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GLOBALISED DIET PATTERNS IN MEDITERRANEAN: THE EVIDENCE OF THE COOKING WARES FROM AQUILEIA (UD), ITALY

It has become increasingly apparent over the last decades that cooking pottery played a considerable role as a trade commodity in ancient time. By taking a closer look at the pottery found in Aquileia, we want to explore and discuss the relationship between locally produced and imported cooking wares from a quantitative, morphological and functional point of view. We will make use of case studies from the so-called domus of Titus Macer to establish in which ways this correlation changes over time and how we can explain some trends. The possibility to examine domestic contexts offered the opportunity to carry out an in-depth analysis of the cooking ware in order to reconstruct pottery sets and, as far as possible, eating habits and food practices.

Diet and food in the ancient world have gained a growing interest over the last few decades. This complex issue leads to face different problems related to both the reconstruction of eating habits and their changes over time but also makes it necessary to take into consideration the complex organised system of relationships, exchanges and connectivity, among different cultures and communities, which explains the cultural changes caused by this connectivity.

From this point of view, the study of the cooking wares is a key area of investigation, since it allows to trace out, partly at least, traditional cooking techniques, food choice strategies and different cuisine and culinary traditions.

By taking a closer look at the cooking pottery found in Aquileia, an important *emporium* in northern Adriatic, we want to trace some of the broader developments within the cooking wares that were used in the so-called *domus* of Titus Macer¹ (fig. 1). This paper aims at exploring and discussing the relationship between locally produced and imported cooking wares, from a quantitative, morphological and functional point of view. We will make use of case studies to establish how the correlation between local and imported pottery changes over time and how we can explain some trends².

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Cooking wares between Late Republican period and 4th century AD from the so-called *domus* of Titus Macer

The possibility to examine domestic contexts, offered the opportunity to carry out an in-depth analysis of the cooking ware in order to reconstruct pottery sets and, as far as possible, eating habits and food practices. Therefore, a statistically significant sample of 1016 cooking vessels has been taken into consideration³. The analysed examples come from well dated closed deposits from the late 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD (fig. 2). The types and shapes of pottery recovered reflect domestic assemblages with an abundance of vessels used for food preparation and consumption, supplemented by pottery used for household activities, some *amphorae* and lamps.

From a basic classification on the 162 examples from contexts dated between the last quarter of the 2nd century BC and the early Augustan times, it becomes clear that coarse ware of local or regional production makes up the majority (ca. 73%) of the cooking pottery, followed by TCW (23%) and North Italic productions of IRSP (4%)⁴. The majority of shapes represented in coarse ware can be attributed to cooking pots (68 MNI), only 2 vessels are from Tyrrhenian origin, whereas the others are from local/regional production

¹ See J. BONETTO/A. R. GHIOTTO (eds.), Aquileia – Fondi ex Cossar. Missione Arch. 2013 (Padova 2014).

² Abbreviations used in the text: IRSP = Internal Red-slip pottery, TCW = Tyrrhenian cooking ware, AeCW = Aegean cooking ware, ACW = African cooking ware, ICW = Illyrian cooking ware. We really want to thank N. K. Venturelli for her precious suggestions on improving the english version of this text.

³ To count the number of vessels estimated we have used the minimum number of individuals method (MNI). As cooking pottery forms we considered pots, shallow and deep casseroles, pans, lids, *clibani*, and also bowls in local/regional coarse ware and jugs/kettles in Aegean cooking ware. Although we are dealing with forms and types that certainly can be used also as table ware, their fabrics and in some cases, the use-alteration traces confirmed the vessel function in cooking fire processes (in regard of the jugs/kettles see J. W. HAYES, The Villa Dyonisos excavations, Knossos. The pottery. Annu. British School Athens 78, 1983, 107). In order to create a complete overview for the food management strategies used in the house and aiming the reconstruction in historical and cultural point of view of pottery sets associations of different forms and classes, further analyses based on table ware finds will be supported additionally (about these issues cf. FLORENT/DERU 2012; GALLI 2001).

⁴ The three pottery groups count respectively 118, 37 and 7 MNI.

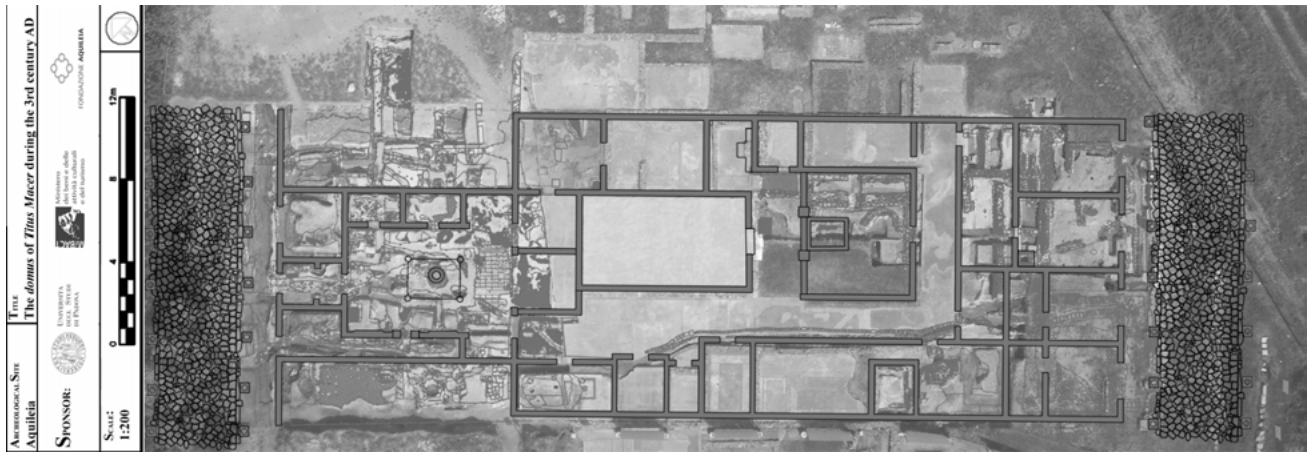


Fig. 1. Reconstructed plan showing the *domus* of Titus Macer in the 3rd century AD (University of Padua).

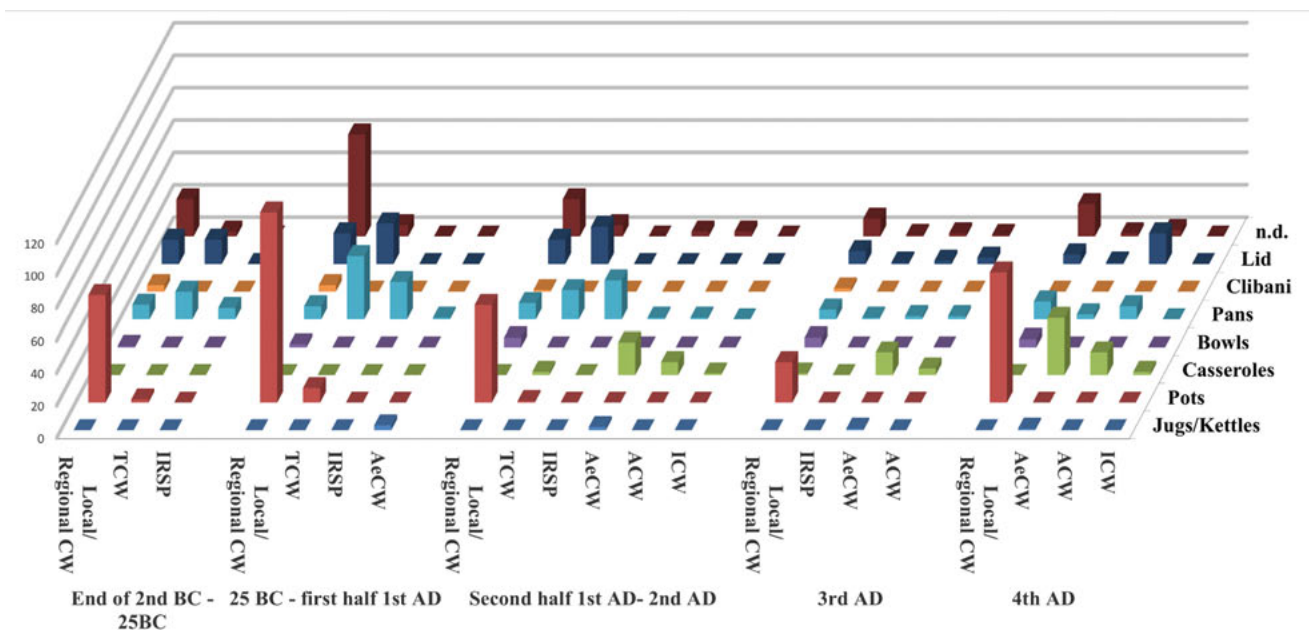


Fig. 2. Chart showing the proportion of the different cooking wares attested during the five analysed periods (data processing: MTB, University of Padua).

(pl. 1, 1–3). The number of the pans is lower (33 MNI). The majority of this form is of Campanian-Vesuvian production (17), followed by local and IRS pans (9) (pl. 1, 4.6–7). The recovered lids (30 specimens) that composed late Republican and early Augustan ceramics assemblages are shared equally between coarse ware of local and of Tyrrhenian production⁵ (pl. 1, 8). Four examples can be attributed to *clibani* (pl. 1, 5) and one to a bowl, both of local or regional manufacture.

Compared to the previous period the deposits dated from 25 BC to 50 AD do not show significant changes in the percentages of attested pottery classes. The 320 analysed vessels provided some trends regarding the number of local

and regional coarse ware which decreases slightly (67%). This phenomenon is linked to the growth of the TCW (25%) and IRSP indexes (7%)⁶. The cooking pots still remain the better attested vessels (126), mostly of local and regional production (117 *versus* only 9 examples of Tyrrhenian origin – pl. 1, 9–12.15). Compared to the previous phase the percentage of the Tyrrhenian pans (39 MNI) and of those in IRSP (23) grows, in contrast to the few locally produced (8) (pl. 1, 13.16–17.19). The overall situation regarding *clibani* (4 examples), bowls (2) and lids (pl. 1, 14.18) remains unchanged, the latter both of local (19) and Campanian-Vesuvian production (25). Within this scenario the true novelty lies in the AeCW, registered with very few rare specimens. These new

⁵ The lids locally produced usually have much larger diameters compared to those imported. Given this element we can state that lids of Tyrrhenian origin were mainly used in association to the original pans of the same production centers, also of fairly significant size. So, the smaller lids of local or regional origin would be rather more suitable for covering pots and pans of local manufacture.

⁶ The local coarse ware counts 213 MNI, this of TCW – 80 NMI and the IRSP is represented by 23 specimens.

arrivals determine the adoption of the jugs/kettles (3 vessels) and the frying pan (1 – **pl. 1,20**)⁷.

From a quick view at the evidences between the second half of the 1st and 2nd century AD, it becomes evident that the variety of pottery classes presented in the deposits resulted mainly by the sensitive contribution of imported ceramics. The local coarse ware registered a clear decrease: from 229 cooking vessels only slightly more than a half is part of this pottery class⁸. The rest of the finds are mainly of Tyrrhenian origin (22 %) or in smaller portion of IRSP (11 %). In this phase we can observe also a significant growth of the AeCW, attested with the same indexes as the IRSP (11%). Finally, the ACW makes its first appearance in the assemblages, which is present with small number of individuals (12 specimens or 5 % of total number of estimated vessels), just as the ICW (1 %) ⁹. Also the correlation between different forms changes. The cooking pots (**pl. 2,21–23**) still remain the better documented vessels (out of 61 specimens only 1 is of Tyrrhenian production), but the disproportion between their number and those of other forms is less evident now. The cooking set enriches gradually with new components as deep, carinated and shallow casseroles (31 samples), imported both from the East and from Africa (**pl. 2,29–30,33–35**). The form is frequent in the deposits also because of the findings of Tyrrhenian and Illyrian production (**pl. 2,31**). Pans are particularly frequent, mainly of IRSP (24) and Campanian origin (18) (**pl. 2,26,28**). Locally manufactured examples are still quite numerous too (10), while the percentage of the African and Aegean pans seems rather low (just 2 vessels in total). The number of the lids continues growing, attested especially by Tyrrhenian (23) and local and/or regional (15) productions (**pl. 2,24,27,32**). Bowls and *clibani* of local and regional origin (**pl. 2,25**), as jugs/kettles in AeCW are rather few in number in the analysed contexts (respectively 6, 1 and 2 samples).

⁷ The presence of AeCW in contexts dated before Flavian times is a complicated issue, if related to the generally accepted chronology of the class which puts the beginning of its distribution only from the end of the 1st century AD on. Nevertheless, some Augustan and Tiberian types of Aegean jugs/kettles are known from Naples (C. M. COLETTI/C. PAVOLINI, *Ceramica comune da Ostia*. In: M. Bats (ed.), *Les céramiques communes de Campanie et de Narbonnaise* [1^{er} s. av. J.-C. – II^e s. ap. J.-C.]. *La vaisselle de cuisine et de table*. Actes Journées d'Études Centre Jean Bérard et Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Caserta. Naples, 27–28 mai 1994. Coll. Centre Jean Bérard 14 [Napoli 1996] 399). Hypothetically to those types we can ascribe also the 3 analysed specimens. Unfortunately, more in-depth typological analysis is not possible due to the fragmentary nature of the examples. As far as the frying pans, some early Phocian specimens are attested in Greece still in 2nd century BC and in Italy in the beginning of the 1st century AD (HAYES 2005, 15–16). We must point out also the presence of AeCW in the Cape Plavac wreck on the Zlarin island of Dalmatian coast dated to the first half of the 1st century AD (see T. ŽERJAL, *Eastern imports in the ager tergestinus*. *Acta RCRF* 40, 2008, 136 with cited previous bibliography).

⁸ The local/regional coarse ware is attested with 115 vessels, 51 are of TCW, 24 are in IRSP and lastly 26 are AeCW products.

⁹ This pottery class received a close examination only recently. For some general treatments on origin and morphological characteristics see E. ШЕИЛ, *Illyrian Cooking Ware (ICW): some ideas on the origin, production and diffusion* In: S. Japp/P. Koegler (eds.), *Traditions and innovations. Tracking the development of pottery from the Late Classical to the Early Imperial periods*. Proc. 1st Conference IARPotHP. Berlin, November 7–10, 2013 (Wien 2016) 209–221, as his paper in this volume.

Considering the 3rd century deposits, the analysed 94 vessels allowed to register some variations in trends about the attested pottery classes and regarding the correlation between forms¹⁰. The assemblages differ significantly from those of the previous phase mainly in their ratio of AeCW (21 %) and ACW (12 %). This increase is most likely linked to the disappearance of the TCW, accompanied by a slight decrease of IRSP (attested only with 4 %). The percentage of locally produced pots starts growing again, reaching 63 % of the total number of vessels. A closer look at the vessel repertoire reveals further significant divergences. The imported cooking pottery is significantly attested and is related mostly with the growing number of Aegean (14) and African (4) casseroles (**pl. 3,40–42**). Only one specimen can be referred to a local imitation. A striking feature of the deposits is the low number of pans. This can be easily explained with the end of the imports from Campania. Pans inside the examined pottery assemblages are only 13, divided into locally manufactured (6) and imports (from Aegean area – 2, from Africa – 2, and in north Italian IRSP – 3) (**pl. 3,37,44**). The cooking pots of local production are still attested by the same percentage as in the previous period (25 specimens – **pl. 3,36**) but some changes, even if not so evident, for the lids can be observed. These are almost equally distributed between locally produced (8 vessels) and imported (4 African and 2 Aegean) (**pl. 3,39,43**). Jugs/kettles of Aegean production (1) and *clibani* of local and regional origin (2 – **pl. 3, 38**) are rather few in number, whereas the amount of bowls made in local/regional coarse ware is gradually increasing in the analysed contexts¹¹.

Moving to the latest assemblages taken into consideration, dated to the 4th century AD, it is possible to identify some major differences if compared with those of 3rd century AD. The total amount of vessels recovered in the deposits (211)¹² demonstrates the intensification of the exchange with northern Africa. The percentage of local coarse ware and of AeCW is lower (respectively 58 % and 20 %) in favour of the vessels in ACW, now attested with 21 % of total number of containers. The rest (1 %) consists of 2 pots of ICW. A comparison of the vessel repertoire reveals a new increase of the number of locally manufactured pots (80 samples – **pl. 3,45–47**), followed by deep casseroles of Aegean, African and Illyrian production (25, 14 and 2 respectively – **pl. 3,49–51**). The ratio of the pans is considerably low, which include mainly those of local or regional origin (attested with 11 examples – **pl. 3,48**) and of African one (8 – **pl. 3,53**) and to a lesser extent of Eastern production (3). Finally, several examples of lids (26 in total), mainly of Tunisian origin (19 specimens – **pl. 3,52**), have been recovered. Lids of local/regional manufacture (6 vessels) and of Eastern origin (1) seem to be a rather isolated phenomenon. Five locally produced bowls integrate this scenario.

D.D.

¹⁰ From total amount of vessels 59 referred to local coarse ware, 21 to AeCW, 11 to ACW and only 3 samples are of IRSP.

¹¹ In part they could be suitable for replacing the pans as an alternative.

¹² Present in the examined deposits are 122 vessels of local coarse ware, 45 of ACW, 42 of AeCW and just 2 specimens of ICW.

Kitchen assemblages between local productions and imports

The comparative analysis of the case studies allowed the recognition of some general trends on the distribution of different pottery types and shapes over time (fig. 2). The cooking ware of local/regional production is the most frequent in all chronological phases, but its presence is not constant. The earliest deposits show its predominant position, which gradually begins to decline from the end of the 1st century BC, reaching a negative peak during the end of the 1st and 2nd century AD. The phenomenon is related to the contemporary and progressive increase of imported products as TCW and IRSP. Regarding the latter, vessels originated both from Campanian-Vesuvian centres and from North Adriatic *ateliers* are documented. The presence indexes of the two pottery classes remain constant until the 2nd century AD, attested with 20-30% of the total cooking wares. With the beginning of the next century it seems possible to detect some market changes due to the introduction of new products and more specifically of cooking wares originated from the Aegean region. The AeCW appears for the first time at the beginning of the 1st century AD if not already in late 1st century BC¹³ and becomes during the 3rd century AD most frequently used for cooking practices and food preparation after the local/regional coarse ware¹⁴. However, the contribution of the ACW begins to be more relevant and during the 4th century AD the analysed deposits record the surpass of Tunisian products on behalf of those of eastern Mediterranean. The distribution of different pottery classes seems strictly correlated to the success of some specific forms. For instance from Tyrrhenian region mainly pans and associated lids were imported, meanwhile from eastern Mediterranean deep and carinated casseroles, from North Africa shallow casseroles and lids¹⁵.

M.T.B.

Cooking wares and their function in context

As for the forms present in the kitchen pottery assemblages they are basically four: cooking pots, pans, casseroles and associated lids. The presence of other forms is important, mainly because it testifies a certain variety in cooking practices, but related to quantitative analysis the attested indexes are always not considerable.

In almost all chronological phases the cooking pots are the most frequent. They are made almost exclusively in coarse ware of local/regional production; specimens imported from the Tyrrhenian area are very few and are immediately

imitated by the local potters. The success of the shape could be explained because it is easily available, inexpensive and multifunctional, used for both preparing food and storing. Above all, the cooking pots were already part of the pre-Roman gastronomic material culture, and as known the diet and food practices sphere is one of the least innovative and tends, on the contrary, to preserve and pass cooking traditions over time. In kitchens, these vessels were used to prepare *pultes*, porridges and vegetable soups but above all to boil or cook under a low flame dishes that could be later also stewed in casseroles or pans¹⁶.

The second vessel that composes the cooking sets in Aquileia is the pan. This form, of typical central Italic tradition¹⁷, is initially only imported to northern Italy. In the earliest deposits pans and associated lids are represented almost exclusively by Campanian-Vesuvian and IRSP examples. Local coarse ware pans, few in number, are generally imitations of the imported specimens and they testify the immediate reception of the central Italic models. The presence of pans drastically reduced when TCW and IRSP stop being imported. The gap left in the Aquileia market is filled in part by the cooking pottery of local/regional production and especially by pans of ACW. These generally recall morphologically their Tyrrhenian prototypes¹⁸ widespread in Mediterranean following the Roman conquest. It may therefore be assumed that consumers have replaced the pottery of Campanian-Vesuvian origin with African vessels comparable in form, function and quality.

The pans were used mainly for cooking fish or to finish the cooking of pre-boiled or grilled dishes by adding fats (usually olive oil) or a variety of different sauces made with either eggs, milk, honey, wine and culinary herbs and spices. The pans could also have been possibly used for toasting or frying and, especially in the case of the IRSP, to prepare bread. The use of pans indicates a more detailed attention on food presentation and denotes a higher possibility to control fire intensity. The pans could be used on the grill, in the oven or, again, they could be placed under the ashes after being covered adequately by *clibani* or by specific lids¹⁹.

Finally, as for the casseroles, their presence in the *domus* of *Titus Macer* seems to be correlated to the intensification of the commercial exchange between Aquileia and the Aegean production centres, while only in a second phase ACW products assert their presence. It is likely that the form has been developed independently in two different regional contexts (Aegean, on one side and North Africa on the other) in order to answer specific local food practices and was developed from Greek-Hellenistic, Phoenician and indigenous models. Later on, as a result of mixing various elements associated to different cultures, the characteristic Roman types were processed²⁰. These types were then widespread in all Roman

¹³ See above.

¹⁴ Nevertheless, this relation is part of a general phenomenon that shows a slight but significant decrease of the imports. On the other hand, the 4th century deposits reveal a further increase of the locally produced cooking vessels that return to be those most frequent.

¹⁵ In the case of the TCW, 56% of the recovered vessels are pans and 35% are lids. On regards of the AeCW deep and carinated casseroles cover 89% of the eastern cooking vessels finds in the site. For the ACW, the correlation between the three pottery forms documented is less evident: the shallow casseroles correspond to 38% of the total amount of African vessels, the lids are attested with 23% and the pans are documented with 11%; the remaining 12% belongs to examples of uncertain typology.

¹⁶ BATS 1988, 65–67; FLORENT/DERU 2012, 261–262; OLCESE 2003, 38.

¹⁷ However, it concerns vessels derived from proto-types distributed mainly in urban contexts under Greek influence (BATS 1988, 67; GALLI 2001, 234).

¹⁸ Almost all potsherds related to this form are ascribable to the Hayes 181 type. As regards the evolution of the form from central Italic models, see LEITCH 2010, 14.

¹⁹ BATS 1988, 67; FLORENT/DERU 2012, 262–263; OLCESE 2003, 42.

²⁰ BATS 1988, 45–48, 69; OLCESE 2003, 39. – For the Aegean productions, with possible Italic influences, see ABADIE-REYNAL 2005, 48; DI GIOVAN-

provinces, thanks also to their technical and morphological characteristics that made them functional for the preparation of dishes, typical for the regions in which they were imported, and not just for the ones they came from. The casseroles could be used whether to prepare stews and meat sauces (similarly to the pans) or to cook soups or other dishes that required big quantity of water and continuing low fire cooking (as the cooking pots)²¹. Despite the multifunctionality of the form, it is possible to relate different use of the various examples depending on their morphological characteristics. Thus, for boiling deep casseroles could be mainly used, while the carinated ones in AeCW and the shallow casseroles in ACW could be more suitable for stewing or cooking in sauce. The use of the shallow casseroles for a bain-marie cooking is still an object of discussion²².

Considering the different conditions of use of the three most documented forms and the varying of their indexes over time, some considerations on diet, just as some historical, social and economic aspects of urban society development can be made. During the early phases of the *domus* occupation, the vessels used for cooking are almost exclusively pots or pans. This indicates the existence of two different culinary models: on one hand a series of poor and traditional dishes prepared on basic products and simple cooking practices; on the other fine cuisine, not proper to the culinary traditions of the region and typical instead of late Republican Rome, which required the supply and the selection of many ingredients and the use of complex cooking practices and techniques for food preparation. A few decades after the *deductio* of Aquileia (181 BC) the most characteristic elements of the Roman gastronomic culture are totally acquired, combining local traditional ones. This is not an expected result: although similar situations are documented in the early phases of numerous Roman colonies, realities in which phenomena of “cultural resistance” prevent the full adoption of new eating habits and behaviours are also known²³. In the case of Aquileia, instead, it is evident that such models are immediately accepted, so that they incorporate in local substrate integrating the existing food practices.

During the mid Roman period the pottery assemblages are characterised by a big variety of forms, mainly because of the introduction of casseroles²⁴ that due to their strong multifunctionality replace, at least in part, first the cooking pots and then the pans. Different pottery forms and types are therefore correlated to further enrichment of food products and cooking techniques, which became gradually more elaborate²⁵. It testi-

fies the great vitality of the city regarding social and economic aspects. In a dynamic environment, such as that of Aquileia, moreover, the importance of foreigners and multiethnic communities present in the city, that could facilitate the introduction and success of some new cooking and eating practices with associated pottery forms²⁶, should not be excluded.

The transition back to late Antiquity, finally, does not involve macroscopic changes in the composition of the pottery assemblages. It can therefore be assumed that at Aquileia eating habits and behaviours have not changed drastically compared to the previous periods. However, one may encounter some slight but significant differences, linked to the continuous decrease of pans and the related increase of cooking pots. Even if it is not so obvious, these dynamics mark a reverse trend compared to the previous centuries and anticipate an evolution processes that will bring more traditional diet and food practices and techniques back again and a new simplification of the kitchen sets, mainly composed of few multifunctional vessels, mostly locally produced²⁷.

A.R.

Concluding remarks

Coming to a conclusion of the analysis presented here, it seems appropriate to end with a more general comment on the circulation of cooking pottery, on diet and food practices in use during Roman times in Cisalpine Gaul and on their links with the phenomenon of globalisation and revival of local traditions. The composition of the cooking assemblages, with the constant presence of imported products, highlights the integration of the city of Aquileia into the trade patterns of Mediterranean. However, the arrival over the centuries of important quantities of TCW, AeCW and ACW cannot be related only to economic reasons. The cooking pottery is in fact linked to a sphere, that of the food preparation and eating practices, that more than others is affected also by environmental, social and cultural factors. The low cost and good quality alone would not have justified the use of unsuitable vessels that do not meet local taste and eating behaviours.

The success of imported ceramics could rather be related to the introduction of new diet practices, which, even if not proper to local gastronomic tradition, are fully and rapidly accepted (this is the case especially of the pans in TCW). Their widespread presence could also be linked to the multifunctionality of some forms (particularly the casseroles). For their technical and morphological characteristics, some of these vessels (shallow casseroles in ACW, for example) in fact can perfectly support different food cooking. Con-

ni, Ceramica romana e tardoantica di Kyme. Osservazioni preliminari sui materiali dagli scavi dell'Università di Napoli “Federico II”. In: L. A. Scatozza Höricht (ed.), *Kyme e l'Eolide da Augusto a Costantino*. Atti dell'Incontro internazionale di Studio. Napoli, 12–13 dicembre 2005 (Napoli 2007) 155–157; HAYES 2005, 15–18. For the ACW cf. LEITCH 2010, 14–15.

²¹ BATS 1988, 67; 69; FLORENT/DERU 2012, 262. – For the ACW finds see IKÄHEIMO 2003, 80–81.

²² E. FENTRESS, *Cooking pots and cooking practice: an African bain-marie?* Papers Brit. School Rome 78, 2010, 145–150; IKÄHEIMO 2003, 81–83.

²³ GALLI 2001. Cases of refusal or just partial or even late assimilation of new cooking and eating practices are cited in ABADIE-REYNAL 2005, 40; 45–47 and GARANZINI/QUERCIA 2016.

²⁴ Compared to the Aegean deep and carinated casseroles, the African shallow casseroles enter in the pottery assemblages later: the earliest finds dated in fact approximately in the middle of the 2nd century AD.

²⁵ GALLI 2001, 250.

²⁶ Regarding, as an example, the presence of eastern Mediterranean communities, see L. BOFFO, *Orientali in Aquileia*. In: G. Cuscito (ed.), *Aquileia dalle origini alla costruzione del ducato longobardo*. Storia, amministrazione, società. Ant. Altoadiatiche 54 (Trieste 2003) 529–558.

²⁷ As for the cooking pottery in use during the 5th century AD in Aquileia, see D. DOBREVA/A. RICCATO, *Cibi e ceramiche nei fondi Cossar ad Aquileia*. Un contributo alla ricostruzione della dieta, delle batterie da cucina e dei servizi da mensa nella tarda antichità. In: G. Cuscito (ed.), *L'alimentazione nell'antichità*. Atti della XLVI Settimana di Studi Aquileiesi. Aquileia, Sala del Consiglio Comunale (14–16 maggio 2015). Ant. Altoadiatiche 84 (Trieste 2016) 433–454.

sequently, these forms could also be functional to prepare dishes typical of the regions in which they were imported, and not just to cook food using characteristic recipes of their own original country. This peculiarity can justify the “global” market establishment of the coarse wares of Aegean and Tunisian production. In fact the distribution patterns of these pottery classes demonstrate the ability to export their production in quite distant areas, not only geographically but also considering diet practices and eating behaviors. In this sense, the widespread distribution of cooking wares is to be read as a mirror of the strong connectivity between cultures, in a world where the adoption of new diet and eating behaviours, different from the proper ones, does not succeed by reason of radical transformations but through the constant exchange and the integration of new elements inside a more traditional system²⁸.

The introduction of imported vessels in the cooking assemblages, do not determine the disuse of more traditional vessels. In the case of Aquileia, in particular, the cooking

pots in locally manufactured coarse ware are never fully replaced by other forms or imported pottery. The globalisation of the markets seems to be associated with the opposite phenomenon of persistence of local customs and conservation of diet traditions and pottery technologies dating back in some cases already in pre-Roman times.

In closing, it appears obvious that the adoption of external food practices and diet behaviours is a complex, dynamic, selective and interactive process. It provides the assimilation of certain foreign elements, external to the local customs, but also the constant affirmation of proper identity through passing on culinary traditions. The kitchen assemblages, composed of different pottery classes and forms, and coming from distant areas of the empire, often prove this scenario.

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²⁸ GALLI 2001; GARANZINI/QUERCIA 2016.

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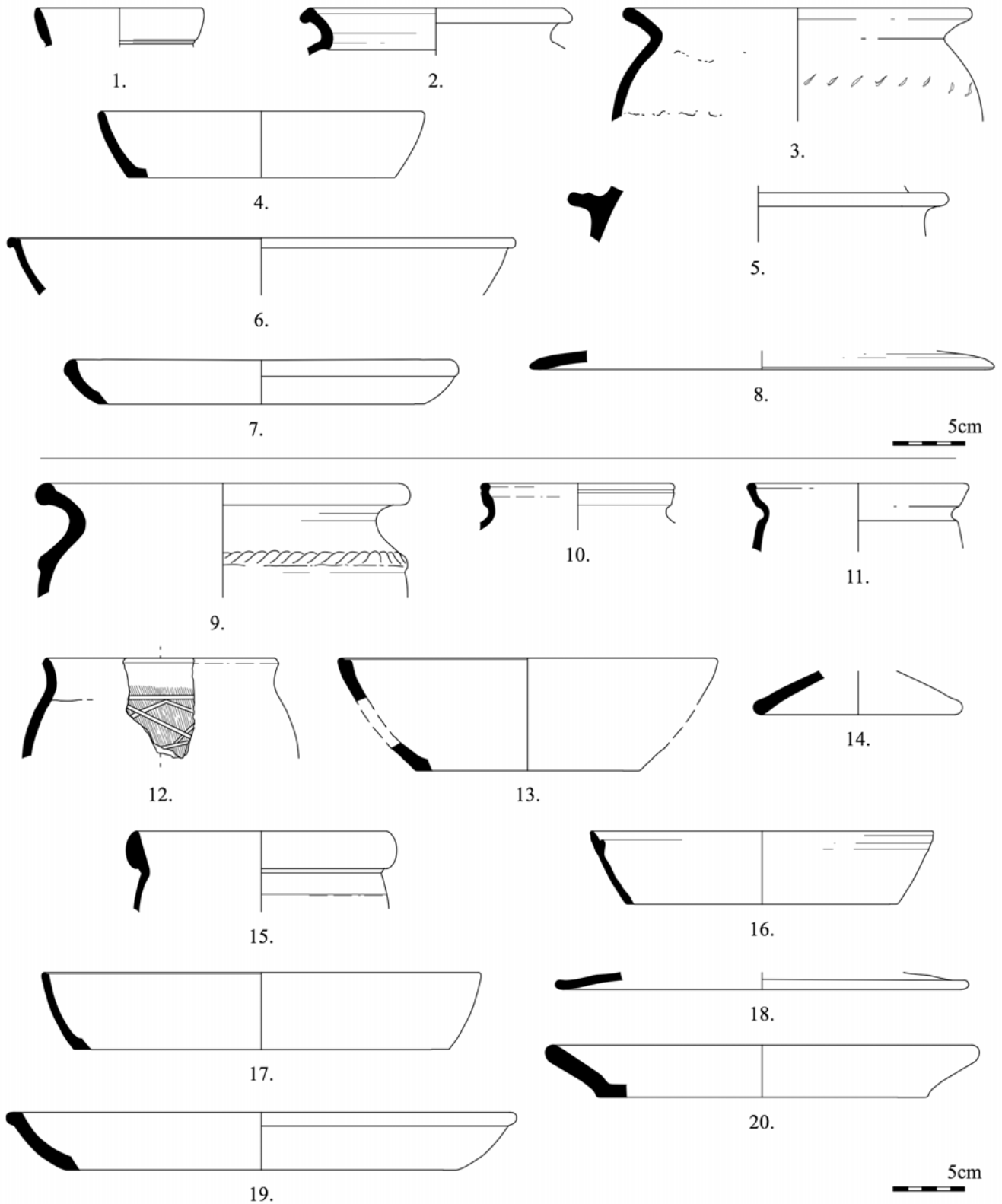


Plate 1. Sample of the cooking wares from the deposits dated to the end of the 2nd to 25 BC (1–8) and to 25 BC – first half of the 1st AD (9–20). – Local/regional CW: 1–3, 9–12 cooking pots; 4, 13 pans; 5 *clibanus*; 14 lid. – TCW: 15 cooking pot; 6, 16–17 pans; 8, 18 lids. IRSP: 7, 19 pans. – AeCW: 20 pan (digital enhancement: MTB, University of Padua).

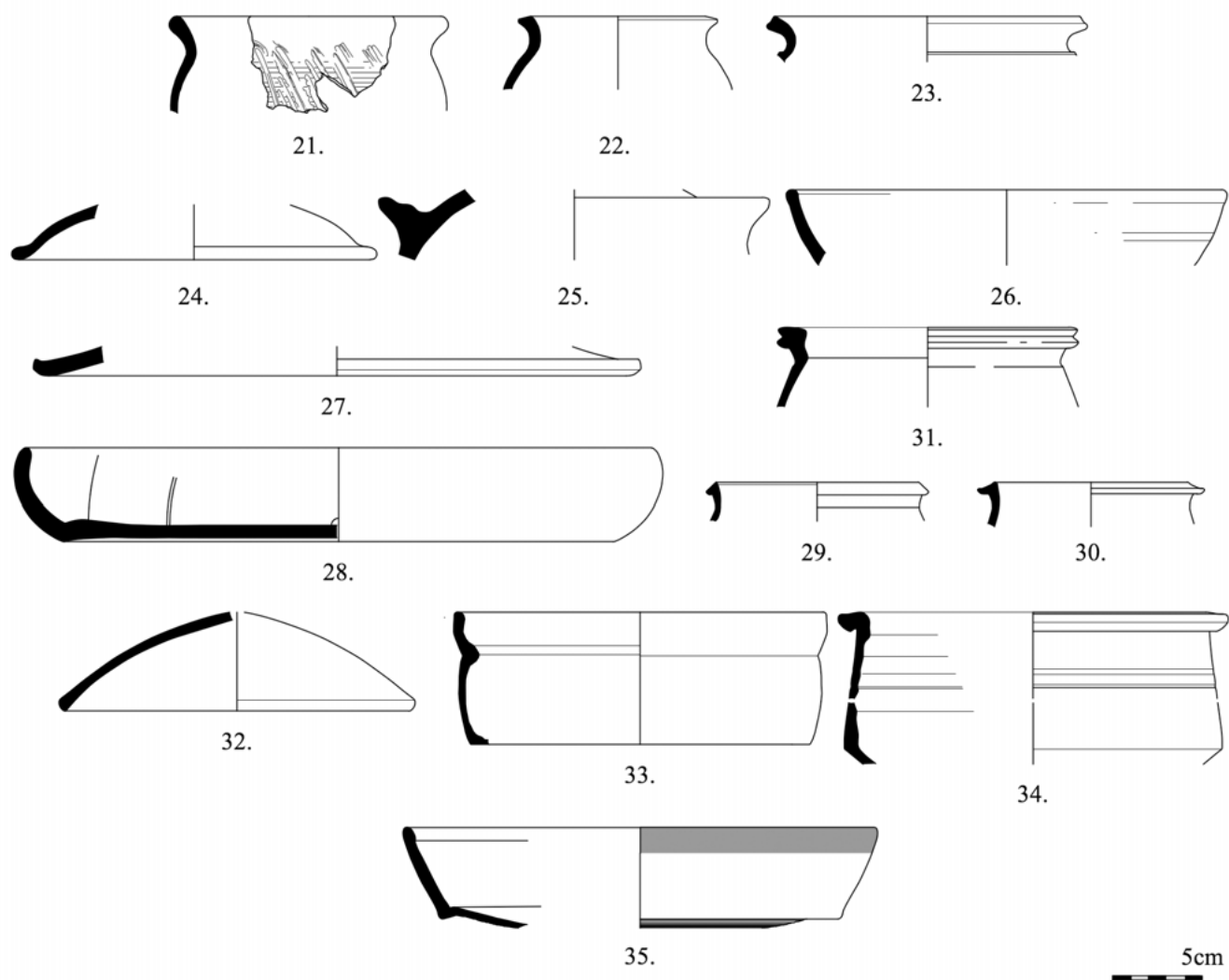


Plate 2. Sample of the cooking wares from the deposits dated to the second half of the 1st – 2nd century AD. – Local/regional CW: 21–23 pots; 24 lid; 25 *clibanus*. – TCW: 26 pan; 27 lid. – IRSP: 28 pan. – AeCW: 29–30 casseroles. – ICW: 31 casserole. – ACW: 32 lid; 33–35 casseroles (digital enhancement: MTB, University of Padua).

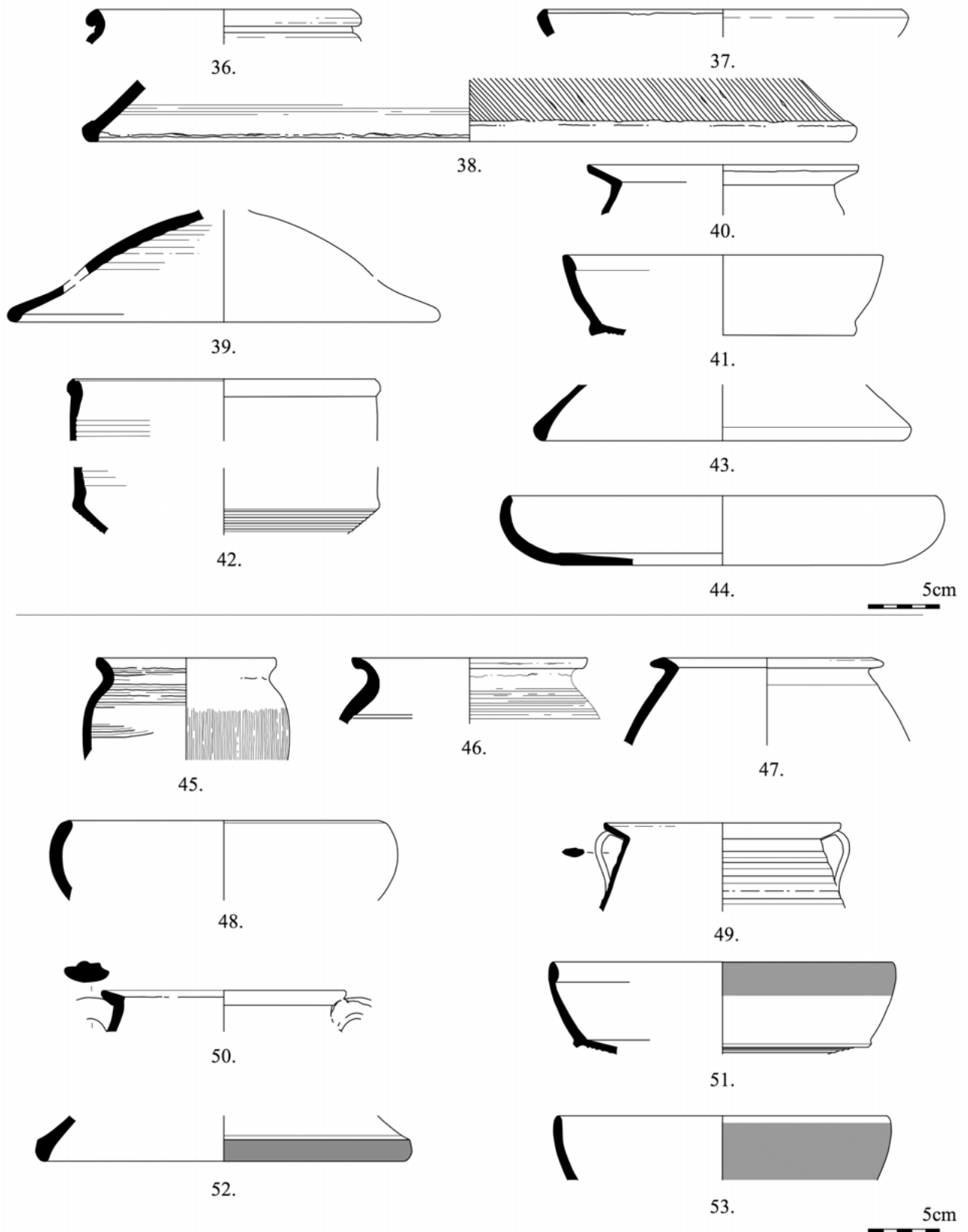


Plate 3. Sample of the cooking wares from the deposits dated to the 3rd (36–44) and 4th century AD (45–53). – Local/regional CW: 36. 45–47 cooking pots; 37. 48 pans; 38 *clibanus*. – AeCW: 39 lid; 40. 49 casseroles. – ACW: 41–42. 51 casseroles; 43. 52 lids; 44. 53 pans. – ICW: 50 casserole (digital enhancement: MTB, University of Padua).

