other imports in Late Iron Age northern East Anglia is contrasted by its wealth in locally made gold and silver artifacts, including torcs, coin hoards and other metal items.²⁶ There have been more torcs found in northern East Anglia than in the rest of Britain all together. Torcs were valuable neck rings, worn by prominent individuals as status symbols.²⁷ Cassius Dio reports that Boudica wore a golden necklace when she went into battle against the Romans.²⁸ The most prolific category of metalwork found in the region is coinage, including Gallo-Belgic, local Icenian, and other British types.²⁹ These coins were of high value, mostly silver, and were probably not used by the Iceni as money but rather as bullion and for votive purposes.³⁰ There are also large numbers of horse-related metal artifacts, such as cart fittings, bridal bits, terrets (rein-rings), linch pins, and harness decorations found in northern East Anglia, significantly more than elsewhere in south-east Britain.³¹ Horse symbols are also found on Icenian coins. Raising horses appears to have played an important role in Icenian society.³² A number of areas in northern East Anglia have high-density distributions of metalwork from the Late Iron Age. Sites such as Fring, North Creak, and Snettisham, display continuous deposition of metalwork and coin hoards, dating from the second-century BCE through into the first century CE. This implies that the deposition of metalwork and coinage was a continuing tradition in this region. In southern East Anglia there

²⁵ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 127.

²⁶ Evans, “Britons and Romans at Chatteris”, p. 250; Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain*, p. 175; Collis, *The European Iron Age*, p. 165.

²⁷ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, pp. 103-4.

²⁸ Cass. Dio. 62.2.4.

²⁹ Davies, “Where the Eagles Dare”, pp. 81-7; Hutcheson, *Later Iron Age Norfolk*, pp. 49-59.

³⁰ Chadburn, “Tasking the Iron Age”, pp. 162-3.

³¹ Hutcheson, *Later Iron Age Norfolk*, pp. 60-88.

³² Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 110.

are fewer metal and coin hoards, and they are usually associated with settlements, whereas in northern East Anglia they mostly appear as part of isolated hoards deposited in a variety of places within the natural landscape.³³ The various sizes of hoards in northern East Anglia, and their deliberate and careful deposition in pits, holes, ditches and watery places within the landscape, as well as close to settlements, suggests these were a mixture of votive offerings and carefully selected savings hoards (not emergency hoards).³⁴ The lack of imported goods and the plain and functional nature of pottery from northern East Anglia during this period suggests that the Iceni engaged in social discourse and expressed their cultural identity through other means, and the emphasis on deposition of valuable metal objects and coin hoards in this region appears to provide an answer.³⁵

There is clearly a difference in the nature of archaeological evidence relating to groups in southern and northern East Anglia in the Late Iron Age, and this needs to be understood in terms of the key sociopolitical and cultural developments that occurred during this period. Apart from the developments in pottery and the introduction of imports, this period saw marked changes in southern East Anglia in terms of settlement, with the building of *oppida* and expansion into previously unoccupied areas, as well as the emergence of a new burial rite, cremation.³⁶ Linked to the development of cremation is the appearance of rich ‘chiefly’ graves. Importantly, the imported goods introduced into south-east Britain during this period are mostly found as part of grave good assemblages in rich cremation burials, while in the Roman period they are found primarily on settlement sites.³⁷ Finds of amphorae and associated feasting accoutrements in some of these rich burials indicate wine was a valuable status commodity in southern East Anglia. Northern East Anglia lacks both *oppida* and these

³³ Hutcheson, *Later Iron Age Norfolk*, pp. 92-3.

³⁴ Chadburn, *Aspects of the Iron Age Coinages*, pp. 467-8; Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 113.

³⁵ Percival, “Iron Age Pottery in Norfolk”, p. 182.

³⁶ Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, pp. 65, 69.

³⁷ Van der Veen, “Food As an Instrument of Social Change”, p. 122.

rich cremation burials. It appears the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural developments occurring in southern East Anglia during the Late Iron Age did not affect the north of the region. Southern East Anglia had little permanent occupation before the expansion of settlement during the Late Iron Age (from around 150 BCE).³⁸ S. Ralph argues that the expansion into areas previously unoccupied may have allowed communities and individuals greater freedom to escape deeply entrenched traditions and structures of authority. Movement into new areas precipitated the need to create new identities and negotiate new sociopolitical and economic relations. Feasting provided the setting within which individuals could establish their positions in a new social context, and the use of exotic imported Mediterranean eating and drinking equipment, and a new form of alcohol, wine, provided opportunities for aggrandizement.³⁹ While there was significant settlement expansion in certain parts of northern East Anglia during the Late Iron Age, much of the region had been relatively densely occupied since earlier periods.⁴⁰ Settlement expansion has been argued as important to social and cultural change in the late prehistoric period in temperate Europe, though the mechanisms behind these processes remain poorly understood.⁴¹ What might be suggested here, though, is that their southern neighbors were more affected by social and cultural developments in the Late Iron Age than the Iceni, possibly due to settlement expansion into new areas in southern East Anglia during this period.

The adaptation of limited types of southern pottery forms, and the selective nature of the adoption of outside materials by the Iceni, importing metals for reuse but not ceramics or foods, suggests the maintenance of traditional pottery forms and foodways in northern East Anglia was probably a conscious choice.⁴² It appears that wine, as well as many other

³⁸ Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain", p. 108.

³⁹ Ralph, "Feasting in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain", pp. 108-9.

⁴⁰ Hill, "Settlement, Landscape and Regionality", pp. 199-201.

⁴¹ Hill, "Settlement, Landscape and Regionality", pp. 199-200.

⁴² Hill, "Just About the Potter's Wheel?" p. 158.

Mediterranean style goods, was not simply absent but deliberately rejected, as recent scholarship has tended to argue.⁴³ Dietler suggests that the adoption of foreign influences must be considered within the logic of the political economy.⁴⁴ The evidence suggests that the Iceni selected only outside goods or materials that could be utilized within existing local practices in social discourse. What we find is that social discourse and the manifestation of wealth and influence in Late Iron Age northern East Anglia were expressed not through feasting and exotic imported goods, the way they appear to have been in southern East Anglia (as well as in southern Belgica, see Chapter Three, the West Hallstatt region during the Early Iron Age, see Chapter Two), but through insular traditions including in the utilization of large amounts of precious metal objects and coins.⁴⁵

There is ample evidence to complement the lack of amphorae in northern East Anglia to suggest that there was a preference for indigenous forms of alcohol here over imported types. Bronze strainers, likely used in the consumption of beer to remove vegetable additives, have been found on several sites in Norfolk and Suffolk. The fact that these strainers have been found within the same context as cauldrons here, and are rarely found with amphorae in other areas, further suggests they are used in association with beer rather than wine.⁴⁶ Bronze tankard handles are also found on several sites in northern East Anglia, as are drinking horns and cups.⁴⁷ The new forms of pottery being adopted in southern East Anglia in the Late Iron

⁴³ J. A. Davies, "Closing Thoughts", in J. A. Davies (eds.), *The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia: New Work in the Land of the Iceni*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 549, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 103-4.

⁴⁴ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 381.

⁴⁵ Chadburn, *Aspects of the Iron Age Coinages*, p. 495; Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ P. R. Sealey, "Finds from the Cauldron Pit: The Spouted Strainer Bowls", in N. R. Brown, (eds.), *The Archaeology of Ardeigh, Essex: Excavations 1955-1980*, East Anglian Archaeology Report 90, (Chelmsford: Heritage Conservation, Essex County Council, 1999), pp. 119-24; Ralph, *Feasting and Social Complexity*, pp. 69, 77, 79.

⁴⁷ J. A. Davies, "Boars, bulls and Norfolk's Celtic menagerie", in J. A. Davies (eds.), *The Iron Age in Northern East Anglia: New Work in the Land of the Iceni*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 549, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 63-5.

Age included a considerably high proportion of tall forms, which, it is argued, were for the consumption of beverages, indicating increased importance of drinking. Though wine was being consumed in this region, the majority of imported bronze vessels and new pottery forms were probably used with locally brewed forms of alcohol.⁴⁸ It appears that groups in southern East Anglia added Mediterranean ceramics and a new form of alcohol, wine, into their existing feasting repertoire, while the Iceni were resistant to this alternate set of foodways, and the broader social baggage they carried with them.⁴⁹ M. Aldhouse-Green suggests that the prevalence of locally made tankards, presumably used in the consumption of ale, mead or berry juice, and lack of wine-drinking equipment and amphorae in northern East Anglia, may be cited as evidence of a ‘counter-culture’ that was resistant to Roman influences and emphasized local Icenian identity.⁵⁰ Given the lack of evidence for Roman influences, and conscious decision to continue existing Icenian ways of life, including deposition of metal objects and traditional foodways, unlike their southern neighbors who readily adopted Roman material culture and wine, her suggestion has some credibility.

During the Late Iron Age, there appears to have been a general lack of outside influences in northern East Anglia evidenced through the absence of most Mediterranean influences seen elsewhere in south-east Britain, including wine and associated accoutrements, wheel-turned pottery, cremation burials, and a conservatism in form, fabric and decoration of pottery. The lack of outside influences, along with the prominence of certain items rarely found elsewhere in south-east Britain, such as torcs, horse related metal items, and Icenian coins that displayed distinct local designs and symbols not used by any other British groups, have been argued as evidence of a unique identity among the Iceni, in relation to other groups in the region.⁵¹ Unlike the Iceni, their southern neighbors, the Trinovantes and Atrebates,

⁴⁸ Hill, “Just About the Potter’s Wheel?” p. 150.

⁴⁹ Hill, “Just About the Potter’s Wheel?” p. 159.

⁵⁰ M. Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, (Milton Park: Routledge, 2014), p. 228.

⁵¹ Davies, “Closing Thoughts”, pp. 103-4.

frequently used symbols from the classical world on their coinage.⁵² After the conquest, and the region had come under direct imperial control in the aftermath of the Boudican rebellion, Mediterranean influences began to trickle into northern East Anglia, though there are several indications that local groups continued traditional ways of life, under what J. Davies describes as a ‘surface of veneer Romanization’.⁵³ Two sets of Roman metal drinking vessels have been found in Norfolk, at Crownthorpe and Hockwold, dating to the conquest period or soon after. However, these are isolated finds,⁵⁴ and the Hockwold hoard contains deliberately damaged items, probably meant for reworking into local style goods.⁵⁵ The lack of Roman villas and the modest progress of the capital of the province, *Venta Icenorum*, in the Roman period have been suggested as indicating that the Iceni never wholly embraced Roman lifestyles.⁵⁶ R. Bradley argues that the remarkable enclosure at Fison Way in Thetford, Norfolk, built in the Roman period, was a sanctuary that provided a symbol of local resistance to Roman rule. Situated at a key location, highly visible to those entering Icenian territory, the unique construction and apparent ceremonial association, he argues, indicate an ostentatious expression of independence.⁵⁷ Icenian culture certainly did not disappear in the Roman period. The Icenian practice of depositing valuable metals continued into Roman times. Hoards of metals, often including items reminiscent of torcs and other Icenian Iron Age style artifacts, were deposited in northern East Anglia throughout the Roman period.⁵⁸ The utilization of

⁵² Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 111.

⁵³ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 143.

⁵⁴ Davies suggests the Crownthorpe hoard was the property of a member of the Icenian elite who had sought to enhance his status through adoption of Roman modes of behavior following the Roman conquest in 43 CE. He quickly buried these items before fleeing (due to his pro-Roman stance) when the Iceni rose in revolt against the Romans in 60 CE. Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 139.

⁵⁵ Aldhouse-Green suggests the deliberate damage of these items may be interpreted as a gesture of contempt for Roman ways of life, which were epitomized by wine drinking, Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, p. 228.

⁵⁶ Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, p. 228.

⁵⁷ R. Bradley, *Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 182-88; Davies, “Closing Thoughts”, p. 105.

⁵⁸ Davies, *The Land of Boudica*, p. 229; Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, p. 229ff.

traditional ceramic forms continued on many post-conquest non-military sites, and wine amphorae are rare in Roman northern East Anglia as they were here in the pre-Roman period, unlike most other parts of southern Britain.⁵⁹ It appears that the rejection of wine among the Iceni was part of a broader resistance to outside influences during the Late Iron Age, which continued into the Roman period to a certain degree.

Written sources provide little evidence for the adoption of wine in Britain. What we have comes from the post-conquest period, though as we have seen, wine appears to have been largely absent in northern East Anglia in this period also. Cassius Dio's account of a speech given by Boudica to her army before going into battle against the Romans possibly provides evidence for Icenian rejection of wine and Roman ways of life. Describing characteristics that made them inferior to the Iceni, Boudica says the Romans required, amongst other things, wine to stop them from perishing, whereas for the Iceni any water served as wine. Dio also has Boudica say that such Roman customs as using warm water to bathe and drinking unmixed wine were unmanly.⁶⁰ Several authors have taken these statements to indicate that the Iceni were not tempted by wine.⁶¹ Dio's description of the Britons in many ways portrays them as 'Noble Savages', unaccustomed to the civilized practices of the Greco-Roman world.⁶² They largely evoke standard stereotypical representations of western barbarians in Greco-Roman literature.⁶³ However, in light of the archaeological evidence, which suggests the Iceni did reject wine and most Roman influences,

⁵⁹ Hill, "Just About the Potter's Wheel?" p. 158.

⁶⁰ Dio. 62.5.5; 62.6.4. These statements are presumably Dio's own imagined ideas of how Boudica would have perceived the Romans. The latter contradicts earlier accounts by stating that drinking 'unmixed wine' was a Roman practice, see Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, p. 81.

⁶¹ Carver, *The Visibility of Imported Wine*, p. 81; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt Against Rome*, p. 6; Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, p. 65.

⁶² N. Schumate, *Nation, Empire, Decline: Studies in Rhetorical Continuity from the Romans to the Modern Era*, (London: Duckworth, 2006), pp. 81-8; Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, p. 147.

⁶³ Adler, *Valorizing the Barbarians*, p. 159.

it is possible that Dio's account of Boudica's speech contains an indication that this phenomenon was indeed a reality.

Conclusion

As has been shown, the Icenian rejection of wine appears to have been part of a broader resistance to outside influences in the Late Iron Age. The Iceni were highly selective in their adoption of outside influences, with only limited pottery forms that fit into existing ceramic traditions, and metal bullion that was reworked into local style items, being imported. The imported Mediterranean wine and vessels found in other parts of south-east Britain appear in the rich 'chiefly' burials, indicating they were prestige items used to emphasize the wealth and status of the deceased and their family. The lack of these imports, and the plain and functional nature of pottery in northern East Anglia, indicates the Iceni engaged in social discourse and expressed their identity in other forms, and as we have seen, this appears to have included the utilization of valuable metal artifacts and coins. The rejection of wine and outside foodways by the Iceni appears to have been a conscious choice, not due to any backwardness or isolation. Their adoption of some forms of the pottery repertoire from the south, and importation of metal bullion, indicates they interacted and traded with other parts of Britain and Europe. Rather, the emphasis on traditional pottery forms and drinking vessels, and lack of Roman material, indicates the Iceni were generally resistant to outside influences. The rejection of wine appears to be part of this broader resistance.

Chapter 5

Germania

This chapter attempts to investigate the alcohol consumption habits of the inhabitants of Germanic regions that did not come under permanent control of the Roman Empire. Literary evidence suggests that groups in these regions, who came to be known as Germani, engaged in excessive drinking and feasting activities, and consumed beer. Caesar hints at a resistance to the importation of wine by the Germanic Suebi, and Tacitus may also indicate a sense of resistance to Roman ‘pleasures’ among Germanic groups. Scholars are divided as to whether wine was being consumed in Germania due to the ambiguity of the archaeological evidence. Wine amphorae are absent from Germanic regions, however, Roman wine drinking vessels are found in great numbers as grave goods in elite burials. The dominant view has been that these vessels indicate that Germanic groups were imitating Roman wine drinking rituals, and consuming wine. However, new approaches to social anthropology and social theory have led certain scholars to challenge this view. This chapter reviews the evidence relating to alcoholic beverages in Germania, and analyzes recent theories on the consumption of foreign imports in antiquity, in an attempt to construct some conclusions on the drinking habits of the Germani in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (200-1 BCE) and the Early Roman Iron Age (1-200 CE).

Caesar’s Suebi

During an ethnographic digression in his commentaries on the Gallic Wars, Caesar describes the Suebi as the largest and most warlike nation of all the Germani. It appears that Caesar draws upon standard ethnographic tradition to fit the description of inhabitants of such a remote northern land that his audience may have anticipated.¹ He says the Suebi lived a

¹ T. S. Burns, *Rome and the Barbarians: 100 B.C. – A.D. 400*, (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 127.

nomadic lifestyle, where none held private land nor were permitted to reside in one place for more than a year. They cared nothing for corn and subsisted on milk and meat, engaging in hunting and husbandry, a lifestyle that made them so strong and resilient that they wore no clothes, even in the coldest areas.² To Caesar, the German was a similar type of barbarian to the Belgian,³ and this was particularly true of the Suebi. They personified the stereotypical northern barbarian, with their strength, savagery and freedom.⁴ Most important to this thesis are Caesar's comments on the Suebi's attitude towards trade with the outside world. He mentions that the Suebi allowed traders access to their land because they wished to sell booty they had captured in war, rather than because they needed any imported commodities. Similarly to the Nervii, Caesar says the Suebi on no account permit wine to be imported to them, as they believe men are rendered soft and effeminate by its consumption.⁵ Here, the Suebi differ from another Germanic group, the Ubii, who are somewhat more 'civilized' than other Germans. This is due to their bordering the Rhine and having merchants visit them frequently, but also because their close proximity has made the Ubii grow accustomed to Gallic ways of life.⁶ Their contact with the Gauls was corrupting the Ubii, and this appears to be what the Suebi, according to Caesar, were avoiding.⁷ Their lifestyle was incompatible with Roman values, and in this way Caesar portrays the Suebi as the antithesis of the Romans.⁸

There is a distinct lack of precision in the information Caesar provides about the Suebi. He says they are said to possess one hundred *pagi*,⁹ here, the use of *dicuntur* indicates Caesar cannot verify this. Further, he does not provide a location for their one hundred *pagi*. Their

² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.1.

³ Caesar mentions at one point that they are related, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.4.1.

⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.1.9; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, p. 85ff.

⁵ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.2.

⁶ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.3. See pp. 53, 80.

⁷ Schadee, "Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe", p. 168

⁸ Burns, *Rome and the Barbarians*, pp. 127-8.

⁹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.1.4.

nomadic lifestyle made the Suebi difficult to locate.¹⁰ They apparently have unoccupied territory on one side of their borders rather than other groups or rivers or mountains,¹¹ and on another a forest separates them from the Cherusci.¹² Caesar says the Suebi considered that having unoccupied territory surrounding them indicated that other nations could not withstand their power.¹³ Their deliberate isolation and Caesar's lack of explicit information on the Suebi tie together to portray them as unknown. Schadee suggests that Caesar's lack of definitive information, and that fact he did not make inquiries into them as he had about the Belgae and Nervii, was meant to imply the Suebi were not just unknown, but also unknowable. At the beginning of his work, Caesar presented Gaul as a known entity, showing himself as in control of her, heralding the way for military domination.¹⁴ The Suebi are portrayed as unknowable, incorruptible, and therefore unconquerable.¹⁵ Caesar's ethnography of the Germani as a whole is essentially indistinguishable from his passages on the Suebi.¹⁶ As with his 'imaginary geography',¹⁷ the 'imaginary ethnographies' of the Suebi and Germani provided his audience with a reason why he did not further his campaigns into Germania.¹⁸ Those in Rome would have had knowledge of Caesar's short-lived campaigns into

¹⁰ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.1.7.

¹¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.3.2. Again, use of the term *dicuntur* emphasizes that Caesar cannot verify this statement.

¹² Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.10.

¹³ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.3.2.

¹⁴ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.1. Caesar did not possess knowledge of the Belgae and Nervii but made successful inquiries about these groups before proceeding to subjugate them, 2.1.1, 2.4.1.

¹⁵ Schadee, "Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe", pp. 168-9.

¹⁶ Suebi 4.1-3; Germani, 6.21-28. Both have diets based on meat and milk (4.1.8, 6.22.1) and live nomadic lives (4.1.7, 6.22.2). See Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, p. 60.

¹⁷ Caesar's depiction of vast empty spaces in Germania (Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.3.2, 6.23.1), and a lack of definitive borders besides the Rhine, has been argued by C. B. Krebs as being an attempt by the general to create a comparison between Germania and Herodotus' Scythia. By withdrawing from Germania, Caesar did not fall victim to the Germani, as Darius' Persian army had against the Scythians, the archetypal nomads who used their geography to give themselves a military advantage (Hdt. 4.47, 4.130-1), similar to the retreat of the Suebi into the vast forests when Caesar crossed the Rhine (Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.19.2), Krebs, "Imaginary Geography", pp. 121, 131.

¹⁸ Krebs, "Borealism", p. 207.

Germania,¹⁹ and it was important for him to show that he had subjugated the Gauls to justify his Gallic campaigns.²⁰ He defines the Gallic *nation* as separate from that of the Germani,²¹ though archaeological evidence largely shows similarity in material culture either side of the Rhine.²² Caesar's text clearly differentiates Gaul and Germania geographically, and Gauls and Germani in ethnocultural terms.²³ Ignoring existing ethnocultural circumstances in northern Europe, Caesar constructs Gaul as an extension of the Roman province in the South, a new entity, and conquered space that will become a province.²⁴ His depiction of the Suebi and Germani helped define them as radically different to the Gauls, who were more familiar and therefore able to be brought into the *orbis Romanus*. This served not only to justify his withdrawal from Germania, but also emphasize the completion of his conquest of Gaul.²⁵

What can be made then about Caesar's comment that the Suebi forbade the importation of wine? Is this just a statement meant to portray the Suebi as the antithesis to a Roman audience in order to justify his withdrawal from Germania, or does Caesar report a genuine phenomenon he has heard about? Several scholars have pointed to a lack of wine amphorae in the archaeological record in Germania to suggest that Caesar's comment on their prohibition of wine was accurate.²⁶ An analysis of archaeological evidence that might provide some insight into these questions, as is attempted here with the Nervii and Icenii in the previous chapters, is problematic, given that Caesar's Suebi are difficult to locate with the information he provides. Caesar mentions that the Suebi were putting pressure on groups on the Rhine, including the Usipetes and Tencteri who were settled along the river near where it

¹⁹ Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 33.

²⁰ Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, pp. 157-89.

²¹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.11.1.

²² B. Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), p. 237.

²³ R. Evans, "Barbarian Nation: Ethnic Terms in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*", *Iris* 23, (2012), p. 6.

²⁴ Evans, "Barbarian Nation", p. 8.

²⁵ Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, pp. 68-9.

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, "The Distribution of Dressel 1", pp. 311-12; Peacock & Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman economy*, p. 26, fig. 8; Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, pp. 178-9.

met the ocean, and the Ubii, indicating they occupied, or were moving into, areas adjacent to the middle and/or lower Rhine region.²⁷ Caesar says incursions into eastern Gaul were made under the Suebian leader, Ariovistus, and this has led some scholars to suggest that the Suebi inhabited parts of south-western Germany.²⁸ Caesar's comments suggest the Suebi were migrating during this period, possibly in several different areas, making it difficult to locate them archaeologically. This difficulty is exacerbated by later writers' accounts of the Suebi. Strabo describes them as being made up of several different tribes,²⁹ and states that they were situated between the Rhine and Elbe rivers, some even dwelling beyond the Elbe.³⁰ Tacitus speaks of the Suebi as occupying more than half of Germania, divided into distinct peoples with their own names, of whom the Semnones are the oldest and noblest,³¹ though all identifying as Suebi.³² He places some of them in the remote regions of Germania.³³ Thus, it is difficult to undertake an investigation of archaeological evidence to identify the Suebi regionally, and explore any potential motives behind a resistance to wine.³⁴ However, much can be said about alcohol consumption habits in Germania during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, and Early Roman Iron Age, based upon historical and archaeological sources.

²⁷ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.54.1; 4.1; A. Wigg, "Confrontation and Interaction: Celts, Germans and Romans in the Central German Highlands", in J. D. Creighton & R. J. A. Wilson (eds.), *Roman Germany: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 32, (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), p. 36.

²⁸ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 1.36; Burns, *Rome and the Barbarians*, p. 112; E. W. Bangs, *Threads of Identity: The Persistence and Change of Expressed Memetic Variants of the Suebi and Alamanni in Southwest Germany, the First Century BC through the Sixth Century AD*, PhD Thesis, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010), p. 1, 111.

²⁹ Str. 7.1.15-18.

³⁰ Str. 7.1.20.

³¹ Tac. *Germ.* 39.1.

³² Tac. *Germ.* 38.1.

³³ Tac. *Germ.* 41.1.

³⁴ The regions occupied by the Nervii and Iceni, by contrast, are easily identified through numismatic evidence and the locations of their provincial *civitates* during the imperial period.

Alcohol Consumption Beyond the Rhine

There is ample evidence to suggest that groups living beyond the Rhine were drinkers of beer and mead. Though Caesar does not mention beer anywhere in his commentaries,³⁵ other sources state that many of the peoples he spoke about did indeed drink beer and similar locally made beverages, including mead.³⁶ Strabo mentions that the Germanic Cimbri gave the Emperor Augustus a cauldron that was sacred to them as a gift,³⁷ and this may have been a beer vessel.³⁸ Tacitus' ethnographical treatise, *Germania*, is the most important literary evidence for Germanic society during the Early Imperial Period. He provides considerable insight into the feasting and drinking habits of the Germani. Caesar had stated that the Germani occupied their lives with hunting and military pursuits (echoing his description of the Suebi in particular),³⁹ paying little attention to agriculture and living mainly on milk, cheese, and meat.⁴⁰ Tacitus indicates that the Germani preferred fighting to farming,⁴¹ but also says that Germania was fertile in grain crops.⁴² The Germani allotted arable land in order of rank,⁴³ and crops were grown, though some groups, such as the Aestii, showed more patience with cultivation than others.⁴⁴ Tacitus also indicates what some of this grain may have been used for. The Germani abandon themselves to the indulgences of feasting and entertainment more than any other peoples,⁴⁵ and drinking away the day and night is not considered disgraceful.⁴⁶ They drink a liquid made from barley or wheat that, once decomposed,

³⁵ Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, p. 79.

³⁶ See above, pp. 19-22.

³⁷ Str. 7.2.1.

³⁸ Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, p. 80.

³⁹ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.21.

⁴⁰ Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.22.

⁴¹ Tac. *Germ.* 14.3.

⁴² Tac. *Germ.* 5.1.

⁴³ Tac. *Germ.* 26.2-3.

⁴⁴ Tac. *Germ.* 45.3. Crops were apparently stored in pits covered in dung, 16.3.

⁴⁵ Tac. *Germ.* 21.2.

⁴⁶ Tac. *Germ.* 22.1-4.

resembles wine (obviously beer).⁴⁷ This is the first time the Germani are mentioned as beer drinkers.⁴⁸ Archaeological evidence also points to the Germani being beer drinkers.

Germinated barley has been found on first century CE settlement sites in Østerbølle, Denmark, and Eketorp, Sweden, which appears to indicate brewing was being undertaken.⁴⁹

Archaeobotanical analysis of residues from two drinking horns, found in a peat bog in the Haderslev region of southern Jutland, and dating to the first century CE, have shown that beer and mead, or perhaps a mixture of the two, were drunk from these vessels.⁵⁰ Thus, the literary and archaeological evidence indicate the Germani were drinking beer from at least the first century CE, and perhaps much earlier.⁵¹

There are indications from Greco-Roman literary sources that the Germani did not consume wine. Several sources indicate that, during the late second century BCE, in one of the first encounters Rome had with peoples who would later be referred to as ‘Germani’, several northern European groups, including the Cimbri, migrated south towards Italy, either due to flooding in their homeland or on marauding expeditions.⁵² Cassius Dio reports that when the Cimbri stopped in Italy they lost much of their spirit and became enfeebled on account of abandoning their usual lifestyle and began to live in houses, have warm baths, eat fancy foods, and, as was contrary to their custom, steep themselves in wine and strong

⁴⁷ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; Tacitus’ reference to beer as decomposed barley and wheat follows that of Theophrastus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who both described the beverage as being made from rotted cereals, Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 6.11.2, Dion. Hal. 13.11.1. See p. 21 n. 8.

⁴⁸ Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, p. 80.

⁴⁹ Van Zeist, “Economic Aspects”, pp. 119-20.

⁵⁰ McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, p. 153.

⁵¹ As noted above, beer and mead were consumed in the West Hallstatt (southern Germany) region during the Early Iron Age, see pp. 22-3.

⁵² Tac. *Germ.* 37. Pliny refers to northern Jutland as ‘the promontory of the Cimbri’, Plin. *HN* 2.167, 4.96-7. According to Strabo, Posidonius conjectured that the Cimbri and other northern groups migrated due to inundation of the sea in their homeland, Posid. *Ocean*, fr. 49 Kidd, in Str. 2.3.6, or perhaps on a marauding expedition, Posid. *Frg.* fr. 272 Kidd, in Str. 7.2.1-2.

drink.⁵³ This appears to agree with Caesar's comment about the Suebi, to indicate that wine consumption was not established among the Germani in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (however we should be wary of the ethnographic framework and political agenda behind Caesar's statements). Posidonius is the first ancient writer we hear of who referred to 'Germani', and he claimed that for breakfast they ate meat and drank milk and unmixed wine.⁵⁴ However, we do not know what Posidonius meant when he used the term 'Germani'. It is not clear whether he referred to a large ethnic group living in northern Europe, the way later writers used the term, or some smaller sub-ethnic group.⁵⁵ It is generally agreed that Caesar was the first person to talk about the Germani as a major ethnos in northern Europe, separate from the Celts, living beyond the Rhine.⁵⁶ Thus, Posidonius' comment does not necessarily contradict those of Caesar and Cassius Dio as we cannot verify who Posidonius' Germani were or where they were located.⁵⁷

Tacitus also provides insight into the consumption of wine in Germania. He comments that those living nearest the Rhine acquired wine through trade,⁵⁸ implying that those living in the interior of Germania did not. In his major work the *Annales*, Tacitus mentioned the wine bibbing of Italicus, the nephew of Arminius, leader of the Germanic Cherusci in 47 CE.⁵⁹ It is quite possible Italicus picked up this trait whilst captive in Rome.⁶⁰ J. B. Rives argues that

⁵³ Cass. Dio. 27.94.2.

⁵⁴ Posid., *Hist.* 30, fr. 73 Kidd, in Athen. *Deipn.* 4.153e.

⁵⁵ Krebs, "Imaginary Geography", p. 119.

⁵⁶ S. P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 76; S. Brather, "Acculturation and Ethnogenesis along the Frontier: Rome and the Ancient Germans in an Archaeological Perspective", in F. Curta (eds.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), p. 139; Krebs, "Imaginary Geography", p. 119.

⁵⁷ Nelson raises the question as to whether Posidonius' reference to the Germani drinking wine was actually a mistake for beer, Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, p. 194, n. 78.

⁵⁸ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1.

⁵⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 11.16.2.

⁶⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 11.16.1; Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage*, p. 81.

Tacitus betrays his preference for wine when he refers to the beer that the Germani drink as ‘something like wine’.⁶¹ Greco-Roman authors often referred to the beer barbarians drank as an imitation of wine or a substitute for it.⁶² While Tacitus does not explicitly condemn beer as a barbarian beverage, he clearly portrays it as non-Roman. Tacitus was a Roman senator, historian, and traditionalist who considered that Roman virtue was diminishing, while Germanic virtue remained strong.⁶³ In several passages, the *Germania* portrays the Germani as similar to the Romans of the earlier Republican period in terms of their piety and valor, and many authors have argued this was meant to emphasize the demise of contemporary Roman society.⁶⁴ Therefore it is unsurprising that he idealizes a distinct Roman palate as part of a harkening back to the former glory days of the Roman Republic.⁶⁵

Nelson has argued that Tacitus provides a similar indication to Caesar’s comment about the Germanic Suebi, that Roman imports, including wine, were resisted among the Germani. In his other major work, the *Histories*, Tacitus relates that in 70 CE, during the Batavian Revolt led by Gaius Julius Civilis, the Germanic Tencteri, who had joined the revolt, sent an embassy to the Germanic citizens of Colonia Agrippina. They urged the inhabitants to revolt against the Roman Empire with the words, ‘Resume the customs and culture of your

⁶¹ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; Rives, *Tacitus*, p. 213.

⁶² Imitation - Virg. *Georg.* 3.379-80; Jul. Afr. *Cesti.* 1.19.17-23, Vieillefond, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T83, p. 314. Substitute - Hdt. 2.77.4; Posid. *Hist.* 23, fr. 169 Theiler, in Diod. Sic. *Bib. Hist.* 5.26.2, cited and trans. Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, T26, p. 294; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.11.1; Dio. 49.36.2-3. See Nelson, *Beer in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, pp. 195-6.

⁶³ O’Gorman, “No Place Like Rome”, p. 147.

⁶⁴ For example, the Germani live chaste lives, Tac. *Germ.* 19.1. Tacitus appears to criticize the mollicoddling of Roman aristocratic children when he states that the Germani raise their own children the same as their slaves, 20.1. He comments on the low status of freedmen in Germanic society, alluding to his resentment at the power given to *liberti* by the Roman emperors, 25.2. See O’Gorman, “No Place Like Rome”, pp. 140-1, 146-9; E. Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern*, 2nd ed., (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 69; Rives, *Tacitus*, pp. 61-2; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, pp. 433, 436; Gruen, *Rethinking the Other*, pp. 162-3.

⁶⁵ As argued by J. W. Strickland, *Beer, Barbarism, and the Church from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, MA Thesis, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, 2007), p. 10.

fathers, cutting off those pleasures which give the Romans more power over their subjects than their arms bestow.’⁶⁶ While we cannot know for certain what Tacitus meant by these customs, nor precisely the Roman pleasures he speaks of, this could be interpreted to indicate a sense of resistance to Roman influences among certain Germanic groups.⁶⁷ The fact that Tacitus later relates how the inhabitants of Colonia Agrippina intentionally stupefied a cohort of Civilis’ Germanic troops with wine before burning them alive, perhaps gives some strength to the argument that the Roman pleasures he mentioned included wine.⁶⁸

Roman merchants were certainly trading with groups beyond the Rhine frontier. According to Tacitus, Roman *negotiatores* were active in the land of the Frisii (northern Holland) in 69 CE,⁶⁹ and this is confirmed by finds of a first century wax tablet in Tolsum, Friesland, that indicates Roman centurions were purchasing cattle from locals.⁷⁰ Traders from the Roman provinces were also established in Bohemia, at the court of the Marcomannian king Maroboduus.⁷¹ Germanic merchants even appear to have been trading within the Empire. The Tencteri complained about the customs and duties they were made to pay when trading with Colonia Agrippina,⁷² and Tacitus states that only the Hermunduri were permitted to trade deep within the Empire’s borders.⁷³ But what was the nature of trade between the Roman Empire and the Germani, and what types of goods were being exchanged?

Tacitus mentions that those Germani living along the Rhine buy wine.⁷⁴ He also says only those near the frontier know the value of gold and silver.⁷⁵ Tacitus further highlights a

⁶⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 4.64.3.

⁶⁷ Nelson, *The Barbarian’s Beverage*, p. 81.

⁶⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 4.79.2.

⁶⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 4.15.

⁷⁰ M. Carroll, *Romans, Celts & Germans: The German Provinces of Rome*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p. 97.

⁷¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.62.3.

⁷² Tac. *Hist.* 4.65.

⁷³ Tac. *Germ.* 41.1.

⁷⁴ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1.

⁷⁵ Tac. *Germ.* 5.3.

distinction between the economies of groups along the Rhine and those in the interior of Germania. In a famous passage from his ethnography, Tacitus explains that those living in the interior, true to the older ways, still employ a system of simple barter. Those living closer to the Rhine, however, recognize the value of currency in trade, and utilize certain types of Roman coinage, preferring old and familiar types, particularly those made of silver due to their lower denomination being useful in exchange of common goods.⁷⁶ This seems to suggest a monetary economy was developing among the groups closest to the Rhine due to contact with the Roman Empire.⁷⁷ However, as with Caesar's comments on the Nervii, a reading of Tacitus' work alert to its ethnographic framework and political perspective is required when analyzing these statements. Several modern authors suggest that Tacitus' comments are meant to highlight the decay of Roman society, and emphasize that close proximity leads the nearer Germani to become infected by the pleasures and commercialization of the Roman Empire.⁷⁸ The tendency for wealth to initiate moral decline is a common feature of Roman moralizing texts, and this is often emphasized in ethnographic works.⁷⁹ Tacitus clearly applies this to his work on the Germani.⁸⁰ He often portrays the Germani as 'Noble Savages',⁸¹ living opposite to Roman materialism and without luxury goods.⁸² They lack gold, silver,⁸³ and any appreciation of amber,⁸⁴ their women dress simply,⁸⁵ and they eat plain food.⁸⁶ The Romans

⁷⁶ Tac. *Germ.* 5.3.

⁷⁷ D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 219.

⁷⁸ O'Gorman, "No Place Like Rome", pp. 140-1; Rives, *Tacitus*, pp. 61-2; Gruen, *Rethinking the Other*, p. 160. Similar suggestions are made about his other works, K. Clarke, "An Island Nation: Re-Reading Tacitus' *Agricola*", *Journal of Roman Studies* 91, (2001), p. 107.

⁷⁹ See p. 53.

⁸⁰ R. Evans, *Utopia Antiqua: Readings of the Golden Age and Decline at Rome*, (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 147.

⁸¹ O'Gorman, "No Place Like Rome", pp. 146-9; Isaac, *The Invention of Racism*, pp. 433, 436.

⁸² Evans, *Utopia Antiqua*, pp. 149-50.

⁸³ Tac. *Germ.* 5.2.

⁸⁴ Tac. *Germ.* 45.5-8.

⁸⁵ Tac. *Germ.* 17.1.

teach them to recognize the value of coins and money.⁸⁷ R. Evans argues that Tacitus implies the Germani can only remain morally pure by the exclusion of other peoples, seeing trade and luxury items as weaknesses.⁸⁸ Tacitus' remarks about only those nearest to the Roman frontier drinking wine and knowing the value of gold, silver, and coinage, help him demonstrate the morally degenerative effects of proximity to the Empire, and emphasize issues of materialism and immorality in his contemporary Rome.⁸⁹ The *Germania* is altogether more construct than description, though this does not necessarily mean there is no historical reality within.⁹⁰ An investigation of the archaeological evidence can help shed light on the veracity of its statements.

Roman Imports in Germania

The archaeological evidence appears to support Tacitus' statements about Roman imports into Germania. Wine amphorae have been found in Germania close to the Roman frontier, though not further into the interior, appearing to confirm Tacitus' statement that those living close to the Rhine bought wine.⁹¹ The majority of first century CE coin hoards from Germania are found within a zone 200km wide, adjacent to the frontier, and for the first two centuries there is a preference for coinage issued prior to Nero's coinage reforms of 64 CE.⁹² Finds of imports within this zone include commonplace items, such as Roman pottery and brooches, and the only concentrations of copper coins north of the Rhine occur here,

⁸⁶ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1, 26.3.

⁸⁷ Tac. *Germ.* 5.4-5, 15.3.

⁸⁸ R. Evans, "Learning to be Decadent: Roman Identity and the Luxuries of Others", in A. Mackay, (eds.), *Annual Conference of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies 32: Selected Proceedings*, (Auckland: Australasian Society for Classical Studies, 2011), p. 6.

⁸⁹ O'Gorman, "No Place Like Rome", pp. 146-7.

⁹⁰ Gruen, *Rethinking the Other*, p. 160.

⁹¹ Tac. *Germ.* 23.1; Green, *Language and History*, p. 229.

⁹² Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians*, p. 181; B. Cunliffe, "The Impact of Rome on Barbarian Society, 140 BC-AD 300", in B. Cunliffe, (eds.), *The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 442.

testifying to the circulation low value coins for use in everyday exchanges.⁹³ Beyond the 200km zone, in the interior of Germania, Roman imports are of a very different nature. These patterns of coin and artifact distribution appear to verify Tacitus' statements.

Most Roman objects found in the interior of Germania, modern day northern and north-eastern Germany, Denmark, and southern Scandinavia, were associated in Roman society with eating and drinking (particularly wine), including bronze, glass and silver vessels.⁹⁴ These items have been interpreted as prestige objects in Germanic society, which increased the power and status of an individual or family.⁹⁵ Already from the later Pre-Roman Iron Age (from around 150 BCE until the turn of the millennium), foreign imports, including Roman cauldrons and wine vessels, began appearing in Germania.⁹⁶ These items appear in votive deposits and in some cremation burials during this period.⁹⁷ From the first century CE, Roman objects increased in number considerably within Germania. They were now found only in the very rich Lüsbow burials,⁹⁸ which appeared during this period and were characterized by inhumation burials (rather than cremation as was common among the majority of burials), a lack of weaponry (unlike in the elite graves of earlier periods), segregation from cemeteries and a wide range of Roman imports, mostly wine drinking

⁹³ L. Hedeager, "Empire, Frontier, and the Barbarian Hinterland: Rome and northern Europe from AD 1-400", in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen & K. Kristiansen, (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 126-7; Cunliffe, "The Impact of Rome on Barbarian Society", p. 444; Wells, *The Barbarians Speak*, p. 235.

⁹⁴ Wells, "Beyond the Frontier in Europe", p. 46.

⁹⁵ B. Myhre, "The Iron Age", in K. Helle, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia: Prehistory to 1520*, Vol. 1., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 73.

⁹⁶ M. P. Pearson, "Beyond the Pale: Barbarian Social Dynamics in Western Europe", in J. B. Barret, et. al., (eds.), *Barbarians and Romans in North-West Europe*, British Archaeological Reports: International Series 471, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), p. 202; Wells, *The Barbarians Speak*, p. 232.

⁹⁷ Pearson, "Beyond the Pale", p. 202; Hedeager, "Empire, Frontier, and the Barbarian Hinterland", p. 129.

⁹⁸ Named after a Pomeranian cemetery, Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians*, p. 184.

vessels.⁹⁹ These included luxury items of high quality, and were often included as part of a larger feasting repertoire also containing local vessels.¹⁰⁰

There has been some debate within scholarship as to whether or not these drinking vessels indicate that wine was being consumed in the Germanic hinterland.¹⁰¹ Some have argued that the appearance of large amounts of wine sets indicates that the Germani were imitating Roman drinking rituals, including the consumption of wine.¹⁰² This scenario supposes that the wine was being transported in either wooden barrels or skins, though none have survived, as no amphorae have been recovered from Germania past the frontier zone. Barrels have been found close to the Rhine, within the Roman Empire, at sites such as Manching and Xanten, though amphorae have also been found at these sites.¹⁰³ This view sees the Roman vessels as symbolizing the transfer of Roman practices and influences, and supposes that they were used in a way that preserved their original meaning. This hypothesis has been criticized as a one-sided and outdated colonialist interpretation that sees Roman civilization as superior to Germanic society.¹⁰⁴ Scholars using social anthropological studies and social theory have challenged this theoretical premise, arguing that the use and meaning

⁹⁹ Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians*, p. 185; Wells, “Beyond the Frontier in Europe”, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰ Wells, “Beyond the Frontier in Europe”, p. 46.

¹⁰¹ Green, *Language and History*, pp. 227-9; Fitzpatrick, “The Distribution of Dressel 1”, pp. 311-12; M. Todd, *The Early Germans*, 2nd Ed., (Blackwell: Malden, 2004), p. 79; E. Krekovič, “Romans and Barbarians: Some Remarks on Cultural Contact, Influence and Material Culture”, in E. C. De Sena & H. Dobrazanska (eds.), *The Roman Empire and Beyond: Archaeological and Historical Research on the Romans and Native Cultures in Central Europe*, British Archaeological Reports: International Series 2236, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), pp. 81-3.

¹⁰² O. Brogan, “Trade between the Roman Empire and the Free Germans”, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 26, (1936), p. 218; Green, *Language and History*, p. 228; Krekovič, “Romans and Barbarians”, pp. 81-3; for a summary of this view, see F. Ekengren, *Ritualization – Hybridization – Fragmentation. The Mutability of Roman Vessels in Germania Magna AD 1-400*, Series in Prima 4, no. 28 (Lund: Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, 2009), pp. 15-17.

¹⁰³ Wells, *Farms, Villages, and Cities*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁴ Grane, “Roman Imports in Scandinavia”, p. 30.

of material culture are transformed by exchanges through social practice and agency.¹⁰⁵ Based on an analysis of the spatial distribution of Roman imports within these elite graves, F. Ekengren concluded that these vessels were not placed together in any attempt to imitate Roman feasting sets, and that the Germani were not imitating Roman drinking rituals.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, what little chemical analysis has been done on Roman vessels found in Germania has shown traces of a beverage similar to beer, and not wine.¹⁰⁷ Consideration of whether cultural knowledge was transmitted with these items needs to take into account the mechanisms through which they entered Germania.

Possible mechanisms for such exchange include trade, payment of regular subsidies by Rome to Germanic leaders, diplomatic gifts intended for establishing political relations, acquisition as booty through raiding, and through Germanic auxiliaries in the Roman army returning home with goods acquired from within the Empire. Adoption of Roman practices was probably more likely to occur when auxiliaries were returning with the vessels, bringing with them knowledge of the Roman world and lifestyles, than through trade and diplomacy.¹⁰⁸ In the first century CE, few Roman weapons were found in these graves, possibly indicating that these were not burials of auxiliaries,¹⁰⁹ and the finer vessels are largely thought to have been diplomatic gifts.¹¹⁰ Following Varus' defeat at the Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE, and the recall of the Roman army from Germania in 16 CE, the Romans turned to a diplomatic policy towards the Germani.¹¹¹ T. Grane suggests that exchange of gifts would have been customary in diplomatic meetings, and that these vessels represent symbols of relations between Romans

¹⁰⁵ Grane, "Roman Imports in Scandinavia", p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ Ekengren, *Ritualization – Hybridization – Fragmentation*, pp. 209-17.

¹⁰⁷ Todd, *The Early Germans*, pp. 79-80; McGovern, *Uncorking the Past*, p. 153. D. H. Green, however, points out that the number of items that have been subject to chemical analysis is still very low, Green, *Language and History*, pp. 228.

¹⁰⁸ Wells, "Roman Imports in a Larger Context", p. 122.

¹⁰⁹ Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians*, p. 185; Brather, "Acculturation and Ethnogenesis", p. 145.

¹¹⁰ Todd, *The Early Germans*, p. 91.

¹¹¹ Grane, "Roman Imports in Scandinavia", p. 37.

and Germani.¹¹² Tacitus does talk about the Germanic nobility having feasting vessels given to them as diplomatic gifts.¹¹³ Rituals relating to the receiving of guests no doubt included drinking, and this is evident in Germanic regions prior to Roman imports, through pairs of drinking horns found in graves from the Pre-Roman Iron Age. Grane concludes that the Roman imports were a welcome addition to existing patterns in Germanic feasting and mortuary practices that included depositing local drinking vessels in wealthy graves, and that this was not an attempt to imitate Roman customs.¹¹⁴

Thus, the archaeological evidence does not support the argument that wine was being consumed in Germania during the Pre-Roman or Early Roman Iron Age periods. D. H. Green has proposed that several Latin loanwords found in Old High German language indicate that wine was entering Germania in this early period. The Latin *caupo* generally means haggler, though in a more specific sense can be translated as ‘wine-seller’, and for Green, its use indicates the importance of the Roman wine trade to the Germani.¹¹⁵ He also suggests the verb *piluccare*, which originally meant ‘to pluck hairs’ and later ‘to pick grapes’, indicates a familiarity with viticulture among the Germani.¹¹⁶ Green argues the loan of the Latin *miscere*, *misken*, in Old High German suggests that the Roman ritual of mixing wine with water was known to the Germani.¹¹⁷ There are many issues with this evidence. *Caupo* need not mean ‘wine-seller’ at all, and the use of the verbs is dependent on context. Green uses the loanwords to support the archaeological evidence for wine consumption, which as we have seen, is inadequate. While wine may have been imported in barrels and skins, which have

¹¹² Grane, “Roman Imports in Scandinavia”, p. 38.

¹¹³ Tac. *Germ.* 5.2; Tacitus claims the Germani treat these items with no more value than earthenware, though this seems unlikely given they appear as grave goods in richly outfitted burials. It is possible Tacitus here is relying on ethnographic stereotypes about the indifference of ‘barbarians’ to wealth. For example, the Scythians apparently despised gold and silver, Just. *Epit.* 2.2.7, Rives, *Tacitus*, p. 133.

¹¹⁴ Grane, “Roman Imports in Scandinavia”, p. 38.

¹¹⁵ Green, *Language and History*, p. 224.

¹¹⁶ Green, *Language and History*, p. 227.

¹¹⁷ Green, *Language and History*, p. 228.

remained invisible archaeologically, there is no evidence, textual or archaeological, that suggests wine was being consumed in Germania during the period under investigation.

B. Cunliffe has pointed out the similarities with the development of the richly furnished Lüsbow burials with those in the Hallstatt D period (mid seventh-fifth centuries BCE) of west central Europe. In both periods, the practice of inhumation (contrasted to local cremation tradition), an emphasis on impressive grave structures, and the deposition of rare Mediterranean feasting equipment are found in elite burials.¹¹⁸ As noted in Chapter Two, Dietler has contrasted the adoption of Mediterranean goods among West Hallstatt and Lower Rhône Basin groups from the Early Iron Age. Dietler argues that Mediterranean feasting vessels were valued by Hallstatt elites for their diacritical symbolic function, in differentiating elite drinking in feasting situations, even when the supply of exotic drink, wine, was lacking.¹¹⁹ It appears that something similar was occurring in the later period in Germania. Roman vessels were valued by Germanic elites for their use in existing feasting and mortuary rituals to differentiate themselves as an elite group, and this probably involved mostly (if not exclusively) the consumption of locally made beverages, including beer and mead.

Conclusion

The literary sources indicate that during the period between 200 BCE and 200 CE the inhabitants of Germania engaged in feasting activities and the consumption of beer and other local beverages, and this is confirmed by archaeological evidence. While we might be hesitant to take Caesar and Tacitus's words at face value, they both suggest, as does Dio, that the inhabitants of inner Germania were not drinking wine, and that they possibly resisted it. Caesar's claim that the Suebi did not allow the importation of wine was part of a broader portrayal of the Germani as unknowable and the antithesis of the Romans, which helped justify his withdrawal from Germania, and emphasize the completion of his subjugation of the

¹¹⁸ Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, p. 186.

¹¹⁹ Dietler, "Driven by Drink", p. 386.

Gauls. Tacitus says that the drink of the Germani was beer, and that only those closest to the Rhine drank wine. These comments appear to be supported by the archaeological evidence. While many scholars have for some time supposed that wine was being drunk in Germania, due to Roman wine drinking vessels being present in many elite graves, recent interpretations of the way the meaning and use of material culture changes during the process of exchange have challenged this presumption. There are indications, in the few cases of chemical analysis of Roman vessels, that imported Roman feasting equipment was being used in the consumption of local beverages. The absence of amphorae in Germania also points to a lack of the importation of wine. It is possible wine was being imported in barrels and skins that have not survived for archaeologists to find, though the fact that these kinds of vessels have been found in Roman territory near the Rhine but not in the Germanic hinterland, suggests they too were not imported into Germania. A comparison with the situation in the Hallstatt region half a millennium earlier finds several similarities in the consumption of foreign imports. In each period, the elites of the respective regions were consuming luxury Mediterranean feasting gear, though wine appears to be absent, or scarce. Roman wine vessels were valued here for their rarity and used as prestige items that differentiated elites within feasting and mortuary contexts, however, it seems, in the consumption of local beverages rather than wine.

Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to analyze the selective nature of the adoption and rejection of wine and Mediterranean feasting gear among the Nervii, Icenii, and Suebi/Germani, during the Late Iron Age. The themes and disciplines that this investigation drew upon are wide-ranging and thematically diverse, and required analysis of a broad range of topics, including Greco-Roman depictions of barbarians, consumption of alcoholic beverages in antiquity, and processes of cultural entanglement and integration. It has sought to benefit from both post-structural analyses of historical narratives and post-processual interpretations of archaeological data. As outlined in Chapters One and Two, the approach and methodology applied in the subsequent chapters largely drew upon theories formulated by Dietler over the past twenty-five years about the selective adoption of foreign influences, particularly alcoholic beverages, and the importance of the political economy to feasting and consumption habits. Applying these ideas to the identified case studies required a detailed investigation of local consumption habits, sociopolitical organization, and reception of outside influences, and employed comparative analyses to create a framework for understanding contrasts in the selective adoption of Mediterranean wine and feasting gear in Late Iron Age Europe. It also analyzed relevant literary and archaeological evidence for the consumption of alcoholic beverages in Germania, utilizing the most recent scholarship on Roman imports in northern Europe, and theories relating to the adoption of foreign material culture and transference of cultural practices.

Caesar states that the Nervii forbade wine and other luxury imports, and the absence of wine amphorae and other Mediterranean feasting gear in northern Belgica appears to support his claim. Dietler argues that consumption and the adoption of alien influences, particularly alcoholic beverages, need to be understood in the logic of the political economy. As shown in Chapter Three, comparative analysis of the sociopolitical organization of northern and southern Belgica indicates that the North was made up of far less centralized and

complex societies that, unlike those in the South, lacked wine and other Mediterranean imports. Given the close association between development of sociopolitical centralization, social hierarchy, the patron-client system, and the manifestation of mobile wealth, including wine and other luxury Mediterranean feasting imports, in southern Belgica and other parts of Gaul and southern Britain, it is argued here that the acquisition and redistribution of such items was less important in northern Belgica. The appearance of these items in northern Belgica after the sociopolitical reorganization of northern Gaul by Augustus at the end of the first century BCE supports this argument. Caesar's comment that the Nervii forbade wine need not necessarily be a fabrication; his statement may reflect information about the social and cultural environment of northern Belgica he was given. Either way, Caesar's inclusion of this comment in his work appears to have been part of a deliberate attempt to portray the Nervii as a fierce opponent, and the quintessential Belgians, in order to demonstrate the success of his Belgian campaign following their subjugation, to his audience.

Cassius Dio's account of Boudica's speech, and the absence of amphorae and other Mediterranean artifacts in northern East Anglia, suggest the Iceni also rejected wine and other Roman imports, though the situation here is somewhat different to that in northern Belgica. The Iceni appear to have been unresponsive to many of the sociopolitical and cultural developments occurring in other parts of southern Britain during the Late Iron Age. The importation of metal bullion from the Continent and other parts of Britain indicates that they were linked to their neighbors and the Mediterranean through trade links, and were not a peripheral, disconnected group, as has often been presumed in scholarship. The material culture of northern East Anglia displays a unique identity, in the context of Late Iron Age Britain, and it appears as though the Iceni engaged in social discourse through insular practices, including in the consumption of valuable metal objects and coins. The lack of wine and other Mediterranean goods in northern East Anglia appears to be part of a broader resistance to outside influences among the Iceni.

Chapter Five attempted to analyze the alcohol consumption habits of the inhabitants of Germania during the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Early Roman Iron Age.

Archaeological and literary evidence suggest the Germani consumed beer and engaged in feasting activities that involved heavy drinking. Caesar claims the Suebi did not drink wine, and Tacitus' comment that those living nearest the Rhine bought wine suggests he implies that those living further in the Germanic heartland did not. A historiographical analysis of the ethnographic and political frameworks these authors wrote within indicates we must be cautious with presuming too much from their statements, though they may reflect a genuine sense of resistance to Roman imports, especially wine, as noted above. The archaeological evidence is ambiguous, as Roman wine drinking vessels are found in Germania, though amphorae are absent. While it is possible that wine was being transported in barrels, which are harder to detect archaeologically, there is no evidence for this (as noted, barrels have been found on Roman sites near the Rhine, but not in the hinterland of Germania). It appears as though the situation in Germania during this period was similar to that in the West Hallstat region during the Early Iron Age where Mediterranean feasting gear is found, but not wine amphorae. Mediterranean vessels appear to have been employed by Germanic elites as luxury items used to distinguish themselves as an elite group, part of an existing repertoire of drinking and serving vessels used at feasts and in mortuary rituals. The available evidence suggests they were used in the consumption of locally made beverages, including beer and mead, and that wine was probably not drunk in Germania in any great quantity.

These chapters provided case studies into particular phenomena relating to alcohol consumption habits and cultural entanglement in Iron Age Europe that had been identified within scholarship though had not been investigated in their own right. The conclusions demonstrate the multitude of factors influencing alcohol consumption habits and the selective nature of the adoption, adaptation, and rejection of Mediterranean influences among indigenous groups of temperate Europe. They also highlight the heterogeneous nature of Late

Iron Age cultural and social environments, emphasizing the need for regional and comparative studies when investigating consumption habits. These outcomes agree with the general consensus in modern scholarship that views societies during this period as interactive, dynamic, and diverse. The multi-disciplinary approach undertaken here is characteristic of modern studies on Iron Age Europe. The methodology applied, and the conclusions reached, emphasize the value of such an approach to the kind of questions posed here. Literary sources ultimately inspired the direction and scope of this investigation. However, archaeological evidence was of primary importance in responding to its inquiries. It is hoped that the research conducted here, and conclusions reached, will aid further studies into alcohol consumption habits and culture contact in the Late Iron Age and beyond.

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