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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES

CARL WALDMAN AND CATHERINE MASON

A to Z



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Encyclopedia of
EUROPEAN PEOPLES



Carl Waldman and
Catherine Mason

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For Gina Sikelianos . . .
honoring her European spirit.

—Carl Waldman



For Carole Mihalko, first-generation Lithuanian-American,
who spent many years in the South Pacific as an educator and whose
joy in life and laughter were a joyous contagion. Passed away on
July 5, 2004, after more than a decade fighting cancer.

—Cathy Mason

Encyclopedia of European Peoples

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PREFACE

What constitutes a *people*? A group referred to as a people typically have one or more of the following in common: language, beliefs, sense of shared history and of common origin, political organization, institutions, territory and/or kinship. In a more specific sense, the term also can mean the enfranchised citizens of a state.

As used in the *Encyclopedia of European Peoples,* the term *people* refers to different kinds of commonality as indicated. It refers to shared language. The Celts, Germanics, and Slavs are each an example of a *language family*—without any other defining characteristics—discussed as people. Groups of a shared language family and geography, such as the Celt-speaking Britons, Scots, and Irish in the British Isles and the Celtic-speaking Gauls in France and surrounding regions, also constitute a people for the purposes of the encyclopedia.

Other peoples are defined as distinct groupings on the basis of shared culture apart from language. Peoples of differing languages and ancestry came to be defined as Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines (as language became more uniform over the ages). Thus a *cultural group* also might constitute a people.

The encyclopedia also describes as a people an *ethnic group* with relatively intact bloodlines since ancient times. In the case of the Rroma (popularly known as Gypsies), for example, ethnicity is the main determining factor. In the case of the Jews, shared ancestry and shared religion have been used historically to define what it means to be Jewish. The Saami (popularly known as Lapps) are related ancestrally, linguistically, and geographically, although some among them no longer speak their native language and instead use the language of those nations that formed around Lapland. Likewise, with regard to the Basques, ethnicity, language, and geography all can be cited as defining factors.

Groups who have different degrees or types of sociopolitical organization are defined as peoples. An important type of political organization that the reader will come across often in this work is the *tribe,* a social group comprising families and clans, typically united over generations. A tribe's shared tradition leads to a sense of common purpose. Tribes are often composed of a number of subtribes or towns. A confederation of tribes also might be defined as a people. In European studies the term is most often to be applied to ancient groupings. Because of Roman records concerning the lands they occupied, the former existence of a great number of Celtic tribes is known, many of them having a short entry. For later history, however, inhabitants of a *political entity* or polity—kingdom, principality, or duchy—might be referred to as a people. Some of these political entities became parts of nations, often as states or provinces. Inhabitants of *modern nations,* and in some cases their politically defined *regions,* are also defined as peoples. The peoples of Britain throughout history are an example of these distinctions: The names Angles, Jutes, Saxons, Anglo-Saxons, Normans, English, Scots, Welsh, and British connote varying degrees or types of sociopolitical organization.

The distinctions among sociopolitical organization, ethnicity, language, and culture, as cited previously, are obviously blurred. Geography and history are mixed in as well. The Vikings are another group classified as one people partly because they originated in a general region and, for a particular time in history, traveled widely and came to be grouped together and named by other Europeans as distinct from the other Germanic-speaking peoples from among whom they had emerged. They actually consisted of different tribal or political groups from a number of different Scandinavian regions, speaking different languages, all of them Germanic. The same can be said of the Saracens, who spoke a Semitic language but who came to be distinguished from other Semitic peoples by the Europeans with whom they came in contact. In the case of the Sea Peoples, that name and concept, applied by modern scholars, are, based on minimal evidence—Egyptian inscriptions and depictions—from ancient times.

Scandinavians have an entry as a people, as do other peoples defined purely by geography, for the sake of convenience because the term appears in many other texts. In some cases, for purposes of clarification, two similar terms are defined; the regional Bavarians and tribal Bavarii, for example, both have entries.

A large part of the challenge in a reference project of specific length—even in a two-volume set—is to decide what groups *not* to include as individual entries even though they might turn up in other texts as classifications. Prehistoric cultures, determined archaeologically, do not have separate entries. Instead they are summarized in the Chronology of

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European Prehistory and History. References to tribal peoples about whom little is known appear in ancient texts. They may be the same people as those known by another name. The Aestii are an example of a frequently cited people of uncertain background who have been given an entry. There are hundreds of such names not included. Only some of the many peoples cited in historical writings solely by the name of the political entity where they lived, such as the Bavarians mentioned earlier, have been included. To attempt to list all would weigh the encyclopedia too much toward a political history of Europe, defeating the purpose of focusing on the shared ethnicities and traditions of peoples.

Deciding on what name to be used for a people can be arbitrary. For example, because Slavic is a general name used in texts for the language family and Slavs, for the people speaking a Slavic language, Slavs is an obvious choice. Some authors use the name Germans for ancient Germanic-speaking peoples, who are often referred to as ancient Germans. Yet in modern usage the name Germans typically refers to a nationality. The authors have therefore decided to use Germanics, a shortened form of Germanic peoples, for speakers of Germanic languages. Such is the case of the Turks and Turkics. In the case of the Balts, Caucasians, and Finno-Ugrians those names are used for the ancestral grouping, whereas Baltic, Caucasic, and Finno-Ugric are applied to the language family. The name Finns is used for both an ancient tribal grouping and a modern nationality. The authors have also had to choose arbitrarily a particular spelling over several others. For example, they have chosen Curonians over Cours, Courans, Courones, Cori, Curi, Curlandrs, Kurs, Kurons, Kursa, Kursi, Kurshi, Kurzemians, Kurlanders, and Kershes, any of which might appear in other texts. Moreover some names are used in historical texts for more than on people. Other names not listed may also exist. The certainly do in other languages.

The question of what constitutes a people has to be addressed, as discussed. The question of how to determine whether a people are "European" in a general sense also has to be decided. The encyclopedia limits itself to people who occupied territory in Europe over a period of time as a distinct group. Although it may mention migrants who have made Europe their home or even have become European citizens, it does not provide particular entries for all the nationalities now living there. For example, Arabs, who migrated as individuals or families to European nations, do not have an entry heading, but the partly Arabic Moors, who occupied the Iberian Peninsula for centuries, do have one. The Carthaginians are on the list not because they invaded the Italian Peninsula but because they occupied territory on the Iberian Peninsula. Likewise, the Huns and Mongols out of Asia occupied parts of eastern Europe. The Persians who failed in their invasion of Greece did not make the list. But it should be kept in mind that the story of European peoples cannot be separated from that of Asian and African peoples, especially in eastern and southern Europe. Another point: The encyclopedia does not discuss European colonials abroad. The focus herein is on the geographical region of Europe.

The entry headings may be considered a somewhat arbitrary classification system devised for the purpose of understanding history. The challenge of devising such a system is compounded by the constraints of historical studies. Many views of connections among peoples—genetic, linguistic, political, and cultural—especially in ancient times, are highly speculative and in flux. Written sources are often unreliable. Archaeological evidence is often inconclusive. Artifacts and customs may have passed to a people through trade rather than from contact with incoming migrants. There is often a distinction between what linguists and what archaeologists say. It is debated, for example, to what degree Indo-European-speaking peoples actually migrated to ancient Greece and displaced indigenous peoples, as opposed to ideas from Indo-Europeans who reached indigenous peoples in Greece through trade, shaping new cultures and groupings. Mythology mixes with history in written sources. Spoken and written language gives clues, but not definitive answers of degree of contact. In many cases the most important piece of information about tribal names, or place-names derived from them, is not the group of people to whom they refer but rather the people who devised them and how and why those who did so applied them to a given group. (Perhaps the most important and prolific namers of peoples were the Romans, whose names and classifications often, although not always, reflected Roman desires and purposes more often than reality.)

Information is often personalized, politicized, or biased. A general might have exaggerated his report on the organization or numbers of an opposing people to justify his request for more support or to glorify his accomplishments. Or a historian might have classified people on the basis of some popular misconception. Julius Caesar was both a general and a historian. A great deal of what is known about ancient Celtic tribes is based on his writings. His classifying the tribes of northern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands as the Belgae, for example, is based on limited information. But despite the fact that his views took hold and even led to a nation's modern name, there is no other evidence besides georgraphy (and place names) to indicate that these tribes were distinct as a group from tibes in central and southern Gaul. Scholars also might develop a theory and become attached to it because of their academic career or their sense of nationalism. Europe has always been a melting pot, with considerable movement among peoples and mixing of customs and bloodlines. New studies in deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) confirm this movement and intermingling. Yet purity of bloodlines over thousands of years has often become part of a political nationalistic agenda as among the Nazis during World War II. More recently the varying degrees of the Scandinavian Germanic ancestry of the Rus as opposed to Slavic ancestry has been debated by scholars, often with a nationalistic and/or academic agenda. One must maintain healthy skepticism along with curiosity. Historical facts are not immutable natural objects, but evolving points of view. Context is critical to information from and about the past. The flow and interaction of peoples and the great cultural exchange throughout the ages, rather than the fixed nature of a people, should receive the emphasis.

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HOW TO USE THIS SET

HEADINGS AND CROSS-REFERENCES

The *Encyclopedia of European Peoples* begins with a master list of entries, followed by the entries themselves, alphabetically arranged. This book has cross-references placed alphabetically between entries as well as within entries. The cross-references that stand alone between entries cite alternate names likely to be encountered but, for the most part, not the many subgroupings discussed within the entries. (That is to say, there is a cross-reference "Hellenes. *See* GREEKS," but not an "Athenians. *See* GREEKS." For the latter case the index better serves as a guideline to subject matter.) At the entry heading are often found alternate names or alternate spellings of names. Those included are versions likely to be encountered in other readings in English. Others may exist. Moreover the encyclopedia does not generally include names as they appear in other languages.

Within the entries, the first time the name of a people having an entry appears, it is cross-referenced by means of small capital letters. (Not every time a modern European nation is mentioned are its people cross-referenced; the modern nationality entries are identified as "ALBANIANS: NATIONALITY," for example, and when a cross-reference will be helpful "*see* ALBANIANS: NATIONALITY" is added parenthetically.) At the end of some entries *see also* references direct the reader to larger categories.

The entries are not designed to stand alone. To make the most of the information presented, follow the thread of cross-references and use the various appendixes.

LONG ENTRIES

Accompanying the main entries—those covering the larger groupings or those most often cited in historical texts—are summaries of information, or fact sheets, containing the following categories: *location, time period, ancestry,* and *language*. A *time line* of important dates in that people's history also accompanies the text. This encapsulated information will give the reader a quick overview of the people in question. For *location* modern nations are typically cited, as opposed to ancient regions that might be mentioned in the text. The *time period* generally gives the time frame of the historical record of a people as discussed in the text and not necessarily the span of a people's existence. *Ancestry* and *language* are often the same, depending on usage of terms.

These entries are further divided into the following: an introduction, *Origins, Language, History, Culture,* and a conclusion. Those sections might be further subdivided. Under *Origins* might be found *Origin Myth* or other subdivisions. Under *History* might be found sections with varying headings related to the material. Under *Culture* might be found the following sections: *Economy, Government and Society, Military Practices, Dwellings and Architecture, Clothing, Personal Habits, Transportation, Other Technologies, Art, Music, Literature,* and *Religion.* And these sections in turn might be subdivided with additional headings for convenience. The largest groupings of peoples, such as the Celts, Germanics, Greeks, Romans, and Slavs, are likely to include most of the sections.

MEDIUM AND SHORT ENTRIES

Medium-length entries, typically subgroupings of the longer, more general ones—and cross-referenced to them—have fact sheets but not time lines, or the sections listed previously. They are broken into paragraphs, however, for accessibility.

Those very short single-paragraph entries with only several sentences defining a grouping and cross-referenced to other entries do not have fact sheets because the entries themselves serve the same purpose as a fact sheet.

The shorter entries often discuss peoples about whom little is known or who were numerically small or had only a brief existence. Many of these are subgroups or subtribes of larger ethnic or linguistic entities. The Chorvati, for example, are a small group believed to have spoken a Slavic dialect. It is strongly recommended that the reader refer to the larger entry, in this case that of the Slavs, for information that puts the subgroup in a historical context and also for discussion of the cultural characteristics of its people. For reasons of space, such matters are not repeated for every subgroup but are discussed in the relevant large entry.

MODERN NATIONALITIES

The entries listing European peoples based on modern nationalities are set up differently from those for other peoples. The headings have *nationality* after the name for clarity. For example, *Lithuanians: nationality* distinguishes the people of the modern nation of Lithuania from the tribe listed simply as *Lithuanians.* The introductory summaries (fact sheets) for modern nationalities include the following sections: *nation,*

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derivation of name, government, capital, language, religion, earlier inhabitants, and *demographics.* The *time line* summarizes important events in the history of the nation from its time of first recognizable statehood, both political and cultural, as a continuation of the story of the various peoples who settled there and who are discussed in other entries. Text sections for the modern nationalities include *Geography, Inception as a Nation,* and *Cultural Identity.* For the most part the Cultural Identity sections focus on traditions that have helped shape the people of the nation rather than on modern cultural life. To understand the flow of peoples through the lands that formed a modern nation, readers should see the name of peoples mentioned in the fact sheet under *earlier inhabitants* and *demographics.* Some of the information provided in the modern nationality entries overlaps with that provided in other entries if a people has maintained a distinct identity since ancient times.

The authors have decided to treat these modern nationality entries differently—without the same detailed text sections on history and culture—because present-day nations consist of many different ethnic groups and often different languages as well, with diverse traditions that endure apart from changing borders and governments. The encyclopedia is not trying to be a general history of Europe with a focus on evolving political status, but rather a study of the myriad peoples who occupied Europe from ancient times.

REGIONAL ENTRIES

Some people are identified by the name of the region where they lived regardless of varying ancestry. For clarity these regional entries include the alternate names *people of,* as in *Pannonians* (*people of Pannonia*). The people of the still extant regions of the British Isles—English, Irish, Scots, Welsh, Cornish, and Manx—are listed as regional entries because they presently have people of varying ancestry, but their people can be defined as a particular language family (Celtic, etc.) in ancient or medieval times. (There are also the entries *British: nationality* and *Irish: nationality* to give an overview.) For the most part the regional entries—short summaries of the history of the region—do not have fact sheets because the fact sheet categories do not all apply.

FURTHER READING

Many entries have a final section, *Further Reading,* which provides a list of books relating to the people in question. But others have no titles listed because no particular books exist on them. For these peoples relevant books can be found listed under the larger groupings. For example, a book might not exist on a particular Celtic tribe, but information about that tribe or about history and customs relevant to that tribe is found in books about Celtic-speaking peoples in general. Or information about them might be found in one of the general books on European history and culture listed in the Bibliography at the end of the second volume. Works by ancient authors mentioned in the text that have survived are found in the Bibliography.

Many of the books listed are reprints or revised editions, information that is not indicated unless that edition is considered a classic in the field. For many, the latest edition is cited. Check the Internet for available editions. Some of the texts—or portions of them—can be accessed online.

INDIVIDUALS

The thrust of this encyclopedia is groupings of peoples. Yet the story of those peoples is of course tied to individuals. It goes beyond the scope of the book to mention all noteworthy individuals from European history. A biographical dictionary of the kings and queens of Europe alone, or of military figures, for instance, is a formidable work unto itself. Yet to give another view of the subject matter, a number of individuals critical to the shaping of European history, especially the establishment of European groupings, or critical to the recording of the history of the groupings, have been included as sidebars to entries. And a list of individuals mentioned in the text (those through the 19th century) is included in the appendices.

BACK MATTER

The appendices at the end of the second volume include the following: (1) a master alphabetical list of entries, with alternate names and language family or other classification; (2) the entries organized by language family, ethnicity, nationalities, or regions; (3) a table listing the languages of Europe, past and present; (4) a summary of the geography of Europe; (5) a summary of the prehistoric hominids who once inhabited Europe; (6) a list of individuals mentioned in the text, organized alphabetically according to European peoples; and (7) an alphabetical list of those individuals featured in biographical sidebars, citing the entries where the sidebars are located.

A chronology of European prehistory and history, a glossary of cultural terms, and a general bibliography—with general titles on European history and culture, prehistory, and ancient writings—also supplement the text. Specific articles are not included in the bibliography; nor are Internet Web sites. (The Internet has become a valuable resource for studies on European peoples, but some sites are based on highly speculative theories and some present a nationalistic agenda, so a researcher should be wary.) An index offers the reader additional access to the information.

The back matter is designed to give differing overviews of history and culture. But, the various systems of classification applied to them should not be considered as absolutes but rather as handy tools in sorting out complex information.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Throughout the book original maps clarify some of the information in the text. (One point about geography: The phrase *Eastern Europe* in popular and even official usage to refer to nations that are actually in central Europe; geographically the term *eastern Europe* is more accurately applied to western Russia and part of Ukraine; this book uses that term because much of the content involves periods before the inception of modern nation-states, except in those cases where the modern concept is relevant.) Photographic images as well as original pen-and-inks provide another visual glimpse of history and culture.

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Entries A to Z

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A

Abazians (Abazins; Abaza; Apswa; Ashvy)

The Abazians are a Caucasic-speaking people, who live for the most part in the northwestern Caucasus region of southwestern Russia. The majority inhabit the foothills along the Big and Little Zelenchuk, Kuban, and Kuma Rivers in the Karachay-Cherkessia Republic, but some have settled in neighboring regions as well. Their language is classified as part of the North-West (Abkhazo-Adygheian) branch of North Caucasic and closely related to the language of the Abkhazians (Abkhaz; Absua), most of whom live to the south in the Asian nation of Georgia. Abazin, as the language is known, is divided into two dialects corresponding to two kinship communities, Tapanta and Shkaraua.

Like the Abkhazians the Abazians are descended from proto-Abkhaz tribes, who, possibly as early as the second millennium B.C.E., inhabited lands near the Black Sea. By the ninth century C.E. they had separated into the two distinct tribes, Tapanta and Shkaraua. In the 13th century the Tapanta moved southward to the northern Caucasus, followed by the Shkaraua the next century, although some of the Shkaraua were assimilated by Abkhazians and other CAUCASIANS known as CIRCASSIANS. The Abazians reached their peak of power in the 15th and 16th centuries but were subject to the Kabardians, a subgroup of the Circassians in the 17th century. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Russian SLAVS and TURKS competed for the region, and many Abazians were relocated to Russia and Turkey. Many SLAVS settled in their homeland. The traditional Abazian way of life, raising livestock (sheep, cattle, and horses, the latter for which they were renowned) in the highlands and cultivating the lowlands (originally millet, then maize), was disrupted.

In the 20th century the Abazians came under further pressure. During the civil war that followed the Soviet rise to power, Abazians fought for both the Red Guards and the White Guards. During the existence of the Soviet Union (USSR), the Abazians faced further deportations, collectivization, and the suppression of traditional customs and their Islamic religion.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

ABAZIANS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Abazin (Caucasic)

Abricantes (Abricanti; Abricantui)

The Abricantes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Avranches in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Legedia on the site of Avranches became a capital of a

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ACHAEANS

location:
Southern Greece; Cycladic Islands; Cyprus; Asia Minor

time period:
12th century to 146 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Achaean/Mycenaean (Greek); then perhaps other Greek dialects, such as Arcadian, Cypriot, and Attic

civitas (self-governed region) in Roman Gaul; Avranches takes its name from the tribal name.

Abrincatui *See* AMBIBARII.

Abrodrites *See* OBODRITES.

Achaeans (Achaioi)

The name *Achaeans* appears in the epic poem the *Iliad*—presumably written by the poet Homer of the ninth or eighth century B.C.E.—in reference to one group of the GREEKS who were said to have sacked Troy, an event that may have occurred in 1184 B.C.E. or a century earlier. Before archaeological discoveries of the 20th century that dramatically realigned the chronology of Greek prehistory, it was assumed the Achaeans were the first Hellenic people, that is, the first of the ancient Greeks who spoke Greek. It is now known that Indo-European speakers of an early form of Greek had been in Greece for well over 1,000 years before the Trojan War. This period saw the rise, flowering, and collapse of an entire civilization, of which Homer and later Greeks of the classical period knew very little—that of the MYCENAEANS—that lasted for almost 400 years (1600–1200 B.C.E.). Thus is makes little sense to apply the name *Achaean* to people much before the time of the Trojan War. Various groups of Indo-European speakers first appeared in Greece perhaps as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E., long before this time. From at least 1600 B.C.E. peoples in southern Greece were highly influenced by the MINOANS on Crete. By the end of the Greek Dark Ages, from the demise of Mycenaean civilization to about the eighth century B.C.E., a people living in a region called Achaea in the northern Peloponnese spoke a dialect, called Arcado-Cypriot, that resembled Mycenaean Greek more than any other in Greece.

ORIGINS

It is debated as to whether the Achaeans were the direct ancestors of the three main ethnic divisions of the later Greeks, the AEOLIANS, IONIANS, and DORIANS, or whether these represent the product of new Indo-European migrations into Greece. After the mysterious collapse of the Mycenaean civilization in the 13th century B.C.E. there is a long dark period in Greece, during which writing was lost, cities vanished, and civilization stagnated or went into retreat. In the *Iliad* by Homer from the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., based on oral histories dating from these earlier Greek Dark Ages, the Achaeans are said to be the principal Greeks who sacked Troy (Homer also mentions Argives—people from Argos—and Danaans as taking part). By the beginning of the Archaic period in 750 B.C.E., however, only a small group of Greeks on the Peloponnese called themselves Achaeans; they lived in a small area of the northern Peloponnese, bordered on one side by high mountains and on the other by the Gulf of Corinth.

The origin of the Achaeans is clouded with uncertainty due to a lack of historical evidence from the Greek Dark Ages and the period before it and a relatively incomplete archaeological record (in part caused by the unscientific, treasure-hunting style of 19th-century excavators of Greek sites, particularly those of the Mycenaeans). It has also been somewhat controversial because of the association of the Hellenes with the roots of Western culture. For this reason the ancestors of the Hellenes were avidly sought by scholars, on the assumption that the progenitors of so great a race as the Greeks, the first bearers of Western civilization, must be very special. The early attempts to understand their origin resorted to interpreting the mythical story of the sons of Hellen, to whom Greece was

Achaeans time line

B.C.E.	
12th century	Movement of warrior groups with non-Mycenaean culture (possibly people later called Achaeans) across Aegean Sea and Greek mainland in wake of collapse of Mycenaean civilization
eighth century	Greeks rise out of Dark Ages, begin to found city-states, rediscover writing with Phoenician alphabet; Homeric poems mention Achaeans as principal Greeks.
seventh century	First Achaean League is founded in Achaea; Achaeans from Patras take part in a migration to Sicily; poems of Hesiod detail origin myth of Hellenes.
fourth century	First Achaean League dissolves.
336–335	Alexander the Great unites Greece by conquest.
280	Second Achaean League is founded to oppose Macedonian conquerors.
247	Achaean League in strife with Sparta; Macedonians invited back to help them; Macedonians regain control.
198	Achaean League sides with Rome against Macedonia; granted control of nearly all the Peloponnese.
146	Romans conquer Achaea, making it a Roman province.

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parceled out as their inheritance, and who migrated with their people throughout Greece, warring and allying among themselves, until they finally produced the ethnic divisions found during the Archaic period. At that time these myths found their voice in the Boeotian poet Hesiod, who probably lived in the eighth century B.C.E.

These myths seemed to fit in well with 19th-century linguistic analysis of the origins of Greek as an Indo-European tongue. In this interpretation the Achaeans were a tall, fair-skinned people who migrated from central Europe and encountered a shorter dark-skinned Mediterranean people, related to the Minoans of Crete. By a process of conquest, these people came to inhabit Greece sometime between 1600 and 1500 B.C.E.

What archaeological evidence there is, however, combined with the presence of a large number of non-Indo-European place-names and roots in Greek, indicates that intermixing, and not conquest, was the rule. Moreover, other analyses place the appearance of Indo-European speakers in Greece much earlier, as far back as the fourth millennium B.C.E., and paint the picture of a long, gradual process of migration and repeated mingling with local populations.

Furthermore, current thinking on ethnicity has moved away from simple linkages between culture and genetic traits such as skin color and body type. Such genetic differences indeed have long existed between Europeans living in different regions of the continent; they are most pronounced in regions around the periphery, such as Scandinavia and the Mediterranean region, where people were genetically isolated. But the study of prehistoric movements of genetic traits is not sufficiently advanced to give more than a very general idea of such movements, and certainly not fine-tuned enough to assign suites of traits such as height and skin color to bearers of cultures known only archaeologically.

The picture of the Achaeans as a tall, fair-skinned people who entered Greece from the north may have more to do with the desires and beliefs of modern lovers of Greek civilization, especially in 19th-century Germany and Great Britain—the desire to have some genealogical connection with the classical Greeks, however distant, and the racist belief that the glories of Greek civilization could not have been the product of dark-skinned southern Europeans alone. It is of course entirely possible and even probable that blond-haired, fair-skinned peoples entered Greece at some point in its history, but evidence for this before historical times (when the CELTS invaded, for example)—when it happened and whence they might have come—is lacking at present.

LANGUAGE

The Achaeans spoke perhaps the earliest form of Greek, referred to as Achaean. It is thought to be related to Mycenaean. Later in their history some among them probably spoke other Greek dialects, depending on location, such as Arcado-Cypriot (Arcadian and Cypriot) and Attic.

HISTORY

Around 1450 B.C.E. the Minoan civilization collapsed, and the Mycenaean civilization that had emerged on Greece during the Minoan New Palace period (from 1600 B.C.E.) took over the Minoan trading network in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. This civilization was located primarily on the Peloponnese and called Mycenaean after the city of Mycenae, which was excavated in the 19th century, providing the first glimpses of the riches of this second Aegean civilization.

The records of a people of Asia Minor, the Hittites, mention a group who settled the islands of the Aegean and parts of Asia Minor during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E., and call them the Ahhiyawa. This word may be related to the word *Achaean;* the identity of the Ahhiyawa is uncertain, however. They could have been Mycenaean Greek traders. They could have played some role in the 12th-century fall of Troy, which was located in Asia Minor, and could have later been remembered in Homer's time as the Achaeans. However, there is no evidence that the Mycenaeans participated in the 12th-century destruction of Troy. This event occurred in the context of a tidal wave of destruction that swept the eastern Mediterranean around 1200 B.C.E., bringing down Mycenaean civilization; threatening the great powers of the time, the Egyptians and the Hittites, as well as states in Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus; and causing widespread population movements, depopulation, and devastation of some regions. Taken at face value the *Iliad* indicates that the Achaeans in the Trojan War were among the agents of this destruction (whether they were primary agents, or merely the beneficiaries of events caused by other forces). Thus whatever the relationship the Ahhiyawa/Achaeans had with Mycenaean civilization, they seem to have played a role in its

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downfall, possibly as part of internecine rivalries among Mycenaean power blocs that furnished the material for the *Iliad* and other related poetic epics of later times.

There is much evidence of aggressive warrior groups raiding far and wide in the Mediterranean region in this period. Egyptian records of the time tell of armies of warriors whom the Egyptians called collectively SEA PEOPLES. Among these were a group called by the Egyptians the Shekelesh. A new kind of pottery dating from this time found in southern Italy and Sicily may have been made by the Shekelesh, whose name lived on in later times as SICULI, Iron Age inhabitants of Sicily. Another group called the Shardana by the Egyptians may have been from or lived on the island of Sardinia.

Egyptian depictions of the Sea Peoples show them wearing distinctive horned helmets corresponding to those worn by bronze statuettes found throughout the Mediterranean dating to after the demise of Mycenaean civilization and in a clearly new style not derived from Mycenaean art. Non-Mycenaean pottery ("Barbarian" or "Coarse" Ware) and weapon types from this time with affinities to material from north of Greece have been found in Greece and Troy, lending credence to the idea that warrior groups from abroad had entered the region.

Because the numbers of these artifacts, however, are small, organized, wholesale invasion is unlikely. What we seem to be seeing in the evidence concerning the Sea Peoples is the waxing in strength and numbers of pirate groups from all over the Mediterranean, who had long been preying on the lucrative trade routes of the Mycenaeans and others; at some point the Sea Peoples may have been joined by warriors from the north. As did the VIKINGS of the first millennium C.E., who began as small-scale raiders and later caused great swathes of destruction, the Sea Peoples, a diverse group of warrior bands, may have helped bring down Mycenaean civilization.

The Ahhiyawa/Archaeans may have been one group who were part of the Sea Peoples; other groups may have been ancestral to the Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians who constituted the main linguistic/ethnic groups of post–Dark Ages Greece. On the other hand, by the end of the Dark Ages, a group speaking the dialect closest to Mycenaean Greek, Arcado-Cypriot, called themselves Achaeans. They lived between the mountains of Arcadia and the Gulf of Corinth in a remote area known as Achaea. Their dialect was also spoken on Cyprus, where the majority of European-made swords and knives dating from immediately after the Mycenaean collapse have been found. Here a brief phase of prosperity and cultural flowering took place, in stark contrast to most of the larger region. A bronze statuette of a warrior with horned helmet was found at Enkomi on Cyprus. This combination of Mycenaean-derived language, cultural flowering, and northern artifacts may point to an alliance between Mycenaean elites and northern warrior bands. Groups of Mycenaean nobility, accompanied by Achaean warriors hired to protect them, could have fled central Greece to Cyprus to the east and to Achaea, protected by mountains, to the west. In any case, whether the term *Achaean* refers to a group of Mycenaeans or to a tribe of northern warriors remains an open question.

Achaea

In the seventh century B.C.E. the Achaeans founded at least 12 cities in Achaea, including Patras, which were joined for mutual defense into the First Achaean League. The Achaeans of Patras sent colonists to Sicily during the seventh century alongside other Greeks, but Achaea largely remained isolated from the rest of the Greeks and the conflicts of that time. The First Achaean League dissolved in the fourth century B.C.E. after joining Greek opposition to the invasion by MACEDONIANS under Philip II. In 323 B.C.E. his son, Alexander the Great, completed the conquest of Greece, putting an end to classical Greece and ushering in what is known as the Hellenic period.

The Second Achaean League formed in 280 B.C.E. and, with additional cities, managed to expel the Macedonians from Corinth in 247 B.C.E. Strife with the people of the city-state of Sparta interrupted any hopes for the liberation of Greece, when the Achaeans enlisted Macedonian aid against them and then fell back under their control. In 198 B.C.E., during the war between Rome and Macedonia, the Achaean League went over to the ROMANS and won control over almost all of the Peloponnese. The Romans themselves warred with the Achaeans in 146 B.C.E., defeated them, and created the Roman province of Achaea.

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS; MYCENAEANS)

Because the identity of the Achaeans is not known with certainty, it is impossible to define

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their culture beyond that presented in conjunction with theories of their history. Well-crafted swords and statuettes of warriors with horned helmets perhaps are evidence of the Achaeans as a warrior people something like the Vikings.

The study of the Achaeans and attempts to determine their relationships with the other peoples of ancient Greece—the Minoans, Mycenaeans, Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians—draw on mythology, literature, linguistics, and archaeology. Much of their story takes place in prehistoric times, and it is next to impossible to connect names recorded centuries later with peoples known only through scattered artifacts.

Achrjani

See POMAKS.

Adigh

See CIRCASSIANS.

Adriani

The Adriani lived near the PALMIENSI and PRAETUTII in the present-day province of Teramo in the northern region of Abruzzi in present-day east-central Italy, assumed to be there at least from the eighth century B.C.E. Along with those tribes, the Adriani are sometimes grouped with the PICENES living to their north beyond the Tonto River, although it is generally believed that the Adriani, Palmiensi, and Praetutii spoke Italic dialects, placing them among the ITALICS, and the Picenes either Illyrian or pre-Indo-European dialects. To the south of the Adriani lived the VESTINI, classified as Italics.

The Adriani had a trading settlement known as Matrinum on the Adriatic Sea at the mouth of the Piomba River or the Vomano River. The region was pacified by the ROMANS in the third century B.C.E. during and after wars with the SAMNITES and Romanized in the second century B.C.E.

See also ILLYRIANS.

Aduatuci (Aduatici; Atuatuci; Audatici)

The Aduatuci are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe that is, as both CELTS and GERMANICS. (In general, the distinction between Celtic and Germanic tribes in northern Gaul and east of the Rhine in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., based for the most part on ancient Roman writings, is difficult to make, since Roman classifications are often arbitrary and cannot be confirmed by other evidence.) They lived in Gaul in present-day northeastern Belgium and southeastern Netherlands and are also discussed as GAULS. They are sometimes grouped among the BELGAE, a subdivision of Gauls. Because they claimed partial descent from the Germanic CIMBRI and TEUTONES, who had been an earlier threat to Rome, the Aduatuci were attacked by the ROMANS under Julius Caesar; their entire population was sold into slavery in 57 B.C.E.

Aducinates

The Aducinates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the lower Rhone in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Aedui (Haedui; Haeduers; Eduans)

The Aedui are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Rhône and Sâone Rivers around present-day Autun in east-central France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Because of their location along the Rhône and their trade contacts with Mediterranean peoples, they were one of the more powerful and influential of the Gallic tribes. Some GERMANICS may have settled among them. Their chief town of Bibracte at Mont Beuvray was the location of a school run by the Druids, where Celtic nobility sent their young to be educated. Their allies probably included the AMBARRI, AMBIVARITI, BRANNOVICES.

After 120 B.C.E., an alliance with the Aedui against the ALLOBROGES and the ARVERNI gave the ROMANS control of the Rhône Valley. In 71 B.C.E., the Celtic-Germanic SEQUANI and the Germanic SUEBI, allied under the Suebian Ariovistus, defeated the Aedui and probably HELVETII allies. The Aedui supported Julius Caesar in the Gallic Wars of the 50s B.C.E. Divitiacus, a ruler as well as a Druid, was a friend to the Romans. They at first did not support Vercingetorix of the Arverni in his rebellion of 52 B.C.E. Their aid at Gergovia, however, enabled the rebels to drive back the Romans and delay ultimate Roman victory. Some among them again rebelled in 20 C.E. along with the TREVERI.

Augustodunum on the site of Autun was a *civitas* capital of the Aedui during the Roman occupation lasting until the fifth century C.E. During the reign of Claudius I in 41–54 C.E., Aeduan aristocrats became the first Gauls to serve in the Roman Senate.

ADRIANI

location:
Northern Abruzzi in east-central Italy

time period:
Possibly eighth to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Italic

AEDUI

location:
East-central France

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)

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AEOLIANS

location:
Greece

time period:
Third millennium to fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Aeolic (Greek)

Aeolians (Eolians; Aeolic Greeks)

The Aeolians are one of the four main divisions of ancestral GREEKS, or Hellenes; the others are the ACHAEANS, IONIANS, and DORIANS. A form (or order) of architecture, known as Aeolic, was named after the Aeolians.

ORIGINS

The origins of the Aeolians are unclear. They are only known to history as speakers of one of the several dialects that rose to dominance during the Greek Dark Ages after the collapse of the MYCENAEANS in about 1200 B.C.E. Their ancestors were among the groups of Indo-European speakers who began filtering into Greece, probably mostly in small groups, sometime after the fourth millennium B.C.E. and for many centuries thereafter. There is no evidence to pinpoint exactly when during this long period their direct ancestors entered Greece. Earlier theories of waves of Indo-European invaders who displaced pre-Hellenic (or Aegean) populations called PELASGIANS by later Greeks have largely been abandoned.

By the end of the Dark Ages in the late ninth century B.C.E. Aeolians were living in Thessaly, a broad plain in north-central Greece bordered by the mountains Pindus and Ossa and the Aegean Sea. Aeolic speakers were also dominant in Boeotia, the territory of the later classical city-state of Thebes, which extended down to Attica (the surrounding territory at Athens) and the Gulf of Corinth.

Origin Myth

In his genealogy of the Greeks, or Hellenes, the Boeotian poet Hesiod, who probably lived in the eighth century B.C.E., recorded that the Aeolians took their name from Aeolus, who ruled over Thessaly as his inheritance from his father, Hellen, the legendary ancestor of all Greeks. Hellen was the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only two mortals to survive a devastating flood, which was sent by Zeus to destroy humankind because of his disgust at the cannibalism practiced in Arcadia, a region of Greece. The Arcadians persisted in sacrificing a boy every year to Zeus; when the god went in mortal disguise to investigate, he was offered soup made from the boy's intestines. Enraged, Zeus turned everyone at the gruesome meal into a wolf then sent the all-engulfing floods. Deucalion and Pyrrha, who survived in a wooden chest, landed on the heights of Mount Parnassus. Their son, Hellen, gave birth to Dorus (supposed progenitor of the Dorians), Xouthus (from whom were born Ion and Achaeus, the progenitors of the Ionians and Achaeans), and Aeolus (father of the Aeolians). Mythological history holds that the Aeolians were driven from parts of Thessaly by the descendants of Dorus (the Dorians) while being ruled by Lapithes, the grandson of Aeolus. The son of Lapithes, called Lesbos, sailed from Thessaly to the island that thereafter took its name from him.

Aeolians time line

B.C.E.	
12th century	Aeolians migrate to Lesbos and Asia Minor.
546	Aeolians and Persians agree to treaty.
494	After revolt Aeolians are defeated by Persians.
479	Aeolians join other Greeks against Persians.

LANGUAGE

Aeolic, the Greek spoken by the Aeolians on mainland Greece, as well as parts of Asia Minor and the Near East, is regarded as one of the oldest forms of Hellenic speech. (Many of the words in ancient Greek are not of Indo-European origin and must have been borrowed from the pre-Hellenic population.)

HISTORY

Migrations to Asia Minor

Between 1225 and 1175 B.C.E. the Bronze Age civilizations around the Mediterranean, including that of the Mycenaeans, entered a period of sharp decline, the cause of which is still uncertain; it may have been caused by a combination of natural disasters, civil strife, piracy, and famine brought on by climate change, such as a period of severe drought. Possibly to escape these conditions, many Aeolians apparently began to migrate eastward over the Aegean Sea. Between 1130 and 1000 B.C.E., the Aeolians made a great migration across the Aegean, inhabiting the island of Lesbos and the northwest coast of Asia Minor, between the Dardanelles (the strait linking the Aegean with the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea, and called in ancient times the Hellespont) in the north and the Hermus River in the south. Judging by later settlements, the Aeolians colonized other areas of the Mediterranean as well.

Aeolis

By the time written records were being made by Greeks, the cities of Asia Minor founded by

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the Aeolians (in the northwestern Anatolian Peninsula) were known collectively as Aeolis (or Aiolis). The Greek historian Herodotus identified 12 cities forming the Aeolian League, for defense and trade, in opposition to the Ionian League. These were Temnos, Smyrna, Pitane, Neonteichos, Aegirusa, Notium, Killa, Cyme, Gryneum, Larissa, Myrina, and Aegae; many other cities were founded as well. They flourished in an area that was more fertile and wetter than Ionia to the south in Asia Minor and were concerned mainly with farming. By the eighth century B.C.E., because of increasing trade contacts throughout the region, the use of an alphabet borrowed and modified from the PHOENICIANS spread throughout the Hellenic peoples of Greece, both on the mainland and on Aegean islands and in Asia Minor. Iron smelting, thought to have been developed in Greece when imports of copper and tin used to make bronze dwindled with the demise of the Mycenaean trade networks, also spread throughout the Hellenic population, revolutionizing farming as iron plows came into use.

Originally the cities were governed by kings, as they had been on the mainland, but in the seventh century B.C.E., many of the kings were driven out and replaced by oligarchies or tyrants. For a time Lesbos was the most powerful settlement of the Aeolians and exercised substantial control over the Asia Minor settlements. In 570 B.C.E. the Aeolians of Lesbos founded the colony of Naucratis in Egypt.

Warfare

During the mid-sixth century B.C.E. armies out of Lydia in western Asia Minor, under the leadership of Croesus, the last king of the Lydian empire, conquered the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The Aeolians of Lesbos entered into a treaty with Croesus, increasing Lydian seafaring capabilities. The Persians (people of present-day Iran) under Cyrus II conquered the Lydians, consolidating much of the Near East under their rule. Cyrus set up a tyrant to rule Lesbos. The Aeolians, who signed a treaty with the Persians in 546 B.C.E., revolted but were subjugated entirely after their defeat at Lade in 494 B.C.E. Aeolians accompanied the Persian emperor Xerxes I in his invasion of mainland Greece with 60 ships in 480 B.C.E. After the Persian army, a formidable force that modern scholars believe to have been composed of about 200,000 men and 1,000 ships, suffered a defeat at the Battle of Mycale in 479 B.C.E., the Aeolians of Lesbos joined with the Greeks of the mainland against the Persians.

The alliance seems to indicate that a strong cultural identity existed among the Hellenes, despite their differences. Indeed, over the next centuries, distinctions among the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians received less emphasis as various city-states became the determining political entities.

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS)

The architecture of the Aeolians owed much to the Ionian architecture of Ionia in Asia Minor. Temples were constructed out of stone, usually limestone, painted white with marble dust. The Aeolic order of columns resembles Ionic columns, except for the capital, which has a palmette thrusting up between two volutes, or carved spirals.

Two of the earliest—seventh to sixth century B.C.E.—and most renowned Greek Lyric poets (who composed shorter poems accompanied by the lyre and sung with a different meter from that of the Homeric epics) were from Lesbos: Sappho and Alcaeus. Both were strongly influenced by the earlier Homeric poetry, including the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* which many believe originated in northern Greece, as oral poetry in the Aeolic dialect, though the main language of Homer was passed down to us as principally Ionic, with some Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot features. It was strictly a literary dialect, used only in Homeric verse.

In the Homeric poems the terms *Hellene, Ionian, Dorian,* and *Aeolian,* if they appear at all, refer only to small groups from distinct geographic areas. On mainland Greece the differences among the various groups of Greeks were not clearly to be found. For example, the Corinthians, living in a city with a name derived from the pre-Hellenic inhabitants, were mainly of Aeolian descent but spoke Doric. The flood myth must have originated in an effort to explain the three different and clearly defined Greek populations of Asia Minor: the Aeolians, who lived in the north of the Anatolian Peninsula; the Ionians, who inhabited the middle; and the Dorians, who lived in Caria in the south. Although the myth is generally close in its broad outlines to the known movements of different peoples throughout Greece and the relationship of the Greeks, it vastly simplifies the much more complicated interactions that occurred. The Aeolians, Achaeans, and Ionians

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AEQUI

location:
West-central Italy

time period:
c. 600 to 304 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Aequian (Italic)

constitute one group of people, who diverged slightly in language as they settled in different parts of Greece and conquered and intermixed with preexisting tribes. The Dorians were a separate group, also Indo-European and from the north who moved into Greece, intermixing with and—possibly—conquering or putting pressure on the remnants of earlier peoples, who either remained or migrated.

Aequi (Equi; Equians; Aequiculi)

The Aequi are classified as ITALICS, probably a branch tribe of SABINES of the central Apennines in present-day Italy. The Aequi came to inhabit hill country in northern parts of the region of ancient Latium (part of modern Lazio) in present-day west-central Italy north of the HERNICI and VOLSCI. They were early enemies of the ROMANS.

ORIGINS

The Aequi migrated from the central Apennines into northern Latium during the sixth century B.C.E., as the power of the ETRUSCANS began to wane.

LANGUAGE

The Aequian language was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan group of Italic languages, related to Marrucinian, Marsian, Paelignian, Sabine, Vestinian, and Volscian.

HISTORY

In about 500 B.C.E. the Aequi in Latium moved to the south, threatening Roman settlements, including Praeneste (modern Palestrina) and Tibur (modern Tivoli), which they may have razed. By 493 B.C.E. they had allied themselves with other Italics in Latium, the Volsci; the Romans responded in kind, securing an alliance with the Hernici and LATINS.

In 486 B.C.E. a period of continued warfare began between the Romans and the Aequi and Volsci. In 457 B.C.E. the Roman army was routed at the hands of the Aequi at Mt. Algidus. Archaeology has given indirect evidence of the seriousness of the threat the Aequi posed to Rome, as there is a discernible drop off of public building projects in the mid-fifth century B.C.E., a sign that the economy was suffering. According to perhaps legendary accounts the Roman general Cincinnatus was called off his farm to lead the Romans as dictator and rescue their army. Sixteen days later, his mission accomplished, Cincinnatus is said to have resigned, returning to his plow (his action long serving as an example of ideal Roman behavior). In 431 B.C.E. the Romans under A. Postumius Tubertus fought another engagement with the Aequi, at the pass at Mt. Algidus, and this time they triumphed.

Although the power of the Aequi was broken, they continued to resist Roman expansion, but with little effect. In 304 B.C.E. Rome successfully defeated the SAMNITES and their allies, ending the Second Samnite War and gaining complete control of Latium. During this war, in a campaign lasting 50 days, numerous strongholds of the Aequi were systematically taken one by one and their inhabitants slaughtered en masse. The Aequi were granted limited Roman citizenship, and under Roman rule, their culture and language disappeared.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

Little is known of pre-Roman Aequi culture, other than that they subsisted on herding and agriculture and were warlike. The colony established by the Romans at the Aequi town of Alba Fucens in 304 B.C.E. signaled the gradual intrusion of the Latin language and culture into Aequi territory.

Aequi time line

B.C.E.

c. sixth century	Aequi migrate into northern Latium from central Apennines as power of Etruscans declines.
c. 500	Aequi are pushed into and attack Roman territory.
c. 493	Romans sign treaty with Latins and Hernici, in response to alliance of Aequi and Volsci.
457	Aequi defeat Romans at Mt. Algidus.
431	Romans defeat Aequi at Mt. Algidus.
304	At end of Second Samnite War Rome secures ultimate control over all of Latium; Aequi are incorporated with limited voting rights into Roman Republic.

The Aequi were one of many peoples of the Italian Peninsula whose history is tied to that of the Romans. Knowledge of them has been filtered through the Roman point of view.

Aernici *See* HERNICI.

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Aestii (Aestae; Aestyans; Aistii; Aistians; Austii)

The exact identity of the Aestii, a people mentioned in ancient texts, is not known. They were a farming people of the Baltic Sea region in north-central Europe, who traded in amber.

ORIGINS

An early mention of the Aestii appears in the writings of the Roman historian Tacitus, in about 98 C.E. The name may have originally been applied to one tribe, then later applied to all the peoples of the region. Most scholars consider the Aestii to have been the ancient BALTS: That is, Baltic-speaking peoples who are known to have lived along the coast in ancient times and to be ancestors of peoples living near the Baltic Sea who had engaged in gathering and trading amber since at least the Bronze Age. Thus later Baltic peoples, such as the BORUSSIANS (Old Prussians), LETTS, and LITHUANIANS, known to have developed the amber trade from the fourth to ninth centuries, are likely to have been their descendants. Alternately, the original Aestii could have been CELTS, FINNO-UGRIANS, GERMANICS, or SARMATIANS.

The name Aestii perhaps derived from the Aestia River; or it may mean "east," as used by Scandinavian peoples across the Baltic Sea. The name of the ESTHS, a Finnic people, is probably related etymologically to Aestii, although they are not considered direct descendants of the Aestii. Estonians started referring to themselves as Eestlased in the 19th century. Before that time they simply referred to themselves as "the country people"—or Maarahvas (*see* ESTONIANS: NATIONALITY).

LANGUAGE

Because of their supposed geographical location the Aestii are thought to have been Baltic speakers, but they may have been Celtic, Finnic, Germanic, Sarmatian, or Slavic.

HISTORY

According to the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (writing in the 13th century), Ermanaric of the OSTROGOTHS organized a successful military raid against the Aestii in the mid-fourth century C.E. Other Roman and Gothic historians, such as Cassiodorus and Jordanes of the sixth century, also mentioned the Aestii, the latter describing them as peaceful. In about 523–26, Cassiodorus, in the name of King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths, sometime soon before his death, wrote a letter to the Aestii, thanking them for the amber sent to the king. As late as 833–36, the Aestii were mentioned in *Vita Caroli Magni* (Life of Charlemagne) by Einhard of the FRANKS.

CULTURE

The Aestii are associated with the amber trade with the ROMANS, starting in the first century C.E., which led to the formation of the Roman "amber road" to the Baltic region (although amber had been traded to the Mediterranean from the Baltic region for millennia). The Romans traded items of bronze, primarily coins and brooches, fashionable during that age, in exchange for amber (*glaesum* in ancient texts).

Tacitus claims that the culture of the Aestii was similar to that of the Germanic SUEBI, although their language resembled "British"—Celtic rather than Germanic. They worshipped the Mother of the Gods and wore images of boars as an emblem of their cult. It is hard to know how to assess the accuracy of Tacitus's descriptions of tribes of this remoteness from Rome. Most Celtic peoples worshipped a variously named Mother Goddess, and boars were an important motif in Celtic art, lending credence to Tacitus's account. On the other hand, boars were important to Germanics as well. The identification of their language as British could well have originated in the account of a trader who, whether Germanic or Roman, recognized the significant difference of the Aestii's language from the more predominant Germanic languages in central Europe and concluded that it must be like the language of another non-Germanic northern people, that is, the BRITONS. Further confusing the matter is the fact that Tacitus said that the Aestii word for amber was *glesum,* which is Germanic. This may mean only that Aestian amber producers used the Germanic word to facilitate communication

AESTII

location:
North-central Europe near Baltic Sea

time period:
First to ninth century C.E.

ancestry:
Probably Baltic

language:
Probably Baltic

Aestii time line

C.E.	
c. 98	Tacitus writes about Aestii.
mid-fourth century	Ermanaric of Ostrogoths campaigns against Aestii.
523–24	Cassiodoris writes a letter to Aestii, thanking them for gift of amber to King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths.
833–36	Einhard of the Franks writes about Aestii.

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with the Germanic and then later Roman traders among them.

The Aestii are an example of a people who evidently played a significant role in ancient European history, but about whom little is known. Their trade in amber and the economic impact it had on other peoples make them an intriguing subject of research.

FURTHER READING

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Arnold S. Spekke. *The Ancient Amber Routes and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic* (Golden, Colo.: Ares, 1976).

Agessinates (Agesinates; Cambolectri Agessinates)

The Agessinates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Angoulême in present-day western France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Another group to the west, the CAMBOLECTRI (or Cambolectri Atlantici), were probably related ancestrally.

Aigosages

The Aigosages are classified as a Celtic tribe, from eastern Europe; they are discussed as CELTS or GALATOI. They were recruited as mercenaries by Hellenistic rulers to go to Bithynia in Asia Minor in 218 B.C.E. but were wiped out by their employers after rebelling.

Alamanni (Alamani; Alemanni; Alemans; Allemanni; Allemans)

ALAMANNI

location:
Southwestern Germany; northern Switzerland; western Austria; northeastern France; Liechtenstein

time period:
Third to eighth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Alamannic (Germanic)

The Alamanni were a tribal confederacy of GERMANICS that emerged east of the Rhine and south of the Main River in present-day southwestern Germany in the third century C.E. in territory formerly inhabited by the SUEBI and spread to neighboring regions, including Alsace west of the Rhine in present-day northeastern France and later southward into the northern Alps. Territory in France and Germany on both sides of the Rhine became known as Alamannia; part of it was later referred to as Swabia derived from the tribal name Suebi.

ORIGINS

The exact makeup of the Alamanni is not known. They may have consisted of a core of Suebian peoples located in central Germany in earlier centuries, such as the HERMUNDURI, NARISTI, and SEMNONES. Or they may have been a core group who invaded Suebia territory from elsewhere. Other tribes joined them later, such as the IUTHUNGI in the fourth century C.E. Their confederacy may, like that of other Germanic confederacies such as the GOTHS, have been a multiethnic, multicultural one. Their name was derived from *alamans*, meaning "all the people."

LANGUAGE

The Alamannic dialect is related to Swabian (Suebian). Some inhabitants of the Black Forest region of present-day southern Germany as well as the independent principality of Liechtenstein still speak Alamannic.

HISTORY

Early Incursions onto Roman Territory

Those tribes grouped as Alamanni ranged widely from their homeland in southwestern Germany. The Alamanni are the first large Germanic tribal confederacy mentioned in historical sources: Coming to the notice of the ROMANS, they were driven out of Upper Germany by an army under Emperor Caracalla in 213 C.E. Caracalla's victory did not deter the Alamanni for long, and they broke through the Roman *limes* (fortifications) in the mid-third century, pushing westward across the Rhine as far as present-day Trier (Trèves) on the banks of the Prüm River in western Germany and settling south of the Danube near Lake Constance on the present-day border of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. With the GOTHS they are considered the first Germanics to occupy what had been Roman-held territory. Their incursions were one of the reasons the Romans gave up defending the Rhine-Danube frontier in 260. The Alamanni did not proceed deeper into Roman territory until later that decade, when they began carrying out raids in northern Italy. In 268 a Roman force under Claudius II defeated them in the Battle of Lake Benacus (Lake Garda) near Milan.

In 275 the Alamanni were among Germanic forces, also including Goths and VANDALS, who overran part of the Roman province of Dacia in the steppe region of the Lower Danube basin west of the Black Sea, defeating a force of SARMATIANS. By about 300 groups of settlers were occupying territory between the Black Forest and the Upper Danube. From there they began attacking the Upper Rhine valley and eastern Gaul.

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Later Encounters with the Romans

In the fourth century some Alamanni moved westward into Alsace, also part of Gaul. The Romans under the soon-to-be-emperor Julian fought and defeated them at Strasbourg in 357, at which time their king, Cnodomarius, was taken prisoner. In 368, after an Alamanni force under Macrianus had attacked present-day Mainz on the Rhine, the Romans under Emperor Valentinian I carried out a successful counterattack. Yet the Alamannic resistance persisted, and Valentinian, needing his troops to quell the QUADI and Sarmatians to the east, made peace with Macrianus. Some of the Alamanni served in the Roman army. Among them were the Alamannic king Fraomarius, who led a contingent to Britain as reinforcements.

In 380 Alamannic enemies, the BURGUNDII, who had settled to their south the century before, won territory from them between the Main and Neckar Rivers. The Romans used the Burgundii to impede Alamannic expansion.

The Alamanni were part of the great movement of Germanic groups across the frozen Rhine River in the winter of 406–407, which spelled the beginning of the end of Roman control of Gaul. Some among them settled in Alsace between the Rhine River and the Vosges Mountains in northeastern France.

Franks, Ostrogoths, and Alamanni

In 496 the FRANKS under the Salian king Clovis I defeated the Alamanni at Tolbiacum (modern Zülpich), and Alamannic lands became part of the eastward-expanding Frankish Empire. After defeat the Alamanni resettled in southern Germany, taking up residence in the present-day German state of Baden-Württemberg in the Black Forest region as well as in Switzerland and controlling the best land in the northern Alps. They continued to conduct raids in Gaul, Italy, and the Upper Danube region, but not intensively enough to seize territory. At this time they entered under the protection of Theodoric of the OSTROGOTHS.

During and after the sixth century the Franks imposed increasing dominion over the Alamanni until the Frankish leader Charles Martel took them into his empire in the eighth century. Alamannia in northeastern France and southwestern Germany on both sides of the Rhine was a Frankish province for centuries. There is debate about when it became a formal duchy in the Frankish Empire; it may have occurred in 713 or later.

Alamanni time line

C.E.

213	Alamanni attacked by Romans under Emperor Caracalla.
268	After Alamanni invade northern upper Italy, they are defeated by Romans under Claudius II near Milan.
275	Alamanni along with Goths and Vandals overrun part of Roman province of Dacia, defeating Sarmatians.
357	Alamanni defeated by Romans under Julian at Strasbourg.
368	Alamanni defeated by Romans under Valentinian I.
406–407	Alamanni are among horde of tribes crossing frozen Rhine.
mid-fifth century	Alamanni settle in Alsace; later in century, they occupy parts of Baden-Württemburg in Germany and Switzerland.
496	Alamanni conquered by Clovis I of Franks.
730	Duchy of Alamannia incorporated into Frankish Empire.

Alamannic Subtribes

Alamanni who settled varying regions adopted local names. Among those known by the fourth or fifth century were the Brisgavi in the region known as the Breisgau; the Bucinobantes living on the Rhine opposite the mouth of the Main River; the Lentienses on the north shore of Lake Constance; and the Raetovarii in the Roman province of Raetia.

Descendants

The majority of the population of the northern Black Forest in Germany are descendants of the Alamanni (*see also* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). In the early 19th century, people of the region began to discuss the Alamanni and Suebi as separate groups, with the inhabitants of the regions of Baden claiming Alamannic ancestry and those of Württemberg claiming Suebian ancestry. (The two became merged into one state, Baden-Württemberg, in 1952.) Many among modern-day Liechtensteiners of the principality of Liechtenstein south of Lake Constance are also descended from the Alamanni (*see* LIECHTSTEINERS: NATIONALITY).

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

In a sense the Alamannic confederacy was a creation of the Romans—or came into being as a result of Roman military actions against the tribes of which it was formed, notably in the Marcomannic Wars of the second century C.E. (*see* MARCOMANNI). Unlike the Goths, BURGUNDII, and LOMBARDS, the Alamanni did not preserve many of their ancient tribal traditions; nor were they organized into large groups with important

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kings or war leaders. Their entry into the Roman Empire was little noticed by Roman authorities, with small groups of warrior peasants crossing the Rhine to serve in the Roman army or to settle in small enclaves.

The Alamanni—"all the people"—did not at first have a centralized government. They moved and settled in relatively autonomous groups, each group having its own ruler or king. As mentioned, at first their groups were too small for major war leaders or kings (*duces* or *reiks*). But as warfare became increasingly prevalent, their groupings became larger, though never as large as those of the Goths. The rugged terrain of the northern Alpine territory that they occupied in the fifth century reinforced this tendency. Archaeologically their most impressive remains in the Alps are the strongholds of local chieftains. Late in their history, for the duration of a campaign, they united under a joint command of two leaders.

Because the Alamanni underwent their transformation into a fully militarized society within the Roman Empire itself, unlike the Goths, they did not preserve an ancient name—such as Goth—or tradition, although they did sometimes refer to themselves as Suebi, the old tribal name of some of their people. They seem not to have had a mythic origin narrative.

Dwellings and Architecture: Settlements and Strongholds

The sites of several Alamannic strongholds in southwestern Germany have been excavated. One of them was located on a hilltop called the Runderberg near Urach. Its area is small, only some 230 by 164 feet at its widest; it was fortified with a timber rampart in about 300 C.E., which enclosed many timber buildings, while other buildings were built outside the rampart on the slopes of the hill. It is impossible to assess patterns of settlement in the region because many sites probably were built over during the medieval period and are now lost. The Alamanni were attracted to former Roman settlements; they partially rebuilt villas at Holheim and Praunheim. Roman gold coins and military accoutrements have been found at Alamannic sites, either booty from raids or relics of Alamannic warriors who joined the Roman army. There is evidence of the latter at Neuburg on the upper Danube from about 330 and later.

Religion: Burials

In the absence of contemporary records about them most of our knowledge about the Alamanni when they first emerged is derived from their burial practices. Around the end of the third century, the layout of their burials west of the Rhine attests to a new attitude toward disposal of the dead that seems to have been influenced by the greater importance of war in society. Increasingly, at this time, men were being buried with a full panoply of weapons, a practice largely unknown previously. As the fourth century went on, this practice became more prevalent; the dead now also were interred in rows with a common orientation, either east-west or north-south. East of the Rhine in unconquered territory, burials began to contain Roman articles such as belt decorations that probably had been taken home by warriors who had completed their service in the Roman military. Cemeteries oriented in rows began to appear in Free Germany as well, demonstrating that cultural connections were not deterred by Roman boundaries. In general the burials attest to the emergence of a wealthy warrior class.

The Alamanni were more like the Franks than the Goths in forming their identity in the very shadow of the walls of Rome. Their emergence took place under close Roman influence, whereas the sojourn of the Goths near the Black Sea had given them time and breathing space to evolve a highly distinct culture and social structure before they began to clash with Rome. The Goths' distinctness, and that of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, including their Arian Christianity, throughout their career stood in the way of a true rapprochement with the Romans. The Alamanni, for their part, might have achieved such a fusion were it not for their defeats at the hands of the series of great Frankish leaders.

The name of the Alamannic homeland, from the Germanic word *alamans* for "all the people," survives today in most Romance languages as the name for Germany, including the French Allemagne and the Spanish Alemania.

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ALANS

location:
Caucasus; France; Iberian Peninsula

time period:
First to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Indo-Iranian

language:
Ossetian (Iranian)

Alans (Alani; Alanoi; Alanians; Sarmatians)

The Alans, an Indo-Iranian people, lived in the region north of the Caucasus Mountains in present-day western Russia. Originally steppe peoples, descended from Scythians or Sarmatians or

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both, they have a history that relates both to the peoples of the Caucasus and to eastern Germanic tribes, in particular the VANDALS, with whom some among them migrated to western Europe. Descendants of the Alans, the OSSETS, still live in the North Caucasus.

ORIGINS

The Scythian-Sarmatian ancestors of the Alans are thought to have lived in the steppe region north and east of the Caspian Sea in present-day western Kazakhstan (in Asia) and in western Russia between the Volga and Don Rivers. By the first century C.E., when they were first mentioned by the ROMANS, the Alans were living south of the Don River and north of the Caucasus Mountains. They are perhaps the same people listed by the Greek historian Herodotus as the Geloni (Gilans). Several ancient authors considered the Massagetae of the southeast shores of the Aral Sea, from the Iranian *Massyagata,* meaning "fishers," to be ancestral to the Alans.

LANGUAGE

The Alans spoke Ossetian, an Iranian language, part of the larger Indo-Iranian family (the eastern branch of Indo-European). It is still spoken by people of the Caucasus. The two modern dialects are Digor and Iron.

HISTORY

From their homeland in the North Caucasus, the Alans, skilled equestrians, carried out raids on Asia Minor. Some Alan groups are thought to have migrated westward across the Don in the first half of the third century C.E. By the second half of that century, they had settled parts of present-day Moldova and Romania. With pressure from the GOTHS, some settled in the northern foothills of the Caucasus and came to rule some of the CAUCASIANS there. The HUNS under Balamir reached the lands of the Alans by about 372 and along the banks of the Don routed them. Some Alans were absorbed into the Hunnic army. Others managed to escape westward to the Danube and remain independent. Some are thought to have helped shape an alliance of the Eastern SLAVS, people who were known to ancient writers as the ANTES.

One group of Alans under the leader Safrax allied themselves with the VISIGOTHS. The Romans allowed this group of people to settle south of the Danube on the eastern Balkan Peninsula in Thrace. In 378 horse-mounted Visigoths under Fritigern, along with Alans, defeated a Roman force under Valens, emperor of the East, at the Battle of Adrianople (modern Edirne, Turkey). A community of Alans was later settled by Gratian as Roman *foederati* (federates) on the Sava River in the province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary and north of surrounding countries).

By the early fifth century a number of different Alanic groups had formed in eastern and central Europe. Some became allies of the Vandals and SUEBI under Gaiseric and in 406 crossed the Rhine with them in their invasion of Gaul. Some Alans settled near Valence on the Rhône in present-day southeastern France. Others crossed the Pyrenees onto the Iberian Peninsula in 409 with the Vandals. The largest group under Addac settled in Lusitania (roughly modern Portugal). For a time they held the Roman settlement of Felicitas Julia (modern Lisbon). Another group settled around Cartagena, the port city in the southeast.

The Visigoths defeated Addac's followers between 416 and 418. Survivors joined the Asding Vandals to the north in what had been the Roman province of Gallaecia (the name of the region known as Catalan [present-day Catalonia] is derived from the Alans' name). In 429, because of continuing Visigoth pressure, united Vandals and Alans crossed to Africa under Gaiseric, who was known officially as "king of the Vandals and Alans." In 439 the Vandals and Alans took Carthage, the ancient city founded by the CARTHAGINIANS, from the Romans and were part of the force that sacked Rome in 455.

In 451 a group of Alans were settled at Orléans in north-central France by Flavius

Alans time line

C.E.	
first century	Alans first mentioned in Roman literature.
c. 372	Alans, overwhelmed by Huns, flee westward to Danube.
378	Alans join Visigoths against Romans in Battle of Adrianople.
406	Alans invade Gaul with Vandals and Suebi.
409	Alans, Vandals, and Suebi invade Iberian Peninsula; Alans settle in Lusitania.
418	Alans join Vandals in Gallaecia.
429	Alans accompany Vandals into North Africa; in 439 Vandals and Alans capture Carthage.
451	Some Alans accompany Attila the Hun in invasion of Gaul.
455	Vandals and Alans sack Rome.

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ALBANIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Albania (Shqipni); Republic of Albania

derivation of name:
Tribal name from the Indo-European root meaning "white" or "mountain"; *Shqipni* means "land of the eagle."

government:
Parliamentary republic

capital:
Tirana (Tiranë)

language:
Albanian is derived from an extinct Illyrian language; two distinct Albanian dialects are heard among Ghegs and Tosks.

religion:
About 70 percent of the population are Muslim; 20 percent, Eastern Orthodox Christian; and 10 percent Catholic (from 1967 to 1990, Albania was the first officially atheist country after the Communist government banned all religions).

earlier inhabitants:
Illyrians; Thracians; Greeks; Macedonians; Romans; Ostrogoths; Byzantines; Serbs; Bulgarians; Turks

demographics:
Ethnic Albanians make up about 90 percent of the population while the remaining 10 percent are divided among Greeks, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Rroma; Albanians in Greece are known as Arvanites.

Aetius as Roman federates. Under Sangiban, they became part of the combined Roman-Visigoth force battling the invading Huns under Attila. Others fought as allies of the Huns.

From Alans to Ossets

The one group that maintained its identity into medieval modern times were those who stayed behind in the North Caucasus. The Alans endured successive invasions by the KHAZARS, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks (see TURKICS). They formed a state in the region in the eighth century with cultural links to the Georgians south of the Caucasus; it lasted until the 13th century, when it was destroyed by the MONGOLS. Many of the Alans dispersed into the mountains while others joined the service of the Mongols, forming important contingents of the allies. They later came under the control of the Kabardians and finally the Russians, who still control the North Caucasus (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Modern-day Alans are known as Ossets (Ossetians), but their ancient name endures etymologically in that of Alania (North Ossetia, or North Ossetiya), a republic in the Russian Federation.

CULTURE

The Alans originally were steppe pastoralists, who, as did other steppe peoples, lived by both herding and raiding. In their homeland in the North Caucasus, they adopted a more sedentary, agricultural way of life.

The Ossets long preserved a body of heroic sagas concerning the adventures of a band of heroes called the Nartah, or Narts. Their leader, Batraz, had a magical sword (reminiscent of Excalibur of the hero of the BRITONS, King Arthur) which he had obtained with the help of his aunt, a seer called Satana, "The Mother of a Hundred Sons" (a title that suggests she was the ancestor of the Narts). Armed with this mighty weapon, Batraz avenged his father's death and then led a band of his fellow Narts on many wonderful adventures. The absolute power bestowed on Batraz by his sword seems to have gone to his head, however, and he became increasingly embroiled in factional wars with his own people, slaughtering them in vast numbers until only a remnant remained. At the last, he came to his senses enough to recognize the disaster he had wrought and realize that as long as he lived and possessed the sword he would endanger his people's survival. He told his men that God had willed that he should die and he wished to comply; however, as long as the sword was in existence, death was impossible for him. He ordered that the sword be taken and thrown into the sea. The Narts tried to accomplish this but found the sword too heavy to lift, let alone throw. They therefore hid it instead. When they went before Batraz, however, he knew that they had not carried out his orders and sent them off again. This time they succeeded. Immediately, the sea heaved, turning blood red as it received the weapon of so much death; hurricanes raged and lightning bolts shot across the sky. These were the signs of the sword's disappearance that Batraz had been waiting for, and thereupon he lay down and died.

The Alans are among the few Indo-Iranian peoples to be part of the European story and the only group among them who represent a continuum to the present as Ossets.

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Albanians: nationality (Albans; people of Albania)

GEOGRAPHY

Albania's total area is 11,100 square miles. It borders Greece to the south, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) to the east, Serbia and Montenegro to the north and northeast. The Adriatic Sea lies west of Albania. About 70 percent of Albania's terrain is mountainous, and the fertile Adriatic coast comprises the other 30 percent. In the extreme mountainous terrain of the north lie the Dinaric Alps. Mount Korabit along the Macedonian border is Albania's highest point at 9,066 feet. Albania's rugged terrain has isolated Albania from neighboring countries, thus enabling the preservation of its culture. Albania's most heavily populated region is the west coastal region, which consists of low hills and valleys that open up onto the coastal plain. This in turn is a key area for farming. The coastal climate has wet winters and dry summers, whereas Albania's mountainous interior has

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Albanians: nationality time line

C.E.

fifth century Illyrian territory in present-day Albania becomes part of Byzantine Empire.

732 Byzantine emperor Leo III makes Albanian Church part of Eastern Orthodoxy.

1054 Christian Church divides into Eastern and Western branches; southern Albania is part of Eastern Orthodox Church in Constantinople; northern Albania is part of Roman Catholic Church in Rome.

11th century The name Albania is in use; Albanians first migrate in large numbers to Greece and become known as Arvanites.

1388 Ottomans invade Albania.

1443–68 Skanderbeg (George Castriota) rules.

1444–66 Albanians resist invasion by Ottoman Turks.

1462 Oldest known document in Albanian language is recorded.

1506 Ottomans reoccupy Albania, spreading Islam.

1750–1831 Bushati family dominates northern Albania.

1788–1822 Ali Paşa Tepelene rules southern Albania and northern Greece.

mid-18th century Albanian style of icon painting is developed.

1878 Albanian leaders found League of Prizren to unify all Albanian territories.

1887 First Albanian play, *Emma*, by Italo-Albanian Anton Santori, deals with Albanian diaspora.

1908 Alphabet based on Latin is implemented.

1910–12 Albanian nationalist forces resist Ottomans, who refuse to give Albania self-rule.

1912 In First Balkan War Serbian, Greek, and Bulgarian armies defeat Ottoman dynasty; Albania declares independence.

1913 At conference of Great Powers—Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria, France, and Italy—Albanian independence is recognized; region of Kosovo is given to Serbia and parts of Çamëria region to Greece.

1920 Albania is admitted to League of Nations; two political forces emerge: conservative landowners and tribal leaders, led by Bey Zogu, and liberals seeking modernization, led by Fan S. Noli.

1922 National Library is founded in Tirana.

1925 Prime Minister Noli unsuccessfully attempts to implement Westernized democracy.

1928–39 Zogu rules as King Zogu I.

1937 Patriarch of Constantinople recognizes Albanian national church known as Albanian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.

1939–45 During World War II Albania, Kosovo, and Çamëria are invaded by Italy.

1943 German forces defeat Italy and control Albanian state.

1944 Secretary General of Communist Party Enver Hoxha rules Albania.

1948 Albania sides with Communist ideals of Soviet Union (USSR).

1953 Theater of Opera and Ballet is founded in Tirana.

1961 Under Hoxha regime, Albania breaks ties with USSR and supports China.

1963 *The General of the Dead Army,* novel by Ismail Kadare, is published.

1966 Palace of Culture is completed in Tirana, new home of National Library and Theater of Opera and Ballet.

1967 All religions are banned; Albania becomes official atheist state.

(continues)

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Albanians: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1976	National Art Gallery is founded in Tirana.
1981	National History Museum is founded in Tirana.
1985	After Hoxha's death Ramiz Alia preserves Communist state.
1988	International Center of Culture is founded in Tirana.
1990	Independent political parties are established; Communist power dissipates; Western embassies give Albanians rights to foreign travel, and thousands flee country.
1991	Name of People's Republic of Albania is changed to Republic of Albania; Albanian leadership achieves Kosovo's independence from Yugoslavia.
1997	Parliament elects socialist Rexhep Mejdani as president.
1998	Albania receives Kosovo refugees after Serbian attacks in Kosovo.
1999	International plan for peace is negotiated in Kosovo.

severe winters and mild summers. The principal rivers are the Drin, Mat, Shkumbin, Vijose, and Seman, all difficult to navigate. The Drin is the longest, at 175 miles. The Shkumbin River divides the country into two distinct dialect groups, the Ghegs and the Tosks. The three major lakes, Lake Scutari, Lake Ohrid, and Lake Prespa, lie along the Albanian borders. Forests and swamps cover about one-third of Albania's landscape, and pastures another one-third. Only one-fifth of Albania is cultivated.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The tribes of southern ILLYRIANS, remaining culturally unified, established an early state that slowly came to be known as Albania (the name derived from a dominant group among the Illyrians). SLAVS and BULGARS came to inhabit the region. The Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) occupied the Albanian territory in 1388. In 1912, after the First Balkan War, Serb, Greek, and Bulgarian forces defeated the Ottoman Empire, and Albania declared self-rule.

During World War II (1939–45) Italy invaded Albania and eventually Albania was turned over to Germany. After the war Albania became a Communist state under Enver Hoxha. In 1991 the former People's Republic of Albania established democracy and became known as the Republic of Albania.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The Albanians are among those European peoples whose homelands caused them to be relatively isolated from socioeconomic trends developing elsewhere across Europe. The mountainous Albanian territory caused the Illyrian ancestors of the Albanians who lived inland from the coast to maintain fiercely independent clans in their isolated valleys. Meanwhile the coastal area participated in only a limited way in trade until GREEKS established trading colonies in the region in the seventh century B.C.E. Traders from among the MYCENAEANS had bypassed the eastern Adriatic coast because of its dangerous, rocky harbors and prevailing northeastern gales, while the Balkans prevented much contact with eastern and southern Greece, so that the Illyrians knew little of the cultural influences from the Near East that had fostered the rise of Mycenaean and then Hellenic civilization of the Greeks. Thus people in Albanian territory retained a relatively loose, tribal society based on clans while peoples elsewhere in the Mediterranean were developing powerful states. By the time Illyrians had begun to establish states of their own, they were outmatched by others, first the MACEDONIANS and then the ROMANS, who made the region part of the Roman Empire, and later the BYZANTINES.

For these reasons, Illyrian, then Albanian cultural identity formed in a context of striving to keep their distinctness as a people alive, a struggle they have faced from the time of the Roman Empire to today. The isolation that made them relatively weak politically in turn fostered a powerful and vibrant ethnic culture, one that nevertheless has successfully absorbed influences from abroad. The visual arts of Albanians were strongly influenced by Byzantine art, and by the steppe tradition introduced to the Balkans by the Slavs and Bulgars. Later, art styles from Italy, just across the Adriatic, were important.

Cultural "conservatism" (in the sense of preserving traditional culture) caused Albanians to keep alive their oral narrative and poetic tra-

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This 1923 photograph shows two Albanian boys in traditional clothing. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-92148])*

dition long after other peoples in Europe had left theirs behind for written literature. Tales were passed down through the generations in the form of heroic songs, legends, and epics. Some probably dated to Homeric times as part of the tradition out of which Homer's epics emerged. The oldest known document in the Albanian language dates to 1462. During the 19th century Albanian traditional culture benefited from the rise of interest in the deep ethnic roots of cultures and the identification of these with nationhood. In the latter part of the century an underground literary movement promoted linguistic purity and Albanian patriotism.

Albanian folk music arose out of the same substrate as the oral poetic tradition—the two are actually indistinguishable—and it is highly likely that the Homeric epic tales that resemble Albanian tales were sung in the Greek Dark Ages by bards who accompanied themselves on the lyre. In modern Albania singers play the *lahute* (lute). The songs accordingly contain themes of honor, loyalty, and courage. In the south, where foreign influences are more prevalent, Albanians developed a more musically complex style of song or ballad called a *lieder,* which is accompanied by instruments. Also in the south *saze* (small orchestras) composed of four or five instruments play music for folk dancing on special occasions.

Throughout Albanian cultural productions, including theater and film, run the theme of resistance to foreign assimilation and the tension between old and new. Albanians call themselves *Shqiptar,* meaning "sons of eagles," a reference to their soaring countryside and their fierce independence. Today with actual political independence, the government has made a conscious effort to encourage and preserve the nation's rich folk life. There are some 4,300 cultural institutions of various sorts in the country.

See also ARVANITES.

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Albici

The Albici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Riez in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Allobroges (Allobrogi; Allobrogae)

The Allobroges are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near Lake Geneva in present-day southeastern France, separated from the HELVETII by the Rhône River, and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Their town Vienne was an important trade center. Along with their allies the ARVERNI, they were conquered in 121 B.C.E. by the ROMANS. The Roman general Quintus Fabius Maximus given the honorific title of Allobrogicus in commemoration of his victory. The Allobroges became allies of the Romans during the campaigns of Julius Caesar in the mid-first century B.C.E.

The first historic reference to the Allobroges (by the second-century B.C.E. Greek historian Polybius) concerns their failed attempt in 218 B.C.E. to prevent the CARTHAGINIANS under Hannibal from crossing the Alps.

The Allobroges had vast agricultural lands that were famed for their wheat. They probably had extensive vineyards as well. They practiced animal husbandry, forestry, and probably mining. The Allobroges controlled part of the Rhìne Valley, a major Roman trade route into Gaul. In addition, their territory contained the point where all the roads across the Alps arrived. They probably imposed tolls on the traders who passed through their territory. Among these was the Via Agrippa, the major Roman road connecting Arelete (modern Arles) near the Mediterranean coast with Lugdunum (modern Lyon), the capital of Gallia Comata.

The Allobroges were reportedly among the wealthiest and most advanced of Gaulish tribes. The *oppidum* of the Allobroges grew from the village described by Strabo in the early years of the first century C.E. into what Tacitus calls in his *Annals* of about 98 C.E. a historic and imposing city. It had the second-largest theater in Gaul. The well-preserved ruins in Allobroges territory give an idea of their religious worship. Although there are no remains that indicate the worship of the Celtic horse goddess Epona, important in other Celtic lands, a statue of the Gaulish hammer god Sucellus has been found, as well as a temple to Cybele, a goddess of Asia Minor whose worship the Romans had adopted. Because this temple had been built on top of an earlier, pre-Roman building dating from the second century B.C.E., Cybele's name may have been given to a similar local goddess. A statue of the tutelary goddess of Vienne stood in the baths at Saint-Romain-en-Gal. As elsewhere among the Celts, springs were holy places, and there was a major healing sanctuary at the town of Aix-les-Bains, dedicated to a southern Gaulish healing god, Barvos. The fact that he was not supplanted by Apollo (who took over the healing function of most native deities) attests to his importance.

The Allobroges maintained a presence among the Romans through the period of Roman occupation lasting until the fifth century C.E.

ALLOBROGES

location:
Caucasus; France; Iberian Peninsula

time period:
First to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Indo-Iranian

language:
Ossetian (Iranian)

Ambarri (Ambarres; Ambarisii)

The Ambarri are classified as a Celtic tribe although they probably had GERMANICS among them as well. They lived in Gaul between the Rhône and Saône Rivers in present-day eastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the AEDUI, their neighbors to the north and west. In the mid-first century B.C.E., some of them migrated into Italy and were allied with the ROMANS against the HELVETII.

Ambialates (Ambialati)

The Ambialates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Lamballe in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Julius Caesar mentions them as an ally of the VENETII, so it is assumed that they were Armoricans, that is, tribes living in the geographical region between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy). The territory of the Ambialates was occupied by the ROMANS in 55 B.C.E.

Ambiani

The Ambiani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Amiens

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in northern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. The Ambiani surrendered to the ROMANS in 57 B.C.E., although some fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans in 52 B.C.E. Samarobriva, on the site of Amiens, became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Amiens takes its name from the tribal name.

Ambibarii

The Ambibarii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. The exact location of the Ambibarii is not known; their only mention is in Caesar's writings. They are perhaps the same tribe as the Abrincatui, mentioned by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy.

Ambidravi

The Ambidravi are classified as a Celtic tribe, grouped among the CELTS. They lived in the Alps within the kingdom of Noricum in present-day Austria. They were part of a powerful coalition of tribes in the second and first centuries B.C.E. with the NORI, RAETI, and TAURISCI.

Ambivariti

The Ambivariti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul west of the Meuse River in present-day northeastern France or eastern Belgium at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Another group by the same name—typically spelled Ambivareti—are thought to have been allies of the AEDUI living to the south.

Amsivarii (Amsivari; Ampsivari; Ambivarii)

The Amsivarii are classified as a Germanic tribe. They lived east of the Rhine and north of the Danube in present-day western Germany and are discussed as ancient Germans or GERMANICS. By the third century C.E. they had become allied with other tribes—the BRUCTERI, CHAMAVI, CHATTUARII, and TUBANTI—in the loose coalition known as the FRANKS.

Anagnutes

The Anagnutes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day Vendée region of western France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Anares (Anari)

The Anares are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived near present-day Marseille in southeastern France when the ROMANS passed through in 223 B.C.E. By the second century B.C.E., some among them had migrated to present-day northern Italy south of the Alps near the BOII and CENOMANI. They are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Anartes (Anarti)

The Anartes are a Celtic tribe, grouped among the CELTS. They lived on the north bank of the Tisza River in Dacia (roughly modern Romania) by at least the first century B.C.E.

Ancalites

The Ancalites are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in eastern Britain and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. According to Julius Caesar, they were allies of the TRINOVANTES and surrendered to the ROMANS in 54 B.C.E., along with the BIBROCI, CASSI, CENIMAGNI, and SEGONTIACI.

Andecamulenses

The Andecamulenses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day central France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Andecavi (Andecaves; Andes)

The Andecavi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Angers in western France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Juliomagus Andecavorum, on the site of Angers, became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Angers takes its name from the tribal name.

Andis (Andians; Qwannab; Khivannal)

The Andis are various Caucasic-speaking tribes, living for the most part in the northern Caucasus

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ANDIS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry: Caucasian

language:
Andian (Caucasic)

ANDORRANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Andorra; Principality of Andorra

derivation of name:
Pre-Roman, possibly Iberian or Basque

government:
Independent principality

capital:
Andorra la Vella

language:
Official language is Catalán, a romance language most closely resembling Provençal, which is spoken in France's Provence; French and Spanish are also widely spoken.

religion:
Vast majority of the population are Catholic.

earlier inhabitants:
Iberians; Celtiberians; Moors; Franks; Catalanians

demographics:
One-quarter of the population are native-born Andorrans; the remainder are largely French and Spanish immigrants.

Mountains of western Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia. Their dialects are classified as part of the North-East (Dagestanian) branch of North Caucasic and closely related to the dialects of the neighboring DIDOS. A related language known as Avarish is used for writing (*see* AVARS). Among the peoples considered part of the Andian linguistic family are the Andis proper, as well as the Akhvakhs, Bagulals, Botlikhs, Chamalals, Godoberis, Karatas, and Tindis, each tribe with its own traditions.

As is the case with other CAUCASIANS, the Andis are considered indigenous to the region and have probably maintained tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E. Over the centuries they have been influenced by the many invading peoples from both Europe and Asia in their homeland.

The economic life of the Andis and related tribes throughout much of their history has revolved around the raising of livestock, including sheep, goats, cattle, oxen, and horses. Terracing has allowed some farming for those communities in the rugged highlands, especially around the Andi-Koisu River, where wheat, rye, and flax are the main crops. They have maintained traditional extended family structures, as well as a village assemblies and councils of elders.

The Andis are primarily Muslims, Islam was introduced to the region by Arabs in the eighth to ninth centuries. Animist influences persist, however. (Andi women are known for the sewing of black woolen *burkas,* female garments covering the entire body with holes for the eyes, typically worn by Muslim women.) For part of their history, some among the Andis also practiced Christianity.

In 1991 Dagestan, consisting of 19 different ethnic groups, became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Andorrans: nationality (people of Andorra)

GEOGRAPHY

With an area of 181 square miles, Andorra is one of the smallest states in Europe. The landlocked Andorra is situated between Spain on the south and west and by France on the north and east. It is dominated by the high peaks of the Pyrenees with numerous narrow valleys and gorges; a variety of mountain streams flow together to form the country's largest river, the Valira; the lower valleys offer good pasturelands.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The most ancient peoples of the region that became Andorra were IBERIANS and CELTIBERIANS. Those people considered ancestral Andorrans migrated to Andorra from the ancient land of Catalonia (*see* CATALANIANS). Andorra's rugged landscape has, over the centuries, ensured the small population a life of relative isolation. Its independence emerged by decree of Charlemagne of the FRANKS, who drove the MOORS from the region in 803 C.E. In 843 Holy Roman Emperor Charles II granted bishops of the Spanish city Seco de Urgel control of Andorra.

A count from Foix in southern France was granted cogovernance of Andorra with Urgel's bishops in 1278 and 1288. The French head of state would eventually assume cogovernance with the representatives of Urgel's bishops, and Andorra paid a nominal sum to each over the years. From 1589, when Henry II of Foix became Henry IV of France, Andorra was ruled by French kings. Essentially this feudal arrangement of government remained in place until 1993, the last of its kind in Europe. The Andorrans first received some self-governance in 1419, with the establishment of a local parliament, the Council of the Land.

Andorrans voted for their first constitution in 1993, establishing a parliamentary democracy. But in an anachronistic anomaly, the bishop of Seco de Urgel and the president of France technically remain coprinces of the independent country of Andorra. Andorra joined the United Nations in 1993.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Because the Catalán language of the Andorrans was once considered a dialect of Provençal and is now claimed as a Hispanic language, its speakers in both Catalonia (in Spain) and Andorra feel independent culturally from either France or Spain, whom Catalán speakers consider foreign conquerors. Catalán literature flourished in the Middle Ages, reaching a zenith of achievement in the 15th century made possible by the brilliant courts of Provence in southern France. It was strongly influenced by the poetry of Provençal troubadors at a time when southern France had its

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own culture distinct from the Frankish culture to the north. Catalanians in Catalonia and the future Andorra also benefited from Catalonia's unification with Aragón in Spain in the 12th century; the pairing of the two polities led to a rise in Aragonese-Catalanian power and wealth. By the 15th century Catalán literature had evolved its own forms distinct from those of Provençal literature, which had begun to wane after the 13th century as France and French gained dominance in southern France. Catalán took on the status of a minority language in a landscape of growing language hegemony, which had begun with the imposition of French from the north, after Aragón lost its independence to Castile in the latter 15th century. Provençal largely disappeared until its 19th-century revival; Catalán, spoken in mountainous regions more remote from trends in France and Spain, has fared better. The economic strength of Catalonia, which was the first region in Spain to industrialize, has also helped to preserve Catalán. It is the preferred language of most Catalanians, who number some 6 million people.

It is characteristic of minority peoples to engage in symbolic acts or customs in order to affirm their ethnocultural distinctness in the absence of a nationality. Catalanians find it difficult to maintain their cultural unity when their population lives within separate political entities. One unifying element of Catalanian culture is the egalitarian circle dance, the *sardana*. It represents qualities that Catalanians hold dear, such as harmony, democracy, and brotherhood. Sardana dancers link hands with raised arms, forming circles that grow bigger and bigger as more people join in. When the circle gets too big, the dancers form more circles. One of the main features of the dance is its spontaneity—for instance, except on special occasions, dancers wear everyday clothes. Thus a crowd of Catalanians—people of all ages and ranks in life—may start to dance the sardana whenever the communal spirit moves them.

Further Reading

Thomas Eccardt. *Secrets of the Seven Smallest States of Europe: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City* (New York: Hippocrene, 2004).

Barry Taylor. *Andorra* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1993).

Andorrans: nationality time line

C.E.

before ninth century	Andorrans migrate from ancient land of Catalonia in present-day northeastern Spain.
803	Charlemagne drives out Muslims from Andorra; Andorra is declared free state.
843	Holy Roman Emperor Charles II grants rule of Andorra to bishops or princes of Urgel.
1159	Andorra becomes subject of struggle between count of Foix in France and Catalán bishop of Urgel.
1278	First Act of Joint Overlordship is drawn up, in which bishop of Urgel and count of Foix both control Andorra.
1288	Second Act of Joint Overlordship is drawn up.
1419	Local parliament, Council of the Land, is established.
1589	Rule of Andorra passed to French kings.
1793	French monarchy is overthrown in French Revolution, leaving Andorra without protection of French government.
1806	Napoleon I Bonaparte reestablishes overlordship of French government.
1870	President of France becomes overlord of Andorra.
1970	Andorran women gain right to vote.
1991	Agreement with European Union (EU) regulates tax-free trade, setting duty-free quotas to encourage tourism.
1993	Andorra becomes parliamentary coprincipality under first constitution; Andorra joins United Nations (UN).
1997	University of Andorra is founded; courses are offered in conjunction with universities in Spain and France.

Angles (Angli; Engle)

The Angles, a Germanic tribe, originally occupied territory on the Jutland Peninsula and in Angeln, a region in present-day northeastern Schleswig-Holstein, a state in northern Germany, once a duchy of Denmark. They were among the Germans, along with the Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons who, in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., settled in Britain and eventually became known as Anglo-Saxons. Some writers refer to the Angles as a subgroup of the Saxons.

ANGLES

location:
Denmark; Germany (present-day state of Schleswig-Holstein); Britain

time period:
First to seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Origins

The exact location of the original territory of the tribe that the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. refers to as the Angli has been difficult to determine, partly because of contradictory accounts on the matter by Ptolemy of Alexandria in his *Geographia,* in the years to follow, and other Roman writers from that period on. Tacitus's

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Angles time line

C.E.

first century Angles mentioned by Tacitus.

fifth to sixth century Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons settle in Britain, acquiring territory by force from native Britons.

seventh century Tribes of Angles unite into kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Middle Anglia.

mention of the Angles' worshipping a goddess called Nerthus on an island in the sea suggests they were a coastal people, and many similarities of the cult of Nerthus, as described by Tacitus, with religious practices of Danes and Swedes have led scholars to theorize that the island of Nerthus was Sjaelland (Zealand) in the Baltic Sea off the east coast of southern Jutland. The Anglo-Saxon historian Bede, who lived and wrote in the seventh and eighth centuries, states that the homeland of the Angles was a land called Angulus. In the ninth century King Alfred of Wessex identified this place with the district that is now called Angeln in the province of Schleswig.

After the migration of the Angles to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., the tribal name Angli no longer appears in European written records except for a medieval law code of the German province of Thuringia, the *Lex Angliorum*.

The prehistoric culture, society, and trading links of the Angles were closely similar to those of their western neighbors, the Jutes. People in the region in which the Angles later emerged were part of the same long-range trade networks that in the Neolithic Age spread the idea of megalithic tomb building from Iberia all along the Atlantic coast to the North Sea and Baltic region. They were also impacted by Bronze Age trade with people of central Europe and the Carpathian Mountains. And the influences on them from the Romans were similar. It was in part the shock wave caused by the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, and the power vacuum it left behind, that sent the Angles along with other tribes in their region on their migration to Britain.

LANGUAGE

The Angles spoke a now-extinct Low German dialect similar to that of the Jutes and Saxons. After their migration to Britain the dialects of the Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons grew grammatically closer to one another, and out of this synthesis English emerged.

HISTORY

The first recorded mention of the Angles was that of Tacitus in the first century C.E., who called them Angli. In the fifth to sixth century, some Angles, along with Jutes, Frisians, and Saxons, abandoned their homeland in what is now Schleswig-Holstein in Germany near the Danish coast and invaded the British Isles. According to a traditional story recorded by Gildas of the BRITONS and the Anglo-Saxon Bede of the Anglo-Saxons in subsequent centuries, Vortigern, a king of the Britons, invited the Saxons to Britain, along with the Angles and Jutes, to help fight the PICTS. The time frame given by some scholars for their arrival is 446–454 C.E., although Germans had migrated there earlier after governance by the ROMANS ended in 410 and they continued to do so into the sixth century. The Angles occupied eastern, central, and some parts of northern Britain, extending as far north as present-day Edinburgh and the Scottish Lowlands, out of which the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Middle Anglia emerged by the seventh century.

The Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons collectively became known as the Anglo-Saxons as early as the seventh century. Soon afterward the name ENGLISH, derived from Engle, the Old English word for Angle, began to be used for the Anglo-Saxons as a whole. The name Angli (in both Latin and Common Germanic) later mutated in Old English to Engle, the nominative form, and Engla, the genitive. Engla land referred to the home of all three tribes, and both the Anglo-Saxons King Alfred of Wessex, who ruled in the ninth century, and Abbot Aelfric, author and grammarian in the 10th–11th centuries, subsequently referred to their speech as Englisc, later known as English.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

According to Tacitus the Angles worshipped a goddess known as Nerthus on the isle of Sjaelland (Zealand) during the first century C.E. The kings of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex in England traced their ancestry ultimately to a certain Scyld, who in Scandinavian tradition is associated with the ancient royal residence at Leire in Sjaelland. Scyld may be identified with Skioldr, the mythical founder of the Danish royal family. Thus the goddess of Sjaelland

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whom Tacitus calls Nerthus was probably not exclusively venerated by the Angles, but a goddess whose favor was desired by kings of any of the tribes of the northwest region of Europe on the North and Baltic Sea coasts, demonstrating a close kinship among them all. The island of Nerthus may be similar to Mount Olympus in Greece, the island of Delos in the Aegean Sea, or the Hill of Tara in Ireland in being a site where worshippers were of many different and sometimes competing tribes and kingdoms.

Tacitus referred to Nerthus as "Mother Earth." In Norse myth she was often paired with a god called Njörðr, perhaps as twin. It was a custom in Germanic lands to place wooden statues of a male and a female on bridges and tracks over marshlands, perhaps in propitiation of spirits or deities of water; such statues may have been of Nerthus and Njörðr. According to Tacitus Nerthus's sanctuary was in a sacred grove on an island and within the copse was a cart with a covering, presumably hiding an image of the goddess. Nerthus would occasionally visit her shrine and direct the priest there to hitch her sacred cart to cows and let them wander freely. Wherever Nerthus's cart went, peace had to be declared and weapons put away, because Nerthus, although unseen, was always nearby. When the sacred cart finally returned to the shrine, slaves took it and its contents to a lake to be washed. So holy was their task that, according to Tacitus, when they had finished, the slaves would be swallowed up by the lake. Tollund man, an amazingly well-preserved Iron Age body found in a peat bog (a former lake) in Jutland, could have met his death in some such way.

The Angles, one of the many Germanic tribes whose distinct identity was largely lost after their migration, nevertheless have the distinction of giving their name to both a region of the British Isles and a language.

The name *Angle* had an even more exalted transformation when, in the late sixth century, Pope Gregory I the Great saw some Anglian slave boys for sale in Rome. Struck by their fair skin and blond hair, he asked what nation they belonged to. On being told "Angles," Gregory, fond of punning, said they were messengers (in Latin, *Angeli*) of god. Gregory's pun gave rise to the word "angel," its variants in Germanic languages (such as the German *Engel*) used to connote the spiritual beings mentioned in the Bible as attendants and servants of God.

Further Reading

Vera I. Evison, ed. *Angles, Saxons and Jutes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981).

Anglo-Saxons (Old English; Engle)

Anglo-Saxons is the collective name given to Germanics from the North Sea coast of Europe who invaded and settled in large areas of southern and eastern Britain during the first millennium C.E. As the imperial government of the Romans in Britain was waning during the late fourth and fifth centuries, Frisians living along the North Sea coast in present-day Netherlands, Angles of Schleswig, Saxons from the lower Elbe and Weser region and inland toward central Germany, and Jutes from present-day Denmark, partly because they were under pressure from other Germanic tribes on the move through Europe and partly because flooding had considerably reduced arable land acreage in coastal areas, began attempting to settle in Britain. In this process they contested for territory and displaced the native Britons, including the Cornish, many of whom fled to Brittany, where they became known as Bretons. The Saxons are most often mentioned in Roman contemporary sources, but this name was probably applied fairly indiscriminately to any raiders to Britain from across the North Sea. The Anglo-Saxons were mostly unsuccessful in invading the territory of the Welsh in western Britain, that of the Picts and Scots (ancient) in northern Britain, and that of the Irish across the Irish Sea, but they had established kingdoms in southern and eastern Britain by the sixth century.

ORIGINS

In common with the other Germanic people living in the northernmost regions of western and central Europe, inhabitants of the region where the tribes comprising the Anglo-Saxons would later emerge experienced the series of climatic and socioeconomic changes that moved through Europe after the end of the last Ice Age later than peoples farther south and east did. In addition they escaped the often disruptive effects of direct contact with the civilizations of the Mediterranean world until the beginning of the first century C.E.

On the other hand, the Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons were perhaps among the least isolated of all the Germanic peoples because of their coastal location on the North Sea, which had given them contact with the Atlantic coastal trading network already in the early

ANGLO-SAXONS

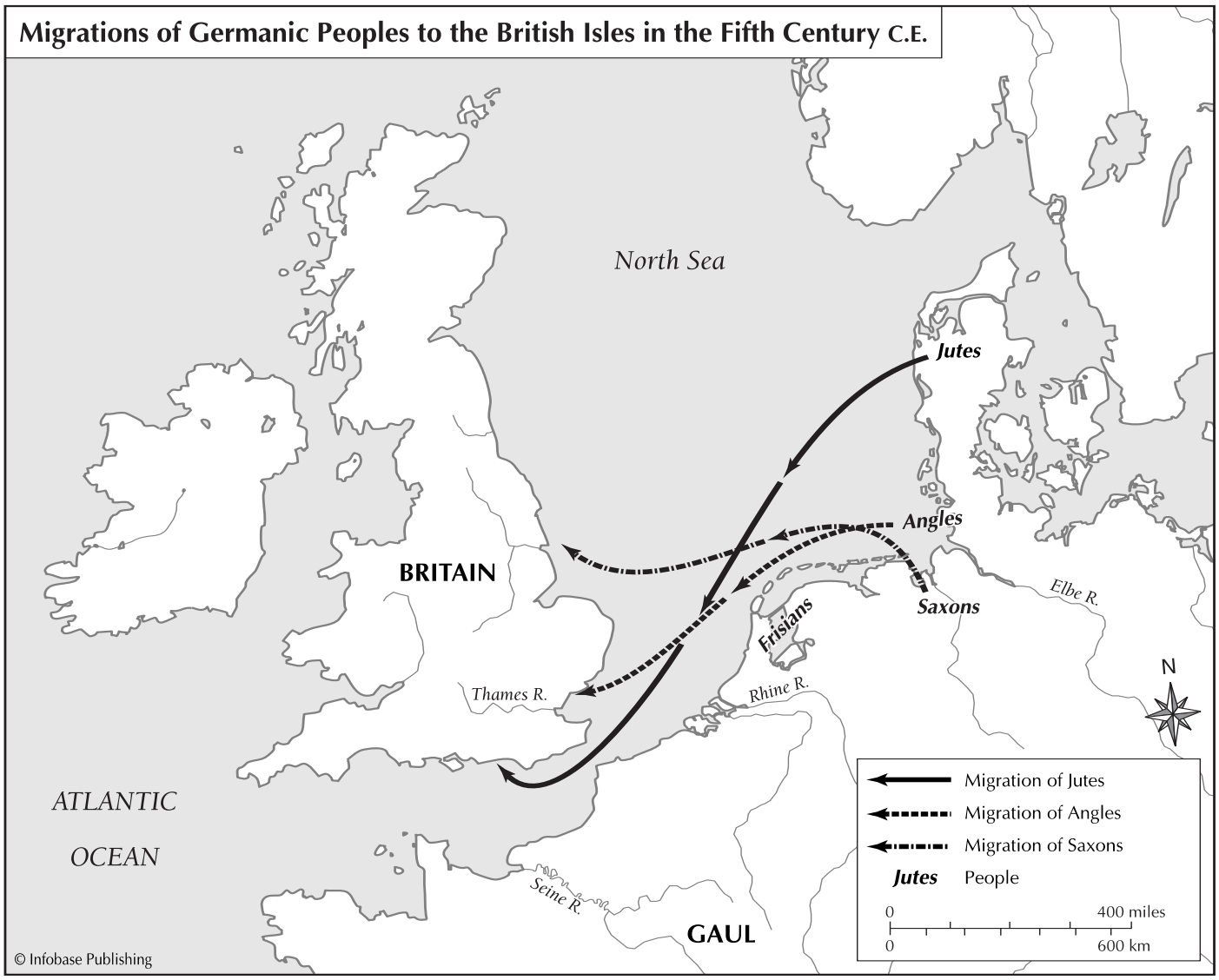
location:
Northern Germany; coastal Netherlands; Denmark; Britain

time period:
First to 11th century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

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Bronze Age. Even among them, however, social stratification remained minimal, and society continued to be organized along familial and tribal lines.

When the Romans extended their empire northward to the English Channel coast, with its border along the Rhine, trade had the most impact on Angles, Saxons, and Frisians living along the Roman border. These groups began to develop a market economy in which coins were desired, not simply for the metal they were made of, but as a medium of exchange. An important component of this trade was in slaves from the Baltic regions. Social stratification began to increase and many market centers appeared and grew.

The experience of the Jutes, farther away from the border, was different. There a more archaic prestige goods economy was practiced, rather similar (although on a lesser scale) to that of the Celtic Hallstatt chiefs in southern Germany and eastern France of the mid-first millennium B.C.E. (*see* CELTS). In this trade local chieftains, facilitating the flow of goods between the Romans and the hinterlands to their east, grew rich.

For some 200 years this situation remained more or less stable. Then the societies in the hinterlands inland from the North Sea coast Germanics by the middle of the third century C.E. began to impinge upon them. An aggressive warrior society had grown there, partly as a means to procure slaves and partly as a result of competition for the relatively few prestige goods from Rome that filtered in to them from afar. The inherent instability of warrior societies, coupled with population increases, seems to have encouraged tribal migrations on a par with

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Anglo-Saxons time line

C.E.	
fifth to sixth century	Jutes settle in present-day Kent; Saxons in Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; and Angles in East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria; among them are Frisians.
end of sixth century	Kent reaches its height under King Aethelberht.
597	Aethelberht converts to Christianity during mission of St. Augustine; religious center at Canterbury founded.
seventh century	Æthelfrith of Berenicia unites kingdom with Deira to form Northumbria; expands power north into southern Scotland; Wessex and Mercia also expand territories and contest with each other.
663–664	Synod of Whitby, meeting held by Christian Church of Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria to decide whether to follow Celtic or Roman usages; latter are chosen.
685	Ecgfrith of Northumbria and his army annihilated by Picts at Battle of Nechtansmere.
seventh century	Mercia is dominant over Wessex.
694	Ine of Wessex becomes first West Saxon king to issue a code of laws.
780	King Offa of Mercia builds dyke on his western border with Welsh kingdom of Powys to restrain Welsh incursions.
mid-eighth century	Mercian dominance over Wessex ends with accession of Ecgberht (Egbert), who gains all of Devon and Cornwall and puts Surrey, Sussex, and Kent permanently under West Saxon rule.
ninth century	Vikings from Denmark conduct increasingly large raids in Anglo-Saxon territories, withstood only by kings of Wessex.
878	After surprise attack Danes nearly overrun Wessex; Alfred of Wessex defeats Danes at Battle of Edington.
c. 880	Alfred signs a treaty establishing the Danelaw (Danish territory in England).
886	Alfred recovers London and is accepted as overlord by peoples not subject to Danes.
10th century	English and Hiberno-Norse forces contest control of Northumbria.
early 10th century	English and Hiberno-Norse forces contest control over Northumbria.
910	Large-scale incursion in Wessex by Danes of Northumbria ends in their crushing defeat at Tettenhall by Edward, son of Alfred.
912	Edward and his sister, Aethelflaed, conduct separate campaigns into Danelaw, regaining some territory.
920	Edward receives Raegnald's submission, along with that of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and all Northumbrians.
927	Athelstan, son of Edward, reconquers remaining Danish-held territory; kings of Wessex become kings of England.
mid-10th century	Last large Norse forces routed and Northumbria becomes permanent part of kingdom of England.
1051	Edward the Confessor banishes Earl Godwine and his sons for defying royal authority.
1052	Harold invades England and forces Edward to restore family.
1066	King Edward dies and Harold is crowned as his successor; Tostig, Harold's brother, and King Harold III of Norway join forces and invade England; they are defeated and killed by Harold at Stamford Bridge.
	Harold defeated by William of Normandy at Battle of Hastings, ending Anglo-Saxon rule in England.

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those among the Celts nearly a thousand years earlier. Previous to the actual migrations, the rich trade along the North Sea coast had begun to suffer increasingly from pirate attacks during the third century, possibly by warrior groups from the hinterlands, including some among the Saxons themselves living inland from the coast. These raids may have disrupted the flow of goods significantly enough to destabilize the regional socioeconomy, and that destabilization may have contributed to the disrupting migrations of the fifth century.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Anglo-Saxons was Old English, part of the Anglo-Frisian branch of the West Germanic languages. There were four major dialects of Old English in the four major kingdoms: the Northumbrian, the Mercian, the West Saxon, and the Kentish. The first two evolved from the dialect of Anglia, the West Saxon from that of Wessex, and the Kentish from that of the Jutes. Most of the extant literature in Old English, including *Beowulf,* is in the West Saxon dialect. Until about the 12th century Anglo-Saxons in England used a form of the Germanic runic script called *futhark* from its first six letters, which may have been developed from the Etruscan alphabet of northern Italy (*see* ETRUSCANS) and was perhaps also later influenced by the Latin alphabet.

HISTORY

Early Incursions

Germanic peoples from northern coastal Europe had made themselves known in Britain centuries before they began larger-scale incursions. The Saxons, especially, had been raiding the south and east coasts of Britain since the third century C.E. The Romans in response built substantial coastal defenses and reorganized the military by creating an office called *comes,* or count, who was not permanently stationed in any one territory but had a mobile command. The count could take troops to any location along the coast that was being attacked. This office is mentioned in a contemporary document called the *Notitia dignitatum* (Latin, worthy of record). The *Notitia* records that the military commander known as the Count of the Saxon Shore controlled nine forts, the names of which are given as well as the units garrisoned in each. Coin hoards dating from 270 to 285 found in southeast Britain suggest growing concerns with local security.

The Romans in Britain and Gaul successfully contained the Germanic incursions of the third century with their defenses on the British coast and along the Rhine, and the situation remained stable for more than 100 years. Since the first century C.E. Germanics had been recruited into the Roman army, after their service receiving rewards of land in the many territories of the empire. In the fourth century Germanic *foederati* (federates), allied troops, were invited to settle in Britain as a reward for their service, a possible source for the early medieval tradition that the Germanic tribes, in particular those led by a Jutish leader named Hengist, had been invited in the mid-fifth century to Britain by a British leader named Vortigern, who needed allies in his war against the Picts and Scots.

Fifth-Century Migrations

The story of Vortigern, mentioned by the sixth-century British writer Gildas, served Gildas's purpose as a cautionary tale on the iniquities of early British leaders and satisfied the taste for the dramatic of early medieval readers. However, although his account may have some basis in fact, the impetus for the Anglo-Saxon invasions was far broader than the actions of any single leader. In winter 406–407 Germanic peoples began a mass movement across the Rhine into Gaul, overwhelming the Roman defenders. In response, Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain (which had already been depleted of troops by a Roman general named Magnus Maximus in 383, who had withdrawn them in a failed attempt to conquer Gaul). In 410 the emperor Flavius Honorius issued an order to Roman Britons, presumably in response to a call for help, to take up arms in self-defense. Roman Britain was indeed being attacked by the Picts from the north and Scots from the northwest; for the heart of Roman Britain, which comprised the southeast, the most pressing need probably was help against the Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons. It seems likely that some of the socioeconomic pressures, outlined previously, which had caused VANDALS, BURGUNDII, and SUEBI to cross the Rhine, were instrumental in causing the migrations of the Anglo-Saxons as well.

The Anglo-Saxons may have been spared the most immediate cause of the mass movements to their south—the incursions of the HUNS into eastern Europe—for they seem not to have had a major impact on Britain in terms of conquest and migration until the sixth century. It is possible that Romano-Britons were able to

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hold them off for about a hundred years, although this period is a Dark Age in terms of reliable historical sources (*see* BRITONS, WELSH). The Anglo-Saxons' initial impact may have been similar to that of the VIKINGS 400 years later: coastal raiding leading to establishment of settlements used as pirate bases. They established some of these in Gaul, as well, by the mouths of the Garonne and Loire Rivers. In contrast to the situation in Gaul and Italy, however, there was no seamless transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon governance, with the latter taking over Roman institutions. One exception may have been Northumbria, where the Angles' seizing of the Romano-British palace of Yeavering suggests an acceptance of Romano-British institutions. The same may have been true in York. But in the south, Roman towns became deserted ruins (a process that had begun before the end of the Roman era) and the practice of Christianity disappeared. The native Britons probably were enslaved or reduced to servile status, but after several generations of intermarriage, at least among commoners, they seem to have been absorbed into Anglo-Saxon culture. After about the seventh century the term English began to be used for all of the people in Anglo-Saxon-ruled areas (*see* BRITONS).

Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms

By the end of the sixth century the core territories of the different tribes had been established: The Jutes settled in present-day Kent; the Saxons in Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; and the Angles in East Anglia, Middle Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdom to emerge was that of Kent, where, according to tradition, the Jutish brothers Hengist and Horsa first landed. Kent reached its height under King Aethelberht in the late sixth century, but further territorial expansion, crucial for the maintenance of political power



A Saxon king and queen, Sebert and Athelgoda, are buried in this tomb. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-113136])*

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Alfred: Man of Action and Letters

Alfred (or Aelfred), who came to be called Alfred the Great, was born in 849. As the son of King Aethelwulf, he succeeded his older brothers Aethelbald, Aethelberht, and Aethelred I, the last of whom he assisted as *secundarius* (viceroy) in battles against the Viking Danes. In 871 C.E. he assumed the Wessex throne. In the 870s–880s, he successfully defended England against Danish armies, recapturing London from them in 886. As a result, he became king of all of England.

As king of Wessex, Alfred promoted education and literacy among the clergy and youths of the court. He was a thoughtful legislator who sought justice for the weak and established new legislative codes influenced by the old codes of earlier leaders, Aethelbert of Kent, Ine of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia. He, as did his father, defended Christianity and sought to preserve and integrate the faith into his centralized monarchy. He created a navy and, an effective diplomat, built alliances with neighboring Welsh kings.

A scholar in his own right, Alfred mastered Latin and translated many works. He has been called the presiding genius of Old English prose. He was a great champion of learning and believed that the depredations of the Vikings were a judgment sent by God on a people whose lack of learning prevented them from knowing the will of God. He deplored the decay of Latin and made its study mandatory for churchmen. On the other hand he was concerned with English literacy and wished all young freemen of adequate means to learn to read their native tongue. He thought it important that people have access to books in their own language. Another important contribution to knowledge was his sponsorship of the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Alfred had one daughter, Aethelflaed, and a son, Edward the Elder, who supported his father against the Vikings and inherited the Wessex throne upon his death in 899.

at this stage of Anglo-Saxon history, was blocked by the kingdom of Sussex to the west by the seventh century, and Kentish kings lost dominance. Sussex in turn was losing ground to the kingdom of Wessex, which during the sixth century had gained valuable territory in western Britain and north of the Thames.

In the seventh century Aethelfrith, the Anglian king of the former British kingdom of Berenicia, united his kingdom with that of Deira of the Britons to form Northumbria, exiling the Deiran prince Edwin, who sought refuge at the court of Raedwald of East Anglia. Aethelfrith offered Raedwald a bribe to murder Edwin; instead, Raedwald invaded Northumbria, killing Aethelfrith and installing Edwin as king. Thereafter Northumbria's power grew as it expanded its territory northward—rivaled, however, by the growing power of the midland kingdom of Mercia, with which Northumbrian kings struggled for dominance. Mercian kings were able to expand their territories westward toward, but not into Wales, and they annexed territory from Wessex. Meanwhile the power of Northumbria suffered a disastrous reverse when in 685 King Ecgfrith and his army were annihilated by the Picts at the Battle of Nechtansmere, ending Northumbrian expansion.

The weakening of Northumbria allowed the rise of Mercia, which reached its greatest power under Offa in the eighth century. An able leader, Offa was the first Anglo-Saxon king to take important steps to foster trade in his kingdom, including reforming his coinage. He turned away from the practice among Anglo-Saxon kings of bolstering their political power through warfare alone, as he gave up attempting to expand his kingdom into Wales and instead, in 780, built a defensive dyke along his border with the Welsh kingdom of Powys.

Later Kingdoms

From the mid-eighth century a succession of able kings in Wessex gradually increased its scope of influence. Wessex kings won important military victories over Mercians. King Ecgberht (Egbert) gained all of Devon and Cornwall and put Surrey, Sussex, and Kent permanently under West Saxon rule. Kings of Wessex also were successful against the Viking Danes, who during the ninth century attacked Britain with ever larger forces. Of all Anglo-Saxon kings, only those of Wessex were able to stand up to the Danes. The Danish incursions were largely (although not completely) ended after 878, when Alfred of Wessex (Alfred the Great) (see sidebar) defeated a large Danish army at the Battle of Edington. After their surrender the Danish Viking king, Guthrum, was baptized, with Alfred standing as sponsor; the following year the Danes settled in East Anglia known as the Danelaw (Danish territory in England). In 886 Alfred recovered London and was accepted as overlord by all the English not subject to the Danes. Alfred reorganized his army; built ships and fortresses, planning to ring Wessex with them; and made the Welsh kings his allies.

In the 10th century Wessex's power continued to grow under Alfred's son, Edward, who put down renewed Danish incursions into Wessex in the Battle of Tettenhall in 910 and moved against Vikings from Ireland who were attempting to conquer Northumbria. Edward also completed his father's planned ring of fortresses. In 912 Edward and his sister, Aethelflaed, conducted separate campaigns into Danelaw and regained some lands. In 920 Edward received the submission of Raegnald, a Viking leader from Dublin who had conquered the city of York, along with that of the Scots and the Strathclyde Welsh, who were also cam-

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paigning in Northumbria, and of all the Northumbrians. In 927 Edward's son, Athelstan, reconquered the remaining Danish-held territory and the kings of Wessex became kings of England as a whole. In the decades that followed, the last of the Hiberno-Norse forces were routed, and Northumbria was never in jeopardy again for the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The unrest and political rivalries of the past resumed in the reign of Edward the Confessor, under whom powerful earls wrested de facto political power in England away from the Crown. Godwine, earl of Wessex and Edward's father-in-law, together with his sons, was the chief of these. He and his family played a significant role in defending the realm and in pacifying the Welsh border but, in the old way, tried to use their success in war for political advantage, quarreling with Edward's authority. Although Edward banished Godwine and his sons from England for defying royal authority in 1051, Godwine's eldest son, Harold II (Harold Godwinson), invaded England the next year and forced the king to restore the family. Harold's own power was weakened by rivalry with his brother, Tostig, who backed Harold III (Hardraade) of Norway as Edward's successor.

The Arrival of the Normans

It was King Harold III's and Tostig's attempted invasion of England in 1066 when Edward died that, by distracting Harold from a far greater threat, abetted the victory of the NORMANS under William (William the Conqueror) at the Battle of Hastings. Harold was the last Anglo-Saxon king of England.

Although William was crowned king of England in 1066, this was just the beginning of his campaign to secure the country. Starting from his base in the southeast of England, William imposed Norman rule on the southwest, the Midlands, and Yorkshire in 1068, meeting little resistance and ordering castles built wherever he went. In 1069 multiple revolts culminated in an invasion by King Sweyn II of Denmark. William defeated the rebels and laid waste to the country between Nottingham and York, causing widespread famine in 1070. The last Anglo-Saxon rebel, Hereward the Wake, held out in the Lincolnshire fens until 1072.

In all about 10,000 Normans accompanied William and took over the country inhabited by about a million Anglo-Saxons. About 4,000 English earls were replaced by 200 of William's barons. Not all Anglo-Saxons resisted; Edward the Confessor had many connections with Normandy, where he had spent time in exile and had Norman nobles in his court. Edward had at least considered making William his heir, and after the Norman Conquest, English church authorities accepted William as God's chosen successor to Edward.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

Farming Crops of the Anglo-Saxons were little different from those of peoples of the Iron Age and Roman periods. Along with the bread wheat, spelt was still grown, as were barley and oats. Among the vegetables peas, leeks, and onions were grown. There were a black bean known as the Celtic bean and wild cabbage; also a white carrot and wild celery.

Fruits included gooseberry, currants (red, white, and black), wild blackberry, raspberry, strawberry, and elderberry. Crab apples, quinces, sloes, damsons, greengages, and pears grew wild or in orchards. Figs and grapes are known from the period. Reeds and sedges of various sorts and also the coppice strands of hazel and willow were all useful in the building industry, and flax could be used both for its oil and for the making of textiles. Woad, madder, weld, and other dye plants were then used to color the fabrics.

The farm animals of Anglo-Saxon England were, on the whole, smaller than modern varieties and less highly bred. Pigs, for example, were much shorter than the modern farm pig, with a more slender snout. We know from manuscript illustrations that the Anglo-Saxon pig had a curved back, the "hog-back" shape, showing its close relation to the wild boar.

Trade In the kingdom of Mercia, which comprised the whole of England south of the Humber Estuary, trade had became important by the early eighth century. Southampton and London were important trading centers, or *wics,* from the early 700s. Excavation has shown that defended settlements or proto-towns developed also at Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Tamworth, Winchcombe, and elsewhere within the Mercian heartlands. Ipswich in East Anglia seems to have been fairly populous by the standards of the time, judging by the amount of seventh- and eighth-century pottery that has been found there; it was the only sizable town in the region. Much of the pottery was imported from the Rhineland, as well as glassware.

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In the second half of the eighth century the Mercian king, Offa, further fostered trade by reforming the coinage, including minting silver coins, the first pennies, more useful in a market economy than gold. It is likely that Mercia's towns were the focus of a new international market economy. The weight and fineness of Mercian coins were comparable to those of coins made in mainland Europe during the eighth century, revealing a trade link. Certain Mercian goods, such as millstones made of volcanic lava, that have been found were traded across Europe from Tamworth to Poland.

Kings in this period who promoted trade are thought to have done so mostly to achieve a monopoly on the importation of prestige goods, such as wine or fine textiles, which they used to attract followers for their own political gain. The tolls they charged on imports were also an important source of wealth.

The Viking Danes, however, introduced trading on a large scale to East Anglia. After their arrival Ipswich was joined by two more cities, Norwich and Thetford. In the 10th century both cities quickly became huge by medieval standards.

Government and Society

The Invaders The social organization of the invading Anglo-Saxons was simple. There was no centralized leadership; names that have come down to us, such as Hengist and Horsa, may be semimythical. Most of them arrived organized as small war bands and settler groups. The Anglo-Saxon invasion was not a wholesale migration like that on the mainland of the VISIGOTHS or VANDALS, but a more piecemeal process that took place over a longer period. The North Sea coastal zone, both in Britain and on the mainland, which had benefited greatly from trade with the Romans, changed considerably during the invasion period, with many settlements abandoned and never reoccupied. Many large cremation cemeteries fell into disuse after the mid-fifth century, attesting to large-scale population movements during this time.

Leadership among Germanic peoples before the migrations seems to have been organized into a hierarchy of tribal, provincial, and national leaders—high kings or overlords. The high king, in Old English the *bretwealda,* may have been elected only in times of emergency. The Anglo-Saxon scholar of the seventh and eighth centuries known as the Venerable Bede, describing Saxons on the mainland, said that they had no kings, but only "satraps," and elected a war leader when danger threatened the whole people. Among the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, however, hereditary kings who ruled whole territories soon emerged and engaged in struggle with one another for ever larger kingdoms.

Developments in Britain The process of migration, which fractured old tribal groupings and was in general a tumultuous and probably traumatic affair, fostered the emergence of strong leaders whose power was mostly derived from their success in war. Such leaders were needed much more under the circumstances of invasion and conquest abroad than they were in the old homeland, where war had been no more serious than occasional cattle raiding.

The warrior in Germanic society began to attain a higher social status during and after the migrations than ever before, as attested by burials, which for the first time began to approach, in richness of grave goods, burials of the Celtic Hallstatt chiefs of south central Europe some 1,000 years before. The famous Sutton Hoo ship burial in Suffolk, for example, thought to be that of Raedwald, who was king of East Anglia in the early seventh century, is the richest grave ever found in Britain. The Old English poem *Beowulf* depicts the warrior's life of fighting and feasting—fighting to achieve acts of heroism that could be celebrated while feasting—little different from the Celtic warrior ideal of the past. (Again we see the peoples of the north recapitulating social transformations that had occurred in central Europe centuries earlier, and in Homeric Greece, centuries before that.)

The Sutton Hoo burial gives a sense not only of the wealth of Anglo-Saxon kings, but of their wide-ranging cultural connections. The custom of ship burial is Scandinavian. The helmet and shield in the grave were made in Sweden; the sword may be of the FRANKS; some of the hanging bowls were British. Articles from Byzantium included silver bowls and spoons. The garnets that embellish the gold jewelry were definitely Frankish, as were the gold coins.

Symbiosis of Kings and Warriors Kings, to accumulate and retain power, had to attract the loyalty of warriors. They could do this with rich gifts (which in Germanic society imposed duties of loyalty and obligation on the recipient) and lavish feasts; perhaps most important was success in war, which provided both the wherewithal for gifts and feasts and, crucially,

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the opportunity for heroism. The inherent instability of this system lay in the continual need for war to gain both booty and lands, and only kings who were able to keep the cycle going prospered. The varying fortunes of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms illustrate the importance of this principle: Those who could continue to expand their frontiers were most successful. In the sixth century, before territorial boundaries had been firmly established, the southeastern kingdoms of Kent and Sussex had scope for military adventures and their kings remained powerful. By the seventh century they were hemmed in by Wessex and their power waned. Thereafter the kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, which could expand westward and northward, were most successful.

Despite similarities between the Celtic and Germanic aristocratic societies, perhaps the essential difference between them was this expansionism of the latter, brought about by the social dislocations the Germanics experienced during their migrations. The difference is most clearly seen by comparing contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxon kings. Although warfare was endemic in Ireland, it was on a much smaller scale than among the Anglo-Saxons. The different royal dynasties of Ireland, relatively unaffected by Rome or the turmoil caused by Rome's collapse, had maintained a sort of equilibrium for centuries. (This situation was beginning to change, however, as some Irish dynasties took advantage of the demise of Roman authority to carve out territories in Britain, notably the DÁL RIATA in Scotland.) The primary role of the Irish king was not that of war leader, except for the purpose of protecting his people; rather, he was the spiritual leader and intercessor between his people and the gods. Irish society preserved many of the institutions that had existed in much of pre-Roman Europe. Anglo-Saxon society, however, was evolving the institutions of the future.

Evolution of Kingship Although a king's political power was based on continual warfare, Anglo-Saxon kings after the seventh century, in part because of the growing influence of Christianity, began to assume a greater role than that of war leader. As elsewhere in Europe kings increasingly sought power without recourse to warfare and in fact were trying to stabilize their kingdoms and rein in the warrior class. Ine of Wessex and Offa of Mercia both promulgated law codes—Ine in 694—and Offa's building of a defensive dyke in 780 between his kingdom and the kingdom of Powys in Wales in all probability minimized friction between the kingdoms and stabilized his borders with minimal bloodshed. Alfred of Wessex was perhaps the greatest exemplar of this new type of king, successful in government as well as at war.

The Kin Group The kin group was an important social and legal institution; it had both rights and obligations that sometimes transcended those of individuals within the group. The kin group possessed certain rights in the land held by its members and also was responsible to any of its members who had suffered criminal wrong. In the case of murder, the kin had a duty to bring the guilty to justice, even in some circumstances to kill the wrongdoer. This was the practice of blood feud that Alfred sought to curb.

Social Stratification In common with that of other Germanic peoples, society among the Anglo-Saxons was strictly stratified into the aristocracy, each of whose members was termed an Aetheling (also spelled Atheling, or Etheling), free commoners called *ceorls* or churls, and slaves or semifree servants. Because the basis of justice in these violent societies was the "blood price" exacted from the kin of wrongdoers to be paid to the kin of the victims, on a par with fines for cattle stealing and the like, a man's status in society was measured in pragmatic monetary terms startling to modern ideas. Each man had his "man price," *wergild* in Old English. A free commoner was worth 200 shillings; an aristocrat was worth at least three times that. This valuation was even applied to the worth of a man's oath in court, where the testimony of an aristocrat far outweighed that of a commoner.

After the Norman Conquest Many Anglo-Saxon political institutions survived long after the Norman takeover. Well into the 12th century, the whole structure of royal government remained fundamentally Anglo-Saxon: the king's council, the royal seal and writing office, the shire system and the sheriffs, and the twofold royal revenue system consisting of the produce of royal estates and a direct tax levied on the landowning class.

The Norman Conquest affected the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy most immediately, but the process of turning free commoners into serfs—peasants bound to the land and a lord—accelerated under the Normans.

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Dwellings and Architecture

A distinctive type of building in Anglo-Saxon England is the pit-type house. This is a simple structure raised over a pit excavated into the ground. Scanty evidence, with pits and postholes the typical remains found, has made it difficult to find out what sort of structure covered the pits. Formerly it was thought that people lived on the floor of the pit, the sides of which provided walls; the peaked roof of timbers and thatch rested directly on the ground above the pit. New evidence suggests that, instead, the house had wooden plank floors and the pit provided a cellar beneath. Houses were rectangular in plan, spacious and open inside, with wattle and daub walls over a timber frame—the mud-daubed parts whitewashed—and a thatched roof.

Art

Polychrome Ornamentation The metalwork of the Anglo-Saxons, in common with that of other Germanic cultures of the mid-first millennium C.E., is notable for the development of techniques to decorate metalwork with brilliant-colored gems and enamels. These included channel work to hold enamels, and techniques to encrust metal with semiprecious stones, among which garnet was most favored.

Manuscript Illumination In Northumbria particularly, Anglo-Saxons were inspired by the Irish manuscript illuminators who entered their midst with the foundation of the great monasteries on the island of Lindisfarne and at Wearmouth and Jarrow during the seventh century. The ancient Celtic La Tène decorative tradition of curvilinear forms—scrolls, spirals, and a double curve or shield motif known as a pelta—was integrated with the abstract and geometric ornamentation of the pagan Anglo-Saxon metalwork tradition characterized particularly by bright colors and zoomorphic interlace patterns, thus producing a Hiberno-Saxon school of art. Among its greatest products were the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (early eighth century), the *Book of Durrow* (seventh century), and the *Book of Kells* (c. 800). The Hiberno-Saxon style had an important influence on the art of the Carolingian Empire.

Literature

With the advent of Christianity in England began the rise of monastic centers of learning, perhaps inspired by those of the Irish. Canterbury, the earliest religious center, became a famous center of learning among Anglo-Saxons as well. Benedict Biscop (Benet Biscop) founded both Jarrow monastery, where the historian and Benedictine monk known as the Venerable Bede (see sidebar) spent his life, and Monkwearmouth monastery in the seventh century. Possibly because of Romano-British influences retained in Northumbria from the former British kingdoms of Berenicia and Deira, this kingdom early became the most culturally advanced in England. Benedict was a great builder of churches and monasteries, who imported craftsmen from the mainland to beautify them with frescoes and stained glass. Others were soon established, of which Jarrow and Monkwearmouth in Northumbria were preeminent. Another was the school of York, founded by Bede's pupil Archbishop Egbert in the eighth century, which attracted students from the mainland and from Ireland. The scholar Alcuin was educated at York in the eighth century.

Anglo-Saxon as well as Irish scholarship was of first importance to the Carolingian emperor Charlemagne, who ruled what is present-day northern France and western Germany. Charlemagne surrounded himself with clergy from the British Isles. As the first non-Latin speakers in the West to have embraced Christianity, both the Irish and Anglo-Saxons had developed methods and textbooks for the teaching of Latin. Written Latin was important in eighth-century Gaul because spoken Latin was evolving into the French language, jeopardizing comprehension of the Bible and the liturgy. The new Christians in Germany were in like need, and Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars and teachers with their textbooks, as well as a new method of pronouncing Latin that they had devised, were in the forefront of Latin education.

The Venerable Bede: Scholar and Saint

Born near present-day Durham in 672 or 673, the Anglo-Saxon historian and theologian Bede (also Baeda or Beda) was orphaned early in life and raised under the care of a Northumbrian nobleman, Benedict Biscop, who founded the Jarrow monastery where Bede spent his life. The library Benedict collected enabled Bede to study a broad range of subjects: Greek and Latin classics, Hebrew, prosody, mathematics, medicine, history, and what was known at the time of physical science. His greatest work was the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation). Bede introduced the custom of dating events from the birth of Christ. He died in 735 and was canonized in 1899.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a chronological account of events in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. It began life in the reign of Alfred of Wessex, who had historical materials compiled into a single narrative; these included Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (known as *Ecclesiastical History*), genealogies, regnal and episcopal lists, some annals (year-by-year accounts of contemporary events) from northern England, probably some sets of earlier West Saxon annals, and a set of Frankish annals for the late ninth century. Copies of the *Chronicle* were soon made and obtained by courts and monasteries throughout England. New material, including yearly annals, was added to many of these copies; of the seven surviving manuscripts, the longest runs until the year 1154, well into the Norman period. The different versions contain different material, such as regional records, two of them evidently compiled in the north of England, for example, because they include interpolations of material of northern interest taken from Bede. These versions are known as the northern recension.

Alfred the Great King Alfred of Wessex had an important influence on Anglo-Saxon letters. He translated some books himself with the help of scholars from Mercia, Wales, and the mainland. Through his own and his scholars' efforts, the works of Bede, Orosius of the fifth century, Augustine of the fourth and fifth centuries, and *De consolatione philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) of Roman philosopher Boethius of the fifth–sixth century were translated. Alfred himself was a prose writer of note, contributing beautiful passages to the translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History.* He may even have translated Boethius's *Consolation* himself as the title page states, or with the assistance of his court scholars. This work, which includes retellings of the Greek myths of Orpheus and Eurydice, and of Ulysses and Circe, had an enormous influence on later English literature.

Two preeminent Old English prose writers were Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham, and Wulfstan, archbishop of York. Their sermons in the 10th and 11th centuries set a standard for the art of preaching.

Poetry As the Irish had once they became Christian and literate, Anglo-Saxon scribes wrote their tales, annals, and poetry, hitherto transmitted only orally. In their homeland they had had professional bards called *scops,* "shapers" of song and story. Many *scops* were attached to royal courts and served the roles both of entertainer and of historian, recorder of the heroic deeds of their patrons and keeper of the deeds of their patrons' ancestors. *Scops* also kept alive the mythology of their tribe. The primary poetic form of the *scop* was the *lay,* a partly lyrical but mostly narrative work composed as the *scop* looks on the scene of battle and recounts it. *Lays* were delivered in a rhythmic chant without rhyme or fixed metrical pattern, with alliteration supplying the organizing principle. *Lays* made use of naïve and simple metaphors called *kennings,* which interrupted or varied the narrative flow only a little. This was a poetry intended to be heard while feasting.

The heroic epic was a stringing together of many *lays* about a single hero. Although the Anglo-Saxons were the first Germanic people to commit their poetry to writing, beginning in the seventh century with a work known as *Widsithis* (The far journey), only one full-length heroic epic survives in Old English: *Beowulf.* Many more manuscripts were lost, and allusions in *Beowulf* to older Germanic heroes and battles of a deep and distant past give a sense of the scope of what was never written. The version of *Beowulf* that is extant was composed by a Christian poet, probably early in the eighth century. The Christian elements, however, are a thin overlay on an essentially pagan work. *Beowulf* was probably composed in Northumbria in the first half of the eighth century. Although the hero Beowulf possesses nearly superhuman physical abilities, most notably prowess at swimming and also gripping, it is clear that the author of the poem, or authors, used Beowulf as an embodiment of ideals of social and personal conduct—courage, honor, and loyalty—that his audience could and should strive to emulate. Many elements in the poem have striking parallels in 13th-century Norse sagas: male and female monsters, a giantess whose arm is cut off by the hero, and a cave behind a waterfall that the hero reaches by diving, with a marvelous sword hanging on its wall.

The lyric mood is reached in Old English poetry through what are called elegiac poems. In contrast to lyrical poetry of the later Middle Ages and beyond, lyric poetry among the Anglo-Saxons hardly touches on the passion of love or on mourning for personal loss. Instead the poet sings of the larger, more impersonal themes of the capriciousness of fate and the impermanence of existence, contrasting a happy past with a desolate present, possibly an expression of the great change that overtook the Anglo-Saxons when they embarked from

their homeland to a foreign shore, never to return.

In the Christian era poetic narrative versions of biblical stories were composed. Only two poets are known by name. Caedmon of the seventh century, mentioned by Bede, who also records a few lines of his poetry, is the earliest known English poet, although the body of his work has been lost. The name of Cynewulf (ninth century) is given as author of the poems "Elene," "Juliana," and "The Fates of the Apostles"; no more is known of him. The finest poem of the school of Cynewulf is "The Dream of the Rood," an early example of the dream vision, a genre later popular in Middle English literature. Other Old English poems include various riddles, charms (magic cures, pagan in origin), saints' lives, gnomic poetry, and other Christian and heroic verse.

Religion

Pagan Belief The Germanic peoples had many gods in common, many of them projections of their ideals and of the character of their warrior society. Woden, Wotan, or Odin was the cunning war leader; Thor the powerful warrior; and Valhalla the reward of slain warriors. It was a councilor of Edwin of Northumbria, quoted by Bede, who made the famous analogy depicting the cosmological outlook of the Germanics, that human's existence was like the flight of a bird from outer darkness through a bright, warm, and cheerful hall, back into darkness again. The councilor made this remark in the context of advising Edwin whether or not to embrace Christianity, going on to say, that if this new teaching brought more certainty it was worthy to be followed. The bleakness of this view of the beliefs of the pagan past may owe much to the fact that it was written by a fervid Christian.

Archaeological evidence of pagan Anglo-Saxon practices includes cremation urns in eastern and central England. Stamped and incised designs, and the size and shape of the pots themselves, may have reflected the age, gender, social status, and, in some cases, religious affiliation of the deceased. The runic letter for *T,* for example, may indicate the god Tiw, and the swastika may symbolize the god Thor.

The face-mask, a stamped representation of the human face, is commonly found on objects of the pagan period. It has been suggested that it was a symbol of Anglo-Saxon identity and may represent one of the pagan gods. The symbols are known on cremation urns from both England and the Continent, and on coins, drinking cups, brooches, and buckets. The Sutton Hoo full-face helmet has been thought to be a ceremonial mask, an indicator of the Saxon king's mythological descent from the gods; face-mask decorations are also found on the Sutton Hoo ceremonial whetstone scepter.

Pendant triangles are the most common decorative motif on sixth-century cremation urns in East Anglia. The silver-gilt mounts of the Sutton Hoo drinking cups and the rim bands of some drinking horns are hung with pendant triangles, as were many buckets. Pendant triangles, always associated, aside from cremation urns, with eating and drinking vessels, may have been a symbol of the ritual consumption of food or drink, a practice that would later be forbidden by church authorities (discussed later).

Drinking horns in particular were probably intrinsically pagan objects. The goat was sacred to the Germanic goddess Freya. A burial site at Yeavering in Northumbria, thought to be of a pagan priest, contained a metal staff that terminates in what appears to be a stylized goat, and the remains of a goat's skull were found at the foot of the grave. Yeavering, the most important royal and ceremonial center in the north of England in the sixth century, had the Anglo-Saxon name Ad-Gefrin, the Hill of the Goats. The Christian portrayal of the Antichrist was often a goatlike figure with cloven hooves and horns. This image is traditionally explained as a memory of the classical god Pan, but a reflection of an Anglo-Saxon veneration of goats is perhaps a more likely explanation.

Burials During their first centuries in the new land, the Anglo-Saxons often located their burials near the sacred sites of their predecessors. First British and then, by the seventh century, also Roman sites were being reused. The seventh century was a time of Anglo-Saxon kingdom formation and dramatic religious and social changes in lowland Britain, and the reuse of old sites may have been a means by which the new polities as well as practitioners of the new religion sought a sense of stability and continuity in a changing world. The Anglo-Saxons often preferred round barrows for burying their dead, yet burials are also found in or beside Roman villas (as at Orpington in Kent) and forts (Longthorpe in Cambridgeshire), or at temples, such as the single high-status burial at an isolated temple on Lowbury Hill on the Berkshire Downs. They are also found in Neolithic long barrows (as at Hampnett in the

Cotswolds) and in hill forts, such as Highdown Hill in Sussex.

Most famous of all is the Anglo-Saxon royal palace at Yeavering in Northumbria, where a line of timber halls and two cemeteries were centered on a single Bronze Age barrow and a stone circle.

Early medieval literature illuminates this practice. In *Beowulf,* in the *Life of St. Guthlac,* and elsewhere are references to people who traveled to ancient barrows to make contact with supernatural forces. Similar stories are found in Scandinavian and Irish literature. By burying the dead, depositing artifacts, and building religious structures at ancient monuments, individuals and communities were establishing and maintaining relationships with the supernatural world, perhaps as a source of spiritual and political authority. Social identity and status, control of land, and even the success of crops may have depended on the ritual veneration of these ancient sites.

This was only a temporary phenomenon, however. The subsequent history of the royal palace at Yeavering, as shown by archaeological remains, was one of abandonment. Yeavering is very possibly the place where in 627, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* the Christian Gospel was first preached to King Edwin of Northumbria by a priest from the Roman mission based at Canterbury. Edwin and his noblemen were converted, the latter baptized in a nearby river. Edwin, however, had a church built in York, the location of the former Roman diocese, and was baptized there. After Edwin's death his successors reverted to paganism. Yeavering was destroyed by burning, probably by Mercian forces in the seventh century, after which, according to Bede, it was abandoned, perhaps because of associations with the unsuccessful first attempt to establish Christianity. Subsequently York, with its Roman associations, became the center of Christianity in the north of England.

Conversion to Christianity The first successful Christian mission to the Anglo-Saxons was to the kingdom of Kent. The Kentish king Aethelbehrt, who by 595 had become overlord of all the kingdoms south of the river Humber, had as his wife Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frankish king of Paris. Bertha was a Christian, and it may have been for that reason that Pope Gregory I sent Augustine on a mission to Aethelbehrt's court in 597. Subsequently missionaries from Kent traveled to other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to spread the Gospel.

The actions of Raedwald, ruler of the East Angles at this time, illuminate the process of Christianization. Raedwald was under the overlordship of Aethelbehrt and accordingly converted when his ruler did, whether willingly or not. According to Bede, Raedwald, "seduced by his wife and certain evil teachers and perverted from the sincerity of his faith," had both a pagan and a Christian altar in the same building. His son, Eorpwald, was not a Christian until he was converted in the late 620s by Edwin of Northumbria. After his short reign his successor was also pagan. Only under Eorpwald's brother, Sigbert, did Christianity become more firmly established. Sigbert had been in exile in Gaul, possibly at the court of the Merovingian Frankish king Dagobert, where he would have experienced a higher level of civilization than had been achieved as yet in the rough-and-tumble warrior world of Anglo-Saxon royalty. Sigbert was accompanied by a Frankish bishop named Felix, who, noted Bede, brought the great happiness of the Gospel to the East Angles.

Despite initial successes the Gregorian mission to the Anglo-Saxons, especially in Northumbria, had no lasting impact, and the successors of Edwin of Northumbria reverted to paganism, so that Paulinus, Gregory's last missionary, fled back to Kent. Instead the Irish missionary centers of Iona and Lindisfarne (*see* IRISH) were the driving force behind the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps because they represented a church that was such a product of northern barbarian culture, with its heroic "White Martyrs" such as the former warrior Columba, far closer in outlook to that of the Anglo-Saxons than the urban Greco-Romans sent by Pope Gregory.

In important doctrinal disputes between the Roman and Irish churches, however—most notably the method of calculating Easter, as well as tonsures (removing hair from the crown of the head) for Irish monks, which were thought to derive from Druidic practice—the fact that the Anglo-Saxons sided with Rome in 663–664 at the Synod of Whitby, where these issues were decided upon, illustrates Rome's continuing importance for them. When Benedict Biscop wanted to found a monastic foundation, he traveled to Rome and to Gaul for its books. His double monastery of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth probably had the best-stocked library in northern Europe, a greatly enabling influence on one of its monks, Bede, the greatest scholar of his time in northern Europe.

By the 680s all of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had been converted, at least nominally, and their kings began to enforce Christianity by law. After the seventh century the Catholic Church in England was vigorous and secure enough to send missionaries to pagans in Germanic Europe—in Frisia, Saxony, and central Germany. Many suffered savage martyrdom, but gradually, during the eighth century, particularly through the work of Boniface of Wessex, the establishment of Christianity began. Boniface was supported in his work by the Frankish rulers, Charles Martel and his son Pippin III, and the church organization he helped reform, with its firm ties to the Roman papacy, was an essential foundation for the rise of the Carolingian dynasty.

Survival of Paganism The historical literature makes it clear that paganism continued to flourish in Anglo-Saxon–controlled areas throughout the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries. In addition, seventh–eighth–century pottery made in eastern England may have been designed specifically for use in pagan ceremonies. The evidence perhaps suggests a greater de facto tolerance of paganism in this period than is suggested by church pronouncements alone, or by a literal reading of historians such as Bede.

The early church certainly made efforts to absorb paganism into its own ceremonies, as if in recognition of the strength of popular feeling. Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History,* quotes Pope Gregory's letter to Abbott Mellitus, an envoy sent to join Augustine in England in 601, in which the pope demanded that altars be set up in pagan shrines, and that pagan sacrifices and feasts be replaced by Christian festivals. Many scholars regard Christmas as one example of such a replacement for the Germanic winter solstice celebration called Yule.

We also know from Bede that idols were still being destroyed in Kent decades after the conversion of Aethelbehrt at the beginning of the seventh century. Moreover the traditional robes of the Christian cleric may reflect an adoption of the costume of pagan priests for, according to the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries, they dressed as women in Germany.

The seventh-century *Penitentials* of the seventh-century Greek prelate Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, a list of proscriptions, attest to the continuing strength of paganism. They proscribed such practices as "sacrificing to devils," augury (divination from omens), eating food offered as sacrifice, and burning grain for the well-being of the dead. Burnt grain is occasionally found in pagan Anglo-Saxon graves—for example in the cemetery at Portway in Hampshire. The *Penitentials* also required heathens to be baptized and existing pagan marriages to be solemnized by a Christian ceremony. Penalties were listed for Christian clerics who performed pagan divinations.

Documents continue to indicate the survival of paganism in the eighth century. In 747 one of the canons of the Synod of Clovesho—an unknown location somewhere in England—stated that every bishop should inspect his diocese each year and forbid pagan practices such as divination, soothsaying, and the use of omens, amulets, and spells. As late as 786 papal legates admonished the English for dressing "in heathen fashion" and slitting their horses' nostrils in the pagan manner. Laws proscribing pagan practice were still being introduced in the ninth century, under Alfred, and again in the 10th century.

This determined effort against paganism seems, however, to have made an exception in the case of Ipswich Ware, pottery made in the important trading town of Ipswich in East Anglia. This type of pottery, first produced in Ipswich around 720, used stamped and incised decoration. Overtly pagan designs such as swastikas or runes were not used, but there is one Ipswich Ware vessel decorated with stamped face-masks. And pendant triangle motifs are common.

During the eighth century Ipswich may have been a center of pagan worship. No church of that date has yet been found in the town, nor have burials with Christian features or objects with Christian symbols. In addition Ipswich was the main redistribution center for imported goods on the east coast of England. The two other major ports of southern England, London and Southampton, were mainly supplied by Frankish merchants, who were Christian. Ipswich is likely to have been mainly supplied by Frisians, who were by and large pagan. Trading links with Frisians may have continued to foster paganism in Ipswich. At the least the lucrative trade with mainland Germanics may have induced East Anglian authorities, although Christian themselves, to turn a blind eye to the pagan motifs of Ipswich Ware.

In a sense the Anglo-Saxons began to lose their identity as a contentious collection of tribal

invaders when, after about the seventh century, they began to refer to themselves as the ENGLISH. This identification strengthened along with the process toward unification of the different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms under a single "king of England," a process that was spurred by the incursions of the common enemy of the English, the Danes. The Anglo-Saxons conquered by the Normans had largely left behind their tribal past and were moving toward an early modern society.

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Antes (Antae; Anty; Ants)

Antes is the name applied by ancient historians to a group of uncertain ethnicity who, sometime before the fifth century C.E., migrated southeastward to north of the Black Sea in southern Ukraine and Moldova, possibly from a homeland north of the Carpathian Mountains in present-day eastern Poland and western Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. The Greek form of the name is Antae and the Ukrainian, Anty. Antes is not a Slavonic word and may have been given to or adopted by a proto-Slavic people who had come under the domination of another group.

The name Antes was later given to the first SLAVS mentioned in written records, who appeared on the northern borders of the Eastern Roman Empire of the BYZANTINES along the Danube River in the sixth century C.E. The other main group of these Slavs were called SCLAVENI by the Greeks, although these two were said to have been formerly united in a group called the Sporoi (close to a Slavic word for multitude). Slavs who settled to the west became known as WENDS, a name derived by early medieval writers, especially FRANKS, from the collective name VENEDI. GREEKS and ROMANS applied the name *Venedi* to all peoples living in eastern Europe, and SCLAVENI to those to the southwest, although the exact makeup and geographies of these classifications are uncertain.

Starting in the 520s, along with the Sclaveni, the Antes, known from contemporary Roman accounts (who again are only tentatively identified with the fourth-century group of the same name), carried out raids on the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire, reaching as far southwest as the Balkan Peninsula later in the century. Many of them settled in present-day Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and merged with Southern Slavs. In the late sixth and early seventh centuries, the Antes were defeated in a number of engagements by the Avars, another people out of Asia, leading to their further dispersal and the disappearance of their name from the historical record. Some of them reportedly became part of a tribal federation among the Eastern Slavs known as the DULEBIANS.

ANTES

location:
Central Europe

time period:
Possibly before fifth to seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Probably Slavic

language:
Probably Slavic with some Iranian

Aorsi

The Aorsi were an Iranian-speaking tribe, their nomadic ancestors originally out of Asia; they are classified as SARMATIANS. They lived east of the Volga River in present-day western Russia. Some among then migrated westward by the third century B.C.E., settling along the lower Don River northeast of the Black Sea. The Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. recorded that in about 65 B.C.E. they had 200,000 horsemen serving under King Spadines, a much larger cavalry than that of the Sarmatian SIRACES living to their south. By the end of the first century C.E. the Aorsi were displaced by the ALANS, another Sarmatian group. The name Aorsi in Hungarian means "sentry" or "patrol" and is probably derived from the tribal name. The Yen-Tsai in Chinese texts are thought to have been the Aorsi.

AORSI

location:
Volga and Don Rivers in western Russia

time period:
Third to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Sarmatian

language:
Iranian

Apuli (Apulians; Dauni)

On the basis of their Messapic language, it is assumed the Apuli were ILLYRIANS. They are thought to have migrated to present-day southeastern Italy from the western Balkan Peninsula by the ninth century B.C.E. or earlier, settling in the region of Apulia (modern Puglia). They are sometimes grouped with

APULI

location:
Southeastern Italy

time period:
Ninth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Illyrian

language:
Messapic (Illyrian)

other Illyrians as IAPYGES, or cited as descendants of Iapyges, but they may have been a later migrating group.

A seagoing people, the Apuli supported themselves in part through piracy, but also by trading of grain with other peoples of the Adriatic Sea.

They were influenced by the GREEKS across the Adriatic by the eighth century B.C.E., as indicated by changes in their pottery. Gradually spreading inland, they mixed with the local population—mostly ITALICS—and founded cities organized in a loose confederation, including Arpi, Brundisium (modern Brindisi), Canusium (modern Canosa di Puglia), Gnathia, Herdonea (now Ordona), Lupiae (modern Lecce), Manduria, Rubi (Ruvo di Puglio), Rudiae, Sipontum, and Uria (modern Oria).

The Apuli rebelled against domination of the SAMNITES as allies of the ROMANS in the Second Samnite War of 322–304 B.C.E. but supported the CARTHAGINIANS against the Romans in the Second Punic War 218–201 B.C.E., when Hannibal defeated the Romans at Cannae in Apulia in 216 B.C.E. They were absorbed into the Roman Empire; some among them joined various tribes against Rome in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

Aquitani (Aquitanians)

The Aquitani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the region between the Garonne River and the Pyrenees in present-day southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Julius Caesar wrote about the people of the region as ethnically distinct from Gauls to the north. According to his classifications, Aquitania became a division of southwestern Gaul in 27 B.C.E., extending from the Pyrenees all the way to the Loire; afterward the name Aquitani (or Aquitanians) was sometimes applied generally to tribes in this greater region by the ROMANS to distinguish them from the CELTAE and BELGAE to the north. The present-day region of Aquitaine takes its name from the tribal name.

Arabs

See MOORS; SARACENS.

Arecomici (Aricomi; Volcae Arecomici)

The Arecomici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They are considered a subgroup of the VOLCAE.

Arevaci (Arevacii; Arevacos; Arevacians)

The Arevaci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain; and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. They became the dominant tribe in the region in the late centuries B.C.E., with strongholds at Okilis (modern Medinaceli) and Numantia. In 133 B.C.E. Roman legions under Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Scipio the Younger), after a 16-month siege, destroyed Numantia.

Arvanites (Arberor; Shqiptar; Albanian Greeks)

The Arvanites are a people out of Albania presently living in Greece and can thus be classified as Greeks, although they are associated historically with Albanians (*see* GREEKS: NATIONALITY; ALBANIANS: NATIONALITY). Arvanites is the Greek version of their name, and Arberor, the Albanian version. In northwestern Greece the native name for Albanians is Shqiptar.

ORIGINS

The Arvanite presence in Greece resulted from migrations of Albanian Christians from Albania, or from the redrawing of borders, which led to Albanians' becoming citizens of Greece. As do other Albanians, they have ILLYRIANS among their ancestors.

LANGUAGE

The Arvanite language, known to Greeks as Arvanitika (or to Greek Albanians as Arberichte), is South Albanian (Shqip or Tosk), as opposed to North Albanian (Gheg). Arvanitika has three main dialectical variations: one in Thrace in northeastern Greece, one in northwestern Greece near the Albanian border, and one in central and southern Greece. Because a written form has not been passed down, both the Greek and Latin alphabets have been used to write it. Most Arvanites are now bilingual, also speaking Greek.

HISTORY

Migrations

The earliest Arvanite migrations from what became present-day Albania to present-day Greece are thought to have occurred as early as

the 11th and 12th centuries. Others migrated in the 14th and 15th centuries, at the invitation of the BYZANTINES, when Greece was part of the Byzantine Empire. After the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) gained control of the Balkan region by the end of the 15th century, other Arvanites are thought to have fled forced Islamization. Another wave of migrations occurred in the 18th century, still during the Ottoman period.

In the early migrations most of the Arvanites settled in the administrative regions known as Central Greece and the Peloponnese peninsula in southern Greece, or on Greek islands, such as the Cyclades island of Andros. Fewer numbers migrated to northeastern Greece to the east (the Greek regions now known as Central Macedonia and Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace). When the homeland of some of those families who had settled in eastern Thrace became part of Turkey by the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, some of them were relocated to Greece, because the treaty called for an exchange of population; Muslims of Greece resettled in Turkey, and Christians of Turkey resettled in Greece.

The territory of Arvanites in the northwestern regions of Epirus and Western Macedonia became part of Greece as a result of a redrawing of the political map in the early 20th century after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. Arvanites near the border, formerly part of a region of southern Albania known as Chameria, are referred to as Chams.

Since the 1950s many Arvanites have been emigrating from their villages to the cities, especially to Athens, the capital of Greece.

Arvanite Identity

For a time after the Greeks won independence from the Ottoman Turks, the Arvanites, some of whom aided the Greeks in the rebellion of 1821–28, were accepted as a separate cultural group within the new Greek nation. Yet Greece ultimately adopted a policy of Hellenization with regard to Arvanites. The growth of an Albanian nationalistic movement in the 20th century exacerbated the issue, contributing to resentment against Arvanites.

The use of Arvanitika has been declining because of Hellenization and urbanization. As for all other minority languages in Greece, except Turkish, Arvanitika has no legal status and is not taught in schools, and Arvanites who move away from ancestral villages are less likely to use it. Their church services—of the Greek Orthodox Church—are held in Greek.

Since the 1980s efforts have been made to preserve Arvanite culture. A number of cultural associations and publications that promote Arvanite identity have been formed. Recordings of traditional songs have furthered a sense of community among the Arvanites.

CULTURE

The traditional Arvanite way of life is built around the farming village. Most Arvanites are Orthodox Christians.

It is estimated that there are about 200,000 citizens of Greece who are identifiable as Arvanites and speak Arvanitika. Yet perhaps as many as 1.6 million Greek citizens have Arvanite ancestry.

ARVANITES

location: Greece

time period: 11th century C.E. to present

ancestry: Albanian

language: Arvanitika (South Albanian)

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Arverni (Arvernii; Arvernes; Averni; Arveni)

The Arverni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the Cévennes, a mountain range in present-day southern France, and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Among

Arvanites time line

C.E.	
11th century	First migrations of Albanians to Greece
1821–28	Arvanites aid Greeks in rebellion against Ottoman Turks.
1923	Arvanites relocated from Turkey to Greece by terms of Treaty of Lausanne.
1980s	Cultural revival among Arvanites

ARVERNI

location:
Southern France

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)



This gold coin was used by the Arverni. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

the more powerful Celtic tribes, they sometimes allied themselves with the SUEBI and other GERMANICS against rivals. Along with their allies the ALLOBROGES, they were conquered by the ROMANS in 121 B.C.E.

An Arverni nobleman by the name of Vercingetorix led a rebellion against the Romans in 52 B.C.E. (see sidebar "Vercingetorix" under GAULS). The AEDUI, traditional enemies of the Arverni, joined the revolt as well, forcing the Romans to abandon their siege of the Arverni town of Gergovia on the Gergovie plateau. Other tribes whose warriors participated in the rebellion included AMBIANI, ATREBATES, AULERCI, BELLOVACI, BITURIGES, BOII, CARNUTES, HELVETII, LEMOVICES, MEDIOMATRICI, MENAPII, MORINI, NERVII, NITOBRIGES, PARISII, PETROCORII, PICTONES, RAURICI, RUTENI, SANTONES, SENONES, SEQUANI, SUESSIONES, TURONES, plus some from the region known as Armorica (modern Britanny and eastern Normandy). Yet a Roman victory led by Julius Caesar on the Vingeanne River forced Vercingetorix to retreat northward to Alesia, a town of the MANDUBII, thought to be located about 32 miles northwest of present-day Dijon. After a long siege at Alesia, the rebels surrendered in October 52 B.C.E. Vercingetorix was executed in 46 B.C.E. as a part of Caesar's victory celebrations.

Augustonemetum in Arverni territory, on the site of present-day Clermont-Ferrand, because a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul through the period of occupation lasted until the fifth century C.E.

Arviens (Aulerci Arviens)

Arviens are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Laval in northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Asculani *See* PICENES.

Asding Vandals *See* VANDALS.

Aspiates

The Aspiates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the northern Pyrenees around present-day Accous in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Astures (Asturii)

The Astures are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day northwestern Spain, and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. They resisted the ROMANS along with the CANTABRI and GALLAECI but were finally defeated in 19 B.C.E.

Atacini

The Atacini are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day region of Narbonne in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Atrebates (Atribati)

Two separate tribes of the name Atrebates are known in mainland Europe and in the British Isles. Both Celtic, they are assumed to be related ancestrally. The continental Atrebates lived in Gaul around present-day Arras in northern France; Artois, a former province, takes its name from them. They are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Some among this group settled near the NERVII in present-day central Belgium and fought as their allies against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar; they were thus among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. Afterward, in 51 B.C.E., their king, Commius, fled to Britain.

The Atrebates of Britain, perhaps an alliance of smaller groups, occupied the present-day counties of Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, west Surrey, and northeastern Wiltshire in southern England. They are discussed as Celts or BRITONS. The CATTUVELLAUNI, TRINOVANTES, and they were the three most

powerful tribal kingdoms in Britain in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. In about 40 B.C.E. the Atrebates struck the first British coins inscribed with their ruler's name; they bear the name Commios, thought to be an alternate spelling of Commius. The Atrebates were pro-Roman. In 42 C.E. they successfully resisted an attack by the anti-Roman Catuvellauni. An exiled leader of the Atrebates by the name of Verica played a part in encouraging the Roman emperor Claudius I to launch his invasion of 43 C.E. During the period of Roman occupation into the fifth century Nemetacum on the site of present-day Arras became a *civitas* capital in Gaul, and Calleva Atrbatum on the site of present-day Silchester became a *civitas* capital in Britain.

ATREBATES

location:
Northern France; southern England

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish or Brythonic (Celtic)

FURTHER READING

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Attacotti (Attacots)

The Attacotti were a tribe or confederation of tribes living in present-day northwestern Scotland and nearby islands, including the Hebrides and the Orkneys. They are thought to be related to the PICTS, possibly speaking a similar non-Celtic language (or possibly a dialectic combination of Celtic and non-Celtic). They joined with the Picts and ancient SCOTS in attacks on BRITONS, the CELTS who lived to the south. They are thought also to have helped Picts, Scots, and SAXONS attack Roman Britain in 367 C.E.

Aukstaiciai *See* LITHUANIANS.

Aulerci

The Aulerci are classified as a Celtic tribe or confederation of tribes. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the UNELLI. In 52 B.C.E. some among them fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS. The name Aulerci was common to several tribes who are considered separate groups, including the ARVIENS, BRANNOVICES, CENOMANI, DIABLINTES, EBUROVICES, and ESUVII.

Aurunci (Aruncians)

The Aurunci are classified as ITALICS, that is, Italic speaking, although they may have had mixed ancestry. They lived in the southern part of Latium (part of modern Lazio), a region in present-day west-central Italy, at least by the fourth century B.C.E. They had a five-city alliance, referred to as the Aurunci Pentapolis: Ausona, Minturnae (modern Minturno), Sunuessa, Suessa Aurunca (modern Sessa Aurunca), and Vescia. The city of Terracina is also associated with them, although it may have been controlled by the VOLSCI, living to the north of the Aurunci.

An earlier pre-Indo-European people in the region, according to some ancient texts, were the Ausoni (perhaps the same as the OPICI or perhaps related to the ENOTRI). If the Ausoni existed, they may have been among the ancestors of the Aurunci, or simply allies.

The Aurunci joined a confederation of tribes known as the Latin League in a revolt against the ROMANS in 341 B.C.E.; their partners were the LATINS, CAMPANI, SIDICINI, and Volsci. The alliance collapsed by 338 B.C.E. under pressure from both the SAMNITES and the Romans.

By 314 B.C.E. the Aurunci had disappeared from the historical record. The Aurunci and Ausoni Mountains, a complex bordering the Tyrrhenian Sea north of the coastal towns of Terracina and Gaeta, are named after the Aurunci and the possibly related Ausones.

AURUNCI

location:
Lazio in west-central Italy

time period:
341 to 314 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Italic

Ausci (Auscii; Auici)

The Ausci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Auch in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E. Elimberrum (later Augusta Auscorum) on the site of Auch became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Auch takes its name from the tribal name.

Ausoni *See* AURUNCI.

Austrians: nationality (people of Austria)

GEOGRAPHY

Austria occupies an area of 32,378 square miles. It is bounded to the north by the Czech Republic, to the northeast by Slovakia, and to the east by Hungary. It borders Slovenia, Italy, and Switzerland in the south and Liechtenstein, Switzerland, and Germany in the west. Austria is primarily mountainous, with an average elevation of about 3,000 feet. The Hohe Tauern,

AUSTRIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Austria (Österreich)

derivation of name:
Modern German translation is "eastern kingdom"; the ninth-century Frankish territory was known as Ostmark; Ostarrichi appeared in the 11th century.

government:
Democratic republic

capital:
Vienna

language:
The official language of Austria is German; about 2 percent of the population speak Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, and Turkish.

religion:
About 84 percent of the population are Catholic; 6 percent are Protestants, mostly part of Augsburg Confession; another 6 percent adhere to no religion; the remaining 4 percent practice Eastern Orthodoxy, Judaism, and Islam.

earlier inhabitants:
Illyrians; Celts; Suebi; Romans; Quadi; Heruli; Rugii; Huns; Ostrogoths; Lombards; Bavarians; Slavs; Franks; Avars; Moravians; Magyars; and Germans

demographics:
About 99 percent of the population is Germanic; Croats and Slovenes constitute the remaining 1 percent; small minorities include Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Rroma.

part of the Austrian Alps, possesses the highest elevation (12,457 feet). The majority of the mountain ranges run east to west across the country. The Danube is Austria's chief river; it enters Austria along the German border. A principal lake, the Bodensee, is located along the western border at Austria's point of lowest elevation (377 feet).

INCEPTION AS A NATION

In 788 C.E. Charlemagne of the FRANKS created the first eastern march in modern-day Upper and Lower Austria. Emperor Otto I seized the march in 955 from the MAGYARS, who occupied the area. The march was merged with Bavaria in 976 and given to Leopold of Babenberg, who is recognized as the founder of the first Austrian dynasty.

During the long Hapsburg dynasty, Austrian territory expanded and contracted. In 1867 Austrian leaders joined Hungarian nationalists to create the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. After World War I (1914–18) the dual monarchy was dissolved and the boundaries were established for modern Austria.

The German occupation of Austria starting in 1938 bound Austria to the Third Reich, Hitler's government (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). After Germany's defeat in 1945 the Allies negotiated to reestablish an independent Austria. The Allies divided Austria and separately controlled each of the occupational zones. The democratic constitution was reinstated. In 1955 Austria's full sovereignty was recognized and it joined the United Nations. Austria was also established as a perpetually neutral state.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Austria is usually considered to have a basically German culture (*see* GERMANICS) fostered by the fact that the language of Austria is German. Yet Celtic and Roman influences helped shape the modern nation. Much of the territory of present-day Austria was held by CELTS for centuries, and the first characteristically Celtic culture emerged there, based on the wealth of the salt mines of Hallstatt, after which this earliest flowering of Celtic culture was named. Under Roman influence the first state in the history of the eastern Alps was established: the kingdom of Noricum, whose borders basically coincide with those of modern Austria. Celts in Austria underwent a process of Romanization, as the ROMANS went to great lengths to win the hearts and minds of the native aristocracy. The Romans also created artificial tribes by unifying elements of hitherto separate tribes under a king whom they had chosen. The importance of Noricum to the Romans lay in its great mineral wealth, especially in iron, which was transformed into steel (*ferrum Noricum*), and in its vital



In this early 20th-century photograph, Austrians sort through piles of garbage outside Vienna in search of scraps of food. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-68390])*

Austrians: nationality time line

C.E.

788 Charlemagne of Franks builds defense against Avars, creating first eastern march in modern Upper and Lower Austria.

976 After reconstituting march and union with Bavaria, Otto II gives march to Leopold I of Babenberg, founder of first Austrian dynasty.

1156 Emperor Frederick I organizes Austria as duchy.

1253–78 Otakar II of Bohemia claims Austria.

1278 Rudolf I of Hapsburg conquers Austria.

1498 Vienna Boys Choir is founded by Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

1519–56 Holy Roman Emperor Charles V inherits Hapsburg holdings along with Spain because his mother was daughter of Ferdinand II and Isabella I of Spain.

1524–26 Peasants' War grants Austrian peasantry some rights.

1526 Imperial Library is founded in Vienna.

c. 1556 Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary are united under Ferdinand I.

1618–48 Protestants of Bohemia rebel against Ferdinand II, instigating Thirty Years' War.

1620 After White Mountain battle Austria takes Protestant Bohemia and Moravia.

1699 Under Peace of Karlowitz, Austria receives Slavonia, Transylvania, and most of Hungary.

1713 Austria is granted Spanish Netherlands, Sardinia, and Naples.

1740–48 Bourbon king Philip V of Spain, Augustus III of Poland, and Charles VII (Charles Albert), elector of Bavaria, make claims against Maria Theresa for Austrian throne in War of Austrian Succession.

1756–63 During Seven Years' War also involving England and France, Austria and Prussia compete for control of German lands.

1772 Austria, Russia, and Prussia partition Poland; Maria Theresa, wife of titular husband Francis I, Holy Roman Emperor, negotiates with Prussia and Russia.

1780s Joseph II engages in widespread reform of empire along Enlightenment principles.

1781 Composers Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart become friends, influencing each other's music.

1792 Austria engages in war against Napoleon I Bonaparte during French Revolution.

1795 Austria expands its eastern boundaries during Poland's third partition.

1804 Francis II becomes "Francis I, emperor of Austria."

1806 Holy Roman Empire dissolves.

1814–15 Napoleon is defeated; at Congress of Vienna, Austria, reclaims Lombardy, Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia and loses former territories in Netherlands and Baden.

1827 Composer Franz Peter Schubert, inventor of form of *lied* (art song), a piece of romantic or lyrical poetry set to music, is torchbearer in funeral procession of German composer Ludwig van Beethoven, whom he idolized; some 10,000 other Viennese attend.

1848 Metternich is expelled from ministry because of revolutions of 1848; democratic constitution is formed.

1856 Botanist Gregor Johann Mendel begins breeding experiments with peas, furthering knowledge of genetics.

1859 Austria loses Lombardy in Italian War of 1859.

1860 "October Diploma" and "February Patent" implement legislative reforms.

(continues)

Austrians: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1866	Prussia defeats Austria at Sadowa in Austro-Prussian War; Austria loses political power in Germany and cedes Venetia to Italy.
1867	Dual state, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, is established with Hungarian nationalists.
	Composer Joseph Strauss writes waltz "The Blue Danube."
1890	Essay by dramatist and critic Hermann Bahr, *Zur Kritik der Moderne,* establishes "modernism" as literary term.
1892–95	Sigmund Freud develops treatment that becomes basis of psychoanalysis.
1893	Former physician Arthur Schnitzler has play *Anatol* produced about turn-of-century Viennese life, beginning career as playwright and novelist.
1897	Vienna Succession, in which Gustav Klimt and other painters break away from academic painters, leads to new school of Austrian painting.
1897–1907	Composer Gustav Mahler serves as director of Imperial Opera in Vienna.
1899–1936	Poet, satirist, and critic Karl Kraus publishes polemical review *Die Fackel.*
1908–22	Franz Kafka works for insurance agency in Prague; he draws on themes of alienation for career as writer as in "Metamorphosis," published in 1915, and other stories.
1914	World War I begins; Austria-Hungary supports Germany and Turkey against France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Japan, and from 1917, United States.
1918	Charles I resigns, and German Austria is declared republic belonging to Greater Germany.
1919	After World War I borders are determined for modern Austria without political or economic union with Germany.
1920	Imperial Library becomes National Library; Salzburg Festival, combining theater and music, is founded.
1921	Two political parties emerge, "Red" Socialists and "Black" clericalists; pan-German party is fueled by national socialism.
	Composer Arnold Schoenberg invents 12-tone method of atonal composition known as serialism.
1934	Socialist revolts are suppressed by army; National Socialists assassinate fascist advocate chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss but fail to seize government.
1938	Germany occupies Austria; Austria becomes part of Reich.
1939	Germany invades Poland; World War II begins.
1945	At end of World War II Allies divide country into five zones of military occupation.
1946	Austria formally recognized by Western powers.
1955	Treaty among Great Britain, France, United States, Soviet Union (USSR), and Austria restores full sovereignty to Austria; Austria becomes part of United Nations (UN).
1986	Socialists and People's Party unite under "grand coalition."
1995	Austria joins European Union (EU).
2004	Novelist and playwright Elfriede Jelinek wins Nobel Prize in literature.

passes through the eastern Alps connecting points to the north, south, east, and west. Noricum also contained the all-important Danube corridor, and early on the Romans built Vindobona, the progenitor of Vienna, on the river on the site of a Celtic settlement. The Romans established trading concerns within the Celtic kingdom itself, and Roman art styles, concepts, materials, and techniques, in pottery, painting, sculpture, and architecture, were greatly influential.

In part because of its geographic position, Austria's close ties with Italy and Roman Catholic Europe endured through the era of great invasions by GERMANICS and later SLAVS and Magyars that swept away the Roman Empire. The Germanic Franks established a bishopric in Salzburg (which calls itself "the

Rome of the North") in the seventh century C.E. to help spread Christianity in the Danube-Balkan region. This primacy of Austria in promoting Roman Catholicism was further strengthened when the Hapsburg dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire made Vienna their capital and took the lead during the Counter-Reformation against Protestantism. Thus essential elements in what it has meant to be Austrian were the Hapsburg Empire and Roman Catholicism.

These elements have not always proved to be beneficial. In the past, particularly during the late 18th century, when revolutionary fervor was spreading in Western Europe, some commentators accused the Austrians of a certain political passivity and lassitude, perhaps the product of long rule by the absolutist Hapsburgs and perhaps also by Catholicism. (One such commentator, a German immigrant to Vienna, the composer Ludwig van Beethoven, noted in a letter that as long as Austrians had enough to eat and drink they would never revolt.) In contrast to conditions in France, progressive change in Austria came from above, as the emperor Joseph II instituted many reforms, which, however, were soon revoked after his death. Austria became once again a bastion of opposition to change; during and after the Napoleonic Wars it became a true police state through the repressive policies of the chancellor Metternich, who made Austria the center of European reaction against the progressive forces let loose by the French Revolution. The bent of Austrians for escapist artistic products (such as the Viennese magic play) in the face of political impotence led to the popular craze for the waltz, which began during the wars, as dance halls replete with mirrors, potted palms, chandeliers with thousands of candles, where gentlemen burned 100-guilder notes to light their cigars, opened. By the late 19th century other expressly Austrian characteristics arose out of its imperial status. Artists of the time gave voice to a certain foreboding, a sense of having an overripe civilization on the brink of collapse.

In addition to having a sense of being different from Germans by virtue of their Catholic culture, Austrians consider themselves more cosmopolitan because of Austria's centuries long status as the capital of a great empire, as well as the country's position along the major east-west route of the Danube and its proximity to Latin Europe and the Mediterranean and also to Slavic countries. The coexistence of the different cultural groups has formed Austria's characteristic identity. Austrians today are particularly aware that appreciating the special qualities of one's own people is inseparably linked to the willingness to respect what is special about other peoples.

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Auteini *See* Uaithne.

Auteri (Auterii)

The Auteri are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day county of Galway as well as parts of the counties of Mayo and Roscommon in western Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Irish.

Avars (Juan-Juan; Varchonites)

The Avars, a nomadic people originally from Asia, created a powerful empire in central Europe by the end of the sixth century C.E., centered in present-day Hungary and northern Serbia and extending south to north from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic Sea and from the Elbe River to the Dnieper River. It endured for more than 200 years.

ORIGINS

Little is known about the origins of the Avars, although they are generally believed to have been an Asian people of Mongolic or Turkic ancestry. They were known to the Chinese, whom they raided as the Juan-Juan. After migrating through northern Iran, they settled in the steppes of present-day western Kazakhstan and southern Russia. They mingled with other peoples both Turkic (*see* Turkics) and Hunnic (*see* Huns), primarily the Turkic Uygurs. By the sixth century at the latest they had reached southwestern Europe. They also fought or mingled with the Caucasians, some among whom claim to be descended from the Avars.

The Byzantine historian Theophylactus Simocattes of the sixth and seventh centuries

AVARS

location:
Western Asia; southern European Russia; eastern and central Europe, centered in Hungary

time period:
Fourth to ninth century C.E.

ancestry:
Possibly Mongolian, Turkic, or Caucasian

language:
Avaric (possibly Mongolic, Turkic, or Caucasic)

provides us with much of what we know about the Avars. Theophylactus distinguishes between true Avars and false Avars (Pseudavaroi). The true Avars were the people known formerly as the Juan-Juan: a people of Mongol stock who had been masters of Mongolia throughout the fifth century, until crushed and superseded by the T'u-chüeh Turks in 552. The "false Avars" were those of European medieval history, who usurped that formidable name. These are said to have comprised two united hordes: that of the Uar (or Var), whence the name Avar, and that of the Kunni or Huni; the latter term suggests a Hunnic origin. The two linked names of Uar and Huni would thus stand for Avar and Hun. It is also claimed, however, that these Uars and Huni, from whom the BYZANTINES coined their word Ouarkhonitai, were two tribes of Ogor; or the Uygur. But the Uygur of history were TURKICS, whereas the Avars of Europe seem to have been mostly Mongols.

LANGUAGE

The dialects of the ancient Avars are not known with certainty. As it is known today, Avar or Avarish is a North Caucasic language that is part of the North-East or Dagestanian group of languages, originating around Dagestan, Russia, and including the Andi and Dido languages. Avarish is the only language in the group with a written form and is also used for intertribal communication by Andi- and Dido-speaking peoples. Other related languages in the Dagestanian group are Lak-Dargwa and Lezgian.

HISTORY

In the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. the Avars, skilled horsemen, dominated the high steppes of western Asia and eastern Europe. In about 460 they defeated the Uygurs, a Turkic people, and absorbed them. The Avars are known to have been in the Causcasus region by 558. At that time they sent an envoy to the BYZANTINES centered at Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey) and on the lower Danube to the north by 561; sometime later they were decisively defeated by the Turkics. Survivors, many of them Uygurs led by Avar chiefs, split into two groups. One group remained in the east; the others migrated westward, settling in present-day Ukraine and along the Danube River in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.

In 567 the Avars became involved in tribal wars among the GERMANICS and joined the LOMBARDS to overthrow the GEPIDS, who were allies of Byzantium. They founded the Avar *haganat* (empire), centered in the Hungarian plain between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, and from there they carried out raids on Byzantium. In 568 the Avars invaded Dalmatia on the Adriatic coast (parts of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Yugoslavia). Justin II, emperor of the Byzantines, sent a large force; the resulting war lasted three years, after which the Byzantines were forced to pay huge yearly tributes. In 599 after continuing conflict, when the Byzantines under Maurice refused to pay ransom, the Avars executed a reported 12,000 Byzantine prisoners. They seized more territory on the Balkan Peninsula. From the mid-sixth century into the seventh century the Avar Empire was at its height. In 626 the Persians, Avar allies at the time, were stymied at sea by Byzantine naval forces, and the Avars failed to occupy Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The Avars also mounted attacks on the Merovingian FRANKS.

The Avar Empire ultimately extended south to north from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic Sea and between the Elbe and the Dnieper Rivers. Baian was their *khagan* (leader) during the period of expansion of the late sixth and early seventh centuries. One important result of the Avars' hegemony was the movement of large numbers of SLAVS from the region. (Some of them invaded new lands as allies of the Avars; others migrated on their own.) Many of the Slavs moved south to the northern Balkans, where they have remained.

Later in the seventh century internal disputes, especially expansion by the BULGARS and the creation of a Bulgarian state in the

Avars time line

C.E.	
c. 460	Avars defeat Uygurs in Asian Russia.
558	Avars reach Caucasus region.
561	Avars live on lower Danube.
567	Avars and Lombards defeat Gepids.
568	Avars invade Dalmatia.
late sixth century	Avar Empire at height
626	Avars attack Constantinople and are repelled.
796–805	Avar Empire ends in defeat by Franks under Charlemagne.



Balkans in 679, weakened the Avars. The Avars never regained their former influence as both the Slavs and Bulgars grew in power.

Charlemagne of the Franks effectively crushed the Avars, destroying the "Avar Ring"—their military fortifications—in 791 and defeating their armies in 805. The MORAVIANS subsequently attacked and dispersed the Avars further. Early in the ninth century Krum, the Bulgarian khan, was victorious against Avar remnants. Those Avars who did survive were assimilated by the Slavs who settled in the Hungarian plain.

Although they were absorbed by other peoples, a group known as Avars have endured in the Caucasus region in the Dagestan Republic of southern Russia; these Avars, who call themselves Maarulal as a group and consist of a number of tribes, including ANDIS and DIDOS, speak Caucasic dialects. Shāmil, who in 1834–59 unsuccessfully led the people of the Caucasus in their

struggle for freedom from Russia, reportedly was an Avar.

CULTURE

Economy

The basis of the Avar economy, like that of all steppe peoples from time immemorial, was grazing. The harsh climate of the steppes, bitter winters and parching hot summers, meant that grasslands were few and far apart, sometimes as much as 1,000 miles. Thus life for the Avars was a continual search for the best grazing grounds, endless migrations from pasture to pasture, driven mainly by the needs of their herds. Groups of nomads would circulate throughout a territory, a movement sometimes not completed for centuries as a result of the vast distances involved. Everything about these people—their physical build and their way of life—had become adapted to this way of life. Another activity of the Avars, skilled at warfare on horseback, was raiding of agricultural peoples in or near their territory and of the trade routes that spanned central Eurasia. Some among them settled down among local populations as farmers after they had invaded Europe. As did nomadic groups of the steppe, Avars probably also engaged in exchange of goods between peoples to their north, who had such goods as furs and amber, and civilizations to their south, which provided manufactured goods of metal and cloth.

Government and Society

The nomadic way of life of the Avars, as of most steppe nomads, worked against centralization of authority among them, and their society probably consisted of loose networks of kinship groups ruled by elite warriors whose status was based on protection of their moving families and the booty they obtained in raids. This pattern changed, however, when circumstances such as war or famine brought on by adverse weather (such as a grass-killing drought) made it necessary for these loose networks to join in a more disciplined group, either to fend off invaders or to invade other territories where grazing was still available. Avar men, women, and children would unite in a horde. Periodically, in a ripple or domino effect, disturbance emanating from a given point would travel across Eurasia as different peoples were forced to migrate in hordes seeking relief in a new territory, displacing early inhabitants who were forced to move in turn. This happened when the Avars were driven from Mongolia by the T'u-chüeh Turks in the sixth century. Avar chiefs bore the ancient Turko-Mongol title of *tudun*. *Khagan,* similar to the Mongol *khan,* was another title.

Clothing and Appearance

Avar men were similar to Huns in appearance, but with their hair in two long plaits down their back. As did all steppe horsemen, they wore trousers. Earrings, fibulae (clasps), and other jewelry were common ornaments among the Avars. In later periods waist belts, better suited for holding the clothing of horseback riders, became more prevalent than fibulae.

Technology

Evidence from Avar gravesites indicates that the Avars were the earliest people in Europe to use stirrups and probably introduced them to other European peoples.

Art

Through the seventh century the primary Avar motifs were geometrical, with a Byzantine influence. A transitional period followed. After 720 B.C.E. figures of animal and plants became commonplace, indicating an Asian influence, which was thought to result from new migrations from the east.

Archaeological finds in Hungary illustrate the character of Avar art, a branch of steppe art, with stylized animal forms and spiraling geometric or plant motifs gracefully interwoven and covering the entire surface of an object, whether belt buckle or goblet. The assortment of objects made by Avars is typical of steppe peoples: belt plaques and buckles, ornaments on equipment or harness, hooks, and fibulae. The Avar finds of Hungary have similarities with bronzes made by the Juan-Juan and T'u-chüeh Turks. Avar art also bears a particular affinity to the Siberian art style known as that of the Nomad Horsemen. Avar goldsmiths created works of exceptionally high quality and were counted among the ruling class.

Religion

Burials Avar elites were buried with their horses, horse trappings, and weapons. If their funerals were similar to those of other steppe peoples, they were probably occasions for sometimes extravagant acts of mourning, such as the gashing of face and arms by mourners, and possibly sacrifice of horses, retainers, and wives. Avars were shamanists, as were most steppe peoples. Theophylactus mentions one

of their sorcerers, called a *bocolabras* (from the Mongol *bögä,* sorcerer).

Igbi Festival Several modern groups who trace their ethnicity to the Avars (in the Caucasus in the Republic of Daghestan) hold a special festival each February 5, which may have originated in the ancient Avar religion. The festival is called Igbi Day, after the ring-shaped loaves called *igbi* (singular, *ig*) that play an important role. The festival features a group of youths called "wolves" who collect *igbi* from each household, threatening to punish anyone who will not comply. Masks are worn on these rounds to represent forest peoples—a devil, skeleton, doctor, policeman, and so on. Masks for these characters are made out of animal skins or papier-maché. The climax of the festival is a ceremonial naming of the good and bad deeds of the villagers, which then are blamed on a demon, called the Kvidili. The demon is ritually "executed," as a scapegoat freeing the villagers of guilt for bad conduct. Before this moralistic tone was imposed on the festival, its import was probably purification of the village from bad luck and evil spirits before the start of the agricultural year, symbolized by the grain with which the loaves were made.

Considering the extent of the Avar Empire and its importance to the early medieval history of central Europe, it is remarkable how little is known about this people.

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B

Baiocasses (Bodiocasses)

The Baiocasses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Bayeux in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were perhaps a subgroup of the ESUVII. The region was occupied by the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Augustoduram on the site of Bayeux became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Bayeux takes its name from the tribal name.

Balkars (Malkarli; Mountain Tatars)

BALKARS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic; possibly Caucasian and Sarmatian as well

language:
Karachay-Balkar (Turkic)

The Balkars are a Turkic-speaking people, living mostly in the North Caucasus region of Karbardino-Balkaria, a republic in southwestern Russia (Balkaria is the southern mountainous part). Their ancestors included TURKICS—possibly KARACHAY, KIPCHAKS, KHAZARS, and BULGARS—as well as ALANS and CAUCASIANS. They are included among the people known as TATARS, going back to the 13th century. The Balkar language, related to that of the Karachay, is of the Turkic Northwestern (Kipchak) group, Karachay-Balkar, but with some Iranian elements.

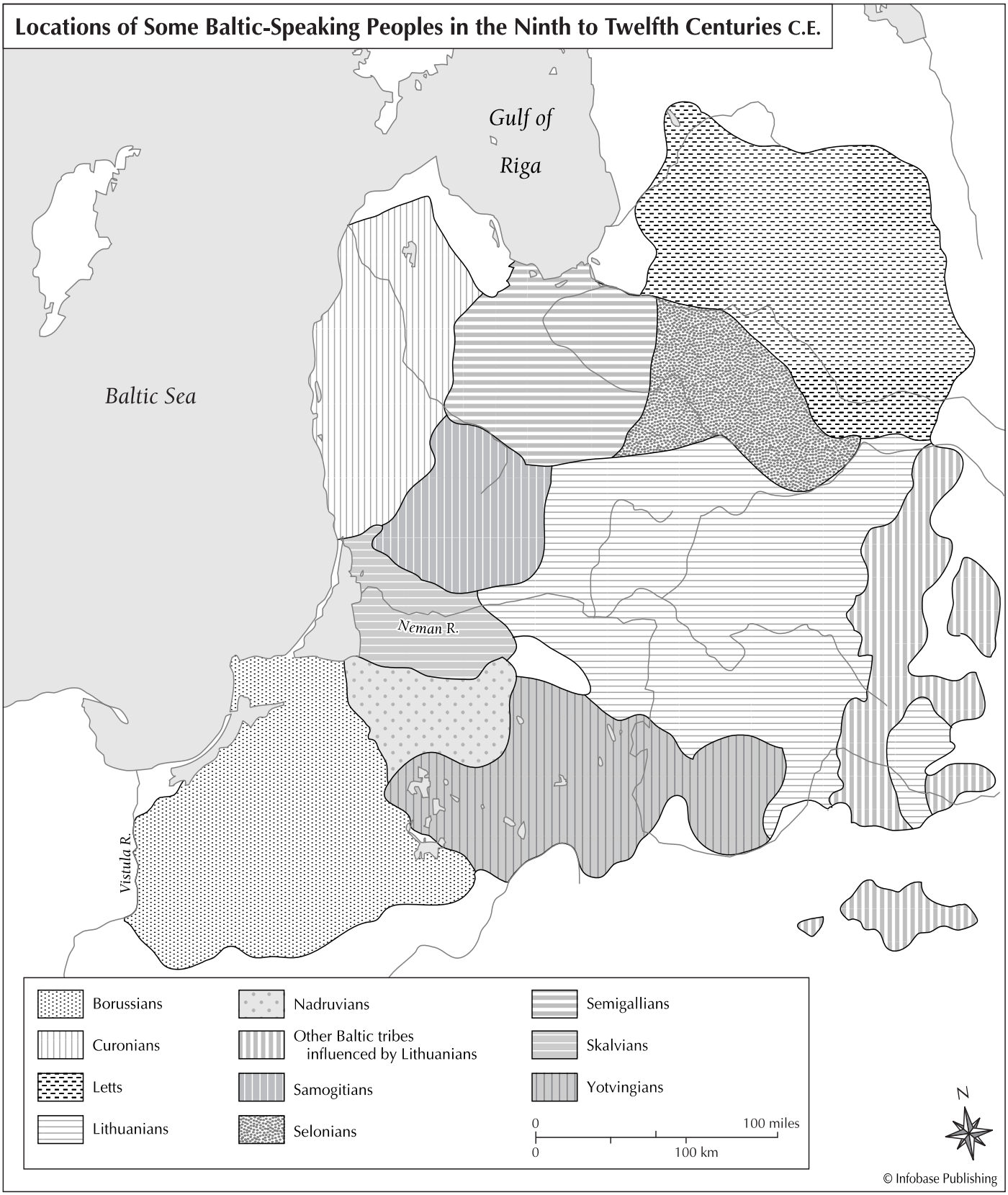
The Balkars were incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1827. In 1922 Karbardino-Balkaria was organized by the Soviet Union (USSR) as a region; it became an autonomous republic in 1936. The Kabardians, a subgroup of CIRCASSIANS, shared the region (with growing numbers of SLAVS as well). In 1943–44 Joseph Stalin accused the Balkars of collaborating with Nazi Germany and had the majority deported and scattered throughout present-day Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In 1956–57 after Stalin, the Balkars were allowed to return to their homeland. But they presently make up less than 10 percent of the population of Karbardino-Balkaria.

The Balkars were traditionally nomads. Until the mid-18th century they practiced an animist religion; they were converted to Islam by the NOGAY and Crimean Tatars. Their nomadic lifestyle gradually changed to farming and stock raising. In 1991 the First Congress of the Balkar People met with the aim of promoting the Balkar identity.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Balts (Baltic peoples)

The name Balts refers to people who speak Baltic—an Indo-European language—and who lived in north-central Europe in the region of the south and east Baltic Sea, centered in present-day Latvia, Lithuania, western Russia (the enclave around Kaliningrad Oblast), and northern Poland. The term was first used in the 19th century in reference to peoples living near the coast and later applied to peoples of the entire language family. The name AESTII refers to people in that region in ancient texts, but there is no way to know with certainty whether they spoke a dialect of Baltic or some other language.



The CURONIANS, LETTS, SELONIANS, and SEMIGALLIANS are considered the primary Baltic groups ancestral to modern Latvians (*see* LATVIANS: NATIONALITY). The LITHUANIANS (Lithuanians proper), a Lithuanian subtribe the SAMOGITIANS, and YOTVINGIANS (Sudavians) are considered the primary groups ancestral to modern Lithuanians (*see* LITHUANIANS: NATIONALITY). The third Baltic group is BORUSSIANS (Old Prussians, not to be confused with the general term

BALTS

location:
Latvia; Lithuania; Russia; Poland

time period:
c. 2000 B.C.E. to 15th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Balts time line

B.C.E.	
c. 2000–1500	Proto-Baltic tribes arrive in Baltic Sea region.
C.E.	
second century	Ptolemy draws map of Baltic region, mentioning some Balts by tribal names.
ninth century	Identifiable Baltic tribes coalesce.
	Vikings develop trade routes from Scandinavia through lands of Balts to Russia and Byzantium despite fierce opposition from Baltic tribes.
1160	German priest Father Meinhard introduces Christianity to region.
1198	First Baltic crusade sanctioned by Pope Innocent III.
1201	City of Riga founded by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden.
1202	Bishop Albert establishes military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.
1207	Brothers of the Sword defeat Livs.
1209	Brothers of the Sword defeat Selonians.
1210	Curonians attack Riga.
1214	Brothers of the Sword defeat Letts.
1219	Brothers of the Sword defeat Esths.
1226	Call to Teutonic Knights for crusade against Borussians.
1236	Lithuanians and Semigallians defeat Brothers of the Sword at Saule in northern Lithuania.
1237	Brothers of the Sword unite with Teutonic Knights, becoming known as Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights, but continue as separate state.
1242	Defeat of the Livonian Order by the Russians under Alexander Nevsky at Lake Peipus, checking their eastward expansion
1251–53	Mindaugus unites Lithuanian and Samogitian tribes and becomes king of Lithuania.
1269	Livonian Order defeats Curonians.
1270	Establishment of state of Livonia, political union of territories belonging to Livonian Order and to Catholic Church in Latvia and Estonia.
1282	Riga admitted into Hanseatic League of northern Germany, thereby assuming a central role in east-west trade.
1283	Teutonic Knights defeat Borussians and Yotvingians.
1410	Lithuanian-Polish army defeats Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg.
1466	East Prussia ceded to Poland.
1560s	Russia, Poland, and Sweden begin competing for region of Latvia and Lithuania.

PRUSSIANS used for all inhabitants of the historical region of Prussia), among whom can be grouped Bartians, Galindians, Notangians, and Sembians. The NADRUVIANS and SKALVIANS, living to the north of the Borussians are sometimes classified as Borussians and sometimes as western Lithuanians.

There were movement and intermingling among these peoples, so drawing cultural and historical distinctions among them based on language differences is difficult. For example, southern Curonians occupied northern parts of Lithuania, the Semigallians lived in both northern Lithuania and southern Latvia, and the LIVS, a Finnic-speaking people, occupied parts of what is now northern Latvia. These groups intermingled and no doubt share in the ancestry of modern Latvians and Lithuanians. It can be said that the western Balts are generally considered to have evolved into the modern Latvians and Lithuanians. The eastern Baltic tribes tended to spread eastward into present-

day Belarus and Russia and were Slavicized after the northward expansion of the SLAVS, which started in the seventh century C.E. The Borussians were Germanized over the centuries.

ORIGINS

The Corded Ware pottery culture began after 3500 B.C.E., when a pastoral, cattle-raising way of life, along with the pottery style, was adopted over a wide region in northern and central Europe. It may also have been at this time that people adopted the ancestral Indo-European language. For Balts, as for peoples elsewhere, the Corded Ware way of life entailed far greater mobility than at any time since the beginning of the Neolithic Age when farming was adopted. Corded Ware graves typically contain an assemblage of pottery vessels—cups, strainers, and flagons—that appear to indicate rituals of hospitality involving drinking perhaps alcoholic beverages. Such rituals would have eased the strain of meeting with strangers during travel and helped to forge social bonds. Corded Ware graves also contained stone battle-axes (rather than the woodsmen's axes of the past) indicating another means of dealing with possibly hostile strangers.

By 3000 B.C.E. ancestors of various FINNO-UGRIANS had settled the Baltic Sea region. The original home of the proto-Baltics, meanwhile, was probably situated in present-day western Russia northwest of the upper reaches of the Dnieper River. They may have been descendants of Neolithic peoples from the Danube region and peoples of the Corded Ware culture. They probably migrated westward to the Baltic Sea region by about 2000 to 1500 B.C.E. The Baltic language family was probably evolving at this time as well. The last millennium B.C.E. saw the first typical Baltic culture appear, in particular, brushed pottery and the appearance of hill forts. This period also saw the first burial cremations.

The first Baltic tribes known from written sources emerged in the valleys of the Niemen and Neris (Wilja) Rivers in the period between the first and fourth centuries C.E. Coastal peoples of the Baltic Sea are mentioned in ancient texts as *glaesum* (amber)-gathering Aestii, probably Baltic speaking, with whom trade relations were established by the ROMANS. Linguistic evidence (based on names of rivers and other bodies of water) suggests a boundary between Baltic speakers and Slavic speakers in early modern times (during the latter half of the first millennium C.E.). The boundary ran on a northwest-to-southeast line east of the Vistula River from the Bay of Gdansk to the Pripet Marsh, and from there northeastward to the Niemen River. East of the Niemen were Finnic-Ugric groups. The western boundary of this Baltic territory roughly coincides with the change in ecological zone from deciduous and pine and oak forest in the west to deciduous-spruce forest in the east, which may in part have led to the cultural difference. It is thought that proto-Balts and proto-Slavs in the boundary area between the two groups intermingled their cultures to a considerable degree until historic times.

LANGUAGE

The only Baltic languages to have survived are Lithuanian and Latvian. Old Prussian, of which there are surviving written records, has been extinct since the 17th century. Other Baltic dialects, such as Curonian, died out even earlier. Scholars originally placed Baltic and Slavic together as one of the Indo-European branches, labeled Balto-Slavic (or Balto-Slavonic). But it is now generally believed that the similarities of Baltic and Slavic dialects result from extensive contact among peoples rather than from a shared linguistic parent. Finnic elements also helped shape some Baltic dialects.

HISTORY

The second-century C.E. geographer Ptolemy, living in Alexandria in North Africa, was the first to identify specific tribes of Balts—the Galindians, a subtribe of Borussians, and the Sudovians, an alternate name for Yotvingians. Not until the ninth century did other specific tribes come to be cited by names that endured and can be verified. In the earliest accounts the Balts are described as seafaring peoples who, by the fifth century, carried out raids on other coastal peoples, especially in Scandinavia.

Balts and Vikings

In about the ninth century, the beginning of the Viking Age in the East, the Vikings from Sweden and Denmark battled the Balts—in particular the Curonians in Courland along the Baltic Sea and the southwest shore of the Gulf of Riga. A motive for the attacks was retribution against the successful raids on Swedish and Danish trading towns; another factor was the struggle for control of the river mouths and usable ports from which traders could penetrate the Continent and trade with the Mediterranean region. The Balts would continue to offer fierce opposition to the VIKINGS for centuries as they expanded southward.

Balts and Crusaders

In the late 12th century Latvia was visited by merchants from western Europe who set out on trading journeys along the Western Dvina (Daugava) River to Russia. With them were Catholic missionaries, who attempted to convert the pagan Baltic and Finnic tribes. The first Catholic missionary to the homeland of the Balts in 1160 was a German priest named Father Meinhard. His goal was to establish a foothold in the region for the Roman Catholic Church by converting the Livs. As an enticement toward conversion, he decided to build a church and a castle at Ikskile to provide the native population with a stronger fortified position. In return he induced the Livs to be baptized in the Daugava River. After the castle was completed, the local population returned to the Daugava, this time to wash off their baptism. Father Meinhard convinced Pope Innocent III that a more aggressive approach was needed. This occurred in the form of the first Baltic crusade, sanctioned by Pope Innocent III in 1198. Bishop Meinhard was succeeded by Bishop Berthold, who arrived with a contingent of German soldiers. Berthold, who took an active role in the fighting, was killed. Berthold was replaced by Albert von Buxhoevden of Bremen in 1199. Albert's strategy to subjugate the recalcitrant Balts was to take hostages to Germany, where they were taught to be good Catholics. The soldiers who accompanied Albert were given land grants called fiefs, a policy that established German landholders in the region.

Albert began the construction of the city of Riga in 1201; because of its location it became the center of trade and military expansion in the Baltics. In 1202 Albert founded the Order of the Brothers of the Army of Christ (also known as the Brothers of the Sword, the Sword Brothers, and the Sword Bearers), which managed to unite and control the various military factions. The Brothers of the Sword subdued the Livs by 1207, thereby creating a new tax base for the Catholic Church and producing soldiers for the conquest of the remaining tribes. In 1209 the Brothers of the Sword conquered the Selonians, who had retained major control of the Daugava waterway. In 1210 the Curonians attacked Riga, destroying a number of German vessels.

Over the next years the Germans fought with the remaining tribes. Brutalities in these cruel wars were committed by crusaders, immigrant German knights and burghers, nobles, militiamen, and mercenaries, as well as by native allies. Native troops were responsible for gathering loot, rounding up prisoners, and searching fields for hiding places and refuges.

The task of the crusaders was made easier by the fact that the tribes had no central government. In 1214 the Letts fell, after which the ESTHS, a Finnic people, turned to Russia for support against the German onslaught. In response Albert received the assistance of Denmark in his final push for domination. In 1219 the Danish and German forces were able to overpower the Esths.

Albert died in 1229. In 1236 new Germanic recruits arrived in Livonia eager to engage in conquest. After suffering a defeat at the hands of the Lithuanians and Semigallians at Saule (near modern Siauliai) in northern Lithuania and losing many of their knights, the Brothers of the Sword joined with the Teutonic Knights of Prussia to form the Livonian Order of the Teutonic Knights in 1237. The Teutonic Knights had been campaigning in Prussia since a call for a crusade to them by the POLES against the pagans in 1226. In 1242 the allied knights suffered a defeat by the Russian Slavs under Alexander Nevsky at Lake Peipus at the boundary of western Russia, which checked their eastward expansion. Soon afterward the Baltic tribes to the south—Lithuanians and Samogitians—were united under Mindaugus, who became the first king of Lithuania in 1253.

The Curonians succumbed to the Livonian Order in 1269. The next year saw the establishment of the state of Livonia, a political union of territories belonging to the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights and the Catholic Church in Latvia and Estonia. By 1283 in Prussia the Teutonic Knights had defeated the Borussians and Yotvingians and established the region as a papal fief, practically exterminating Baltic-speaking people there. In 1466 East Prussia was ceded to Poland, and West Prussia remained under the control of the Teutonic Knights as a fief of Poland and later became part of Germany (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

The Teutonic Knights continued to vie for power in Lithuania over the next century. In 1410 a united Lithuanian-Polish army defeated them at Tannenberg (modern Stebark, Lithuania). Although the Balts had preserved authority in their homeland, the independence of the Baltic peoples was lost for centuries in the 1560s, the start of a period during which Latvia and Lithuania were handed back and forth by Russia, Poland, and Sweden. After the decline of the crusading orders many of the knights remained in the region as a landowning

aristocracy and enjoyed special privileges under foreign rule.

CULTURE

Economy

Early Balts are thought to have been raiders more than settled agriculturalists—seafarers who, as did Vikings, raided coastal settlements. Those who farmed and herded domesticated animals also kept bees, hunted small game, and gathered berries and mushrooms. They were also traders. Besides providing an access to the east, the Baltics had other natural resources that were desirable to foreign marketers. Amber, honey wax (the by-product of beekeeping), grains, and fur and forest products needed for shipbuilding were some of the natural resources that attracted merchants to this region. The presence of artifacts from throughout Europe, as well as Arabia, at archaeological sites offers proof of extensive established trade routes.

Amber In the fifth to ninth centuries the BORUSSIANS developed trade, mostly in amber and its products, along the "Amber Way" up to Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary). An important by-product of the conquest of the Balts by Germans was the decline of the local amber-working traditions. After taking control of Prussia, the Teutonic Order also seized the rights to all amber. The local people who kept amber for themselves were hanged. A public scaffold was erected as a reminder of the punishment for "stealing" amber.

Hanseatic League The lack of universal currency in the city of Riga caused constant economic instability as various tribal factions minted their own coins using different silver content and weights. Not until 1282 did the German merchants of Riga join the Hanseatic League, a commercial union of German cities and towns and their merchants, which increased their political and economic power base. The towns of Cesis, Limbazi, Koknese, and Valmiera soon followed. The Hanseatic League regulated trade throughout the Baltic region and encouraged monetary standardization.

Government and Society

Isolated Baltic farms were typically united for economic and defensive purposes, with councils electing leaders and making community decisions.

The society of the Balts was known for the lack of beggars. The richest people reportedly provided for poor tribal members, and a thief would be forgiven if he could prove he had stolen for food.

Dwellings and Architecture

Baltic tribes built large hilltop fortresses from logs. Building in stone and brick began only after the arrival of Christian missionaries and crusaders.

The wooden buildings of farmsteads were usually arranged in two groups: Surrounding a clean yard stood the living quarters and the granary, and around the farmyard were barns for threshing and livestock, and other farm buildings. The dwelling house was a long wide structure, equally divided by a large chimney with an anteroom on each hearth. Wooden buildings were used for public assemblies—to deliberate, to cook food together, or simply to amuse themselves.

Technology and Art

The Balts had a highly evolved sense of decoration, as demonstrated by their elaborate patterns on clothing. They had a unique folk art and their own writing symbols. Gifted craftsmen made luxurious and durable clothes for celebrations, as well as weapons and tools comparable to those throughout the rest of Europe.

Music

Lithuania has been referred to as the "land of songs." Many of the *dainos* (folk songs) sing of pastoral life and work, such as tilling, harvesting, and grinding corn. There are many love and wedding songs, humorous songs, and songs about the lot of the woman. The Lithuanians have a highly original type of singing, peculiar to them alone, the so-called *sutartines,* unique polyphonic songs in which two or three melodies are sung in parallel. Dance is closely linked with song. Very popular are round dances (the dancers form rings and dance while singing). Most of the dances also reflect various work tasks.

Latvia is also known for its traditional folksongs. More than a million quatrains (a group of four lines of verse) reportedly exist. Men played *kanklës* (stringed instruments of varying shapes and designs, found throughout the Baltic Sea region, among Finnic peoples as well) and various wind instruments, while women sang.

Religion

Paganism Among the deities of the various peoples were Father Sky and Mother Earth

BASHKIRS

location:
Southern Ural Mountains of southwestern Russia

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic; possible Finnic as well

language:
Uralian (Turkic)

(Mara) and the spirits who aided her, such as the Mother of Forest and Mother of Wind. Thunder is another god, responsible for rain that punishes one's enemies. Laima is the giver of life and establishes destiny. Velis is a name for the "spirit" after death that travels to the Land of Velis ruled by the Mother of Velis. Religious celebrations revolved around the change of seasons, such as winter and summer solstice, and the growth cycles of crops and various rites of passage.

Conversion to Christianity The Balts were the last European people to convert from paganism to Christianity. Many of them still worshipped their old gods and observed their old customs as late as the 16th and even the 17th century. Upon its arrival in Lithuania, Christianity eventually did away with many of the old customs and traditions while dressing some others in Christian robes. Christian holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, retained pagan elements, which varied from one ethnographic region to another.

Burials Archaeological investigations indicate that by the second century some Balts, especially those living closer to the coast, stopped using collective burial mounds and instead buried their dead unburned in individual, level skeletal graves. Inland Balts began the practice by the fifth–sixth century.

Historians of various medieval cultures depicted the ancient Balts as barbarians to whom the religious orders bore the one true religion and advanced culture. Yet archaeological finds have demonstrated the richness of their traditions.

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Bashkirs

The Bashkirs are a Turkic-speaking people, living primarily in Bashkorostan (Baskiria; Baskihkir Republic) in the southern Ural Mountain region of European Russia. They originally settled the region between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains as part of the Kipchak khanate, ruled by MONGOLS and their vassals the Volga BULGARS, in the 13th century. They are included among the people known as TATARS, descended in large part from the TURKICS. Their language is of the Uralian group of the Northwestern (Kipchak) Turkic family. Some of them may be descended from FINNICS.

In the second half of the 16th century the Bashkir homeland was colonized by Russian SLAVS, who founded Ufa. Bashkir uprisings led to Russian repression and the dispersion of many tribal members. In 1919 the Bashkir Autonomous Republic was formed, among the first such republics in the Soviet Union (USSR); after the breakup of the Soviet Union it became the Republic of Bashkorostan (or Bashkir Republic), part of the Russian Federation.

Originally nomadic herders, the Bashkirs became largely sedentary agriculturalists living



A Bashkir woman sits in front of her house in 1910. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-prok-10657])*

in small villages. Although traditionally Islamic, some among them are Russian Orthodox Christians.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

FURTHER READING

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Basques (Vasco; Vascons; Vascones; Vascongado; Euskotarak; Euskaldunak)

BASQUES

location: Northern Spain; southwestern France

time period: First century B.C.E. to present

ancestry: Basque

language: Basque (or Euskera)

Most Basques live in their ancestral homeland in the western foothills of the Pyrenees in northern Spain and southwestern France along and near the Atlantic's Bay of Biscay. País Vasco (Basque Country) is a Spanish *comunidad autónoma* (autonomous community) and is subdivided into the *provincias* (provinces) of Álava, Guipúzcoa, and Vizcaya (Biscay). Navarra to the east is an autonomous community and a province (the historic region known as Navarre included part of France). The Basques in France are found primarily in the department of Pyrénées-Atlantiques, their lands known informally as Pays Basque (Basque Country). The Basques, although playing a role in the histories of Spain and France, have maintained a distinct identity. Some among them continue to struggle for political autonomy and independence as a Basque nation. Euskutarak and Euskaldunak are alternate spellings of the native name; *Euskadi* is the Basque name for Basqueland in general, and Euskera is the Basque name for their language.

ORIGINS

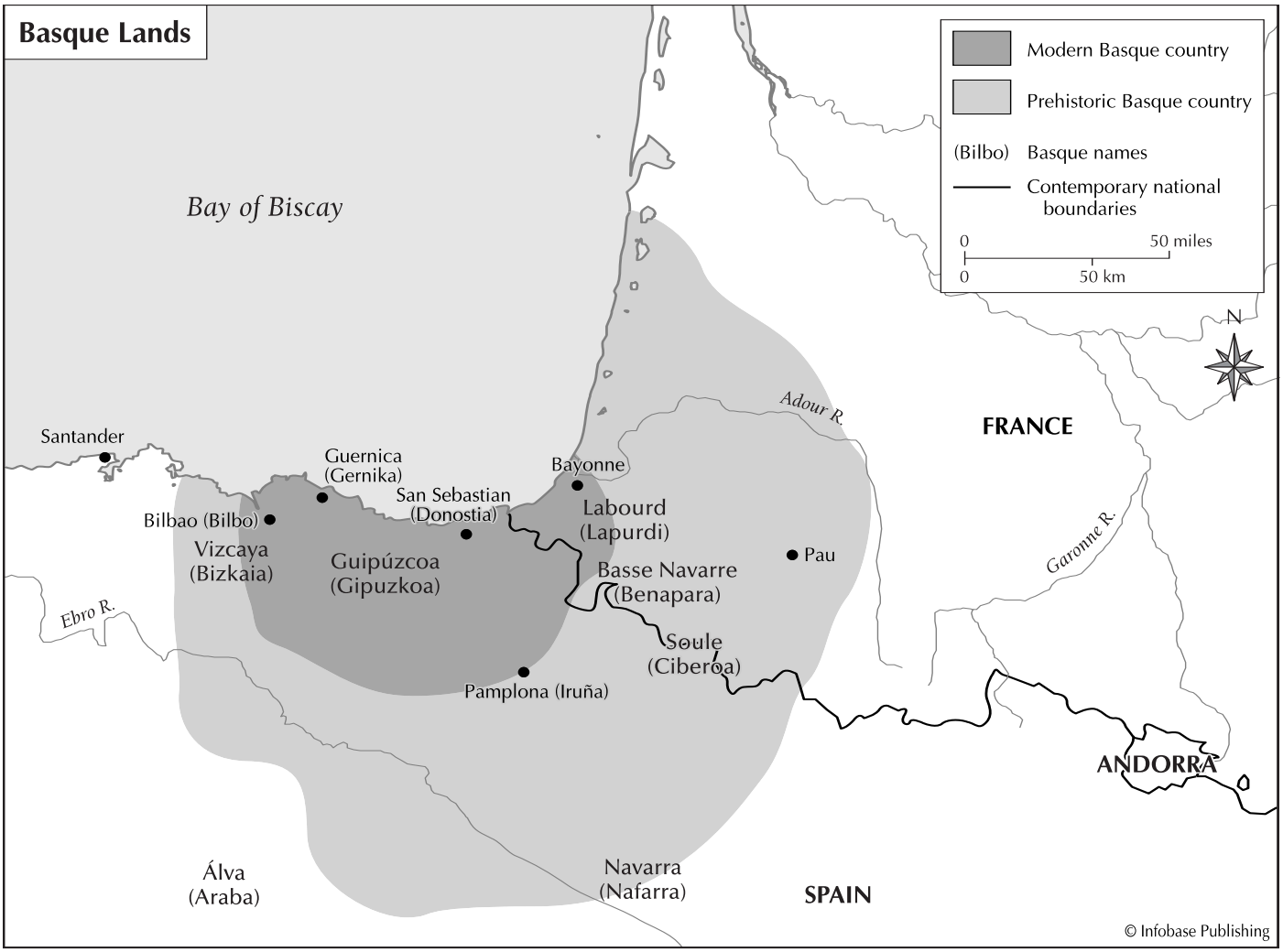
The origins of the Basques have long remained elusive. They are so different from neighboring peoples such as the Spanish and French that they have been called a "people island"—a distinct group amidst a sea of strangers. They have a distinctive physique in comparison to many French and Spanish, especially in pre-modern eras when the French and Spanish tended to be of lighter build. Basques, in contrast, were of more robust build, larger overall, with thick chests and wider shoulders. Basques today continue to have this distinctive body type. After archaeological discoveries of the earliest modern humans to live in Europe some 35,000 years ago, similarities were seen between them and the Basques in terms of this more robust build. These similarities, however, are not close enough to say definitively that the Basques are descended from these earliest European *Homo sapiens*. This has not prevented scholars from theorizing that the Basques' isolating terrain preserved a population of their Ice Age ancestors intact without the intermingling that most European peoples have experienced at least since the Neolithic Age. (Scholars who favor this theory use the old term "Cro-Magnon man" for the first European *Homo sapiens*.)

There is evidence that the Basques have been racially isolated for a very long time; this is found in their blood types. Basques have the highest incidence of type O blood of any population in the world, almost 50 percent (and higher percentages in more remote areas). They also have the highest incidence of Rh negative blood. Proponents of the Cro-Magnon theory of Basque ancestry point out that people in other isolated regions where Cro-Magnons are known to have lived, such as the Atlas Mountains of Morocco and the Canary Islands, also have a high incidence of Rh negative blood. (This, however, may be a factor that can exist only in isolated populations. Since pregnant mothers with Rh negative blood are at high risk of losing their unborn babies if the latter have positive blood, the genetic predisposition to Rh negative tends to disappear from populations with a large gene pool through natural selection. Only in populations with a restricted gene pool can such a disadvantageous trait survive to any extent, a different reason for the similarity between Basques and the other peoples mentioned above than common ancestry.)

In any case, based on linguistic studies the Basques are considered separate from the various tribes known as IBERIANS, who have also

Basques time line

B.C.E.	
75	Romans found Pamplona in Basque Country.
C.E.	
601	Basques found duchy of Gascony.
824	Basques found kingdom of Pamplona (Navarre).
1512	Spanish Basques lose autonomy.
1589	French Basques lose autonomy.
1833–39	Basques support Carlists in struggle over succession in First Carlist War.
1872–76	Second Carlist War
1936–39	Basques fight on both sides in Spanish Civil War.
1968	Basque separatist organization, Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna (ETA), founded.
1980	First Basque parliament elected.



occupied the Iberian Peninsula since ancient times, as well as the Celtic peoples who intermingled with the Iberians, the CELTIBERIANS. The ancient tribe known as the VASCONES are assumed to be ancestral to the Basques, and the name in a variety of spellings is also applied to the modern people.

LANGUAGE

The Basque language, Euskera, is non-Indo-European. Scholars have attempted to classify it with a number of other non-Indo-European languages, such as Hamitic dialects in North Africa, but such connections remain hypothetical. Philological research indicates that the names of rivers in various parts of Europe, evolving from ancient times, seem to relate to Basque.

The fact that the Basque language is not Indo-European and, indeed, is based on very different grammatical principles than other European languages provides another piece of evidence of long isolation. Basque words for tools such as ax, hoe, and knife, and for actions such as cutting or digging, are all derived from the Basque word for stone, suggesting the language originated before the use of metal. Basque shares with the few other European languages that are not Indo-European—the Finno-Ugric tongues spoken in Finland, Hungary, and among the SAAMI—the characteristic of being agglutinating, that is, forming phrases by adding suffixes to certain basic words instead of by combining strings of separate words, so that a single long word takes the place of a phrase consisting of separate words. This linguistic characteristic has led to attempts to link Basque with the Finno-Ugric languages, without success. Some scholars believe that Basque is the oldest European tongue.

HISTORY

Ancient Basques

The Vascones and perhaps related tribes from ancient times whose descendants make up the

Basques have used the mountainous terrain to their advantage in retaining autonomy from invading groups—keeping if not all their lands at their greatest extent, then at least their core country. Vascones were valued as mercenaries by both the CARTHAGINIANS, among them in the third century, and the Carthaginians' enemies the ROMANS. Basque Country was part of the Roman provincial system from the second century B.C.E. (and the reorganized system under Emperor Augustus in 13 B.C.E.). The Roman general Pompey founded Pamplona in their territory in 75 B.C.E. Yet the Basques were only nominally under Roman rule and were not as assimilated into the culture of the outsiders as Iberian and Celtiberian groups.

Gascony and Navarre

The Basques survived pressures over the next centuries from a series of peoples, all with designs on the Iberian Peninsula. In the sixth century C.E. they successfully resisted the VISIGOTHS. Late that century, before the FRANKS had coalesced into an empire, the Basques expanded northward into the region of Aquitania (or Aquitaine) in France, which became known as Gascony, its name (Latin: Vasconia) derived from the tribal name. They organized the duchy of Vasconia in 601. In 778 the Basques, who had been forced to accept vassalage under Charlemagne, destroyed the Frankish rear guard at Roncesvalles. (The *Chanson de Roland,* [*Song of Roland*] of the 11th or 12th century was a *chanson de geste,* or medieval French epic poem, describing the tragic defeat and death of Roland, Charlemagne's most celebrated commander.) But Gascony subsequently became part of the Frankish duchy (and later kingdom, then duchy again) of Aquitaine, which was ruled by both the Franks and, from the 12th to the 15th century, the ENGLISH. In any case, despite the shifting territorial situation and nominal vassalage to the Franks, the Basques remained in effect autonomous.

In 824 at Pamplona the Basques founded the kingdom of Pamplona, which later became known as the kingdom of Navarre. Guernica on the coast became the seat of Basque assemblies. By the previous century the Visigothic kingdom had been absorbed by the MOORS, who dominated most of the Iberian Peninsula until the 11th century. Over the next centuries the Basques resisted Moorish expansion through both warfare and alliance. The Moors controlled territory as far north as the Ebro River. During the reign of Sancho III Garcés, in 1000–35, the Basques were united under one government.

Basque territory in Spain was gradually appropriated. Guipúzcoa became united with Castile in 1200; Álava, in 1332, and Vizcaya (Biscay), in 1350. In 1512 Ferdinand II of Aragon conquered the last Basque stronghold in Spain, the southern part of Navarre (*see* SPANISH: NATIONALITY). The northern part became part of France when Henry of Navarre became Henry IV of Bourbon, king of France in 1589 (*see* FRENCH: NATIONALITY). Yet both the Castilian and Bourbon kings allowed for partial Basque self-rule and privileges in matters of trade, taxation, and military service. Basques even maintained separate diplomatic relations with foreign nations.

The Carlist Wars

Basque privileges continued under the Spanish monarchy over the next centuries. The Basques, generally supporting movements in defiance of the government to counter its growing strength, became embroiled in the efforts of the Carlists, members of a Spanish royalist faction in 19th-century Spain. The movement known as Carlism originated in the 1830s among the followers of Don Carlos de Borbón, count of Molina and brother of King Ferdinand VII. Don Carlos (known to his followers as King Charles V) opposed the succession of Ferdinand's daughter, Isabella II, to the throne, based on the Salic law (originating among the Franks), excluding women from succession. The First Carlist War took place in 1833–39, as a traditionalist faction, including the Basques and others, attempted to wrest power from a liberal faction headed by Ferdinand's widow, María Cristina de Borbón, who acted as regent for the infant Isabella. After defeats, Don Carlos was forced to go into exile. In 1845 he renounced his claim to the throne in favor of his son Don Carlos, count of Montemolín (pretender to the throne as Charles VI). The younger Don Carlos attempted to organize a revolt in 1860 but was captured. His son Don Carlos, duke of Madrid (as Charles VII), continued the struggle, which led to the Second Carlist War in 1872–76, but without military success. In 1873, because of their support for the Carlists, the Basques lost some of their rights of autonomy.

The Spanish Civil War

In 1936 the Carlist movement was revived. Carlist *requetés* (volunteers) from Navarra, eager to see the republic (Loyalists) overthrown,

supported the insurgents (Nationalists) under General Francisco Franco in the Spanish civil war. The other Spanish Basque provinces, however, defended the republican government. During the war the Republican government established an autonomous Basque state. In 1937 aircraft, thought to be German, bombed Guernica (as depicted in a painting of that name by Pablo Picasso) in the province of Vizcaya and a symbol of the Basque nation. In 1939 when Franco gained power as dictator, he appointed Carlists to important posts in his regime but rescinded rights of the Basques, many of whom went into exile. After Spain had reinstituted a liberal Spanish monarchy in 1975, the Basques engaged in demonstrations for autonomy; they gained some measure of it in 1978–79. In 1980 the first Basque parliament was elected.

ETA

The Basques are generally united in seeking political autonomy on both sides of the international border. In 1968 a Basque separatist organization, known as Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna, or ETA, Basque for Basque Homeland and Freedom, was founded in Spain. ETA takes a hard-line position favoring secession and has sponsored terrorist activity, targeting especially Spanish soldiers and police officers. In 1998–99 Spanish and French officials negotiated a cease-fire with the ETA, but a permanent peace accord could not be reached. In recent years Basque nationalist candidates have won considerable support in parliamentary elections; those candidates aligned with ETA have a much smaller base of support.

CULTURE

Economy

Along the lower slopes of the Pyrenees Basque farmers have tended to develop small acreages in valleys, using the hillsides for growing grass that is cut and fed to stabled cows and other livestock. A typical homestead includes a garden, vineyard or orchards (often apple), woodland, and pasture. Sheep pastures extend into the mountains.

In addition to a tradition of fishing, the Basques developed whaling as a commercial industry in the Bay of Biscay as early as the ninth century. By the mid-16th century, when those waters became depleted, Basque whalers sailed to other distant waters. Shipbuilding was part of their maritime activity. The Basques were hired as mariners on numerous expeditions. Juan Sebastián del Cano, who participated in the expedition of the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan for Spain in 1519, was a Basque. On the death of Magellan in the Philippines in 1521, Del Cano continued the journey and captained the ship, the *Victoria,* which completed the first circumnavigation of the world in 1522.

Basque Country contains mines of iron ore, and Basques have worked as miners and metalworkers over the centuries.

Government and Society

Traditional Basque culture revolved around the *caserío,* an independent farmstead, scattered throughout the foothills and loosely organized into villages. An ancient law of inheritance, based on primogeniture and of great importance, ensured the descent of the farm to a single heir or heiress and helped give permanence to the family structure.

Ancient Basque laws governing Basque society are known as *fueros* in Spain and *fors* in France. They are administered by *juntas,* democratically elected assemblies from all backgrounds and professions.

Clothing

Part of the traditional Basque costume that is still common is the *boina,* a blue or red beret. Writings from the 12th century observe that Basque men wore short skirts, leading to one theory that they were descendants of Scots.

Personal Habits: Jai Alai

A favorite game of the Basques and invented by them is jai alai (the word is Basque, from *jai* for festival and *alai* for merry), played on a walled court with a ball and a long curved wicker basket strapped to the wrist. (The Basques were the first Europeans to use balls made of rubber from the Americas.) Jai-alai *partidos* (games), originally played professionally on Sundays and holidays by the Basques, are now played around the world.

Religion

The Basques originally practiced an animist religion, elements of which are still found in folklore. The Basques as a people were converted to Christianity in the 10th century, and Roman Catholicism has played a central part in their life. Yet they have maintained a stubborn independence even in this aspect of their life, resisting domination by outside ecclesiastical authorities. Some of their rituals date to the Middle Ages, such as the Corpus Christi processions and Procession of the Crosses, which include traditional dances.

The Basques have also produced such figures as the religious leader St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order; the Jesuit missionary St. Francis Xavier; and the theologian Francisco de Vitoria.

There are currently about 2 million Basques in País Vasco and Navarra in Spain, and some 250,000 in Pays Basque in France. Many Basques have immigrated to America; it is estimated that about 250,000 Basques live in South America and about 70,000 in the United States, many of whom maintain livestock. Despite the enduring Basque identity in Europe, urbanization and industrialization have led to some loss of traditional culture, and Spanish and French are more likely to be spoken in the larger towns. The Basque language endures for the most part on the *caseríos* in the more remote mountain regions. Yet among all Basques the tradition of "neither slave nor tyrant" endures.

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Bastarnae (Bastarni; Bastarnians; Peucini; Peucinians)

The Bastarnae are classified as Germanics; their name means "bastards," however, implying a mixed background, probably with both Celts and Sarmatians as ancestors. They lived primarily east of the Carpathian Mountains, claiming territory between the upper valleys of the Dniester River and the delta of the Danube River in present-day Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania. They are considered the easternmost of Germanic-speaking tribes.

The Macedonians under King Philip V conscripted the Bastarnae as soldiers against the Romans in the Second Macedonian War of 201–200 B.C.E. About that time some Bastarnae, known as the Peucini, settled on an island, Peuce Island, in the mouth of the Danube on the Black Sea, while others returned north. (The name Peucini is sometimes applied to all Bastarnae.) Bastarnae also fought under the Macedonian king Perseus in the Third Macedonian War of 171–168 B.C.E. And they served in the forces of Mithradates VI Eupator of the kingdom of Pontus in present-day Turkey in Asia Minor against the Romans in the 80s–60s B.C.E.

The Bastarnae were subdued by the Romans in 29 B.C.E. In the early second century C.E. they joined the Dacians under Decebalus in their wars against Rome. By the end of the second century some of them had merged with the Goths. Others settled in the Roman provinces of Dacia and Thrace. In the third century, with other Germanic tribes, the Bastarnae attacked various weakening Roman areas. In 279–280 C.E. once again the Romans prevailed as Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus settled a number of Bastarnae south of the Danube River. Surviving Bastarnae communities were defeated by the Huns in the fourth and fifth centuries.

BASTARNAE

location:
East of Carpathian Mountains in Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania

time period:
Third century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic; possibly Celtic and Sarmatian as well

language:
Germanic

Bastetani

The Bastetani are classified as Iberians. They lived in the present-day coastal Almería region and the mountainous Granada region of Andalusia in southeastern Spain east of the Turdetani. They are believed to have had extensive contacts with the Phoenicians, who founded trading colonies among them at the end of the second millennium B.C.E. They remained one of the more populous tribes during the occupation of the Carthaginians in the third century B.C.E. and that of the Romans starting in the second century B.C.E.

In the early centuries C.E. the Iberian Peninsula was part of the provincial system of the Roman Empire, with Baetica in the south. The Bastetani were one of four tribes whom the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy recorded as situated in Baetica, along with the Bastuli, Turdetani, and Turduli.

BASTETANI

location:
Southeastern Spain

time period:
1100 B.C.E. to second century C.E.

ancestry:
Iberian

language:
Iberian

Bastuli

The Bastuli are classified as Iberians. They lived along the coast and inland to the Guadalquivir River in Andalusia in present-day southern Spain south of the Turdetani. The Phoenicians founded trading colonies among them in about 1100 B.C.E., including Gadir (later Gades; modern Cádiz). The second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy recorded

BASTULI

location:
Southern Spain

time period:
1100 B.C.E. to second century C.E.

ancestry:
Iberian

language:
Iberian

BATAVI

location:
Meuse River in Netherlands

time period:
First century B.C.E. to third century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic; possibly some Celtic as well

language:
Germanic

their location and claimed they were Phoenician by descent, although they were probably an Iberian-Phoenician mix. The CARTHAGINIANS in the third century B.C.E. and the ROMANS from the second century B.C.E. occupied their homeland.

In the early centuries C.E. the Iberian Peninsula was part of the provincial system of the Roman Empire, with Baetica in the south. The Bastuli were one of four tribes whom the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy recorded as situated in Baetica, along with the BASTETANI, Turdetani, and TURDULI.

Batavi (Batavii; Bataves; Batavians)

The Batavi are classified as a tribe of GERMANICS, although they may have had ancestors among the CELTS as well. In the first century B.C.E. they had contact with the ROMANS under Julius Caesar, who reported that they lived on the Meuse River near the mouth of the Waal in present-day Netherlands. Their capital was Noviomagus (modern Nijmegen).

In the first century C.E. the Roman historian Tacitus reported that they lived on an island in the Rhine formerly held by the CHATTI, some of whom are thought to have merged with them at some point. The Batavi provided the Romans with men, weapons, and armor. The Batavian leader of a Roman cohort of Batavi known by the Roman name of Gaius Julius Civilis led a revolt against the Romans in 69 C.E., along with SUGAMBRI allies, but was defeated by a force under Petillus Cerealis the next year.

There is no historical mention of the Batavi after the third century; it is thought they were absorbed by the FRANKS or FRISIANS. For a short time in the late 18th and early 19th century the Netherlands was known as the Batavian Republic.

BAVARII

location:
Bohemia in Czech Republic

time period:
First to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Bavarians (people of Bavaria)

The name Bavarians refers to those people living in what became the state of Bavaria, situated in present-day southeastern Germany. The term is used in a general sense regardless of tribal background or ethnicity although the majority of those peoples living there can be grouped as GERMANICS. The territory that became known as Bavaria was seized by the ROMANS in the first century B.C.E. Some Germanic tribes grouped collectively as SUEBI—among them the BAVARII (sometimes referred to as Bavarians themselves), whose name passed to the region—migrated there in the early centuries C.E. The Suebi became tributary to the FRANKS in the sixth century and part of Charlemagne's Frankish Empire in 788. Later a duchy of the Holy Roman Empire, Bavaria was divided into Upper and Lower Bavaria in the 13th century and, over time, was annexed by Austria, France, and Germany. It became a state of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

Bavarii (Baiovari; Baivvari; Baiuoarii; Boiarii; Bojuvari; Bojovares; Bavarians)

The Bavarii were a Germanic tribe or a collection of tribes of GERMANICS. Their ancestors are thought to have lived originally in Bohemia in the present-day Czech Republic, the former homeland of the Celtic BOII. They may have displaced or have been descended from the MARCOMANNI and QUADI, or perhaps the RUGII, SCIRI, and other tribes who lived in that region.

Some among these peoples—sometimes classified together as SUEBI—later moved to the present-day state of Bavaria in southern Germany, perhaps as early as the first century C.E. By the sixth century C.E. the migrants became known as the "people from the land of the BOII." a description that evolved into the name Boiarii (or the variants Bavarii and Bavarians). Descendants of other tribes already living there also were referred to as BAVARIANS.

Belarusians: nationality (Belarusans; Belorussians; Byelarussians; Byelorussians; Bielorussians; people of Belarus)

GEOGRAPHY

Belarus is bounded by Poland to the west, Latvia and Lithuania to the northwest, Ukraine to the south, and Russia to the north and east. Belarus's area of 80,200 square miles is made up of hilly lowlands. Northern Belarus is a region of lakes and forests. Other than the Belovezhskaya Forest, western Belarus consists mostly of agricultural terrain. A broad, elevated plain lies in the east, and to the south lie the Pripet Marshes marked by rivers, swamps, and rich peat soil. The highest point in Belarus is Mount Dzyarzhynskaya at 1,135 feet. Principal rivers include the Dnieper, which flows along the eastern shoulder, and the Western Dvina (Daugava), which runs westward from Russia.

Belarusians: nationality time line

C.E.

10th century City of Polotsk (Polatsk) of northern Belarus emerges, becoming center of activity and capital of principality of Polotsk.

late 10th century Principality of Polotsk is annexed into Kievan Rus.

11th century Cathedral of St. Sophia is built in Eastern Orthodox style in Polatsk.

1240–63 Mindaugas of Lithuania reigns; east Lithuanian and west Belarusian territories become Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Rus; Navahradak becomes capital.

1323 Vilius becomes capital of Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Rus under ruler Grand Duke Gediminas.

1341–77 Grand Duke Algirdas of Lithuania rules and expands duchy eastward into Moscow.

1385 Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania marries queen of Poland, uniting and ruling both countries.

1468 King Kazimir IV of Lithuania sponsors Code of Laws, first compendium of criminal and procedural laws of Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

1498–99 Polotsk and Minsk become self-ruled.

1500 Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus, and Samogitia fight against Moscow.

1517–25 Frantsysk Skarnya of Polatsk publishes editions of Bible in Belarusian, first printed books in eastern Europe.

1569 Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus, and Samogitia are annexed by Poland; Union of Lublin establishes Commonwealth of Poland.

1654–67 Polish Commonwealth declares war with Russia; Muscovy cedes Smolensk.

1664 Belarusian scholar and poet Simeon Polotsky moves to Moscow and propagates unity of Slavic peoples.

1686 Russo-Polish "Eternal Peace"; Russia wins Smolensk, Chernigov, and Kiev.

1772–95 Poland is partitioned; Belarus becomes part of Russia.

1863–64 Anticzarist revolts occur in Poland, Belarus, and Lithuania led in Belarus by Kastus Kalinouski.

1902 Belarusian Socialist Hramada emerges; beginnings of Belarusian political state.

1906–16 Influential Belarusian newspaper *Nasha Niva* (Our Cornfield) is published in Vilnius.

1917 First All-Belarusian Congress in Minsk declares republican government in Belarus; dismissed by Lenin's Bolsheviks.

1918 At end of World War I Belarus declares independence as Belarussian People's (National) Republic.

1919 Bolshevik Russia annexes Belarus in 1919 and proclaims it Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Maksim Haretski's novel *Two Souls,* reflecting on life in Belarus during period of war and revolution, is published.

1919–21 Russo-Polish War occurs; Belarus is divided between Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic and Poland.

1920 Belarusian State Academic Theater is founded in Minsk.

1922 Belarus becomes part of Soviet Union (USSR).

1926 Yakub Kolas, selected as Belarusian People's Poet, promotes literary use of Belarusian language.

1932 Opera and Ballet Theater and Belarusian Musical Academy are founded in Minsk.

1939–44 During World War II Belarus is occupied by Nazi Germany.

1944 At Moscow conference Curzon Line becomes part of Poland's eastern border.

(continues)

BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Belarus; Byelarus; Republic of Belarus (Respublika Belarus)

derivation of name:
Meaning "White Ruthenia"; Rus is a Viking root.

government:
Republic

capital:
Minsk

language:
Belarusian and Russian, both East Slavic languages, are the official state languages; Polish and Ukrainian are also spoken.

religion:
About 50 percent of the population are Eastern Orthodox Christian; 13 percent are Roman Catholic; and the remaining citizens are generally atheist or nonreligious; smaller groups of Eastern (Uniate) Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and Muslims are also present.

earlier inhabitants:
Scythians; Sarmatians; tribal Slavs (Dregovicians; Drevlyans; Krivichians; Polochanians; Radimichians; etc.); Rus; Mongols; Lithuanians

demographics:
Belarusians make up about 80 percent of the population; about 14 percent are Russians; other minorities include Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews.

Belarusians: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1945	Belarus becomes part of United Nations as constituent republic of Soviet Union.
1991	Belarus declares independence from Soviet Union and joins Commonwealth of Independent States.
	National Museum of Culture and History of Belarus is founded in Minsk (reorganized from 1922 institution).
1992	National Library of Belarus is founded in Minsk (reorganized from 1922 institution).
1996	Belarus's current constitution is adopted.
1999	Arts Museum of the Republic of Belarus receives national status.

Of the thousands of lakes in Belarus, Lake Narach in the northwest is the largest.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Between the sixth and eighth centuries C.E. various tribes of SLAVS settled on the Western Dvina River and later in the vicinity of the Pripyat' and Sozh Rivers. By the late 10th century the city of Polotsk, a northern Belarusian territory, united with the Kievan Rus', founded by the RUS. When the MONGOLS invaded Kiev in 1240, Belarusian lands were given to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, although the Belarusians maintained some autonomy. In 1569 Lithuania and Poland were united by the Union of Lublin as the Commonwealth of Poland. When Poland was partitioned in the late 18th century, Russia gained present-day Belarusian territory.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 overthrew the Russian monarchy, leaving Belarus vulnerable to Poland, Russia, and Germany. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, ending World War I between Russia and Germany, left Belarus under German control. Belarus temporarily declared independence as the Belarussian People's (National) Republic. Bolshevik Russia annexed Belarus in 1919 and proclaimed the Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Treaty of Riga of 1921 ended the war between Russia and Poland; western Belarus was ceded to Poland and eastern Belarus became part of the Soviet Union (USSR). When the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991 (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY), Belarus became an independent nation.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The territory of Belarus, landlocked, largely lacking in mineral resources, did not foster the emergence of a powerful elite who could develop an organized state, as occurred in neighboring Russia and Lithuania during the Middle Ages. The Slavic tribes who filtered into the area from about the sixth century C.E. continued to practice a relatively simple farming way of life. Probably as a result of trade routes through Belarus and Russia pioneered by the Rus in the ninth century, by the late 10th century a principality had emerged; it was soon, however, annexed by the powerful Kievan state (*see* RUS). From this time until the 20th century Belarusians have been ruled by others, notably Russians, LITHUANIANS, and POLES. Their location west of Russia has caused them to receive influences from the west and to transmit them to Russia. For example, Belarusians were the first people in Eastern Europe to adopt Baroque architecture (a Western Christian style) and literary style, and they had the first printed books in Eastern Europe. Under Lithuanian rule Belarusians became more self-consciously Slavic in ethnicity, and when Poland took control, they had to maintain their Eastern Orthodox religion in the face of pressure from Poles to become Roman Catholic. In the Stalinist era Belarusians suffered greatly from Soviet purges of intellectuals who were promoting Belarusian nationalism and others; hundreds of thousands of Belarusians were murdered outright and untold thousands more deported to Siberia.

Under siege from both East and West the Belarusian sense of unique cultural identity based on ethnic roots may not be as fiercely promoted as that of other people. Many Belarusians feel a cultural affinity to Russia. Although Belarusian was made the official language of the state, few in urban areas speak it in daily life. Primary facts of life for Belarusians stem directly from Soviet Russian domination of the country. One of these is the severe decline of the economy, in part brought on by the government's continuation of Soviet-style central control of both industry and agricul-

ture, and in part by the fact that the thriving Belarusian economy of the Soviet era was dependent on membership in the Soviet Union, based on cheap fuel from Russia and the Soviet demand for military equipment, both factors that have since disappeared. Fuel prices from Russia have risen dramatically, and much of the population now lives in poverty. Another major factor is pollution caused by Soviet failure to institute even basic measures to clean up industrial waste and air pollution. The Chernobyl nuclear power station, in particular, contaminated large areas of Belarus; 10 percent of the arable land of the country was lost and the incidence of radiation related cancers is a major public health problem.

Nevertheless, cultural and intellectual life continues to thrive in Belarus in the form of literature, theater, and music, and Belarusian artists are au courant with trends from western Europe, such as existentialism. It may be that this devotion to the arts is central to Belarusian cultural identity in the face of the many disasters brought on the country by foreign domination.

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Belegezites

The Belegezites were a Slavic tribe known to have been in present-day northern Greece by the seventh century C.E. In the previous century Slavs had spread to the present-day nation of Macedonia and the region of Macedonia in present-day Greece. Although the origins of the Belegezites are unknown, they are assumed to be descendants of the Sclaveni, that is, Slavs who settled in present-day Macedonia and northern Greece.

In 677 C.E. other Slavic tribes also about whom little is known other than a name from the historical record—the Drugubites, Rynchines, and Sagudates—besieged Thessalonica, the port city at the head of the Gulf of Salonika, as allies of the Avars. The Belegezites reportedly provided the city with enough grain to survive the siege until relief from the Byzantines under the Emperor Constantine IV. Attacks by the Slavs on Thessalonica occurred over the centuries, one recorded in 584 and another one in 877.

BELEGEZITES

location:
Northern Greece

time period:
Seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Slavic

Belendi

The Belendi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Belin in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Belin takes its name from the tribal name.

Belgae

The Belgae, according to Roman sources, are classified as a Celtic division of tribes. They lived in the northern part of Gaul—in present-day northern France, Belgium, southern Netherlands, western Germany—and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Some of them probably had Germanic ancestry as well as Celtic.

Julius Caesar of the Romans referred to the Belgae as an ethnic division of tribes, as distinct from the Celtae and Aquitani to the south. Among the Belgic tribes are sometimes grouped the Ambiani, Atrebates, Aduatuci, Bellovaci, Condrusi, Eburones, Leuci, Mediomatrici, Menapii, Morini, Nervii, Paemani, Remi, Suessiones, Tornates, Treveri, and Viromandui. The Romans conquered them in 57–56 B.C.E. In 27 B.C.E., according to Caesar's classifications, Gaul was divided into the three provinces of Gallia Belgica, Galli Lugdunensis (Gallia Celtica), and Gallia Aquitania.

A tribe in Britain, occupying parts of present-day southern England, were also recorded as the Belgae and are probably related ancestrally to the continental Belgae; they may have migrated to Britain from the mainland in about 100 B.C.E. They are discussed as Celts or Britons. Venta Belgarum on the site of present-day Winchester was a *civitas* capital of the British Belgae during the Roman occupation lasting until 410 C.E.

The modern nation of Belgium thus takes its name from the Belgae, thought to be derived from Bolg (which may be related to the mythological people of Ireland known as Fir Bolg or Érainn—*see* Iverni and Irish), meaning "shine" or "flash" and associated with a thunder god.

BELGAE

location:
Northern France; Belgium; Netherlands; western Germany; Britain

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic and Germanic

language:
Gaulish or Brythonic (Celtic)

BELGIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Belgium; Kingdom of Belgium (Dutch, Koninkrijk België; French, Royaume de Belgique)

derivation of name:
From Belgae, a Celtic tribe of ancient Gaul

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Brussels

language:
Official languages are French and Dutch (Flemish); except for a small German-speaking population in eastern Belgium, Belgium is divided between French-speaking people (Walloons) in the south and Flemish-speaking people (Flemings) in the north and northeast; Brussels is officially bilingual.

religion:
About 81 percent of the population identify as Roman Catholic; 4 percent, as Muslim, 1 percent, as Protestant; 6 percent adhere to no religion; the remaining percentage are undefined.

earlier inhabitants:
Gauls (Celts); Romans; Franks

demographics:
Flemings make up about 55 percent of the population; Walloons, 33 percent; the remaining are mixed or other.

Belgians: nationality (people of Belgium)

GEOGRAPHY

Belgium is bounded to the northwest by the North Sea and to the north and northeast by the Netherlands. Germany lies to the east, Luxembourg to the southeast, and France to the southwest and west. Belgium, along with Luxembourg and the Netherlands, forms part of the Benelux countries.

Flanders, the northern half of Belgium, is predominantly the home of the FLEMINGS. The low-lying plain of Vlaanderen lies to the northwest; to the northeast are the plateaus of Kempenland (Campine). Both of these marshy regions are considered Lower Belgium, part of the great European Plain. Bordering the North Sea is a wide band of sand dunes and dykes known as the Maritime Flanders region. The southern half of Belgium, called Wallonia, is predominantly the home of the WALLOONS. High (Upper) Belgium in the southeast is a densely forested highland (Ardennes highlands). This region, including Belgium's highest point, Mount Botrange (2,277 feet), extends south of the Meuse River valley. South of the highlands is the hilly region of Belgian Lorraine, called Côtes Lorraines. Middle Belgium consists of the fertile Central (Bas) Plateaus, which are dissected by the Schelde

Belgians: nationality time line

C.E.

843 Charlemagne's Frankish Empire is divided; Belgium becomes part of Lotharingia and later duchy of Lower Lorraine.

10th–14th century Several independent principalities emerge.

12th century Lower Lorraine disintegrates, replaced by duchies of Brabant and Luxembourg and bishopric of Liège.

1384 Count Philip II of Burgundy gains control of Flanders and becomes vassal of king of France.

1477 Houses of Burgundy and Hapsburg are united by marriage.

1504 Belgium is under Spanish Hapsburg rule; during Reformation Belgium divides between northern Dutch-speaking Protestants and southern French-speaking Roman Catholics.

1579 Southern provinces pledge allegiance to Roman Catholic Spanish king; in 1581 Protestant northern provinces successfully rebel against Hapsburg rule and form United Provinces of the Netherlands; Flanders, now Spanish Netherlands, remains under Hapsburg rule.

1701–14 Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV of France, inherits Spanish throne, precipitating War of Spanish Succession; consequently Spanish Netherlands is given to Austrian Hapsburgs.

1797 Under Treaty of Campo Formio Belgium is controlled by France.

1815 At Napoleon I Bonaparte's defeat Congress of Vienna gives Belgium to newly formed kingdom of Netherlands.

1830 Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium is founded in Brussels.

1830–31 Belgians revolt against Dutch rule to establish Belgium as independent, approved by European powers at London Conference; Liège participates and becomes part of Belgium.

1831 Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha becomes Leopold I when elected king of Belgium.

1837 National library, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, is founded in Brussels.

1839 Final Dutch-Belgian peace treaty is signed; Belgium is recognized as independent kingdom and declares neutrality.

1865–1909 Leopold II reigns; colonizes large territories in Africa's Congo River basin; supports industrialization.

1890 Royal Museum for Fine Arts is founded in Antwerp.

1893 Leopold II grants universal male suffrage.

(Escaut) River and its tributaries. Belgium's two main rivers, the Meuse and the Schelde, are important arteries for commerce.

Belgium's temperate maritime climate is conducive to agriculture and lush forests and pastures. It has a moderate supply of natural resources—chalk, limestone, and building stones are found in abundance. The once-productive coal mines in the Sambre-Meuse valley and the Kempenland region are now exhausted.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The ROMANS conquered the BELGAE and other GAULS, occupying their territory, northern Gaul, in the first century B.C.E. Belgica was a Roman province through the fifth century until the Merovingian dynasty of FRANKS took control. Under the Carolingian dynasty (which had its roots at Herstal in Belgium) in the ninth century C.E. Belgium was first incorporated into Lotharingia and then into the duchy of Lower Lorraine.

Belgium royalty ruled the duchies of Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainaut throughout the Middle Ages. Self-governing principalities emerged between the 10th and 14th centuries, establishing borders of current provinces. In the late 14th century Philip of Burgundy gained control of Flanders. The count of Flanders became a vassal of the king

1907 Architect Henri Clemens van de Velde helps found Weimar School of Arts and Crafts in Germany, promoting Art Nouveau; in 1919 it becomes part of Bauhaus school of design.

1909–34 Albert I reigns during World War I and postwar reconstruction.

1911 Poet and playwright Maurice Maeterlinck wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1914–18 During World War I Germany occupies Belgium.

1920 Treaty of Versailles abolishes Belgium's neutral status; negotiates defense agreement with France.

1921 Belgium and Luxembourg form economic union.

1927 *Images de la vie Saint François d'Assise* (Scenes from the life of St. Francis of Assisi), play by Adémar Adolphe-Louis Martens (pseudonym, Michel de Ghelderode), pioneers concept of total theater with advanced theatrical techniques.

1930 Belgian parliament divides country between two languages, French and Dutch, and decrees two separate administrations.

1936 National Orchestra of Belgium, centered at Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, is founded.

1940–44 During World War II German troops occupy Belgium; King Leopold III surrenders unconditionally, although Belgian cabinet, in exile at London, opposes Germany.

1944 Belgian underground army aids British and American troops to liberate Belgium.

1947 Belgium forms customs union with Luxembourg and Netherlands.

1948 Women win right to vote.

1949 Belgium joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

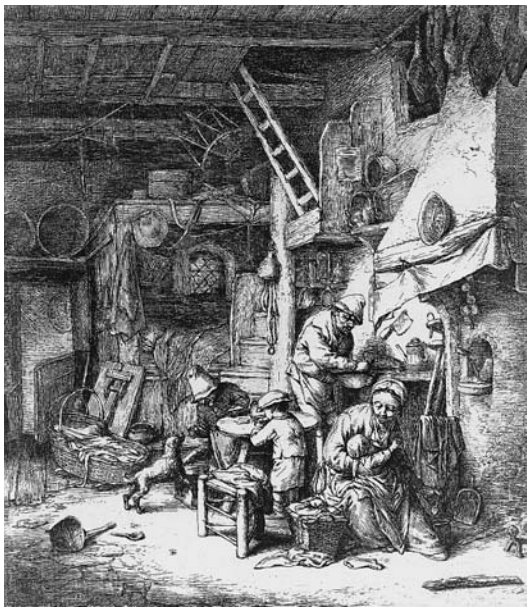
1951 Leopold III's son, Baudouin, becomes king; divisions and conflict between Flemings and Walloons increase.

1957 Belgium joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).

1970s Sweeping constitutional reforms begin in response to animosity between Flemish- and French-speaking sections; three partially autonomous regions (Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels) and three politically recognized ethnic communities (French, Flemish, and German) are established.

1982 New coalition (composed of Flemish and Walloon Socialist Parties, Christian Social Party, and Flemish Volksunie Party) controls government.

1993 Parliament votes to amend constitution; Belgium is declared federal state composed of three autonomous regions; Belgium becomes one of 12 original members of European Union (EU).



This 1617 painting shows a Belgian family. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-7284])*

of France during this period. Foreign domination began, after the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482. In the late 15th century the houses of Burgundy and Hapsburg were joined by marriage. All of present-day Belgium was under Spanish Hapsburg rule by 1504.

France occupied Belgium during the French Revolutionary War until Napoleon I's defeat at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 reunited Belgium with the Netherlands under the house of Orange. In 1830 Belgians rebelled against Dutch dominion and won independence by 1831, approved by the London Conference.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Belgium is one of the few countries in Europe that have two equally dominant languages, French and Flemish. Moreover, the two languages belong to the two main language families of Western Europe: French, part of the Latin-derived Romance family, and Flemish, closely related to Dutch, a Germanic tongue. The country is divided geographically along linguistic lines; French-speaking Walloons living in the five southern provinces and Flemish-speaking Flemings in the five provinces in the north. An officially bilingual zone centered on the city of Brussels lies between them.

Culturally speaking, the Walloons and French speakers in Brussels have close ties with France, and its artists often see themselves as part of the cultural sphere of Paris, whereas the literature of the Flemings, because the number of Flemish speakers is small, is distinct. For centuries artistic production by Belgians has had a strong international character. For example, the great 15th-century composer Josquin des Prez lived for many years in Italy and merged Italian elements with Flemish to create a style that formed the basis for the music of the Renaissance all over Europe; the 16th-century painter Pieter Brueghel was strongly influenced by Dutch painters; and the 19th-century composer César Franck worked within both French and German musical styles.

From its days as the Roman province of Belgica to modern times the region that modern Belgium comprises has almost continuously been occupied by foreign powers: Spain, Austria, France, Netherlands, and Germany. Thus Belgians make a virtue of being critical of any form of authority, and laws, rules, and regulations are not taken very seriously (tax evasion has been called a national sport). This individualistic, antiauthoritarian attitude is perhaps best exemplified by the famous literary figure of Thyl Uilenspiegel, who mocked the Spanish authorities during the 16th-century occupation.

The international character of Belgium has helped bring about the multilingual, multicultural, and multinational status of Brussels, where many international organizations have their headquarters.

The many contacts with various cultures have made Belgians tolerant and flexible. On the other hand, the centuries of foreign rule and the skepticism toward government and authority have led to a relative lack of national pride. Belgium may well be one of the least nationalistic countries in the world. In a world in which nationalism has led to devastating wars and persecutions, this makes Belgians a people from whom others could learn. However, doing so would be difficult because Belgians are among the few peoples who will criticize their own country to foreigners. Some Belgians feel that their compatriots give an unduly pessimistic view of the country. In a true antiauthoritarian spirit Belgians tend to focus on what goes wrong. This can lead to an image of Belgium as a country on the brink of social and economic collapse, a characterization that could hardly be further from the truth of one of the richest countries in the world, whose economy routinely outstrips that of larger industrialized nations.

In a subtle way Belgians combine traits of the Romance and Nordic worlds. They definite-

ly ascribe to the French and Italian love of the "good life" as exemplified by the rich and complex Belgian cuisine, typified by the famous Belgian waffles, chocolate, and beers. On the other hand the Belgian tendency to maintain a reserve with strangers and the aversion for self-promotion and self-righteousness is very similar to tendencies in Scandinavian countries.

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Belli (Belos)

The Belli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the Jalón Valley in present-day north-central Spain near the TITTI at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Bellovaci (Bellovici; Ballovaci; Bellovaques)

The Bellovaci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Beauvais in northern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. Some Bellovaci fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS in 52 B.C.E. Caesaromagnus, earlier known as Bellovacum, on the site of Beauvais became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Beauvais takes its name from the tribal name.

Berbers

See MOORS.

Bercorates

The Bercorates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day Gironde region of southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Berones (Beroni)

The Berones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day northern Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Bibroci

The Bibroci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. According to Julius Caesar they were allies of the TRINOVANTES and surrendered to the ROMANS in 54 B.C.E., along with the ANCALITES, CASSI, CENIMAGNI, and SEGONTIACI.

Bigerriones (Bigerri; Begerri)

The Bigerriones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the northern Pyreness around present-day Tarbes in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the CONVENAE. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Bituriges (Buturiges; Biturges)

The Bituriges are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day central and western France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The Cubi around present-day Bourges and the Vivisci (Vibisci; Vivisques) around present-day Bordeaux are considered the two Biturigian groups.

The first-centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Roman historian Livy wrote that an early powerful Biturigian king, Ambigatus, to rid his kingdom of the troublesome throng of young warriors constantly seeking battle, sent two young kinsmen, Bellovesus and Segovesus, leading a mass migration, one group to go east to the Danube River and the other to Italy. The dates are uncertain, possibly as early as the sixth century B.C.E.

In 52 B.C.E. Bituriges fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar. Avaricum on the site of Bourges became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul during the period of occupation lasting until the fifth century C.E.; Bourges and Bordeaux take their names from the tribal name.

BITURIGES

location:
Central and western France

time period:
Sixth century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)

Blanii

See EBLANI.

Bodiotonci

The Bodiotonci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Digne in southeastern France at

BOII

location:
Bohemia in Czech Republic; northeastern Italy

time period:
Fifth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Bodryci *See* OBODRITES.

Bohemians (people of Bohemia)

The name Bohemians refers to people living in the ancient kingdom of Bohemia, which is situated in the present-day western Czech Republic. (The name *Bohemia* itself is derived from the Celtic people known as BOII, who lived there in ancient times.) Western SLAVS, among them the CZECHS, settled the region around the sixth century C.E. It became a tributary to the Holy Roman Empire, then part of Moravia in 870 (*see* MORAVIANS), before becoming a duchy of Germany. At its widest extent Bohemia extended across Moravia, parts of Silesia, Slovakia, Kraków, Styria, Lusatia, and Brandenburg. By the 18th century Bohemia was part of Austrian holdings, then under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. With Moravia and Slovakia, it declared independence in 1918, but then was invaded by the Germans in 1939. It became part of Czechoslovakia in 1945 and the Czech Republic in 1993 (*see* CZECHS: NATIONALITY).

Boii (Boi; Boyards)

The Boii are classified as a Celtic people. They lived in various parts of Europe and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ancestral homeland of the Boii was the region that came to be known as Bohemia, named after them, in what is now the western Czech Republic.

Probably in the fifth century B.C.E. some among the Boii migrated south of the Po River to present-day northeastern Italy around the modern city of Bologna, also named after them. In Italy the Boii were associated with the ANARES, CENOMANI, INSUBRES, LINGONES, SENONES, and other Celtic peoples who settled the region. They were influenced culturally by the ETRUSCANS. The ROMANS defeated them along with the Insubres at Telemon west of Lake Bolsena in 225 B.C.E., ending Celtic power.

In about 60 B.C.E. the northern Boii were defeated by the DACIANS invading from the east, as were the SCORDISCI and the TAURISCI. Their homeland became known to classical writers as the "desert of the Boii" after survivors fled to the HELVETII and joined them in their attempted migration westward, which was thwarted by a force under Julius Caesar in 58 B.C.E. Some Boii fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against Caesar's legions in 52 B.C.E.

BOIKOS

location:
Carpathian Mountains in southwestern Ukraine

time period:
After fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Boiko (East Slavic)

Boikos (Bojko; Boikians; Verkhovyntsi)

The Boikos are a Slavic people currently living in Transcarpathia, that is, the Carpathian Mountains and surrounding regions. Their homeland in southwestern Ukraine is known as Boikivshchyna; their East Slavic dialect is known as Boiko. To their west are the LEMKOS, and to the east, the HUTSULS. All three groups of SLAVS, who speak distinct dialects, are among the people known as RUSYNS, or Carpatho-Rusyns.

Boikos refer to themselves as Verkhovyntsi for "mountain people," a name that distinguishes them from a branch tribe to the south, the Dolyniany, the "valley people"; both are agricultural people who typically made their homes in Carpathian valleys. The Tukhol'tsi are a Boikian subtribe who live around present-day Skole. Slavs lived in the region as early as the late fifth century C.E.; the exact time the Boikos assumed a distinct identity is not known.

All three groups, isolated from other peoples, have preserved Ukrainian traditional agricultural culture in terms of rituals, tools, architecture, and clothing. They still make use of *kadovby,* clay receptacles for grain. Their wooden homes typically share the same roof as the farm buildings. The Dolyniany typically live in two-room houses, with an entranceway and a single room. The Boikos are known as cattle breeders; the Tukhol'tsi, as merchants.

See also UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Boresti

The Boresti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Scotland and are further classified as CALEDONIANS, CELTS, or SCOTS. The ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola reportedly took hostages from them during Agricola's campaign in Scotland in the 80s C.E. The Boresti were possibly part of a confederation of tribes formed by about 200 C.E. who are referred to as the MAEATAE.

Borussians (Borussi; Prussi; Old Prussians)

The name Borussians, used interchangeably with Old Prussians, refers to Baltic-speaking peoples of the Baltic Sea region between the Neman and Vistula Rivers in present-day north-

eastern Poland and the enclave of Russian territory around Kaliningrad. The region is sometimes referred to as East Prussia, a former province of the kingdom of Prussia (the term PRUSSIANS is also applied to later inhabitants of varying languages of both East Prussia and West Prussia). The Borussians are classified among the BALTS. A number of tribes are classified as Borussians, including the Bartians, Galindians, Notangians, and Sambians. The NADRUVIANS and SKALVIANS to the east and north spoke dialects with both Borussian and Lithuanian influences and as a result are classified as either Borussians or LITHUANIANS. The same can be said of the YOTVINGIANS (Sudovians) to the east.

ORIGINS

It is thought that proto-Baltics migrated to the Baltic Sea region by about 2000 to 1500 B.C.E. and spread southward into Prussia at least by the fifth century B.C.E. The Galindians were one of the first Baltic tribes mentioned by name; that tribe was cited by the second-century C.E. geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria. Other identifiable tribes had coalesced in the region by the ninth century. The name Bruzzi for the Borussians was first mentioned in 965 in a text by a Bavarian geographer.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Borussians, usually called Old Prussian, known from written records, constituted the western branch of the Baltic language group. It has been extinct since the 17th century. The only Baltic languages to have survived are Lithuanian and Latvian. The earliest Old Prussian (and Baltic) written record is a German-Prussian vocabulary of 802 words, known as the *Elbing Vocabulary.* It is thought to have originated in about 1300, with the oldest surviving copy from about 1400. Other important Old Prussian written records are three 16th-century catechisms based on Sambian dialects of Sambia and translated from German. Sambia (or the Sambian Peninsula), near modern Kaliningrad, was the last area where Old Prussian was spoken. The names Bruzzi and Prussi are possibly related to Prutenia, a placename from medieval heroic sagas adopted from the name of the legendary priest-king Pruteno.

HISTORY

The Borussians had early trade contacts with the Germanic VIKINGS out of Scandinavia. The SAXONS, GERMANICS living to the west, unsuccessfully attempted to convert them from paganism to Christianity in the 10th century. In 997 a missionary by the name of Adalbert (the first Slavic bishop of Prague, probably of Czech ancestry) was martyred there, not because of his preaching but because of his profanation of a tribal forest sanctuary.

In the 13th century the Teutonic Knights, a military and religious order made up of German nobles and others who had been active in Crusades to the Near East, followed a call in 1226 by the Polish duke Conrad of Mazovia and crusaded against the Borussians in exchange for conquered lands. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II granted the order vast privileges. In 1234 Hermann von Salza placed the conquests under papal suzerainty with the intention of organizing them as a separate German state. The POLES unsuccessfully asserted a claim to suzerainty over the order. In 1236–40, the Teutonic Knights occupied many forts and towns. The defeat of the order by the Russian SLAVS under Alexander Nevsky at Lake Peipus in 1242 gave the Borussians the opportunity to revolt, but they were again temporarily pacified in 1247. In 1263 a new crusade was begun; more knights entered the region from all over Europe. In 1274 the Teutonic Knights defeated the Borussians, wiping out entire villages. Afterward they founded numerous towns and fortresses of their own encouraging German and Dutch peasants to settle the region. In 1283 the knights also defeated the Yotvingians and henceforth ruled the region as a papal fief. Surviving Borussians were reduced to serfdom. A revolt in 1295 was unsuccessful.

In 1386 the Lithuanians and Poles entered into a dynastic union, and in 1410 they defeated the Teutonic Knights. The Treaty of Torun in 1411 ended warfare only temporarily. By a second Treaty of Torun in 1466, East Prussia was ceded to Poland, and West Prussia remained under the control of the Teutonic Knights as a

BORUSSIANS

location:
Baltic Sea region between Neman and Vistula Rivers in Poland and Russia (Kaliningrad Oblast)

time period:
Fifth to 15th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Old Prussian (Baltic)

Borussians time line

C.E.	
180	Ptolemy mentions Galindians, subtribe of Borussians.
997	Early attempts to Christianize Borussians fail.
1226	Crusade against pagan Borussians is called.
1263	Another crusade is organized against Borussians.
1274	Teutonic Knights defeat Borussians.
1283	Teutonic Knights defeat Yotvingians.
1410	Lithuanians and Poles defeat Teutonic Knights.

fief of Poland and later became part of Germany (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). In 1525 East Prussia became a duchy under Polish suzerainty.

Over the ensuing centuries, while various nations contended over Prussia, the region was increasingly Germanized and Slavicized, and the Borussians ceased to exist as a distinct people.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

The basic territorial community of the Borussians was the *lauks,* a group of farms allied for both economic and defensive purposes. A council of adult males met to elect a leader and chief. The leader supervised daily matters; the chief oversaw the building of roads and fortifications and the posting of guards. Various allied *laukses* maintained tribal territories.

The names Prussia and Prussian have been associated with German history, despite the original Baltic makeup of the area's tribal population.

Bosniaks *See* BOSNIANS.

Bosnians and Herzegovinians: nationality (Bosniaks; Hercegovinians; people of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

GEOGRAPHY

Bosnia is bounded by Croatia to the north and west, and by Serbia and Montenegro to the east. A narrow 12-mile-coastal strip between Croatian territories provides an outlet to the Adriatic Sea. Bosnia and Herzegovina has an area of 19,741 square miles. The country is divided into the northern region of Bosnia and the southern region of Herzegovina. Its terrain is mostly mountainous; the Dinaric Alps run along the Croatian border of western, northern, and southern Bosnia. Mount Maglič, Bosnia's highest peak at 7,831 feet, is situated on the border with Serbia and Montenegro. The Sava plain and forested terrain lie in the north, and fertile farmlands are found in the south. The Karst, a limestone plateau disrupted by ridges and depressions, makes up part of Bosnia in the southwest. Principal rivers include the Sava, flowing north to the Danube, and its tributaries, the Bosna and the Neretva, flowing south to the Adriatic Sea.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

SERBS began settling in present-day Bosnia as early as the seventh century C.E. The first mention of "Bosnia" in a document was in 958, at which time the region was ruled by Croatian kings. Ban ("governor" or "viceroy" in Croatian and Hungarian) Kulin united the first state in 1180, but it was tributary to Hungary. However, not until the rule of Ban Stephen Kotromanić (1322–53) did Bosnia experience its first real consolidation as a nation and expansion to include many surrounding territories, including, in 1326, the duchy of Hum. Hum regained its



A group of Bosnian peasants congregate in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-ppmsc-09319])*

Bosnians and Herzegovinans: nationality time line

C.E.	
958	The name Bosnia is first used in historic document.
1180	Viceroy Kulin forms Bosnian state, tributary to Hungary.
1322–53	Viceroy Stephen Kotromanić reigns; unites Bosnia and Hum (present-day Herzegovina).
c. 1376	Tvrtko Kotromanić reigns as "king of Bosnia and Serbia."
1391	Herzegovina becomes independent duchy.
1448	Independent Herzegovina formed.
1463	Ottomans conquer Bosnia.
1483	Ottomans conquer Herzegovina.
1875	Bosnian peasants revolt against Turkish rule.
1878	Congress of Berlin ends final Russo-Turkish War; Austria-Hungary governs province of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1888	National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is founded in Sarajevo.
1908	Austria-Hungary officially annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1914	Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip, assassinates Austrian archduke, Franz Ferdinand, leading to World War I.
1918	World War I ends; Austria-Hungary breaks up; Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes part of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed Yugoslavia in 1929.
1939–45	During World War II Bosnia-Herzegovina region is annexed by Nazi-occupied Croatia.
1945	National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina is founded in Sarajevo.
1946	Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes republic under Yugoslav Socialist Federation.
1961	Ivo Andrić, Serb raised Catholic in Bosnia, wins Nobel Prize in literature; his novels, such as *Na Drini ćuprija* (*The Bridge on the Drina*), published in 1945, include theme of Bosnian unity.
1984	Winter Olympic games are held in Sarajevo.
1992	Bosnia and Herzegovina declare independence; ethnic conflicts between Croat and Muslim nationalists and Serbs erupt into civil war.
	National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina is destroyed by shelling by Serb Nationalist Forces; reconstruction commences in 1995.
1995	Dayton Peace Accords establish two states in federalized nation; Muslim-Croat federation and Serb Republic, together comprising Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
	Filmmaker Emir Kusturica's 1995 depiction of civil war, *Bila jednom jedna zemlja* (Underground), is condemned in Sarajevo.
1999	Bosnian parliament approves composition of new national anthem.

BOSNIANS AND HERZEGOVINIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosna i Hercegovina); Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

derivation of name:
Bosnia, after the Bosna River; Herzegovina, is from the German title *herzog,* or duke.

government:
Emerging federal democratic republic

capital:
Sarajevo

language:
Official languages of Bosnia are Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian, a dialect of Serbo-Croatian language associated with Muslims.

religion:
About 44 percent of the population are Muslims (Bosniaks); about 30 percent are Orthodox Christians (mostly Serbs); about 15 percent are Roman Catholics (mostly Croats); other citizens are identified as Protestants and Jews.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Illyrians; Romans; Serbs; Croats; Magyars; Byzantines; Turks

demographics:
Muslim Bosnians (Bosniaks) make up about 44 percent of the population; about 37 percent are Serbs; about 14 percent are Croats; Rroma make up a small minority.

independence in 1448 and became known as Herzegovina.

Bosnia fell to Ottoman Turkish rule in 1463, and Herzegovina (or Hercegovina), in 1482 (*see* TURKICS). After the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78) both were handed over to Austro-Hungarian administration and officially annexed in 1908. By the end of World War I in 1918 Austria-Hungary was dissolved; Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of a newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. During World War II (1939–45) Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of German-occupied Croatia. With the allied victory in 1945, Yugoslavia was reinstated as a Communist state. By 1991 the entire Eastern bloc was destabilized. After the secession of Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina also voted for independence from Yugoslavia (now Serbia and Montenegro).

The next year Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized as an independent nation by the European Community.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Bosnia and Herzegovina, so recently created and home to fiercely nationalistic and highly diverse subgroups, has little governmental reality, and expectation of the emergence of an overarching Bosnian cultural identity would be premature. For Serbs in Bosnia, their loyalties given to the concept of a "Serbian nation," it was unthinkable to be a minority in a country of Muslims (called Bosniaks or Bosniacs), whose population by a small margin formed the ethnic majority in the country, and of CROATS. The latter felt similarly. Thus the Bosnian state was no sooner formed than Serbs and Croats formed their own "statelets," and their citizens began agitating to join their compatriots in Serb-controlled Yugoslavia (now Serbia and Montenegro), as it was then known, and in Croatia. The Bosnian Serbs were especially vehement in wanting independence from—or at least dominance within—the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state and soon declared their own independent republic. Bosnian Croats had also declared their own community with the backing of the Croatian government and army. In the referendum of 1992, however, many Croats joined the Muslim Bosniacs in voting for independence from the Bosnian Serb Republic, which was recognized by the international community. Bosnia and Herzegovina then joined the Bosnian Serb Republic in a loose federation, the two parts of which soon were locked in civil war.

The militant Serbian nationalism of Bosnian Serbs erupted in the "final solution" of ethnic cleansing—mass deportations and killings—of all non-Serbs in territory they took in the war. Croats soon broke away from the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state, joining their territory to Croatia and attempting to annex more territory in Herzegovina by force. This action led to ethnic cleansing by both Croats and Muslims. After the civil war the state was again divided into Serb and Muslim-Croat entities, run by the same leaders as during the war. Little seemed changed at first, but by the late 1990s moderate, nonnationalist parties began attracting enough votes to become a force for change. Many observers hope that tolerance may eventually override destructive nationalism in reshaping Bosnia into a state comprising many ethnicities living together in peace.

The values held by Bosnians to be important—hospitality, spontaneity, and the gifts of storytelling and wit—are those of a relatively extroverted society. As in Greece, a favorite summer pastime is the *korza*—promenades through town to meet neighbors and friends—and throughout the year popular meeting places are *kafane* (traditional coffeehouses) and *kafici* (modern café bars). Turkish influences on Bosnian cuisine consist of stuffed vegetables, coffee, and sweet cakes of the baklava type. Folk music uses Slavic singing styles as well as the ancient Balkan tradition of partly memorized, partly improvised epic singing.

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Brannovices (Aulerci Brannovices)

The Brannovices are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the AEDUI.

Bretons

The name of the Bretons is a French version of the name BRITONS. It was given in the early medieval period to Britons, in particular the CORNISH, who migrated from southwestern Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. to the northwestern peninsula of France, now called in French La Bretagne and in English Brittany. The region, called Armorica by the ROMANS, was already inhabited by CELTS who were part of Roman Gaul (*see* GAULS). The peninsula that forms Brittany, jutting far out into the Atlantic, with its natural harbors, fostered the skills of fishing, seafaring, and navigation among its inhabitants. The peninsula further brought its people into contact with the wider world from early times, as did the presence there of tin and rich iron deposits.

ORIGINS

Atlantic Coastal Zone

At least since the Bronze Age Armorica, the region that would later become Brittany, was part of the Atlantic coastal network along which trade goods and cultural ideas flowed from the Mediterranean to coastal Spain to Armorica and on to Britain and Ireland and from the Netherlands on to Scandinavia. Even as early as the Mesolithic Age when the earliest known boats were being made, there may have been traffic of some kind along this route, judging by cultural similarities throughout the coastal zone. It is probable that farming peoples as well as knowledge about the practice of agriculture spread from the Mediterranean to regions along the zone from about 4500 B.C.E. The remarkable similarity of the megalith building tradition throughout the Atlantic zone provides further evidence of cultural commonality among Atlantic peoples living thousands of miles from one another. There is evidence that this tradition may have originated in Armorica. The passage graves of the Tagus region, Armorica, Ireland, and Orkney in northern Britain arose out of a knowledge system that included beliefs and rituals, technical skills of construction, and common decorative motifs. The peoples of this zone probably engaged in cycles of gift exchange, the precursor of trade.

Iron Age

In the Iron Age evidence indicates that Armorica continued its long-distance trading contacts. Cultural traits recognizable as being from the Celtic late Hallstatt and early La Tène periods in decoration and styles of weapons, jewelry, and pottery document Armorican contacts with Celtic interior Europe, including the Rhine area and eastern Celtic areas.

As Armorica was to receive emigrants from Cornwall in England in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., it is possible that people from Iron Age Celtic regions may have moved there as well during the first millennium B.C.E. Aside from Greco-Roman sources, which have no information on this subject for Armorica, the only substantial body of contemporary historical information on Iron Age Celts is found in ancient Irish annals (*see* IRISH), which are thought to outline a sociohistorical pattern analogous to that throughout Celtic Europe. The annals tell of a series of invasions of Ireland; if these are true, Armorica probably experienced the same conditions. Many of these invasions, which often involved lineages (such as the sons of King Milesius), may not have been of whole tribes but of elites or family groups. The picture is not necessarily one of wholesale displacement but of meeting and mingling. This tendency may have been true of Armorica as well.

LANGUAGE

The Breton language, in Breton Breiz or Brezhoneg, evolved from Cornish, a western dialect of the Brythonic branch of the insular Celtic language group spoken in the British Isles. Many Bretons still speak Breton, which evolved from Cornish and probably also from the Continental Celtic language spoken by the indigenous Celtic tribes.

HISTORY

Bretons and Romans

Roman interest in Gaul in general and in the overland tin trade route to and from Cornwall and Brittany (which they called Armorica, country by the sea), in particular is illustrated by their establishment of a citizen colony in 118 B.C.E. at Narbo Martius (Narbonne) near the mouth of the River Aude, where the route began. Evidently they intended to gain control of the tin trade, a motive borne out as their armies in subsequent decades followed and secured the route all the way to the Atlantic by seizing control of Tolosa (Toulouse), a key strongpoint. Meanwhile during the late second and first centuries B.C.E. large quantities of Roman wine were being traded to Armorica, attested by numerous finds of Italian wine amphorae there. The VENETI from Quiberon Bay and the CORIOSOLITES from the north coast at Alet transshipped Roman wine to Hengistbury Head in central-southern Britain, the main port there before the Roman invasion, in return for metals, grain, cattle, and hides.

The CORIOSOLITES, ESUVII, OSISMI, LEXOVII, RHEDONES, UNELLI, and VENETII were the main tribes of Armorica at the time of the Roman invasion led by Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Despite mustering large armies against the Romans, and managing to forge an alliance among the Unelli, Coriosolites, and Lexovii under the command of Viridovix of the Unelli, the Armoricans were subdued by the Romans fairly quickly. The Romans met and defeated the Veneti in a sea battle. Armorica became part of the province of Lugdunensis.

BRETONS

location:
Western France

time period:
Fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Breton (from the Brythonic branch of Insular Celtic)

Bretons time line

C.E.

55	Julius Caesar invades Armorica (Brittany).
388	Magnus Maximus lands at Armorica and uses region as staging area for his attempt to win emperorship of Rome by conquering Roman Gaul; he cedes Armorica to Conan Meriadoc, a Welsh ally.
fifth and sixth centuries	Britons from Cornwall and elsewhere in western Britain migrate to Armorica.
10th century	Brittany is made a duchy under Frankish rule.
1196	Arthur I, member of French house of Anjou, is made duke of Brittany.
1341–65	War of the Breton Succession between France and England.
1532	French king Francis I formally incorporates duchy of Brittany into France.
1796	French royalist émigrés land at Quiberon in Brittany but are routed by government forces; Breton sympathizers suffer fierce reprisals.
19th century	Breton nationalism grows.
1970s	Breton nationalism becomes violent.
1978	Breton militants explode bomb in palace of Versailles.

Migrations of the Britons

After the collapse of the Roman Empire in about 500 C.E. Britons from Cornwall in southwestern Britain, who had had close trading and other contacts with Armoricans since at least the Early Bronze Age, began migrating to Armorica. They may have been seeking refuge from the ANGLO-SAXONS, who were beginning to wrest territory from native Britons in southern Britain during the sixth century. However, the main Cornish tribe, the DUMNONII, held off the Anglo-Saxons for centuries, and Cornwall was not fully under their control until the eighth century. A more probable reason for Cornish and other Britons' emigration to Armorica was that in the 380s, the Roman general Magnus Maximus, leading troops from Britain, used Armorica as a staging area for his attempted conquest of Roman Gaul. According to the semilegendary historical accounts by early medieval writers of Britain, Maximus was accompanied by a Welsh leader called Conan Meriadoc. After securing Armorica, Maximus bestowed it on Conan as a reward for his aid. Conan's soldiers settled in their new lands but lacked wives. Because Conan had an ally in Donaut, the king of the Cornish tribe, the Dumnonii, he sent to him for wives for his men rather than to his native Wales. A storm prevented the Cornish ladies from reaching Armorica, however, so Conan's men took wives from among the local inhabitants.

Meanwhile so many Britons arrived in Armorica in the fifth and sixth centuries that they and their language became dominant there. Yet it is probable that the Celtic language spoken by native Armoricans was little different from that of tribes across the English Channel, an immemorial sea lane that, far from separating the peoples on each side, had fostered close contacts between them for millennia. The Breton place-names Cornouaille and Domnonée attest to the Cornish/Dumnonian presence in Brittany.

Although the specifics of persons and happenings in Arthurian legend may be mostly mythical, the stories reflect the close connection between Brittany and Britain, particularly in the person of Lancelot, son of King Ban of Brittany, who traveled to Camelot to serve King Arthur, the legendary king, the earliest known mention of whom is by the WELSH.

Competing Powers

In succeeding centuries as Conan's descendants split into different dynasties and other leaders rose to power, Brittany saw a series of struggles and wars for dominance, similar to those in contemporary Ireland and Britain. Leaders of the FRANKS as well as British kings sometimes took part in these wars as allies of one side or another, and Frankish power and influence increased in the region. In about the 10th century the kingdom of Brittany was reduced to a duchy, and in 1196 Arthur I, a member of the powerful French dynasty the Angevins, became duke, thus embroiling Brittany in the rivalry between France and England. The War of the Breton Succession (1341–65), part of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453), erupted as England and France vied to replace Arthur's now-extinct line. After the dukedom was won by the house of Montfort, the dukes of Montfort tried to remain neutral during the remainder of the Hundred Years' War. The powerful French king Francis I formally incorporated the duchy into France in 1532. Brittany had its own *parlement,* the French form of local judicial body, which met at Rennes and was important until the French Revolution.

Bretons in the French Revolution

Perceiving themselves as essentially different from the rest of the French and the French monarchy, Bretons at first enthusiastically supported the outbreak of revolution in 1789, but for different reasons from those of revolutionaries elsewhere. For them, it was not a war for

liberty, equality, and fraternity among all men fought under the aegis of the Enlightenment ideal of reason instead of revealed truth. Rather, for the Bretons it was a war of national independence. But staunchly and conservatively Catholic, Bretons came to resent the anticlericalism of the French Revolutionary government, and Brittany became an anti-Revolutionary stronghold. In 1796 French royalist émigrés, backed by Great Britain, tried to land at Quiberon in Brittany, but they were routed by government forces, and Breton sympathizers suffered fierce reprisals.

19th and 20th Centuries

Parallel to that of the Irish, Breton nationalism grew during the 19th century, fueled by the continuing anti-Catholicism in France. During the 1970s Breton nationalists were again active. Groups such as the Breton Revolutionary army and the Movement of National Liberation by Socialism, as did the Irish Republican Army, adopted violence, such as exploding a bomb in the palace of Versailles in June 1978, as a tactic.

CULTURE (*see also* BRITONS; CELTS; CORNISH)

Economy

Farming Despite the important trade system centered on Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland in the Iron Age, the economic basis of the majority of the population was one of simple farming and herding. Few luxury goods have been found in these regions.

Trade With the advent of knowledge about metalworking during the third millennium B.C.E., trade in the coastal Atlantic zone of Europe, which had existed for centuries, greatly accelerated, because a number of its regions, including Armorica, were rich in highly sought ores. At this time the Atlantic zone fostered the rapid spread of the Bell Beaker warrior ideology. Whether it was spread by actual invasion and migration is difficult to determine. By the end of the third millennium B.C.E. influences from the Unetice bronze-hording culture of central Germany and Czechoslovakia, following the old Beaker routes, had reached Brittany. Weapons, weapon designs, tin and other materials, as well as, we may surmise, elements of living culture such as myths and heroic poetry, flowed back and forth through this network, a precursor of the Celtic world to come.

Copper and gold were being extracted in considerable quantities and distributed through existing networks as well as along new routes extending deep into mainland Europe along the major river valleys. Daggers made from honey-colored "Grand Pressigny" flint from the Loire valley and amber from the North Sea coast of Jutland were also entering the exchange networks. Following new trade routes pioneered in the early second millennium B.C.E. by traders from new flourishing bronze industries in the Carpathian Mountains, the predominantly east-west Únětice trade expanded to include north-south connections, and Carpathian weapons, most notably swords, reached Atlantic areas.

By the sixth century B.C.E. the competition of the Greeks with the CARTHAGINIANS for tin from Brittany and Cornwall, as well as high-quality bronze made from arsenical copper found in Ireland and Wales, led the Greeks to pioneer an overland route, which bypassed the sea route along the Iberian coast controlled by the Carthaginians. From the Greek trading town of Massalia on the Rhône, the route crossed France and ended in Brittany, whence ships crossed the English Channel to Britain. Great quantities of high-lead bronze were turned into ax-shaped ingots in Brittany for distribution elsewhere in France and to south-central Britain as well as back to Greece. The Greek trader Pytheas of Massilia embarked from Brittany in about 330 B.C.E. to explore the northern waters around Britain.

The Coriosolite tribe seems to have been particularly enriched by this trade, judging by the huge number of their coins that have been found (more than 20,000), exceeding those of all other Celtic tribes. Hoards of these coins have been found in Brittany, as well as on the island of Jersey and in present-day Normandy.

In the Roman era the pax Romana imposed in Gaul and the improved Roman roads made overland travel more viable than ever, and transport by land became more prevalent. These circumstances did not lessen Armorica's role in trade with Britain, however, as evidence of a number of shipwrecks bears witness.

The dangerous conditions for overland travel after the Roman Empire collapsed, as raiding and warfare became endemic again and the Roman roads fell into disrepair, restored the Atlantic seaways to their old importance. The period from 500 to 1500 C.E. saw the communities of the Atlantic facade reestablish themselves as a dominant force in European development. By the end of the Middle Ages the volume and range of goods moved by sea were enormous, including wine, wool, linen, salt fish, dried fruits, and pilgrims.



Two Breton women walk along a road in Brittany in this painting from the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105293])*

Government and Society

A warrior society emerged in Armorica in the Bronze Age with the advent of the Beaker culture, which spread throughout the Atlantic zone. Artifacts from this time show that circular shields, long daggers, and spears were the normal equipment of the warrior. Other artifacts suggest that feasting was also important in this society: cauldrons, hooks probably used for clawing hunks of meat out of stews, and spits for roasting meat. The distribution of artifacts shows that these same social values were adopted throughout the Atlantic zone.

Comparison of mineral-rich areas of Brittany with those in the east-central region not so endowed may show how resources shaped the society of the time. Later Beaker burials in western Brittany were no longer placed near Neolithic sites as they had been in the past. Rather, after some amount of time they were located near mineral deposits and trade centers, suggesting a shifting of focus away from the land and agriculture, on which Neolithic ceremony had been centered, to this new form of wealth. In contrast, in east-central Brittany, where farming still predominated, the *allées couvertes* continued in use.

In the Iron Age the settlement pattern in Brittany consisted of small defended homesteads surrounded by circular ditch and bank constructions, similar to the rounds of Cornwall and the raths of Wales and Ireland.

Dwellings and Architecture

Allées couvertes *Allées couvertes,* or passage graves, monumental stone mortuary houses covered with long earthen mounds, began to be built in Brittany in the fifth millennium B.C.E., around the same time that farming began. Such mounds became the focus of community life, symbols of connection to the land through the intercession of the ancestors whose bones they held. Domestic sites, in contrast, were insubstantial. The passage graves were built at first of drystone walling built up into corbelled vaults; later, large uprights were propped up against one another for strength so that they could bear even larger vertical dolmens. Islands in the Gulf of Morbihan, off southern Brittany, have some of the most impressive examples of such constructions. In about 3800 B.C.E., possibly in response to the advent of the Corded Ware culture, remarkable efforts at reconstruction were made, in which great stones were broken and used as capstones for new, even larger passage graves. One of these, the tomb on Gavrinis Island, has 28 massive granite wall slabs profusely covered with enigmatic ornamentation, a remarkable achievement given the hardness of granite.

Somewhat later long stone-lined cists, called gallery graves, were made in areas away from the older megalithic centers on the coast. They contained successive and layered interments of several hundreds of individuals. Such tombs served settlements patterned differently from the earlier single villages. Instead, in these "expanded villages," small hamlets were scattered evenly across an area but centered on the local gallery grave. This compromise between aggregation and isolation of settlement is thought to have resulted from the final absorption of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers into the Neolithic way of life.

Breton Bell Beaker Culture and Stonehenge The builders of the final phase of Stonehenge may have been influenced by their Beaker counterparts in Brittany. The shape and alignment of parts of the monument—including the horseshoe of trilithons—and the carvings on some of the stones have no parallels in Britain but echo numerous sites in Brittany.

Fogous Another example of the close connection of Brittany with Britain is the construction near their dwellings of stone-lined, elongated underground chambers called *fogous,* which are found nowhere else in France but are common in Britain. The purpose of these chambers is obscure. There is evidence for their use for grain storage but also in ritual and as hiding places in times of danger.

Transportation

By at least the Middle Bronze Age plank boats definitely capable of sea journeys were being made in the Atlantic coastal region of which Brittany was a part. Because evidence of wooden boats is rare, as a result of the deterioration of wood over time, they may have been made in much earlier times. The same is true for skin boats, of which the earliest evidence dates to the first century B.C.E.

Julius Caesar described the sturdy ocean-going ships of the Veneti of Armorica—massively constructed with thick nailed planks, high prowed and square rigged with sails of rawhide to withstand the Atlantic gales.

Art

La Tène Influences in the Iron Age The influence in Iron Age Brittany of the Celtic La Tène style is seen most clearly in pottery, on which La Tène motifs, arcs, palmettes, spirals, and other curvilinear features, but seldom the animal shapes common in other Celtic lands. Derived from metalwork, these motifs were incised and stamped. Pottery was decorated with graphite, giving it a metallic gray color.

Stone was another important medium at this time: stelae engraved with the same La Tène elements used for pottery and friezes with repeated S shapes, triangles, swastikas, or Greek key patterns. Some stelae are nearly of human height with longitudinal grooves resembling those of Greco-Roman columns; others had flat surfaces affording space for decoration. Such stelae are found only in Armorica, and many of them are reworked menhirs first erected in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages.

Breton Song Tradition The Breton language is kept alive in part by the rich tradition of sung poetry. Breton singers continue to write lyrical songs about love, both that of men and women and of the Breton countryside. The *fest-noz* (night festival) tradition calls singers, players of traditional instruments, including a form of Breton bagpipe; and dancers together.

The canticle-singing tradition of Brittany is embodied in one of the richest collections of traditional canticles in Europe, still sung in the many concerts and recitals in the churches and chapels across the region.

Literature

The earliest known examples of written Breton, from the seventh century C.E., consist of explanatory glosses in Latin manuscripts; only by the 14th century were extended compositions in Breton first written down. Thereafter until about the 17th century a fairly sizable corpus of religious mystery and miracle plays was written, among the best known *Mellezour an maru* (Mirror of Death). An important prose work was a Life of Saint Catherine, *Buhez Sante Cathell,* a translation of a Latin text written in 1576.

The rise of Breton nationalism, an essential part of whose character was a conservative and devout Catholicism, brought about a revival of Breton literary endeavors, including an 1827 translation of the Bible into Breton (in itself, no doubt, an act of protest against the anti-Catholicism in French-speaking France). Orally transmitted poetry, folktales, and other folk forms such as the riddle were written down at this time.

The Breton language continued to give birth to important works in the 20th century, perhaps the most well known the novel *Our Lady of the Carmelites* (1942) by Youenn Drezen. There are scholarly study of Breton and a vibrant literature of poetry and drama.

Religion

Bronze Age The astronomical alignments of many megalithic constructions may reflect the reliance of the seafaring peoples of the Atlantic coastal zone on celestial phenomena for navigation.

As elsewhere in the Atlantic zone, people of the Bell Beaker warrior ideology in Brittany, after an initial period of placing their burials away from the older Neolithic ceremonial sites, began to use passage graves to deposit offerings, most usually small gold ornaments rather than weapons. Later, in an apparent withdrawal from this form of rapprochement, they

cleared new areas on the edge of the Morbihan for their burials. At this time the great stone avenues of Carnac and Erdeven were built, perhaps in response to this threat. Later still Bell Beaker ideologues cleared entirely new areas for their burials near mineral deposits, perhaps signaling an end of compromise and a break with the past.

Iron Age Burial hoards containing multiple weapons, large amounts of pottery, and other offerings are found in Armorica as elsewhere in the Celtic world. Worked granite stelae mark the burials. The fact that many of these are reworked menhirs from millennia earlier shows a strong continuity of tradition embracing the newer Celtic elements. Shrines in the form of rectangular ritual enclosures have their analogues in other Celtic regions.

Christianity Many of the Britons who emigrated to Brittany in the fifth and sixth centuries were Christian, although the native Armoricans apparently were not. There is some evidence of Christian worship in Brittany by about 450; in about 520 Saint Samson, a Welsh monk who was a bishop in Cornwall, received a vision from God instructing him to evangelize in Brittany.

Many of the thousands of saints recognized in Brittany—but not officially canonized by Rome—are probably Christianized local Celtic or even older deities, judging by the fact that many of them are associated with holy healing wells and springs, the locus of worship for Iron Age Celts. Others heal specific maladies—headaches, digestive problems, and the like—while still others protect animals: Horses, cattle, and even chickens have their special saint. To the present Bretons have had an essentially pagan relationship with their saints, worshiping them for the aid they can give in this life as much as or more than their aid in the next. The seven founding saints of the Armorican bishoprics are all male: Saint Patern (Vannes), Saint Corentin (Quimper), Saint Brieuc, Saint Tugdual (Téguier), Saint Samson (Dol), Saint Malo, and Saint Pol-Aurélien (Saint-Pol-de-Léon). But the patron saint of Brittany, Saint Anne, is probably a Christian apotheosis of the great Celtic goddess Ana.

Pardons Special gatherings of pilgrims called pardons are a particularly Breton form of worship. Originating in the 15th century and still practiced today, pardons feature, aside from solemn masses, colorful processions of people wearing traditional garb—notably elaborate white headdresses worn by women—and carrying crosses and statues. In coastal towns priests board boats and bless all the vessels in the harbor or bless the waters.

As they have for millennia, the people of the Armorican peninsula share a transnational culture with links all along Atlantic coastal Europe. Breton culture continues its robust independence from that of the rest of France, and Brittany has the distinction of being the last place in mainland Europe where a Celtic language is spoken.

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Brigantes (Brigantii)

BRIGANTES

location:
North England

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (Celtic)

The Brigantes are classified as a Celtic tribe or confederation of tribes. They lived in Britain from the North Sea to the Irish Sea in the present-day counties of Cleveland, Durham, and Lancashire and the former county of Yorkshire, in present-day northern England. They are discussed as Celts or Britons. The Corionototae may have been a subtribe.

The Brigantes rulers Venutius and his wife, Cartimandua, made an alliance with the Romans in 43 C.E. Caractacus (Caradoc) of the Catuvellauni, leader of a rebellion against Roman occupation, sought refuge with the Brigantes in 51 C.E., but Cartimandua turned him over to the Romans. She also supported the Romans against her husband, who became her rival. She held power for a time as a Roman client-queen until he regained control of the kingdom in 69 C.E. Rebel elements among the Brigantes repeatedly attacked Eboracum (modern York), provoking a Roman campaign against them in 72–74 C.E. The Romans finally subdued rebel elements 10 years later. Isurium Brigantum,

on the site of present-day Aldborough, was a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation lasting until 410 C.E.

A group of Brigantes also lived in the present-day counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Laioghis in southeastern Ireland. The chief goddess of the Brigantes, Brigantia, has been referred to as the Gaelic Minerva and the mother of the gods. She is associated with St. Briget (Bridget or Brigid), the founder of a monastery at Kildare.

Brigantini

The Brigantini are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Briançon in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Briançon (formerly Brigantio) takes its name from the tribal name.

British: nationality (Britons; Brits; people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain)

GEOGRAPHY

Britain, a large island, is separated from mainland Europe by the English Channel, the Strait of Dover, and the North Sea. To the west, separating it from Ireland, are St. George's Channel, the Irish Sea, and the North Channel. In the north and west (Scotland, Wales, and parts of England) high hills and mountains make up the highland zone. In the south and east, rolling plains make up the lowland zone. Important rivers are the Thames and the Severn in England, and the Clyde and the Forth, now joined by a canal, in Scotland.

Numerous smaller islands are also considered part of the United Kingdom. Off the south coast is the Isle of Wight. Off the northwest coast of Wales is Anglesey. In the English Channel lie the Isles of Scilly. To the west of Scotland is the Hebrides archipelago, including the Inner and Outer Hebrides. To the northeast of Scotland are the Orkney Islands and the Shetland Islands. The Isle of Man in the Irish Sea and the Channel Islands in the English Channel are dependencies of the United Kingdom, with their own systems of government.

The term British is derived from the term Britain (or Great Britain), which is sometimes used interchangeably with United Kingdom, but more accurately describes the specific island of Britain, part of the archipelago known as the British Isles, as distinct from the island of Ireland. The United Kingdom consists of three administrative divisions on the island of Britain—England in the south, Scotland in the north, Wales in the west—and Northern Ireland on the island of Ireland (*see* ENGLISH; SCOTS; WELSH; IRISH).

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Celtic Britain, the homeland of BRITONS, became a Roman province in the first century C.E. and was divided into the provinces of Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior. Germanic tribes such as ANGLES, SAXONS, JUTES, and FRISIANS invaded the isles in the beginning of the fifth century (later becoming grouped as ANGLO-SAXONS). VIKINGS seized the lands in the eighth century; Wessex became a centralized kingdom later that century. In the 11th century the NORMANS conquered and expanded the feudal state; Henry II annexed Ireland in 1169–71, and Wales was made a principality in 1284. In the 16th century the English monarch became head of the Church of England, and Wales officially united with England. Scotland united with England and Wales in 1707, forming Great Britain. England formed a legislative union with Ireland in 1801 that officially established the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

British cultural identity, rather than arising out of a traditional ethnic culture, developed out of the birth of a modern nation and the evolution of a governmental system of parliamentary democracy aimed at promoting individual freedom. For the different ethnic groups of the British Isles—Scots, Welsh, and Irish—as they were absorbed into the political entity of Great Britain, mostly by force, the process of becoming British was one of shedding particular ethnicities and languages for an identity based on elements of modern economic and national life. These included being participants in democracy, in the burgeoning capitalistic economy, and in empire building. The older ethnicities were partly subsumed into identification with one's city or economic region (London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, the Midlands, Welsh mining districts, Highland versus Lowland Scotland, etc.) and into religious affinities. This pattern left little room for a group cultural identity based on a long and ancient tradition—folk art and customs, traditional dress, food. Folk elements that still existed were steadily eroded from

BRITISH: NATIONALITY

nation:
United Kingdom (U.K.); United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

derivation of name:
From Britons, meaning "painted"; possibly from the Celtic goddess Brigid

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
London

language:
Principally English is spoken; Welsh and Scottish Gaelic

religion:
About 45 percent of the population are Anglican, about 12 percent are nonreligious, and about 10 percent are Catholic; other religious minorities include Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and Sikhs.

earlier inhabitants:
Britons; Welsh; Scots; Irish; Picts; Cornish; Manx; Romans; Angles; Saxons; Jutes; Frisians; Anglo-Saxons; Vikings; Normans

demographics:
About 94 percent are British of varying Germanic and Celtic ancestry; ethnic minorities include Asian Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Chinese, Caribbeans, and Africans.

about the 16th century, a process greatly accelerated by the Protestant Reformation, and also by increasing urbanization. The British pioneered modernity, becoming the first fully modern nation in which people left old folkways behind as the products of antique superstition and unreason for which society had no more use. (The history of the British version of Christmas is a noteworthy case in point; it was banned by Puritans after the Civil War as fostering social disorder and popery, then, after reinstatement, fell into disuse during the 18th century as much of the population moved into cities, breaking ties with old customs more typical of rural life. Then in the 19th century as part of the romantic wish to regress to the pre-Enlightenment past the traditional Christmas with its good cheer and generosity to the poor was used by the writer Charles Dickens and others as a means of decrying the heartless utilitarianism of modern British society and held up as a symbol of much that had been lost.)

The British did not leave behind their highly stratified class system, likewise based on tradition rather than reason, until the 20th century, and the British monarchy, with its pageantry, pomp, and circumstance, still serves as a point of cultural unity for the country. The sovereign is a symbol of more than a millennium of history and tradition and of the Anglican faith.

With the growth of empire Britons became internationalists, and part of what it meant to be British was to be involved in a world enterprise aimed at spreading British civilization to all peoples.

Today, as first the non-Ulster Irish and then the Welsh and Scots have gained political independence (in the case of the latter two a process called devolution), a great revival of the traditions of those peoples is taking place. Many among the English, who once formed the cultural center of gravity of the British, with the diffidence that is a typical English characteristic, find it awkward and difficult to assert their own cultural identity—even to know what it is. Waving of flags at international football matches has been one means of such assertion—Scots, for example, wave their flags with St. Andrew's Cross. Many English have followed their lead by waving flags with St. George's Cross; others feel that this sort of sentimental patriotism is beneath them. The devolution of Great Britain has left the English in what many feel is an anomalous situation, expected to take the lead in carrying on the business of the British state after their former compatriots have left. (The Welsh and Scots are still part of Great Britain in the sense of maintaining allegiance to the monarchy, and the policies of the British government still have important consequences for all people living on the British Isles.) Although most English are justly proud of the achievements of the English people and simultaneously willing to see themselves as British, they do so with a certain sense that the term British has outlived its usefulness—or at least has shifted considerably in meaning. Plans by the British government in recent years to devolve England itself further into regions with autonomous parliaments have provoked calls to insist on the preservation of English nationhood alongside Scottish and Welsh nationhood.

A modern phenomenon that has had a profound effect on what it means to be British is the influx to Britain of people from former British colonies seeking economic opportunities, whose populations—West Indians, Indians, Pakistanis, and Africans—were granted British citizenship. London may now be the most cosmopolitan city in the world. Three hundred different languages are spoken there; there are some 50 communities with populations of 10,000 or more who were born elsewhere. Almost a third of London's residents were born outside England (2.2 million) and many tens of thousands more are second- or third-generation immigrants. But ethnic minorities are not restricted to London. More than half live elsewhere in the country. A great many of these, and particularly those born in Britain, consider themselves British without, however, abandoning their non-British ethnic identity. Asian and African British have evolved their own subcultures, with their own food, music, and English slang. Moreover, lifestyle groups, subcultures based on shared enthusiasms—music, football, horseback riding, bird watching—have in many ways substituted for notions of Britishness.

Englishness itself, in part through the development of the English language from Anglo-Saxon and Norman French, arose out of an amalgam of different cultural identities, as did Britishness, with its blend of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish cultures. It remains to be seen how the current meeting of cultures from around the world under the umbrella of British cultural identity—this time not accomplished by force—will fare.

British: nationality time line

C.E.

1066 Normans conquer Anglo-Saxon England.

1169–71 Henry II acquires territories in France and invades Ireland.

1215 Magna Carta is signed.

c. 1320 Birth of Dafydd ap Gwilym, greatest poet in Welsh language.

1337–1453 France defeats England in Hundred Years' War.

1381 Peasants' Revolt breaks out.

1400 Poet Geoffrey Chaucer does his final work on *Canterbury Tales* (never fully completed as he had planned), whose characters travel route taken in 1381 by rioters in Peasants' Revolt from Canterbury to London.

1455–85 Civil wars known as War of the Roses lead to Henry Tudor, as Henry VII, beginning Tudor dynasty.

1513 James IV of Scotland attempts to invade England; Battle of Flodden marks his defeat.

1516 Statesman and writer Sir Thomas More writes *Utopia,* which uses fictitious and ideal island realm to criticize English society.

1534 Henry VIII establishes and heads Church of England.

1536 Wales unites with England.

1575 Queen Elizabeth grants composers William Byrd and Thomas Tallis a patent for exclusive printing and selling of music.

1588 England, under Elizabeth I, defeats Spanish Armada.

1590 Sir Walter Raleigh, on reading through Edmund Spenser's draft of *The Faerie Queene,* encourages him to accompany him to London, where he presents celebrated poet to Queen Elizabeth.

c. 1601–11 William Shakespeare writes, among other plays, many of his best-known tragedies, including *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra,* and *Macbeth,* as well as plays in a new vein, tragicomedies *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale,* and *The Tempest,* his last complete play.

1603 James VI of Scotland ascends English throne as James I, beginning Stuart line.

1607 Theologian Lancelot Andrewes is chosen to lead project to make new translation of Bible, which will come to be called King James Bible.

1620 *Novum Organum,* by Philosopher Francis Bacon is published; it helps to establish primacy of observation and experimentation in science.

1621 Poet John Donne is named dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, where he delivers brilliant and eloquent sermons.

1629 Charles I, son of James, dissolves Parliament; "the Eleven Years' Tyranny" begins.

1642 Charles I declares war on Parliament.

1644 After meeting with Italian astronomer Galileo Galilei in Florence, poet John Milton (who refers to Galileo's telescope in *Paradise Lost*) records their conversation in his celebrated plea for freedom of speech, *Areopagitica.*

1649–60 Oliver Cromwell governs England as commonwealth.

1660 Royal Society (Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge) is founded.

1660–69 Statesman Samuel Pepys keeps diary, documenting such events as London's Great Fire and ravages of plague.

1664–66 Mathematician and natural philosopher Isaac Newton produces his theory of universal gravitation, begins to develop calculus, and discovers that white light is composed of colors of spectrum.

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British: nationality time line *(continued)*

1667 Architect Christopher Wren receives first of several appointments that will put him in charge, for 50 years, of rebuilding of London, including St. Paul's Cathedral, after Great Fire of 1666.

1668 John Dryden becomes poet laureate.

1681–85 Charles II dissolves Parliament; rules as absolute monarch.

1688 William of Orange invades England.

1689 Henry Purcell composes opera *Dido and Aeneas.*

1690 Philosopher John Locke writes *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* which sets forth conceptual basis for empiricism, maintaining that knowledge can come from experience alone and human mind is blank slate (*tabula rasa*) upon which experience writes.

1707 England and Scotland are formally united, forming Great Britain.

1714 First Hanoverian king, George I, ascends throne.

1719 *Robinson Crusoe,* adventure novel by Daniel Defoe, is published.

1726 *Gulliver's Travels,* novel by Jonathan Swift satirizing British society, is published.

1728 Poet Alexander Pope writes *The Dunciad,* lampoon on dull-witted verse of bad writers of his time.

1739–40 *A Treatise of Human Nature,* philosopher David Hume's most influential work, is published.

1739–41 War of Jenkins's Ear pits England against Spain over mercantile and maritime issues.

1741–68 Sir Robert Walpole, Whig member of Parliament, handles "South Seas Bubble."

1753 British Museum is founded in London.

1754 Architect Robert Adam travels in France and Italy, studying classical architecture that will influence his expression of Georgian style of architecture.

1755 *Dictionary of the English Language* by Samuel Johnson is published.

1756–63 In Seven Years' War England and France struggle for overseas empire.

1768 Portrait painter Joshua Reynolds, whose subjects included nearly every important personage of his time, is elected president of newly formed Royal Academy.

1769 Inventor James Watt receives his first patent on improvements to steam engine.

1770 Thomas Gainsborough paints *The Blue Boy.*

1775–83 American colonies gain independence in American Revolution.

1776 Economist Adam Smith writes *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.*

1784–86 Robert Burns discovers his poetic vocation as he learns about Scottish folk tradition and poetry composed in Scottish dialect; he produces some of his best known poems, such as "Hallowe'en" and "To a Mouse."

1789 Novelist-to-be Jane Austen, 14 years old, writes a story called "Love and Friendship" [sic], a parody of melodramatic fiction, foreshadowing by contrast irony that she would employ in her greatest novels.

1795 James Hutton, often called "the father of geology," summarizes his ideas in *Theory of Earth.*

1796 Physician Edward Jenner inoculates a boy with cow pox virus, successfully immunizing him against smallpox and laying groundwork for science of immunology.

1798 Poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth publish their collaborative work "Lyrical Ballads," considered founding inspiration for English romantic poetry movement.

1798 Economist Thomas Robert Malthus writes *An Essay on the Principle of Population*; his ideas, especially that populations have no inherent means of checking their growth, gave Charles Robert Darwin his starting point in developing his theory of natural selection by survival of fittest.

1801 Great Britain and Ireland are formally united.

1804 William Blake in his poem "Jerusalem" depicts "dark Satanic mills" of industrialization blighting "England's green and pleasant land."

1808 Chemist and physicist John Dalton publishes *A New System of Chemical Philosophy* in which substances (called elements) are classified according to weights of their atoms relative to weight of hydrogen atom; his system forms basis of periodic table of elements.

1811 16 Luddites resist mechanization of their industry.

1812 First two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* poem by Lord Byron, is published, whose main character introduces embodiment of English romantic sensibility.

1814 Walter Scott, in part because of poetic rivalry with Byron, transfers his focus from poetry to write his first novel, *Waverly;* he goes on to create genre of historical novel.

1815 William Smith publishes his *Geological Map of England and Wales, with Part of Scotland,* first such survey.

1816 Poet John Keats, 20 years old, passes difficult examinations to become apothecary and composes his first masterpiece, "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer."

1821 Poet Percy Bysshe Shelley writes "Adonais," elegy for John Keats.

1824 National Gallery is founded in London

12-year-old Charles Dickens, because of his father's indebtedness, is taken from school to work in shoe polish factory, experience that forms basis of his novel *David Copperfield.*

John Constable's painting *The Hay Wain* is exhibited in Paris; its style and its painter's practice of painting outdoors would influence artists for decades, including French impressionists of latter 19th century.

1825 Royal Philharmonic Society performs German composer Ludwig van Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, commissioned by Society, one of its first foreign performances.

1830 Royal Geographical Society is founded in London.

1831–36 Naturalist Charles Darwin accompanies world voyage of *Beagle.*

1840 Artist Joseph Mallord William (J. M. W. Turner) paints *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Deda and Dying—Typhon* [sic] *Coming On* (*The Slave Ship*).

1840s Physicist James Prescott Joule experiments with weights falling through water to arrive at his calculation of mechanical equivalent of heat.

1842 Poet Alfred Tennyson, at end of 10-year self-imposed hiatus from publishing after death of his close friend Arthur Hallam, reveals *Poems,* which contains "Morte D'Arthur," based on Arthurian romance, "Lockesley Hall," and other classics.

1847 Three novels by sisters, Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre,* Anne Bronte's *Agnes Grey,* and Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights* are published.

1848 Young Ireland movement rebels on behalf of Irish home rule.

1854–56 In Crimean War United Kingdom is ally of Ottoman Turks.

1856 National Portrait Galley is founded in London.

1871–72 *Middlemarch,* novel by Mary Ann Evans (pseudonym, George Eliot), is published.

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British: nationality time line *(continued)*

1873 Physicist James Clerk Maxwell writes *Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism,* which summarizes his ideas on essential identity of light, electricity, and magnetism.

1874 *Far from the Maddling Crowd,* romantic novel set in pastoral surroundings by Thomas Hardy, is published.

1877 British Empire around world reaches its greatest point of expansion.

1879 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre opens in Stratford-upon-Avon; in 1925 Royal Charter is granted; in 1960 Royal Shakespeare Company is formed.

1887 In his story "A Study in Scarlet" Arthur Conan Doyle introduces the character Sherlock Holmes.

1894 *The Jungle Book,* novel by Rudyard Kipling, is published; in 1907 he wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1899–1902 In Boer War United Kingdom defeats and annexes Transvaal and Orange Free State.

1907 National Museum of Wales is founded in Cardiff.

1913 Philosopher Bertrand Russell, along with Alfred North Whitehead, publishes *Principia Mathematica.*

1914–18 In World War I United Kingdom sides with Allies.

1916 Easter Rebellion against British rule erupts in Dublin.

Gustav Holst composes orchestral suite *The Planets.*

1919 League of Nations is established.

Nuclear physicist Ernest Rutherford sets off first artificially induced nuclear reaction.

1921 The Anglo-Irish Treaty creates Irish Free State (later known as the Republic of Ireland) within British Commonwealth of Nations.

1922 Poet T. S. (Thomas Sterns) Eliot writes *The Wasteland,* based on Arthurian Grail legend but informed by carnage and destruction of World War I; in 1948 he wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1924 *A Passage to India,* novel by E. M. (Edward Morgan) Forster, is published.

1927 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is established as public corporation.

1932 Novelist and playwright John Galsworthy wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1933–38 Statesman and writer Winston Churchill completes *Marlborough His Life and Times,* hailed as one of greatest historical works of 20th century, about his 18th-century ancestor, military commander John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough.

1936 Economist John Maynard Keynes publishes *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money,* theorizing that government spending is only way to lift an economy out of depression or recession and is necessary to maintain resistance to fluctuations in private investment.

Sculptor Henry Moore creates *Reclining Figure.*

1939–45 During World War II London is bombed by Germany.

1945 United Kingdom joins United Nations.

1949 United Kingdom joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Nineteen Eighty-Four, satirical novel with concept of "Big Brother" by George Orwell, is published.

Further Reading

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S. J. Connolly. *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999).

Norman Davies. *The Isles: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

1950 Philosopher Bertrand Russell wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1953 Poet Dylan Thomas gives his first public performance of *Under Milkwood* in Cambridge, Massachusetts; his readings all over United States until his death in 1954 raise him to a legendary status among American public.

Science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke writes short story "The Sentinel," which will form basis of 1968 film by American director Stanley Kubrick, *2001 A Space Odyssey.*

1957 David Lean wins Academy Awards for best picture and best director with *The Bridge on the River Kwai;* in 1962 he wins same awards for *Lawrence of Arabia.*

1960 United Kingdom is founding member of European Free Trade Association.

Paleoanthropologist Mary Leakey discovers 1,750,000-year-old skull of hominid in Kenya, first demonstration of great age of human ancestors there, raising possibility that humans evolved in Africa.

1961 Trinidad-born Anglo-Indian novelist V. S. Naipaul writes *A House for Mr. Biswas* about Anglicized Indian living in Creole world of Trinidad.

1963 Royal National Theatre opens in London with production of *Hamlet.*

1965 Queen Elizabeth II gives members of Beatles rock group MBE orders (signifying membership in Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) at Buckingham Palace; in 1996 Paul McCartney is knighted by queen.

1967 *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead,* satirical look at Shakespeare's *Hamlet* from point of view of two minor characters in play by Czech-born British playwright Tom Stoppard, is performed at Old Vic Theatre, London, by National Theatre Company.

1972 British Library Act combines library departments of British Museum (including National Reference Library of Science and Invention), National Central Library, and National Lending Library for Science and Technology into national library for United Kingdom known as British Library; in 1974 British National Bibliography and Office for Scientific and Technical Information joins British Library.

1973 United Kingdom joins European Economic Community (EC).

Benjamin Britten composes his last opera, *Death in Venice,* based on novella by German novelist Thomas Mann.

1983 Novelist William Golding wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1985 By terms of National Heritage (Scotland) Act, National Museums of Scotland brings together two institutions: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, founded in 1780 as Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and Royal Scottish Museum, founded in 1854 as Industrial Museum of Scotland, both in Edinburgh.

1993 United Kingdom becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).

1994 Channel Tunnel between United Kingdom and France is officially opened.

1997 People of Wales and Scotland vote to establish independent legislative bodies under British Crown.

1998 Belfast Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) is negotiated by British and Irish governments.

1999 British government formally transfers power to new provincial government in Northern Ireland.

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Britons (Britanni; Brittones; Brythons; Brithons; Hyperboreans)

The Britons were those people living in Britain and speaking Brythonic dialects of Celtic at the time the ROMANS arrived there in the first century B.C.E. through the time of the invasion of the Germanic ANGLES, FRISIANS, JUTES, and SAXONS (who became known as the ANGLO-SAXONS) in the fourth–fifth centuries C.E. The name is from the Latin name for Britain, Britannia, which may derive from Priteni (Pritani, Pretani, Prytani), the name the inhabitants of Britain called themselves in the fourth century B.C.E., according to the Greek navigator Pytheas of Massilia. Writing in the sixth century B.C.E., Hecataeus of Miletus, whose works are mostly lost but who is quoted by others, gave them the name Hyperboreans. These were people of Celtic culture, classified with other Celtic-speaking peoples in the embracing group CELTS. Britons as a classification also include WELSH and CORNISH. Britons from Wales migrated to southwestern Scotland, founding the kingdom of Strathclyde in the fifth century C.E. Other Britons, fleeing incursions of the ancient GERMANICS, settled among the GAULS in present-day Brittany in France in the sixth century C.E. and became known as BRETONS.

BRITONS

location:
British Isles; Brittany in France

time period:
Fourth century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (a branch of insular Celtic)

ORIGINS

The various Celtic-speaking peoples were the descendants of the tribes of the Bell Beaker and other Bronze Age cultures and before that of the peoples of the Neolithic cultures that developed after the introduction of farming practices to Europe. In Britain evidence of a distinctive burial style attributed to the Bell Beaker culture dates from around 2500 B.C.E.

Sources written by Romans and the archaeological record both indicate that a tribal people with a culture strongly influenced by the culture of the continental Celts inhabited Britain and Ireland at the time of the Roman conquest in the first century C.E. Their presence is attested, as well, by the Celtic languages spoken in Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and the Isle of Man well into the modern era and, in the case of parts of Ireland and Scotland, to the present day. (Celtic languages are considered "markers" for the existence of other Celtic cultural features in the lives of their speakers.)

It was once assumed that this "Celticization" of the British Isles must have happened by conquest and the large-scale arrival of Celtic immigrants. However, the rich and fairly well studied archaeological record has failed to substantiate this process. The picture provided by archaeological evidence is rather one of undoubted influence from the Continent, which was absorbed and transformed into a distinct native culture. The carriers of such influences are more likely to have been traders than immigrants, for the most part; the only invasion for which possible evidence exists was that of the BELGAE, from the region of present-day Belgium, in the second century B.C.E. Chariot burials in Yorkshire bear a close resemblance to those of the PARISII of the Seine region in France, suggesting that a group from this tribe may have emigrated to Britain. But most contact must have been through the agency of the well-established and widespread trading networks of Celtic Europe, which had existed since the Bronze Age and greatly increased in scope with the beginning of large-scale exploitation of iron in the latter eighth century B.C.E.

Continental Influences in Britain during the Late Bronze Age

The first widespread culture generally identified as Celtic is called the Hallstatt culture, named after a site in the area of Hallstatt in the Austrian Alps. Although it reached its height in the Iron Age, its distinctive characteristics began to emerge in the Late Bronze Age around 1000 B.C.E. as a result of wealth acquired from its exportation of salt. Elements of the Hallstatt culture, which was influential in central temperate Europe from France to Poland, can be seen also in Britain. Improved metalworking techniques from Hallstatt Europe were adopted in Britain after 1000 B.C.E. Hallstatt-type hill forts were built in Britain, although there were also distinctly British forms, such as the crannog (see section on "Dwellings and Architecture"). Other important trends in Europe included the shift from inhumation to cremation around 1300 B.C.E., known as the Urnfield revolution, and

changes in farming practices occurred in Britain as well.

Climate Change in the Late Bronze Age

At the beginning of the Bronze Age the climate in Britain was warmer and drier than it is today, but during the period these conditions changed steadily until by the latter part of the second millennium B.C.E. the cooler, wetter climate was seriously impacting agriculture as formerly arable land became submerged in bogs and marsh. This condition was exacerbated by overgrazing and poor land management. Farmland was now a relatively scarce resource, and economic instability and competition for land are thought to have played a role in the greater importance of war in society. Although the hill forts and crannogs that came into use during this time had a defensive purpose, they also concentrated settlement and spared precious arable land for farming.

Arrival of the Iron Age in Britain

Knowledge of ironworking entered Britain before the end of the eighth century B.C.E. The earliest known sites where iron slag is found also contain artifacts in the style of what is called the Hallstatt C culture. Imported bronze and iron swords in Hallstatt C style have been found in different areas in Britain, especially in the southeast. However, typical Hallstatt C burials and settlements have not been found, their lack indicates the insular nature of British culture, in which only selected elements were chosen for imitation.

Only relatively few Hallstatt D (fifth–fourth century B.C.E.) artifacts have been found in Britain; these include daggers, razors, and horse trappings, some of them imported, the majority from native workshops. As in earlier times, native burial and settlement patterns persisted.

After the fourth century B.C.E. Britons partook of the La Tène culture, named after its type site in Switzerland, adopting many La Tène elements into their work in metals and other materials, but again reinterpreting them into their unique style. In common with other Celtic groups at this time, Britons in some areas increasingly aggregated into large hill forts.

LANGUAGE

The Britons spoke dialects of Brythonic or Brittonic, one of the branches of Insular Celtic (the other is Gaelic or Goidelic). Insular Celtic languages evolved in Britain and Ireland from Continental Celtic, which comprised Celtic languages spoken in mainland Europe, including Gaulish (or Gallic), all of which have disappeared and are little known. The Brythonic dialects are thought to represent a later evolution from Continental Celtic than the Gaelic dialects, which retain archaic features of pronunciation and grammar. Another set of terms for the two main Insular Celtic groups is p-Celtic (Brythonic) and q-Celtic (Gaelic), referring to the fact that Brythonic dialects substitute the letter *p* in words for *q*, another sign of evolution away from Continental Celtic. The British language spoken in areas of Britain aside from Wales and Cornwall did not survive the Anglo-Saxon period and little

Britons time line

B.C.E.

eighth century	Beginning of Iron Age in Britain
c. 325	Greek traveler Pytheas of Massilia visits Britain.
second century	Belgae from present-day Belgium either invade or emigrate to Britain.
55–54	Julius Caesar leads two military expeditions to Britain, possibly in attempted invasion.

C.E.

10	Territories of Catuvellauni and Trinovantes united by Catuvelluanian king Cunobelin.
43	Roman invasion of Britain; Emperor Claudius accepts surrender of Camulodunum.
50	London founded by Romans.
51	British war leader Caratacus is captured by Romans and sent to Rome.
60–61	Queen Boudicca of Iceni leads revolt against the Romans.
72–74	Roman campaign against Brigantes
74–77	Roman campaign against Silures
79–85	Agricola's northern campaign against Scots; defeat of northern tribes by Romans at Mons Graupius in 84
115	Northern tribesmen annihilate Roman garrison at Eboracum.
122	Roman emperor Hadrian tours Britain and has Hadrian's Wall built.
142	Antonine Wall built.
380s	Romano-British general Magnus Maximus leads revolt to usurp rule of Roman Britain.
fifth century	Angles, Jutes, Saxons occupy parts of Britain.
406	Romano-British general Constantine III declares himself emperor of Rome.
410	Roman troops and government officials withdrawn from Britain.
c. 518	Victory of Britons over Anglo-Saxons at Battle of Mons Badonicus.



is known about it; there are fewer inscriptions in British than in Gaulish. The Breton language developed among descendants of Britons who fled the Anglo-Saxons to settle in Brittany and probably has much in common with its ancestor.

HISTORY

The Early Britons in Greek Sources

The earliest historical sources on the Celts in general and the Britons in particular were Greek, probably as early as the sixth century B.C.E. The primary contacts of GREEKS with Celts took place in present-day southern France, where they established trade routes along rivers north into Hallstatt territories and in about 600 B.C.E. founded Massilia (modern Marseille, France) as a trading emporium at the mouth of the Rhône. But their trading interests included Britain, and an important trade route ran through the Carcassonne Gap in France and along the Garonne and Gironde Rivers to Brittany and Cornwall, both rich sources of tin used to make bronze. Greek travelers and traders probably visited Britain from at least this period forward. Later writers on Britain quote from a lost source of the sixth century, Hecataeus of Miletus, who called the Britons Hyperboreans. Another source, also lost but quoted by others, was Pytheas of Massilia, who from 320 to 310 B.C.E. sailed along the Atlantic coast to Britain and circumnavigated the island. Pytheas is known to have written a book about his voyage called *Peri tou okeanou* (On the ocean); and the information that the island of Britain was called by its inhabitants Albion, and that they called themselves Pretani or Priteni may have originated with him. Priteni is in all probability the derivation of the Latin Britannia. Pytheas made remarkably accurate measurements during his voyage; he estimated that in total the coastline of Britain was 42,500 stades (approximately 4,800 miles), comparable to today's estimate of 4,710 miles.

The Roman Diodorus Siculus, writing about Gaul and Britain, drew on the fourth–third-century B.C.E. Greek historian Timaeus of Tauromenium, whose own source is thought to have been Pytheas. Diodorus describes the inhabitants of Britain as being very friendly and as having adopted a civilized way of life as a result of their contacts with traders from the Mediterranean world. He writes that their behavior was "simple, very different from the shrewdness and vice that characterize the men of today," and that their lifestyle was modest without luxury or wealth. Britain had a large population and an extremely cold climate. British kings and chiefs generally lived at peace with one another.

The Early Britons in Roman Sources

According to Julius Caesar subtribes of the Belgae invaded southeastern Britain and were living in coastal regions at the time he visited in 55 and 54 B.C.E.; he gives no date for these raids. Finds of Gallo-Belgic coins show that some sort of contact between Britons and Belgae dated from the end of the second century B.C.E.; by the time of Caesar's visit coins were being made in Britain. Through migration or trade by the end of the first century B.C.E. southeastern Britain had more in common with the Belgic regions across the English Channel than with many regions in the rest of Britain.



This iron and bronze linchpin, decorated with enamel studs, was used by Britons in the early first century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

There seems to have been some migration of British tribes within Britain as well; probably in the first century B.C.E. Britons moved into southwestern Scotland and founded a kingdom in Strathclyde whose capital was Dumbarton.

Early Roman Expeditions

In 55 B.C.E. Julius Caesar led an expedition to southern Britain, probably because tribes there had sent aid to Armorican tribes in Britanny who had staged a revolt against the Romans the year before. Caesar embarked from Portus Itius (Boulogne) with two legions, comprising some 10,000 troops, and after crossing the English Channel landed at present-day Deal in Kent. Although initial skirmishes with British troops were successful for the Romans, bad weather



This 1895 print shows Julius Caesar leading Romans to Britain in 55 B.C.E. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-72046])*

prevented necessary cavalry troops from joining Caesar, forcing him to cut the expedition short.

The next year, 54 B.C.E., Caesar sailed to Britain again with a much larger force of five legions and 2,000 cavalry troops. With this force Caesar encountered little resistance from Britons, allowing him to march 12 miles inland to the river Stour. British forces made a stand at a ford on the Stour (later the town of Canterbury) but were easily dispersed. The Britons then retreated to a hill fort, which the Seventh Roman legion attacked and captured. However, as had happened a year earlier a storm hampered Caesar's plans by wrecking many of his boats, forcing him to retreat to the shore and build a land fort to guard against the sabotage of the rest of his fleet, which had been beached for protection against the weather.

This hiatus gave the Britons under Cassivellaunus, ruler of the CATUVELLAUNI, a chance to regroup and assemble a large force. The Romans were able to handle this force as well, though less easily. Cassivellaunus, unable to win an outright battle against the Romans, resorted to guerrilla and scorched-earth tactics and used chariots to harrass the Roman legions. He also launched a counterattack against the Roman stronghold on the coast. His efforts were jeopardized, however, by neighboring tribes who resented domination by Cassivellaunus; these included the TRINOVANTES and their allies the ANCALITES, BIBROCI, CASSI, CENIMAGNI, and SEGONTIACI (the latter five tribes, known to us only through Caesar's account), who declared themselves allies of the Romans. In the end Cassivellaunus surrendered to Caesar. He was given lenient terms, however, and further unrest in Gaul caused Caesar to end his expedition.

Extension of Roman Influence before Conquest

An apparently important burial, in a cemetery in Lexden, contained a medallion issued by the Roman emperor and an iron stool, a symbol of power. This grave had been covered by a huge barrow, further marking its significance. Roman sources attest that princes from Britain visited Augustan Rome, where, in all probability, they were presented with medallions and other gifts (even as Native American tribesmen were presented with medals by the United States government) as Augustus sought to widen Rome's sphere of influence.

The distribution of coin finds from this period documents the emergence of two distinct kingdoms on the sides of the river Thames. The northern kingdom encompassed the tribal territories of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, which were united in about 10 C.E. by the Catuvellaunian king Cunobelin (Cymbeline). The kingdom south of the Thames was ruled by kings who were courting Roman favor, judging by their coins stamped with the image of a vine leaf, symbol of the Roman wine that was being imported into Britain in vast amounts.

Important *oppida* (towns) at this time were Camulodunum (modern Colchester) of the Trinovantes and Verulamium (modern St. Albans) of the Catuvellauni; these, along with other large *oppida* in southern Britain, would later develop into important Roman towns.

The Roman Invasion

The Romans under the emperor Claudius I invaded Britain in 43 C.E. Far less is known in detail about this invasion because it lacked a chronicler of the caliber of Caesar. Claudius very likely organized the campaign in the hope of a victory to consolidate his hold on power in Rome, which was threatened by a movement to restore the republic.

The invasion apparently was launched mainly from Richborough in Kent, where a

major Roman military installation dating from this time has been found. The motives for the invasion are unknown. The initial campaign was so successful that later in the year Emperor Claudius himself traveled to Britain to receive the surrender of the *oppidum* (town) Camulodunum of the Trinovantes. The Romans then moved north to Lindum (modern Lincoln) and west to Deva (modern Chester) and Isca Silurum (modern Caerleon) of the SILURES. The Britons' resistance was led by Caractacus (Caradoc) and Togodumnus of the Catuvellauni, who had divided the kingdom of Cunobelin between them. The British forces gradually retreated before the Romans. Eventually Caratacus found refuge with either the ORDOVICES of Powys, or the CORNOVII of Shropshire in western Britain. After a final losing battle in 51 C.E. Caratacus was betrayed to the Romans by Queen Cartimandua of the BRIGANTES, among whom he had sought protection. He was taken to Rome in chains, along with his wife and family, and paraded before Claudius. The fortitude of his bearing impressed Claudius so much that he pardoned him and maintained him and his family in comfort in Rome for seven years. During this time many of his family became Christians, and after they returned to Britain, they worked to convert their fellow Britons.

According to the account of the invasion by the second–third-century C.E. Roman writer Dio Cassius (Cocceianus), the Romans invaded after an appeal for help by an exiled king Verica of the southern ATREBATES. On the other hand the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. tells of the implacable resistance of the Britons, followed by subjugation and enslavement. In the words of the British chieftain Calgacus, reported in the *Agricola* written by Tacitus about his father-in-law, Agricola's campaign in Britain, the Romans created desolation only to call it peace.

Many scholars now question Tacitus's version of events, particularly in light of evidence that important British tribes were practically Roman allies, and that trade with some Britons was flourishing. The Greek writer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. tells us that British kings dedicated offerings to Rome and had virtually made the island a Roman province. Togidubnus of the REGNI engaged in a large-scale building program of palaces and temples and promoted the growth of towns and of municipal self-government along the line of towns in Gaul.

Togidubnus's capital was at Noviomagus (modern Chichester); an inscription found there calls him Great King of Britain. A complex of Roman buildings near Fishbourne near the south coast of Britain was discovered to include a large Claudian military stores depot, suggesting that the invasion was launched from here as well as in Kent, further evidence that Togidubnus was an ally. The excavators of Fishbourne found that later in the first century C.E. the depot had expanded into a palace. A gold signet ring found there was inscribed "Tiberius Claudius Catuarus"; the last name is British. This evidently was a Briton granted Roman citizenship by the emperor Claudius; moreover he had been given senatorial or equestrian rank, as only the Roman aristocracy was entitled to wear a gold ring. This evidence suggests that whatever the scale of the invasion, it was welcomed by at least some British tribes as a way of increasing their wealth and status. It may even be that the Fishbourne palace belonged to Togidubnus himself.

During the first 20 years after the Roman arrival steady growth continued in the region. The old tribal center on the coast at Selsey was abandoned for Noviomagus; in the north Calleva (modern Silchester) continued on the same site. A self-governing *municipium* was established at the old Catuvellaunian center of Verulamium. This promising beginning was interrupted, however, by the Boudiccan revolt in 60–61 C.E.

Queen Boudicca's Revolt

In 60–61 C.E. Queen Boudicca (Boadicea) (see sidebar, p. 94) of the ICENI in eastern Britain led her people as well as Trinovantes in a revolt in which Camulodunum, Verulamium, and Londinium (modern London) were sacked and destroyed. This war was directed as much against fellow Britons as against Romans, because Verulamium was a self-governing *municipium* of the Trinovantes, and Londinium, founded by the Romans in about 50 C.E., was home to many Britons as well. Roman accounts say that 70,000 Romans were killed. The revolt succeeded in part because the governor of Britain, Suetonius Paulinus, was away on an expedition to deal with the SILURES in northern Wales. The revolt was finally suppressed when Suetonius gathered his armies and met Boudicca in battle at an unknown site, reportedly killing 80,000 of her warriors. She herself also died, possibly by taking her own life.

Tacitus, in emphasizing British opposition to Roman rule, may have downplayed the role of Rome's powerful British allies in helping to quell the Boudiccan rebellion; the fact

Queen Boudicca: Leader of the Briton Resistance

Boudicca is also known as Boadicea. Little is known of her early life. She was the wife of Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni, a tribe of Britons in the present-day county of Norfolk and in parts of adjoining counties in eastern England. She had at least two daughters.

In 43 C.E. the Iceni had surrendered their kingdom to the conquering Romans and the rule of Emperor Claudius. Prasutagus had been allowed to rule as a client-king of the Romans. Upon his death in 60 C.E. he left half his property to the Roman emperor Nero and half to his daughters.

According to the Roman writer Tacitus, Queen Boudicca's revolt of 60–61 C.E. started as a protest against the arrogance of the legionary veterans in the new *colonia* at Camulodunum. The corrupt procurator of the province seems to have attempted to encroach on the queen's prerogatives and those of other noble Iceni. Moreover the legionary veterans were not kept under adequate control and committed various acts of repression that inflamed the Iceni. Finally Boudicca was beaten publicly and her daughters were raped. The Roman writer Dio Cassius maintains, however, that the real cause of the revolt was the calling in of large loans made to the province by the Roman philosopher Seneca, which caused financial hardship among the Iceni.

In any case the Romans underestimated the leadership capabilities of Queen Boudicca. She led a rebellion in which the Iceni destroyed a number of Roman-held towns in the region, reportedly wiping out the populations and dismantling the houses stone by stone. She also defeated the Ninth Legion in battle, the largest such action taken by Britons. The Iceni continued pillaging Roman settlements for nearly two years until the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus raised an army and defeated the Iceni in a battle, the site of which is not known. It is thought that soon after this defeat in 61 C.E. Queen Boudicca took her own life by poison rather than be taken prisoner.

Queen Boudicca is a British icon of national resistance. During the Victorian age a number of different painters and sculptors honored her. She has been cited as a feminist heroine in numerous texts. A statue of her stands on the Westminster Bridge in London. One theory holds that her body lies under London's King's Cross underground station.



From her Chariot, Queen Boudicca of the Iceni rallies Britons before a battle with the Romans, in this late-19th-century painting. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-122138])*

that Togidubnus's towns of Calleva and Noviomagus were untouched may be evidence that his armies protected them. More compelling are that even after such a devastating rebellion, much of southeastern Britain remained in the hands of British kings and few Roman forts were built in the region. Togidubnus's realm was expanded after the rebellion, possibly as a reward for his aid. His territory may now have included the area of Aquae Sulis or Bath; at this time a new and unusual temple to Neptune and Minerva was constructed at Bath, at vast expense, to house the sacred spring of the British goddess Sul.

Continuing Conflict

Important campaigns against other British tribes included one waged from 72 to 74 C.E. against the Brigantes, who repeatedly attacked Eboracum (modern York) in northern Britain, and another against the Silures from 74 to 77 C.E. Resistance to Roman rule by the Ordovices caused then-governor Gnaeus Julius Agricola to lead a campaign from 79 to 85 C.E. to subdue them. This culminated in a victorious battle in 84 at a place called Mons Graupius, whose location is unknown but may have been north of Perth in Scotland. Securing the region north to the Firth of Forth, Agricola then led his armies all the way through Scotland, called by the Romans Caledonia, to the Firth of Clyde. The only source of information on this campaign is the Roman historian Tacitus, son-in-law of Agricola. Agricola and some of his troops were recalled in 84 C.E. to aid in campaigns against Germanic tribes east of the Rhine, and no further attempts were made to annex Caledonia.

Many scholars believe Tacitus exaggerated British resistance to make Agricola's northern campaign appear more glorious; some even doubt that the Battle of Mons Graupius was ever fought. There seems to have been debate in Rome as to whether his campaign so far north was necessary and whether the territory offered enough economic incentive to justify the effort and expense involved in its annexation. After the border was rolled back to the line of Hadrian's Wall, the northern tribes were successfully contained behind it for many years; it may be that Agricola's campaign and decisive victory were the deterrents responsible for this; on the other hand, the tribes may never have posed much of a threat, so his campaign was unnecessary. Thus it was certainly in Tacitus's interest to help his father-in-law politically by portraying the

northern tribes as a threat to Rome. In any case Agricola was recalled to Rome after his campaign and never served in Britain again. No further efforts were made to secure the territory north of the Forth, and the tribes there, the PICTS, were never subjugated. Tacitus notes with evident bitterness that his father-in-law's efforts to add another province to the empire had simply been abandoned.

Hadrian's Wall

Hadrian's Wall was built after the emperor Hadrian toured Britain in 122 C.E. and determined that the territory to the north should not be annexed. A deadly rebellion seven years before, in 115, in which northern tribesmen annihilated the Roman garrison at Eboracum, had shown the need for a change in the status quo. Hadrian's solution was to build a fortified wall 73 miles long, reaching from Solway Firth, on the Irish Sea, to the mouth of the Tyne River. The wall was actually a sort of extended fort, with fortified structures or "fortlets" at set intervals along its length.

Twenty years later another wall, called the Antonine Wall, was built across the narrowest part of the island, from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, but the territory between it and Hadrian's Wall to the south functioned as a "no man's land," or buffer zone, between the northern tribes and Roman territory. For 200 years Hadrian's Wall marked the effective northernmost limit of the Roman Empire. It attracted small settlements of subsistence farmers along its length, probably for the security provided by the presence of Roman troops. However, it does not seem to have fostered economic growth in its immediate region. Its function seems to have been more as a forward staging area for expeditions by Roman troops to the north.

For the rest of the Roman era three legions were needed to keep northern Britain secure; this compares to the whole of northern Africa, which needed only one. The situation was far different in the south, where few Roman forts were built.

The End of Roman Britain

Germanic tribesmen, including Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons, from across the English Channel in present-day Schleswig-Holstein in Germany near the Danish coast, began raiding in Britain in the early fifth century and possibly as early as the late fourth century C.E. Roman governance in Britain ended in 410 with the withdrawal of the legions and government officials. Emperor Honorius, in issuing the order for the withdrawal, commanded that the Britons should now look after themselves. In about 430 groups of the Germanic tribesmen, whom historians call collectively Anglo-Saxons, began to settle in eastern Britain, with the main episode of early settlement in the mid-fifth century. Only in the sixth century did the Anglo-Saxons win control of most of lowland Britain. A generation or more separates established large-scale Anglo-Saxon settlement from the collapse of the Roman order.

The exact cause of the Roman collapse and how much of a role in it the Anglo-Saxons played are unclear. Events elsewhere in the empire, such as economic instability generated by loss of territory and tax revenues and the need to send the troops in Britain to defend other borders, undoubtedly were important factors. Another was a series of revolts by the army in Britain during the period 340–411, in which usurpers wanting to rule over Britain were backed each time by the Britons. These were Magnus Maximus in the 380s and Constantine III, who declared himself emperor of the whole Roman Empire in 406.

Anglo-Saxon Invasion and the Survival of the Britons: Myth and Legend

The Anglo-Saxon incursions had begun after Germanic *foederati* (federates), allies of the Romans, were invited to settle in Britain as a reward for their service in the fourth century C.E. According to a traditional story recorded by the British writer Gildas, Germanic tribesmen, mostly Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, were invited by a British king named Vortigern to help defend his kingdom against the Picts in the mid-fifth century. It is not known whether or not this really happened. The tradition of the Britons' inviting into their midst peoples who would ultimately lead to their own destruction may have derived from fourth-century German settlements that were sanctioned by Romano-British authorities. Unrest between these mercenaries and their employers in the southeast of England led to large-scale Germanic incursions and settlements near the coasts and along the river valleys. The Franks were part of this invasion. The incursions were halted for a generation by native resistance. Tradition associates this resistance with the names of Ambrosius Aurelianus and a British war leader named Arthur or Artorius (who may have served as the model for King Arthur),

which culminated in a victory in about 518 (some sources say 500) by the Britons at the Battle of Mons Badonicus (Mt. Badon) at an unidentified location.

This victory, if it happened, only temporarily stemmed the Anglo-Saxon tide, and before the sixth century had ended, the Britons had been driven west to the borders of Dumnonia (modern Cornwall and Devon), once the homeland of the DUMNONII, and to the Welsh Marches, while invaders were advancing west of the Pennines and northward into Lothian. In western Britain the Britons were able to keep out the Germanic tribesmen, and for some centuries a British hegemony was established there, particularly in Wales, which seems to have maintained some elements of the previous Romano-British culture, such as Latin literacy, classical tastes, and trade links with the Mediterranean. This culture has sometimes been interpreted to mean that Britons in the west retained the whole political framework inherited from the Romans of the fourth century. However, it may mean no more than that the native elites used the forms and symbols of *Romanitas* to legitimize their claims to wealth and power. Their Roman-looking material culture may have been no more than a thin veneer. But British Celtic languages continued to be spoken in Wales and Cornwall almost to the present day.

Many Britons in Anglo-Saxon territories in the east survived to become slaves or servants of their conquerors. Excavations of cemeteries there show that about half of the graves during the fifth and sixth centuries are of Britons and half of Anglo-Saxons; the weapons and rich grave goods of the latter show they were clearly masters and the poverty of British graves indicates they were servants.

The term Britons ceased to be used to designate a specific nation or people about that time. The Britons who lived in areas dominated by the Anglo-Saxons had assimilated with them to the extent that a new term came into use: English. Britons and Anglo-Saxons had fused into a new people. The Britons who had emigrated into western Britain, together with indigenous tribes, were called after this time the Welsh. Tribes in the southwesternmost peninsula of Britain came to be called Cornish. All these peoples are grouped together as British.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

Farming in Bronze Age Britain British society, like that of the rest of Celtic Europe, was based on farming. The majority of the population lived in farming homesteads scattered fairly evenly over the countryside. In regions where a substantial proportion of the land was wetland, arable land was spared for farming by building crannog settlements on artificial islands in lakes. In the case of some hill forts, much of the land within them was farmed and subjected to intensive soil improvement measures such as manuring. The earliest use of Danebury hill-fort in Wessex in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. was apparently as a communal grain storage area and cattle pen, probably during the autumn and winter. People living in areas where streams or rivers were prone to flooding had recourse to building walled areas to protect fields, cattle, and stored grain.

The climate and hilly landscape of Britain differed from that of Celtic European lands in being more suited to stock farming than cereal raising; sheep were important. Britain was especially affected by the cooler, wetter climate of the Late Bronze Age. Cereals were grown but in only garden-scale plots; cereal such as barley may have been more important for brewing beer than for baking bread. In the Late Bronze Age and into the Iron Age the increase in the numbers of animals being kept led to wall construction and increasing landscaping.

A common farming technique, especially in northern Britain, was the use of "cord riggs," narrow ridges of earth about a yard across formed by spades or hoes rather than plows.

In Iron Age Britain wild animals and plants seem to have formed an insignificant proportion of the total diet. But where wild animal remains are found on sites, they often are from ritual deposits, possibly indicating that hunting and eating wild animals and fish are taboo and only allowed on special occasions.

Trade Trade with the Continent in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age was organized into two basic networks: one along the Atlantic coast to western Britain and another from northern France and present-day Belgium and Netherlands carrying goods from the interior along the Rhine. Trade with Britain had been important since the beginning of the Bronze Age because one of the few sources of tin in Europe, which was alloyed with copper to make bronze, was in Cornwall. Dartmoor had copper, gold, and silver. Ireland was particularly rich in gold, and British traders acted as middlemen to transship Irish gold to Europe. One

important port was Mount Batten, a headland on the south bank of the Plym estuary in Devon, located 12 miles south of Dartmoor; ores would have been transported by boat along the Plym River. From there they probably were transported to Brittany, the Kingdom of Tartessus in present-day southern Spain, and, after the seventh century, to the Greek trading city of Massalia in present-day southern France.

In the earlier Iron Age trade with the Continent centered on Wessex with its port at Hengistbury; three different rivers in the region are called Avon, probably derived from the Celtic word for river, *afon*. After the Belgae established themselves in eastern Britain, they traded extensively with other Gauls. As long as the traffic consisted in small quantities of relatively precious materials, the river routes centering on the three Avons were the best channels of long-distance contact.

When materials began to be carried in bulk, as trade with the Romans became more important, the Thames corridor, with its wide, east-facing estuary (convenient for the Rhine and the Seine), began to be a more suitable route of entry. Thus the importance of London as a trading center was a product of the Romans' expansion of trade. Britons obtained large quantities of wine from the Romans in exchange for hides.

Government and Society

Throughout much of the Celtic period society in Britain remained relatively unchanged and was very similar to that in other Celtic areas, as most of the population engaged in little more than subsistence farming. Kings and warrior elites existed, as attested by the hill forts and by luxury items such as finely wrought swords, shields, and jewelry from the period, but their lifestyle was more probably the exception than the rule. In some areas, such as in southeastern Britain, hill forts were the dominant settlement form, demonstrating the existence of a hierarchical society; more of Britain, however, featured scattered agricultural settlements of varying character and size, whose long histories show that people had found a way of living in a stable equilibrium with their environment. Each community was relatively self-sufficient, with craftsmen supplying their needs for metalwork, cloth and clothing, pottery, and other items. Metalworkers, in particular, probably were held in high esteem in society.

Society during the Celtic period was not static, however, and there was a trend toward greater social stratification with accumulation of wealth by the elite, as well as an increasing importance of trade, which both fostered and was strengthened by the increasing size of population centers. The growing influence of Rome accelerated these changes.

Romanization of the Britons The extent to which Britons accepted Roman rule and culture has been difficult to assess. There has been a tendency for scholars to describe Romanization of the Britons as either highly successful or strongly resisted throughout the Roman period. Archaeological finds answer some questions. Some tribes in the south do seem to have welcomed the coming of the Romans; others did not.

The Roman road system, established within a generation or two after the Roman occupation in the first century C.E., played a crucial role in transforming Britain into a Roman province. The road system fostered the growth of planned towns and in turn of the economic system. Roads were laid out with a sophisticated surveying system, with gravel surfaces and bridges where necessary. In contrast to the roads of the Britons, which followed natural routes such as river valleys, the routes of Roman roads in many cases were dictated by economic or military needs and would not necessarily follow the easiest route in terms of landscape but would connect forts or towns by the shortest route. As a result the relationship of people to the landscape was greatly altered. Rivers were also an important mode of transportation, particularly of bulk trade goods; the Romans facilitated the use of rivers by creating harbors at ports to aid loading and unloading.

The Romans founded colonies (*coloniae*) of Roman citizens. These were organized into *civitates* (singular, *civitas*), self-governed regions based largely on tribal territories. Each *civitas* had a capital, often at the location of a British *oppidum,* although new towns were sometimes established. They were typically governed by the Britons themselves, although under the supervision of Roman provincial administration based in London. This system saved money and made allies of potential enemies, in effect Romanizing the Celtic aristocracy. These *civitates* generally had an elected council and magistrates. New building materials and Roman architectural styles were used to construct shops, public buildings, and large private homes.

Parts of Britain were organized into the Roman villa system of large farming estates; in

regions farther from the town-road system, farming patterns, including primary crops and field systems, remained unchanged. Many of the changes by the Romans, such as expansion of trade and abandonment of hill forts, had already been under way before the conquest. Roman influence had preceded Roman arms.

Large-scale surveys of rates of building in Roman towns and cities across Britain reveal a clear pattern of high activity in urban areas from about 75 to 150 C.E. in public building, and construction of most private townhouses took place from about 150 to 225. Urban occupation (measured by rooms in use) reached peak levels in the early third century. After that, however, civic construction work largely ceased as resources were diverted into building town walls in the mid- to late third century C.E. From around 325 Romano-British towns faced terminal decline. Few new buildings were erected, and by about 400 many old ones were abandoned.

The villa system also was central to Romanization of the British economy. Roman villas were worked by slaves and serfs called *villeins,* perhaps the fate of many of the British natives. Archaeological surveys show that 300 marked the peak of new building work undertaken on villas; by the year 350 this amount fell by almost two-thirds. A majority of villas had been abandoned by about 375 and virtually all by about 400.

Native villages and farmsteads fared somewhat better, but many were still deserted or contracted sharply in the fourth century. A survey of 317 native rural sites in the Severn valley/Welsh Marches region discovered a decrease of 27 percent in the number occupied between the years 100–150 and 350–400.

Dwellings and Architecture

Roundhouses The dwellings of the Britons were similar to those of most Celtic peoples; the roundhouse was the basic building style, with smaller rectangular structures used as outbuildings. Buildings were made with the wattle and daub technique, consisting of upright timbers interwoven with hazel, oak, ash, or willow saplings, and plastered with a mixture of clay, straw, and manure. Roundhouses had conical thatched roofs and sometimes an entrance porch. The saplings used in building and also for firewood were probably obtained by coppicing, the practice of cutting down trees to stumps from which saplings sprouted, a far easier method of obtaining usable wood than cutting down full-sized trees. In northern Britain roundhouses were more commonly made of stone; farmsteads were often surrounded by roughly rectangular enclosures consisting of a stone wall or a bank and ditch.

Roundhouses had raised wooden platforms against the interior walls to use as seating and also as beds. At the center of the house was an open hearth fire, which would have been kept burning at all times. They had no chimneys; instead, the porous thatched roof absorbed smoke. Pots made of local clay and, for the wealthier, bronze cauldrons suspended by a chain over the fire were used for cooking. Wheel-thrown pottery began to be made during Iron Age Britain.

Oppida *Oppida,* sometimes built as hill forts, were enclosed villages in which much of the acreage was given over to farm fields. A farm settlement in Cornwall studied by archaeologists is typical, although relatively large, covering some 30 acres. It contains the remains of about 90 structures; most of these represent the repeated rebuildings of about 10 farmsteads, each consisting of about four roundhouses and a four-post structure, possibly a small grain store. The settlement, located in a floodplain, was repeatedly flooded during its early years; the houses built then were insubstantial thatched structures supported on rings of narrow stakes. The earlier settlement lacked the deep bell-shaped pits usually used by Britons for long-term storage. Despite the transient nature of these dwellings, each is surrounded by a broken ("pennanular") storm-water gulley showing the inhabitants' attempts to cope with their wet environment. House entrances faced southeast, as was traditional in the British Iron Age. Stone-lined underground passages, called *fogous,* are often associated with settlements; their purpose is unknown. Various possibilities include grain storage, hiding places in case of war, and shrines for religious rituals.

Later in the Celtic period as trade increased in importance some *oppida* began to resemble towns more than farming hamlets, with most of their area given to houses organized along streets, and people worked in craft industries. At Danebury hill fort in Wessex in the latter half of the sixth century the first in a long series of what were probably shrines was built in the center facing the east entrance. Much more of its area was given to dwellings built along roads in addition to larger granaries

than earlier in its existence. Occupation in Danebury continued for centuries, and multiple, well-stratified occupation and rebuilding layers can clearly be seen. During its last phase, until 100 B.C.E., when its main gate was burned, stone-measuring weights found there suggest trading activity, as do the salt containers, iron ingots, imported shale for making of bracelets, and evidence of bronze making. Pits near the entrance contained mutilated bodies, evidence that Danebury, perhaps because of its wealth, met its demise in war.

In general, *oppida* were well organized, with paved roads and distinct work and settlement areas. Metalworking, pottery making, and the fashioning of shale, bone, and amber into ornaments took place on a larger scale in hill forts than in most of the countryside. The largest *oppidium* yet found in Britain, near Reading, may have been as much as 300 acres in area. Dozens of timber and thatched houses in the hill fort were arranged in regular rows; each house was nearly eight meters in diameter, some with extensions that may have been porches. There is evidence of steam baths that may have taken the form of tents in which water was poured over heated stones. Wells some four meters in diameter and a meter and a half deep provided water. Environmental evidence shows that wheat, barley, and flax were grown.

Defensive Structures Many Late Bronze Age defensive sites in Britain consisted of simple enclosures of banks and ditches with ramparts faced with timber framing and filled with earth and stone rubble. They are distributed fairly evenly over the countryside, illustrating the lack of much concentration of political power, but also suggesting that warfare was probably endemic. Late Bronze Age hill forts in Britain, though fewer in number, were basically similar to those built all over the mainland as far away as Poland.

Another form of defensive structure typical of the British Isles was the crannog, an artificial island built in a lake or marsh by driving a circular framework of vertical timbers into the lake floor and filling it with boulders and clay topped with a timber, clay-covered platform on which a house was built. Many crannogs were used for centuries, long after it was forgotten that they were not natural formations. One unusually large crannog was built in Flag Fen in Peterborough, England, around 1000 B.C.E.; an estimated million logs were used in its construction. It supported multiple rectangular buildings, a departure from the usual roundhouse. Some have proposed that crannogs were built less for defensive purposes than for reservation of valuable arable land to farming. The rich water meadows of Flag Fen would have been prime grazing grounds. The timbers preserved by their immersion in water show the very high level of woodworking skill of the builders, even though they were using only adzes and chisels unchanged from those of the past.

Organized systems of timber trackways were built in the wetland regions to connect crannogs and other settlements. Tracks were constructed of transverse bearers pegged into place by long stakes driven through holes in the planks and resting on a substructure often of birch and alder brushwood. Other tracks had walking surfaces of bundles of brushwood pegged into place along the sides and in the middle.

Transportation

Several British boats have been found dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, built with planks, stitched together with bindings of yew and caulked with moss held in position with oaken laths. Transverse timbers connected the bottom planks laterally. The ends of the boats were closed with watertight transoms (horizontal timbers); they would have been propelled by oars. Flat-bottomed boats of this kind date from as early as 1350 to as late as 800 B.C.E., showing that this building tradition was long-lived. The boats seem to have been used for river travel.

Other Technologies

Metalworking In Late Bronze Age Britain native metalworking was strongly influenced by Hallstatt styles. After 1000 B.C.E. new metal types were introduced, including leaf-shaped swords or flanged-tanged swords, leaf-shaped spearheads, spearheads with peghole fixings instead of loops, and socketed ax heads. British smiths mastered the casting of sockets and rivet holes and the production of large and complex objects using clay and metal molds. By the beginning of the Iron Age they had also mastered the "lost-wax" technique, used for casting on the handles of buckets and cauldrons. Britons used bronzes alloyed with lead, possibly because they allowed large-scale and rapid production of popular types of artifacts. Numerous leaded bronze objects from this time were poorly finished and perhaps were intended for a mass market.

British smiths made thin bronze shields useless for defense, as did smiths in Europe, underscoring the fact that bronze was at least as important as a precious metal as gold, used for display and prestige. On the other hand many useful items were made of bronze, such as flesh hooks to lift pieces of meat out of stews simmering in cauldrons.

Resources Britain was an important source for both tin and copper, which were needed to make bronze; ingots of these ores, as well as bronze itself, were exported from Britain to the rest of Europe throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. Britons also exported gold and silver.

Coal was first used as a fuel in Britain in the Iron Age before the arrival of the Romans. Large quantities of coal fragments, many of them burned or charred, have been found in the defensive ditches of an enclosed Late Iron Age settlement at Port Seton near Edinburgh.

Romano-British Technology A major lead-mining operation was created by the Romans in an area of Wessex called the Mendips; this natural resource was hardly used by the pre-Roman peoples. In general, under the Romans, the levels of production in many existing industries increased dramatically, such as that of pottery. Innovations such as the potter's wheel also came into use on a large scale at this time. In the construction industry bricks, tiles, shale, and stone began to be used in addition to wattle, daub, and timber.

Art

British artisans were highly influenced by the stylized curvilinear art style called La Tène, which originated in the Rhine-Moselle region of France and Germany. They reinterpreted the La Tène style into a local variant in which certain motifs and forms were favored. For example, a comma-shaped decorative motif common in La Tène art borders and for evocation of sprouting plants was used by British artisans in threes to form disks reminiscent of the Chinese yin-yang symbol. Dragon pairs were a common motif on British swords. Characteristic of British metalwork at this time were the incised geometric or curvilinear shapes that were set off by areas of cross-hatching, giving an impression of shading.

Fine examples of British art include the Battersea Shield, the Thames bronze helmet, and the Snettisham gold torc (torque), a necklace of twisted metal. The Battersea Shield (from as early as the fourth century), actually a bronze cover for a wooden shield, is in the La Tène style. The bronze helmet is the only Iron Age helmet with horns ever to have been found anywhere in Europe. The torc, dating from the first century B.C.E., was made with just over a kilogram of gold mixed with silver. It is made from 64 threads of gold wire, which were twisted together to make eight separate ropes of metal. These were then twisted around each other to make the final torque. The elaborate terminals of the torque were mold cast and then welded onto the ropes. The complexity of design and execution of the torc rivals others made at the time anywhere in the world, including Greece, Rome, and China.

One of the most famous artworks of the Celtic period in Britain is the Uffington White Horse, a 110-foot-long figure cut into the turf-covered chalk south of Uffington village on the Berkshire downs. The cuts made into the green turf reveal the white chalk beneath. The horse shape is evoked with masterful economy by a single curving line from tail tip to nose, with four graceful lines for legs, giving an impression of flowing speed. The horse is situated below an Iron Age hill fort but was made earlier, in the Bronze Age around 1000 B.C.E. In subsequent centuries other similar figures were made elsewhere in Britain, perhaps inspired by the Uffington horse. Iron Age Britons may have identified the horse with the horse goddess Epona. The chalk cuts need to be scoured clear of vegetation periodically, as has been done continuously since it was created; it is thought that in Celtic times this scouring took the form of a religious ritual.

Romano-British Art Pottery and other artifacts made in Britain after the Roman conquest evolved into a distinct style incorporating elements of both Roman and British styles into a true synthesis. Pottery in the new style is known initially around 130 C.E.; at this time even Roman soldiers began using pottery with recognizably British characteristics—in type of clay used, shape, and decoration. An important industry in this new style is called Castor ware, made in large quantities in Northamptonshire. It had a highly glazed surface and ornamentation in relief resembling Samian Ware, the dominant Roman pottery type. There were many animal groups on this ware, particularly hunting scenes, but only rarely human figures, possibly because British artisans lacked the specialized training needed to create human figures with enough realism to satisfy Roman customers. The reliefs were made not by stamping with dies as Romans did but by squeezing out wet clay from funnels somewhat

like those used today to decorate cakes with icing.

A masterwork of Romano-British art is a relief from the temple of Sul-Minerva at Bath, made during the first century C.E. It shows the face of a bearded Gorgon on the shield of the Roman goddess Minerva.

Literature

The Roman officer Agricola is said to have thought that the Britons were superior to the Gauls in literature and rhetoric. Yet no British poet or writer of the Roman era has left a name for posterity. It is in the realm of religion and philosophy that the British monk and theologian Pelagius and the Irish patron saint Patrick made their mark in the fourth and fifth centuries. Pelagius developed a Christian theology that challenged the prevailing ideas of St. Augustine and became influential enough to warrant being damned by the Roman Church as heresy. Pelagius preached the freedom of the human will, in contrast to Augustine's insistence on predestination and God's grace as the only hope of salvation. St. Patrick's most famous work is *Confession,* an account of his career.

The writer, the earliest British writer known by name, Gildas was a monk born in Scotland of noble British parents in about 516. He was educated in Wales. After embracing Christianity and living for a time in Ireland he retreated to an island off the coast of Brittany. There he wrote *De excidio Britannae liber querulus,* which includes an outline of British history from the Roman invasion to his own time, and an epistle of severe rebuke addressed to five petty British kings, Constantine, Vortipor, Cyneglas, Cynan, and Maelgwn. In the same epistle he addresses the British clergy, accusing them of the sins of sloth and simony. His writings reveal Gildas to be a man of considerable culture for his time, with a thorough knowledge of Scripture. He died in 570 and was later canonized as a saint of the Roman Catholic Church. Gildas is considered the first British historian and was quoted by the later Anglo-Saxon historians Bede and Alcun.

Religion

Religious practices among the Britons were not confined to special ritual sites. The sacred pervaded every aspect of life, including daily activities. Religious belief documented in medieval Welsh literature has close analogues with that of Ireland. As in other Celtic lands, the names of gods and goddesses differed, but their functions were similar. The Irish goddess Brighid, for example, had British equivalents in the goddess Sul (Sulis), the healing goddess of Bath (known to the Romans as Acquae Sulis), and Brigantia of the tribe of the Brigantes of northern Britain. The Welsh Lleu was called Lugh in Ireland, and Lugus in Gaul. This god may be the same as the god Caesar calls Mercury. There is some reason to believe that Britain was the heartland of the Druids' religion, and that Stonehenge, a monumental stone construction built in the Early Bronze Age, was a center of Druidic worship. Julius Caesar mentions that the seat of Druidic learning was in Britain and that Gauls would send their sons there to study.

Romano-British Religion Although the impact of the Romans on British religion appears dramatic, judging by the many temples they built in Roman style, the native British and Roman religious systems were similar in a number of ways. Both venerated sacred places in the landscape and practiced ritual sacrifice and corresponding festivals during the year. Celtic gods had many analogues with gods of the Romans. Though Roman temples had many classical elements, their style represented a true fusion of the Roman and the Celtic, as did the cults practiced in them. Burial practices changed, and there was a general shift toward cremation. In all, however, the Roman tradition of religious tolerance ensured that a strong strain of indigenous British religious practice would endure.

Many sacred sites from the pre-Roman period remained so after the invasion. Many were rebuilt in the early Roman period on virtually the same plan and directly on top of preceding British temples, only differing in being larger. Even at Bath, one of the most truly classical sites in Britain, continuity probably prevailed. Although the appearance of the sacred spring changed dramatically, this was in all probability merely an overlay upon the cult of the Celtic goddess Sulis, now called Sul Minerva. The use of sacred springs and rivers as ritual sites had a long history among Britons. Bronze and gold objects such as torcs and pieces of horse gear were "sacrificed" by being thrown into rivers, such as the Thames, where many objects have been found.

Christianity Christianity was established in Britain under the auspices of the Romans, and by the fourth century C.E. Britons were sending missionaries to pagan peoples. The most famous of these was probably St. Patrick, who established Christianity and a distinctive Celtic form of church organization in Ireland in the fifth century. With the Anglo-Saxons,

BRUTTII

location:
Southwestern Italy

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic); some Greek as well

Christianity disappeared in all but western and northern Britain and Scotland.

Until the expansion of the Roman Empire into Britain it is not clear that in terms of ethnicity its inhabitants had changed to any great extent since the Neolithic Age or even earlier. In culture as well as people, the Britons participated in the long trends of cultural and ethnic change that, from time to time, slowly pulsed across the Eurasian continent and in the Iron Age culminated in the pan-Celtic culture.

Their end as a distinct people, like that of so many others, occurred as the pace and magnitude of change increased dramatically with the coming and collapse of the Roman Empire, and a millennia-old world was swept away. The effect of this on the Britons was mediated by a situation favorably balanced between isolation and connection with the mainland, between the insular and the continental—the island of Britain was large enough to contain a variety of environments, which generated a variety of lifeways among its people. British culture, both cosmopolitan and local, combined the flexibility to absorb new influences with a tough resiliency. The appearance of an "English" culture only some 200 years after large-scale migration of Anglo-Saxons into Britain, consisting of an equal partnership of British and Anglo-Saxon elements, is a testament to the staying power of British culture and the Britons.

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Bructeri (Bructerians; Bructi; Brutteri)

The Bructeri are classified as a Germanic tribe. They lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany by the end of the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as ancient Germans or GERMANICS. By the third century C.E. they had become allied with other tribes—the AMSIVARII, CHAMAVI, CHATTUARII, and TUBANTI—as FRANKS.

Bruttii (Brittii; Bruzi; Brezi)

In the historic period they were speaking Oscan (as well as Greek), leading to their classification as ITALICS. The Bruttii are classified as an Italic tribe. They lived in the region of Bruttium, present-day Calabria, on Italy's southwestern peninsula opposite Sicily. Their principal towns consisted of their capital Consentia (modern Cosenza), Clampetia (modern Amantea), and Petelia (near modern Strongoli).

In the mid-fourth century B.C.E. the Brutii, along with the LUCANI, neighbors to their north, made war on colonies of GREEKS, seizing Hipponium (modern Vibo Valentia) in 356 B.C.E. Alexander I, king of Epirus and Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, pacified them, but they regained the town in the early third century B.C.E. The Bruttii supported the Greeks under Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, against the ROMANS. After his defeat at Beneventum (modern Benvento) in the Pyrrhic War of 280–275 B.C.E. the Romans claimed half the Bruttii territory in the Sila Forest and established colonies

at Hipponium and Rhegium (now Reggio di Calabria).

The Bruttii rose up again against the Romans in support of the CARTHAGINIANS under Hannibal in the Second Punic War of 218–201 B.C.E. After Roman victory the Bruttii lost independent status. The Romans built a road to the region in 132 B.C.E. During the slave revolt against Rome under Spartacus in 73–71 B.C.E. the rebels stayed for a time in Bruttium. Although the Bruttii did not openly support him, some among them may have joined his force.

Brythons *See* BRITONS; CELTS.

Bulgarians: nationality (people of Bulgaria)

GEOGRAPHY

Bulgaria has an area of 42,855 square miles. The Danube River separates the nation from Romania in the north. The Black Sea extends from the east. Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia are situated to the west; Greece and Turkey lie to the south. The Balkan Mountains run east to west across central Bulgaria. To the southwest lies the Rhodope range, where Bulgaria's highest point, Mount Musala (9,592 feet), is located. The northern Bulgarian plateau extends from north of the Balkan Mountains to the Danube River. The Thracian plain lies to the south of the Balkans. Important rivers in Bulgaria include the Danube, which constitutes its northern border; the Iskur; the Maritsa; and the Struma.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

During rule by the ROMANS, the area that was to become Bulgaria was divided into the provinces of Moesia and Thrace. The BULGARS settled north of the Black Sea around the fifth century C.E. After Bulgar armies defeated Byzantine emperor Constantine IV in 681, a treaty designated an area between the Balkans and the Danube as Bulgar territory, establishing the first Bulgarian state. In 865 Boris I, ruler of the First Bulgarian Empire, adopted Christianity, which helped unite diverse peoples, including SLAVS. Simeon I declared himself czar of the Romans and the Bulgars in 925.

The BYZANTINES annexed Bulgarian territories in 1018 after defeating Bulgarian forces. In the 13th century, during the Second Bulgarian Empire, Ivan Asen II expanded Bulgarian territory across the Balkan Peninsula except Greece. In 1396 the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) conquered Bulgaria. The Russo-Turkish Wars of the 19th century produced an autonomous Bulgaria although it was still governed as part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin narrowed Bulgaria's boundaries to the region between the Danube River and the Balkan Mountains. In 1908 Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha declared himself czar and established an independent Bulgaria.



A Bulgarian girl herds sheep in the late 19th or early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105350])*

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Bulgarian society experienced a considerable restructuring along socialist lines from 1946 to 1990, which placed the needs and activities of labor at the center of society. It also created a government for the first time purged of the religious influences that had dominated the theocratic Byzantine and then Ottoman Empires of which Bulgaria was a part for centuries. Socialist ideology did not replace religion in Bulgaria, however; nor did it do away with the country's much older traditions. For example, the Bulgarian family kept its place as an important structural element of society. Many households consist of an extended family comprising parents and one of their married sons—usually the youngest—or daughters.

BULGARIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Bulgaria; Republic of Bulgaria (Republika Bŭlgariya)

derivation of name:
Meaning "land of the tribe formed of many tribes"; *Bulgha,* a Turkic word meaning "mixed"

government:
Republic

capital:
Sofia

language:
Bulgaric, an Altaic language, is the official language.

religion:
About 85 percent of the population are members of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church; 13 percent are Muslim; the remaining minorities include Jews, Roman Catholics, Uniate Catholics, and Protestants. Prior to the religious reforms of the late 1980s, the government enforced atheism, professed by an estimated 65 percent of the population.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Greeks; Macedonians; Romans; Heruli; Sciri; Slavs; Bulgars; Byzantines; Pechenegs; Cumans; Ottoman Turks

demographics:
About 85 percent of the population are Bulgarian; Turks constitute about 9 percent; Rroma and Macedonians each make up about 3 percent; Armenians and Russians are also small minorities.

Bulgarians: nationality time line

C.E.

679–681 Bulgar tribes under Asparukh cross Danube, subjugate Slavs, and occupy territory of Bulgaria, establishing First Bulgarian Empire.

811 Bulgars under Krum defeat invading force of Byzantines.

after 863 Missionaries Cyril and Methodius translate religious works from Greek into Old Church Slavonic, starting tradition of Bulgarian literature.

865 Boris I adopts Christianity and unites various people living in Bulgaria.

870 Constantinople recognizes independence of Bulgarian Church.

925 Simeon I assumes title of czar of the Romans and Bulgars.

976–1014 Czar Samuel reigns; western territories become independent state.

1018 Weakened Bulgarian Empire is annexed by Byzantine emperor Basil II.

1186 Second Bulgarian Empire emerges; Ivan Asen I is crowned czar at Veliko Turnovo.

1205 Kaloyan defeats Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople.

1218–41 Second Bulgarian Empire reaches its height under Ivan Asen II, who conquers much of entire Balkan Peninsula except Greece.

1330 Macedonian Bulgaria is conquered by Serbia.

1396 Bulgaria becomes part of Ottoman Empire.

c. 1762 *Istoria Slaviano-Bolgarska* (History of the Slavic-Bulgarians) by monk Paisij is published in Old Church Slavonic mixed with popular vernacular.

1835 Ottoman Turks permit opening of Bulgarian schools.

1870 Bulgarian Church is reestablished.

1876 Revolutionary poet and freedom fighter Christo Botev is killed by Turkish troops.

1878 Treaty of San Stefano ends final Russo-Turkish War and establishes self-rule for Bulgaria within Ottoman Empire, under Russian occupation; Congress of Berlin prevents Russia from annexing Bulgaria; Bulgarian territory is reduced.

Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library is founded in Sofia.

1885 Alexander I (Alexander of Battenberg), first prince of Bulgaria, annexes Eastern Rumelia, provoking war with Serbia.

1900 Earliest Bulgarian opera, *Siromachkinya* (The poor woman), by Emanuil Manolov, opens.

1908 Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha declares Bulgaria's independence from Ottoman rule.

Bulgarian culture combines folk traditions with a high arts culture created during Ottoman rule that helped to define Bulgarian identity; both of these elements have received the impress of socialist thought. The fact that the content of much art created in the 19th century nationalist revival focused on the Bulgarian people and their life made the step to the social realism espoused by the government a somewhat natural one. Bulgarian painters depicted the daily life of the Bulgarian people, rural scenery, scenes of old Bulgarian towns, village portraits, and scenes and themes from Bulgarian history. To these, forming part of Bulgaria's struggle for cultural freedom, social realism added the theme of the fight for social justice.

Bulgaria's population is largely culturally homogeneous, the Bulgarian ethnicity derived from the fusion of Slav and Bulgar ethnicities. The country played a central role in South Slavic culture, in part because it was the first in which the Slavic language was written, beginning in the ninth century, when the missionaries Cyril and Methodius created the alphabet for Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic). The Bulgar state was the first independent state in Slavdom, and the first Balkan

1911–12	Bulgaria defeats Turkey in First Balkan War.
1912	Ivan Mincov Vazov has success with English translation of novel *Pod Igoto* (*Under the Yoke*), originally published in 1894.
1913	After Second Balkan War Bulgaria loses southern Dobruja and large part of Macedonia under Treaty of Bucharest.
1915	Bulgaria favors Germany and Austria-Hungary when it enters World War I.
1918	Boris III succeeds Ferdinand; after war Bulgaria loses outlet to Aegean Sea and Greece and Yugoslavian territory.
1923	Aleksandŭr Stamhoyliyski, prime minister who redistributed land to peasants and reformed legal system, is overthrown in bloody coup.
1935	Boris III rules as virtual dictator.
1940	During World War II Germany forces Romania to restore southern Dobruja to Bulgaria.
1941	Bulgaria occupies parts of Yugoslavia and Greece (including Macedonia) and declares war on Great Britain and United States.
1944	Soviet Union (USSR) declares war on Bulgaria; pro-Allied political forces (Communists, Agrarians, and pro-Soviet army officers) seize power; Bulgaria declares war on Germany; Communism replaces monarchy.
1946	After World War II Bulgaria is proclaimed people's republic; Georgi Dimitrov is premier.
1947	Under peace treaty with Allies, Bulgaria retains southern Dobruja; new constitution is enforced; Bulgaria becomes one-party state.
1953–56	Christo (Javacheff) studies painting, sculpture, and stage design at Academy of Fine Arts, Sofia, before launching international career and becoming known for sculptural installations.
1955	Bulgaria becomes member of Warsaw Treaty Organization and United Nations (UN); Communist sentiment dissipates.
1973	National Museum of History is founded in Sofia.
1981	Novelist and essayist Elias Canetti wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1986	President Todoz Zhivkov experiments with limited economic reforms and launches "Bulgarization" campaign to assimilate Turkish culture.
1990	Zheliu Zhelev, non-Communist leader, is elected president.
1991	New constitution establishes parliamentary democracy.

polity to achieve independence from the Byzantines in the early Middle Ages.

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BULGARS

location:
Russia; Bulgaria, and surrounding regions

time period:
Fourth century to 1431 C.E.

ancestry:
Turkic; Hunnic

language:
Bulgaric (Turkic or Altaic); plus some Slavic

Bulgars (Bulghars; Bulgari; Bolgars; Bolghars; Bolgari; Bulgarians; Ogurs; Onugurs)

The Bulgars, a people primarily of Turkic ancestry, can be classified among the TURKICS, although their early history relates to that of the HUNS. They became known as a distinct people in Europe from the fifth century C.E. after the Huns were no longer a major factor in the course of events. The Eastern Bulgars had a powerful state in eastern Europe north and east of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. The CHUVASH claim to be descended from them. Those Bulgars who migrated west in the seventh century were among the ancestors of modern Bulgarians (*see* BULGARIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

The ancestors of those who constituted the majority of Bulgars originated in central Asia. During the fourth century they were under the dominion of the Huns, migrating westward to the European steppes west of the Volga River in about 370 C.E. Some among them are assumed to be part of the Hunnic force that moved through Europe under Attila in the mid-fourth century, then retreated eastward after the breakup of the Hunnic Empire in 455. Others may have joined the Huns after their retreat. Huns and Bulgars, who are sometimes grouped together as Hunno-Bulgars, along with other elements in the population, such as SARMATIANS, settled north and east of the Black Sea in about 460. The name Bulgars is derived from *bulgha,* meaning "mixed."

LANGUAGE

The Bulgars originally spoke a Turkic language (although some scholars consider Bulgaran to be a related but separate Altaic language family). Some of those Turkic tribes, or clan unions, who, intermingled with the Huns, were known as Bulgars, were Ogurs of the Northwestern (Kyipchak) language group, sometimes called Ogur Turks, the Kutrigurs, Onogurs, and Utigurs with varying names with *oguri* or *orgurs* or *igurs* as a suffix, meaning "tribes of." Some groups of Bulgars adopted the languages of other peoples; those who settled in present-day Bulgaria spoke a variation of Slavic with Turkic influence.

HISTORY

Early Centuries

After settling in eastern Europe in present-day Russia after the retreat of the Huns, the Bulgars became both a resource and a consideration for the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire. In the 480s the Byzantines recruited them as mercenaries to fight against the OSTROGOTHS, the first time the name Bulgars was known to be used in reference to them. By the sixth century Bulgars were powerful enough to attack the Byzantine provinces. In the 560s they were forced to defend themselves from the AVARS out of Asia—some tribes killed, displaced, or absorbed by them.

Great Bulgaria

Surviving Bulgar tribes had united under a single ruler, Kurt (or Kubrat). During the first half of the seventh century the Bulgar khanate became known to the Byzantines as Great Bulgaria. The southern extent of Bulgar territory was the Kuban River in southern Russia.

After Kurt's death in 642, his five sons each assumed power over a tribe or horde. One tribe, with lands extending from the coast of the Sea of Azov, was eventually absorbed by the KHAZARS. A second horde migrated westward into central Europe, where they merged with the Avars, who had created an extensive empire by the late sixth century. Another migrating group merged with the Germanic LOMBARDS in Italy. The remaining two hordes maintained their identity as Bulgars.

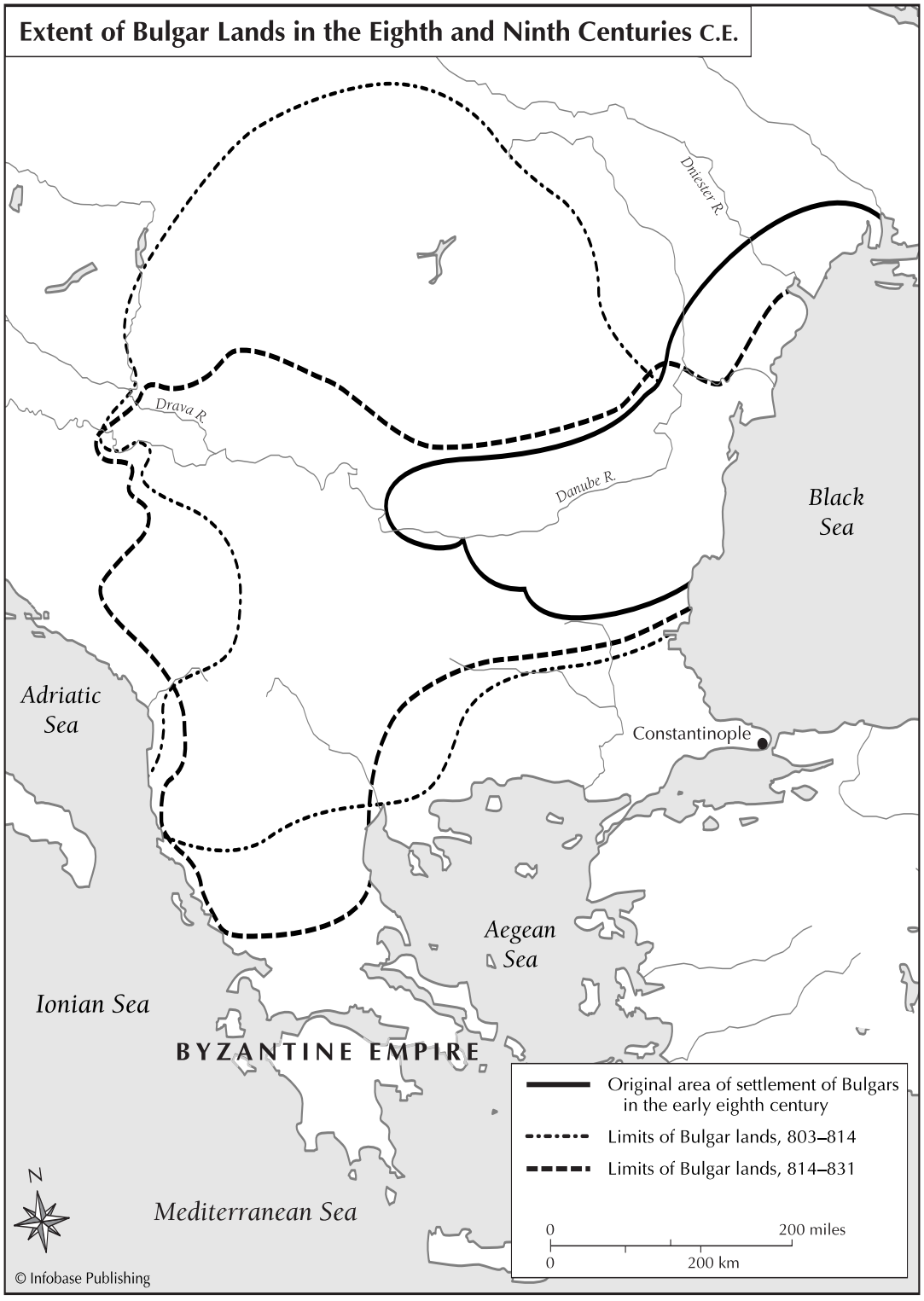
Eastern Bulgars

One son of Kurt by the name of Bezmer (or Bat-Bayan) led his horde northward from the

Bulgars: time line

C.E.

370s	Bulgars migrate into Europe with Huns.
460	Bulgars settle north and east of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov.
560s	Bulgars defeated by Avars.
seventh century	With breakup of Great Bulgaria, some Bulgars migrate north to Volga River, becoming known as Eastern or Volga Bulgars; others migrate to Bulgaria, establishing First Bulgarian Empire in 679.
865	Boris I of Western Bulgars converts to Christianity.
c. 922	Eastern Bulgars convert to Islam and found state.
1018	Bulgaria incorporated into Byzantine Empire.
1185	Western Bulgars revolt against Byzantines and create Second Bulgarian Empire.
1237	Eastern Bulgars become subject to Mongols.
1396	Western Bulgars become subject to Ottoman Turks.
1431	Eastern Bulgars defeated by Russians.



Khazars and settled them in the country near the confluence of the Volga and Kama Rivers. They subsequently became known as the Eastern Bulgars, Volga Bulgars, or Kama Bulgars. This horde merged with other peoples in the region and subdivided into three groups allied in a confederation, which endured for some six centuries.

In about 922 the Eastern Bulgars converted to Islam and founded a powerful khanate. In 1237 they fell under the dominion of the MONGOLS, but retained some autonomy. The Mongols again invaded their territory in the 1390s, led at that time by Tamerlane (or Timur). The Eastern Bulgars gradually lost their distinct identity after the Russians out of

Boris I: Unifier of Bulgaria

Boris, whose birth date is unknown, succeeded his father, Pressian, in 852 as ruler of the Bulgars and other peoples of the First Bulgarian Empire, including Slavs, Thracians, and Vlachs. His goal was to unify these diverse peoples and gain acceptance of Christian leaders by choosing Christianity as the state religion. He himself converted to Christianity from paganism in 865. At this time the Catholic Church in Rome and the Eastern Orthodox Church in Constantinople were competing for power in Europe, and Boris had to choose between the two. With pressure from the closer Byzantines and with the pope in Rome resisting the idea of creating an independent Bulgarian archbishopric, Boris chose to accept the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople.

Boris was active in promoting Christianity in his empire, sponsoring mass baptisms, the building of churches, and missionary educational activities. To unify his people and nationalize his church further, he made Slavic the official state language and replaced Greek with it in church services. By 899 Boris abdicated the throne and retired to a monastery, his son Vladimir succeeding him. Yet Boris reserved the right to be involved in the affairs of government. When Vladimir proved incompetent and became the instrument of a pagan and anti-Slavic revolt, Boris emerged from retirement in 893 to depose him. He ordered the blinding of Vladimir to make him unfit to rule and then replaced him with his younger brother, Simeon. Simeon (called the Great) expanded the empire. Boris, who lived out his life in a monastery and died in 907, is recognized as a saint by the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Moscow captured the city of Bulgar and surrounding regions in 1431 (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). They are thought to be ancestral to the modern CHUVASH and NOGAY.

First Bulgarian Empire

Another one of Kurt's sons, Asparukh, led the fifth horde westward across the Dniester River and southward across the Danube, settling on the plain between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, formerly part of the Roman provinces of Moesia and Thrace, an area then claimed by the Byzantines. The Byzantines made repeated attempts to reclaim it. In 679 Asparukh established his new state, the start of the First Bulgarian Empire. In 680 he made an alliance with seven Slavic tribes and the next year invaded Thrace. Pliska, where he built a fortress, became the capital of the new state. Khan Asparukh died in 700 while fighting the Khazars near the Danube.

During the eighth century the Western Bulgars grew in power in the region, absorbing other peoples. Consisting of a new ethnic mix that, in addition to SLAVS, included THRACIANS and VLACHS, this group can be defined as the first Bulgarians to differentiate themselves from ancestral Bulgars.

Under Krum, who ruled in 803–814, the First Bulgarian Empire continued to grow, with new lands in Macedonia and Serbia. In 811 Krum defeated an invading force of Byzantines. He also was victorious over the Avars, seizing present-day Hungary and the region of Transylvania in present-day Romania. To the west the FRANKS controlled territory.

In 865, under Boris I (see sidebar), Christianity became the official religion of the Bulgars. Eastern Orthodoxy became the chosen creed over Catholicism in 879. The Bulgarian Christian Church used a Slavic dialect from the Bulgars' Macedonian possessions (known as Old Church Slavonic), which helped create a common culture among Bulgars, Slavs, and other peoples of the region. The Bulgarian state reached its largest territorial expansion during the reign of Boris's son, Simeon I (Simeon the Great), in 893–927, with additional lands wrested from the Byzantines.

During the reign of Simeon's son, Peter, in 927–969 Bulgarian power declined. Other peoples put pressure on their holdings, such as the MAGYARS and RUS. Meanwhile other Turkic peoples, such as the PECHENEGS, KIPCHAKS, and CUMANS, settled among them. In 1018 ancient Bulgaria was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire.

Second Bulgarian Empire

In 1185 Balkan peoples revolted against the Byzantines. With independence the Bulgarians created what is known as the Second Bulgarian Empire. By 1241 the Bulgarian dynasty of Asen ruled most of the lands from the Danube River to the Aegean Sea, and from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea. In 1396 the Bulgarians fell to the Ottoman Turks, who ruled the region until 1878, when an autonomous Bulgarian principality was established under Ottoman suzerainty. Bulgaria became independent of Turkey in 1908.

CULTURE (*see also* TURKICS)

Government and Society

The Bulgar state was the first independent state in Slavdom, and the first Balkan polity to achieve independence from the Byzantines in the early Middle Ages. Henceforth sociocultural influences ran both ways between the Bulgar khanate and Byzantium, in contrast to the core-periphery type of relationship Byzantines had had with peoples in the Balkans. The Carolingian FRANKS were not slow to appreciate this and allied themselves with the Bulgars in a number of wars, including the one that smashed the Avar khanate in the eighth century. The Bulgars became involved in Byzantine politics, taking advantage of schisms

between the two reigns of Justinian II, in 695–705, to expand their own power.

This expansion was accompanied by increasing political centralization of the Bulgar state. A characteristic feature of this centralization was the way in which the original core group of Bulgars maintained the sort of cohesion they had known as nomadic warriors: they lived in settlements close to one another in a restricted area of the Lower Danube, yet scattered through this region in separate enclaves. This was similar to the way in which as nomads they had moved through the vast steppelands in separate armies or hordes, each surrounding its leader and each horde in constant touch with all the others. This practice, on a vastly inflated scale, guided the governance of the khanate, as its enormous territory was divided into 11 areas, each ruled by an official chosen by and beholden to the central authority.

The Slavs played an important role in the khanate, possibly because of the usefulness of their language as a lingua franca throughout much of its territory. For a time Slavs retained their ethnic identity and tribal leaders, but as the Bulgars created new settlements for the purpose of governance of their newly gained territories, Slavic forces loyal to the khanate and their leaders were resettled as well, breaking down former allegiances and helping to forge a new Bulgaro-Slavic ethnic identity. This process would further develop into the Bulgarian *ethnos,* a fusion of the two, of the medieval Bulgarian state.

The Bulgar elite were greatly influenced by the Byzantine aristocracy, adopting many aspects of imperial organization, the elaborate court ritual, and cultural outlook. It is thought that this estranged the Bulgarian nobility from their own people and may have contributed to the ultimate weakening and demise of the khanate.

Religion

The pagan belief of the Bulgars involved a spiritual entity called the Tangra, the God-Heaven, part being and part realm, apparently related to ancient Iranian belief before the advent of Zoroastrianism. But the Bulgarian state arose at a time of great religious fervor sparked by the rise of Islam among Muslims and also Christians galvanized to oppose this new threat to their spiritual centrality. Thus missionaries of both these faiths and also of Judaism traveled to the khanate.

The establishment of rival religious communities threatened the cohesion of the Bulgar state. Khan Boris I, whose forces fought alongside those of Charles II (Charles the Bald) of Francia, seems to have been impressed by the benefits of the religious unity he observed among the Franks. He invited Byzantine missionaries to Bulgaria and converted in 864. This process was facilitated by the similarity of the Tangra with the Christian god. The schism between East and West of the Christian Church perhaps meant little to Boris, for in 866 he changed his allegiance to the papacy, only reverting to the Byzantine rite in 870, after the pope refused to authorize a Bulgarian bishopric. Boris's conversion of his subjects was by force and involved bloodshed, even directed against his own son, whom Boris had blinded for making gestures favorable to paganism. Boris, who had retired to a monastery and turned over the khanship to his eldest son, now deposed him and raised his younger son, Simeon, in his stead.

Khan Simeon made a signal contribution to the further spread of Christianity to Slavic lands when he invited the brothers Cyril and Methodius to minister to his people. Cyril devised a precursor to the modern Cyrillic alphabet and translated the gospels and liturgical books into the Slavic language used in the khanate, which became known as Old Church Slavonic and is still used in Eastern Orthodox ritual.

The Bulgars, absorbing ethnic, linguistic, and cultural elements from many different peoples, developed as a unique people with their own traditions and gave rise to a nation.

Burgundians *See* BURGUNDII; FRANKS; FRENCH.

Burgundii (Burgunds; Burgundiones; Burgundians)

The Burgundii were a tribe of GERMANICS who, by the first century C.E., lived in present-day central Poland. In about 260 they settled in present-day south-central Germany. In the fifth–sixth centuries, they held two kingdoms in western Europe with close ties to the ROMANS, one along the Rhine River in western Germany, with a capital at Worms; and one extending from the Rhône River in present-day eastern France into western Switzerland, with a capital at Geneva. In the early sixth century it

BURGUNDII

location:
Poland; Germany; France; Switzerland

time period:
First century to 14th century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Burgundian (Germanic)

Burgundii time line

C.E.	
first century	Burgundii living in Poland along Vistula, Oder, and Warta Rivers
c. 260	Burgundii migrate to south-central Germany between upper Main and Danube Rivers.
278	Burgundii defeated by Romans south of Danube.
c. 380	Burgundii gain territory from Alamanni between Main and Neckar Rivers.
413	Burgundian kingdom established under Gundicar along Rhine River with capital at Worms.
437	Burgundii defeated by Huns.
443	Burgundian kingdom established along Rhône River in France and extending to Switzerland, with capital at Geneva; referred to as First Kingdom of Burgundy.
506	Gundobad forms alliance with the Franks under Clovis I.
534	Burgundy conquered by Merovingian Franks.
561	Death of Chlotar leads to partitioning of kingdom of Burgundy.
843	By terms of Treaty of Verdun, Burgundy becomes Lorraine (or Middle Kingdom) in subdivided Frankish Empire.
877	Duchy of Burgundy established in north.
879	Cisjurane Burgundy established; later becomes region of Provence.
888	Transjurane Burgundy established; later becomes region of Franche-Comté.
933	Burgundy reunited as kingdom of Arles (or Second Kingdom of Burgundy).
1032	Kingdom of Arles becomes part of Holy Roman Empire.
1378	Burgundy ceded to France and becomes a province, then a region.

became part of the empire of the FRANKS. The place-name Burgundy (Bourgogne in French) from the tribal name was applied to varying types of political divisions—kingdom, duchy, and county—with varying boundaries through the Middle Ages, which eventually evolved into a region in east-central France. The name Burgundians can refer to the ancient Burgundii tribe or to any inhabitants of Burgundy.

ORIGINS

The Burgundii are thought to have originally lived on the south shores of the Baltic Sea; the name of the island of Bornholm (formerly Burgundarholm), now part of Denmark, might be taken from their name. They lived along the Vistula, Oder, and Warta Rivers in present-day Poland by the first century C.E. and are thus grouped with other East Germanic peoples and are perhaps related to the GOTHS. When in Germany, Burgundii claimed descent from the Romans, who may have named them after their border fortifications known as *burgi* (such descent would make a connection to Burgundarholm uncertain).

LANGUAGE

The Burgundii spoke a Germanic dialect, referred to as Burgundian; it is thought to be related to dialects of other East Germanic tribes, but this connection is hypothetical.

HISTORY

The Burgundii, similar to the VANDALS, had had only long-distance contact with the Romans as compared to many other Germanic tribes closer to the imperial border. They are thought to have played a role in the important trade in slaves to Rome, capturing slaves in their raids (long a Germanic custom) for sale to tribes to their west, who became wealthy as middlemen. Emulation of their wealthy neighbors (and possibly pressure from the latter) may have caused them to increase the rate of raiding; weapon-rich burials in their region show that warfare became more important among them than ever before.

The Burgundii are thought to have migrated westward into Germany from their homeland in Poland in about 260 C.E. because of pressure from the GEPIDS, an aggressive and warlike Germanic people who had migrated from Scandinavia to Poland in the previous century. The movements of the Burgundii at this time took place in the context of migrations and displacements of peoples all over Germania (as the Romans called the Germanic territory outside the empire), which had been set in motion by the aftereffects of the Marcomannic Wars between Germanic peoples and Rome in the second century. Many Germanic tribes had joined for mutual aid into aggressive confederacies with large armies, leading to warfare on a larger and more devastating scale than the tribal raiding of the Germanic past. Some Burgundii in this way may have joined the Goths, one of the greatest of these tribal confederacies, which formed in the Black Sea region to the southeast. Those who traveled west battled the ALAMANNI, another confederacy, and settled to their south between the upper Main and Danube Rivers. They also pushed south of the Danube into the Roman province of Raetia in present-day Austria and eastern Switzerland but were defeated in 278 by the Roman emperor Marcus

Valerius Probus. In 380 the Burgundii gained territory from the Alamanni between the Main and Neckar Rivers.

Early Kingdom

In 407, with pressure from both the Vandals and the HUNS, the kingdom divided and some Burgundii under Gundicar relocated even farther to the west across the Rhine. They were part of the mass migration of Germanic tribes across the frozen Rhine into Gaul in 406–407, which was the beginning of the end of Roman control of Gaul. They seized a large area of eastern Gaul and later attempted to expand into Belgica (roughly modern Belgium). They established a kingdom with a capital at Worms in 413, the first Germanic kingdom within the old Roman imperial frontier. Their rule over the indigenous Gallo-Roman population was moderate, compared to that of other Germanics. They took only such lands as they needed and allowed Roman institutions to continue under the nominal rule of Rome. Many Burgundii served as *foederati* (federates), or auxiliaries, in the Roman army in various campaigns throughout Europe. Arian Christianity became the official religion. The community east of the Rhine probably survived well into the fifth century. The power of the western Burgundii was diminished through a devastating defeat by Huns. In 437 Gundicar of the western community was killed in battle with the Huns, who probably attacked the Burgundii with the complicity of the Romans under the general Flavius Aetius.

Expanding Realm

Burgundii fled their Rhine homeland to territory in eastern France, western Switzerland, and northern Italy. In 443 the Burgundii organized a new kingdom, with a capital at Geneva (sometimes referred to as the First Kingdom of Burgundy). In 451 tribal members, along with other Germanic peoples, helped the Romans under Aetius defeat the Huns at the Catalaunian Fields south of modern Châlons-sur-Marne. They fought against some other Burgundii who had joined the Huns. The Romans allowed refugees to settle around Lugdunum (modern Lyon) in east-central France. In 471 the Burgundii under Chilpiric drove the VISIGOTHS from the Rhône valley. They later defeated the Alamanni, expanding their territory, which at its height in about 480 included the present-day region of Burgundy in France, territory along the Rhône as far south as Arles, and western Switzerland.

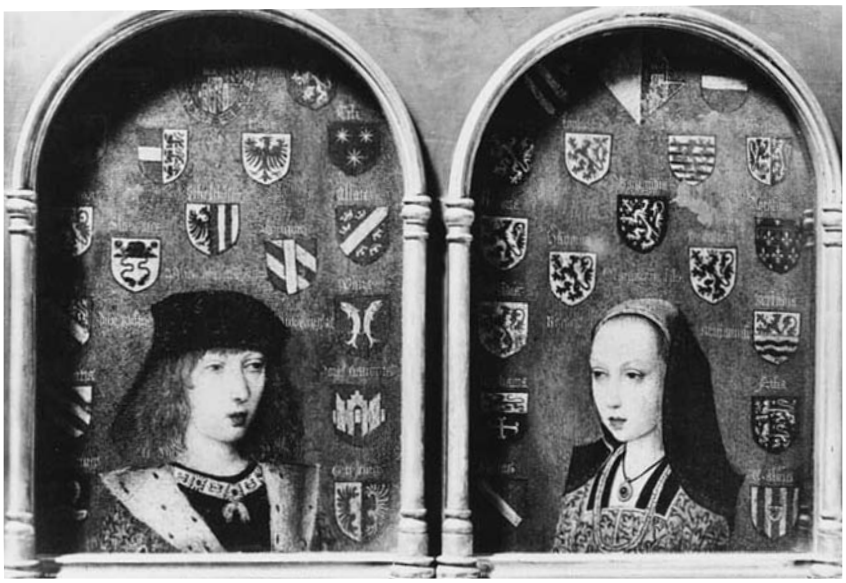
In about 500 the Burgundii were defeated in battle by the Franks under Clovis I, founder of the Merovingian dynasty. In 506 their leader at the time, Gundobad, formed an alliance with the Franks, and his niece, Clotilda, became Clovis's wife. Vienne on the Rhône River was the capital of the Burgundii at this time. The next year the Burgundii helped the Franks defeat the Visigoths at Vouillé, northwest of present-day Poitiers. King Sigismund, son of Gundobad, converted from Arianism to Catholicism. In 523 he was defeated and imprisoned by the Franks under Clodomir. Sigismund's brother Godomar managed to kill Clodomir at Vienne in 524.

Frankish Rule

In 534 the Merovingian Franks under Chlotar I, the son of Clovis, gained control of the Burgundian realm, then ruled by Godomar. Upon Chlotar's death in 561, Frankish lands were subdivided among his sons. Guntram secured the Kingdom of Burgundy, which ultimately included former Burgundian lands, the diocese of Arles in Provence, the Val d'Aosta east of the Alps, and lands in north-central France. A key center of Burgundy was the ecclesiastical province of Lyon, controlled by Gallo-Roman senators. King Guntram relied heavily on these aristocrats to run his administration and in general was more influenced by Romans than other rulers in Francia. In the 570s Guntram moved his court to Châlons, which he developed as a religious as well as political capital. Burgundy remained a separate Merovingian kingdom until Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, subjugated it to Frankish Austrasia in 719.

In 843 by the Treaty of Verdun, which divided the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne among his three sons, Burgundy was included as part of Lorraine (or the Middle Kingdom). With continuing power brokering, the duchy of Burgundy was carved out from land in the northwest chiefly between the Rhône and Saône Rivers in 877. And the Free County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté was carved out of lands to the east. Two new Burgundian kingdoms were founded in the same period, Cisjurane Burgundy (Lower Burgundy) in 879 and Transjurane Burgundy (Upper Burgundy) in 888. In 933 these two were united as the kingdom of Arles (sometimes called the Second Kingdom of Burgundy), with its capital at Arles. In 1032, this kingdom became part of the Holy Roman Empire.

Burgundy was ceded to France in 1378 and was a province until the French Revolution in



This is a representation of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1342–1404), and his wife, Margaret of Flanders (1350–1405). *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-85685])*

1789. It is now classified as a region of France (Bourgogne).

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

The Burgundii originally had two types of kings. There was a *sinistus,* an elder who served as a kind of high priest. There was also a *hendinos,* from a class of princes, who was responsible for the tribe in terms of food supply and warfare. This system parallels the practice common among Germanic tribes of having a sacred king called a *thiudans* and a war leader called a *reiks.*

In the early sixth century, during the reign of Gundobad, the Burgundii codified their laws into the Lex Burgundionum (or Lex Gundobada), which typifies Germanic law of the period. Gundobad also sponsored the codification known as Lex Romana Burgundionum, which provided laws for his Roman subjects with regard to his people. These law codes of the Burgundii did not prohibit interaction and intermarriage with Romans. King Sigismund wrote down the *Prima Contitutio.*

Because Merovingian Burgundy contained the most Roman territories in the Frankish kingdom, Burgundian society and culture soon fused with Roman. Roman traditions of justice took firm root here, and the Crown, especially under Guntram, who seems to have been a genuinely pious Christian, became imbued with Christian ideas of a monarch's duty to his people as spiritual leader.

Literature

The late phase of their Rhineland kingdom provides the source for the Germanic epic *Nibelungenlied* (Song of the Nibelungen) of the early 13th century, also known as the *Nibelung Epic* and the *Siegfried Saga.* Although a legendary account—the Niebelungen are an evil family who possess a magic hoard of gold—it draws on history, with much of the action at Worms and a character, Gunther, based on Gundicar, and Etzel, based on Attila the Hun.

Religion

The Irish monk Columbanus traveled to Burgundy in the sixth century during the reign of Guntram, a Frank, not specifically to conduct missionary work but rather to follow the White Martyrdom being undertaken by many Irish at this time, which consisted of journeying as the spirit prompted them and living a monastic and ascetic life among strangers. Guntram was impressed by Columbanus and gave him and his companions a ruined fortress at Annegray in the Vosges Mountains. Columbanus's form of heroic Christianity appealed to the Burgundii and he attracted a large following. He established a monastery at Annegray and later two more at Luxeuil and Fontaines. However, his success created antagonism among the Gallo-Roman episcopacy, exacerbated by his Irish form of Christianity, which did not hold that abbots were subservient to bishops, and after a quarrel with the royal family he left Burgundy for other parts of Francia. But his monastery at Luxeuil played an important role in fostering monasticism in Francia.

The name of the Burgundii survived into modern times through the region in east-central France known as Burgundy. The Burgundii also hold a special place in German literature as the subject of the *Nibelungenlied.*

FURTHER READING

Katherine Fischer Drew, trans., *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

Buzhanians (Buzhians; Boujans)

The Buzhanians are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS. They lived along the Upper Western Bug River, a tributary of the Vistula in present-day western Ukraine. They occupied some of the territory of the DULEBIANS by the

10th century C.E. They are thought to be ancestral to the VOLHYNIANS, a Ukrainian people.

Byzantines (Romaioi; Rhomaioi; Romans; people of the Byzantine Empire)

The Byzantine Empire resulted from a reorganization of the Roman Empire. Constantine I transferred the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Byzantium in 330 C.E.; it became known as Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The empire was divided into the Eastern Roman and Western Roman Empires under two emperors in 395. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 the Eastern Empire endured for almost a millennium, the stage typically referred to by historians as Byzantine, with varying boundaries for its vast territory in southern Europe, southwestern Asia, and northern Africa. The core of the empire consisted of the Balkans and Asia Minor. The empire's political structure was Roman, as were most of its leaders (or, if born elsewhere in the empire, they were at least Romanized), and its official language Latin. Its prevalent language and much of its culture were Greek, however. Its religion was Orthodox Christianity, known as Greek Orthodox or Eastern Orthodox. Inhabitants of the vast territory that made up the empire considered themselves Rhomaioi, or ROMANS. Western Europeans, who had their own Roman Empire, thought of them as GREEKS or Orientals. But the empire was a melting pot of many peoples. For the sake of convenience, and in distinguishing between Roman history

BYZANTINES

location:
Southern Europe; southwestern Asia; northern Africa

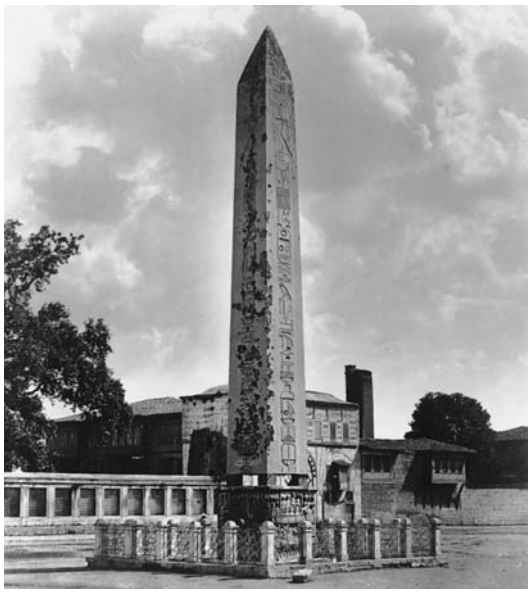
time period:
Fourth century to 1453 C.E.

ancestry:
Roman; Greek; miscellaneous

language:
Greek; Latin; miscellaneous

Byzantines time line

C.E.	
326–330	Constantine I establishes Byzantium as new Roman capital; it becomes known as Constantinople.
395	Roman Empire is divided into Eastern Roman Empire and Western Roman Empire.
476	Western Roman Empire falls to Germanic tribes.
527–565	Justinian I's reign; Byzantine Empire at greatest extent
532	Uprising by Byzantines against Justinian's autocratic rule
542–546	Bubonic plague causes great loss of life.
540s	Persia launches successful invasion in east; Slavs appropriate areas of Balkans; Ostrogoths under Totila regain Byzantine-held territory in Italy.
552	Narses defeats Ostrogoths at Taginae, killing Totila and regaining Italy for the Byzantines.
568	Lombards invade Italy.
570	Slavs begin raiding in Balkans and Greece, with Avars reducing Byzantine holdings to coastal enclaves.
580s	Lombard territory regained with help of Franks.
626	Avar force besieges Constantinople.
early seventh century	Persians invade Byzantine provinces, reaching Bosporus in 626.
628	Emperor Heraclius defeats Persians in 628 in Nineveh in present-day Iraq.
seventh century	Beginning of Arab invasions; Arabs take all Byzantine African and eastern provinces except Anatolia; Lombards and Bulgars seize territory in the west.
739	Leo III regains Asia Minor from Arabs with victory at Akroinon in Phrygia.
787	Seventh Ecumenical Council resolves issue of iconoclasm.
811	Bulgars defeat and kill Emperor Nicephorus.
1054	Schism between church in Rome and Constantinople
1204	Constantinople sacked during Fourth Crusade.
1261	Byzantines regain Constantinople.
1453	Ottoman Turks capture Constantinople.

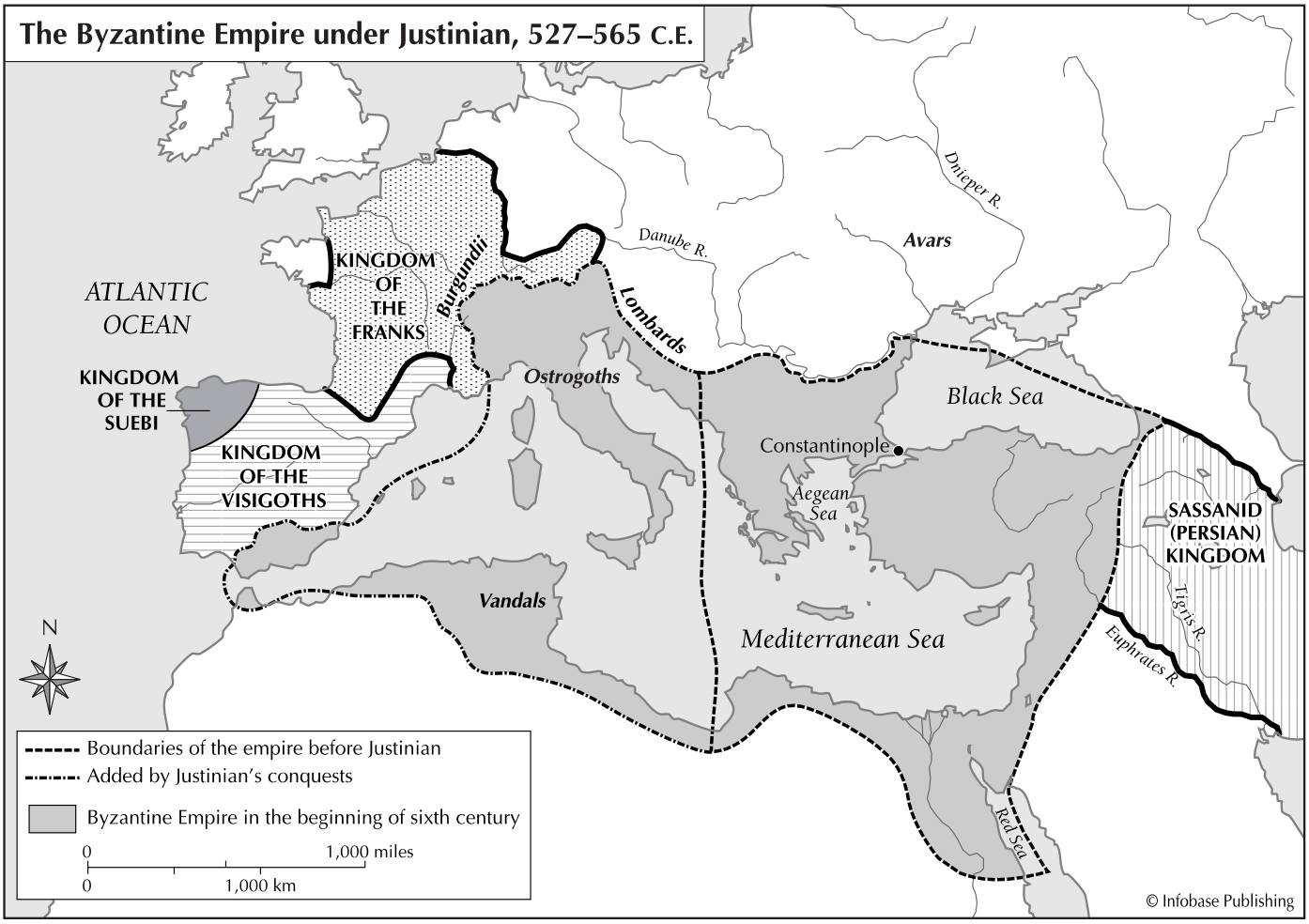


Known as the Cemberlistas Obelisk, this column of masonry was erected by Constantine the Great in 330 C.E., in celebration of the dedication of the new capital of the Roman Empire. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-106169])*

as emanating from Italy and as emanating from Constantinople, the peoples of the Byzantine Empire—at least the ruling class—can be grouped together as Byzantines and the state and culture that developed around them as Byzantine.

ORIGINS

Emperor Diocletian, who ruled in 284–305, in his reorganization of the Roman Empire to help contend with unwieldy bureaucracy and external threats divided its administration between two emperors, each with the title of Augustus, one in the East and one in the West. He himself decided to rule the East, with a capital at Nicomedia (modern Ismid); his colleague Maximian became Augustus of the West. On their voluntary retirement in 305 Diocletian left two Augusti, Constantius I and Maxentius. The next year Constantius died, and his son, Constantine I (see sidebar, p. 115), moved to claim the throne, becoming sole emperor in 324. He chose to rule from the East and set about building a new capital.



The city of Byzantium had been founded in about 660 B.C.E. by GREEKS on the European side of the Bosporus, the narrow strait between present-day Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia. With a location midway between the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea, it became a center of commerce between Europe and Asia Minor and a natural choice for a political center. Constantine, starting in 326 C.E., had the ancient city rebuilt as New Rome—the name Constantinople later took hold—with Roman institutional centers and beautified with Greek works of art. Having converted to Christianity, Constantine dedicated the city to the Virgin Mary.

Emperor Julian I, during his brief reign in 361–363 C.E., again encouraged paganism, but Theodosius I, during his reign in 379–395, designated Christianity as the state religion. He was the last ruler of a united Roman Empire. At his death in 395 he left the Eastern portion to one son, Arcadius, and the Western portion to another, Honorius. With regard to their henceforth distinct histories the eastern portion is generally termed Eastern Roman Empire until the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in 476, after which the name Byzantine Empire is more commonly applied to what remained of the Roman Empire. The name Byzantium also is used to refer to the entire empire and not just the ancient city.

Constantine I: First Christian Emperor

Constantine was born Flavius Valerius Constantinus about 274 C.E. His father, Constantius I, and mother, Helena, a Christian (who was later canonized as Saint Helena), were members of the military ruling class. Young Constantine proved his military talent battling the Picts in Scotland alongside his father and battling the Franks on the lower Rhine. Upon his father's death in 306 C.E., the troops of Britain and Gaul declared Constantine emperor. At the time, however, there were six claimants to the throne of the Roman Empire. Constantine formed an alliance with Licinius, emperor of the East, and in 312 he consolidated his power by defeating Maxentius, another claimant, at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. Announcing that his victory was due to a vision from the Christian God, Constantine commemorated the event in 313 by issuing with Licinius the Edict of Milan which increased the rights of Christians, and by building the Arch of Constantine in Rome in 315. Over the next years Constantine strengthened the Roman Empire's borders and was victorious against the Franks, Sarmatians, and Goths. In 324 after a growing rivalry Constantine defeated Licinius at Adrianople and became sole ruler of the empire.

Constantine administered military and legislative reforms and issued new gold coins. He centralized the Roman senate under *sacrus consistorium* and separated civil and military authority. He called the Council of Nicaea in 325, at which the Nicene Creed was adopted in an attempt to suppress Christian Arian heresy. Constantine decided to rule his empire from the East and chose the ancient city of Byzantium, renaming it Constantinople, as the location of New Rome. He began to rebuild it in 326. Although his religious conviction was at its inception questionable, he is hailed as the first emperor to rule under the name of Christ. Most modern scholars believe that in time his faith became sincere. Constantine was baptized just before his death in 337. Although he had attempted to unify the empire, he arranged for his three sons to inherit it, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans I. He is often referred to in texts as Constantine the Great.

LANGUAGE

Both Latin, the official language, and the widespread Greek served as a kind of lingua franca in the Byzantine Empire, with the various peoples speaking many different tongues depending on their homeland.

HISTORY

Early Invasions

The late fourth century, when the Roman Empire was divided once and for all, was a period of great unrest all over Europe, and for a time both the Eastern and Western Roman Empires seemed likely to meet their demise. The arrival of the HUNS from the Asian steppes in the Black Sea region in the 370s led to new alliances, new migrations, and new threats to Roman territories. In 378 the VISIGOTHS, who had taken refuge on Roman lands, defeated a Roman army under Valens, emperor of the East, at Adrianople (Adrianopolis; modern Edirne) to the northwest of Constantinople in eastern Thrace. Valens himself was killed. Theodosius, who succeeded him, negotiated a settlement with the Visigoths, allowing them to settle in Roman lands and removing any threat to Constantinople. The Huns remained a threatening presence in eastern Europe and even moved on Constantinople in 441, but through adequate defenses, successful diplomacy, and bribes, the Eastern Roman Empire managed to hold them off, and the Huns and their allies invaded western Europe under Attila, where they were defeated in 451 by Romans and their allies.

In the west it was the GERMANICS who threatened the Roman Empire and led to its ultimate collapse. In the first half of the fifth century the VANDALS had seized Roman territory in northern Africa, and the Visigoths, after an invasion of Italy further weakened the empire, seized Spain. In 455, arriving by sea, the Vandals sacked Rome. In 476 the Scirian ruler Odovocar, heading an alliance of SCIRI, HERULI, and RUGII, captured Ravenna, the capital of the Western Roman Empire and deposed the last Western Roman emperor, Romulus

Augustulus. In 488–493 the OSTROGOTHS under Theodoric, at the behest of the Byzantine emperor Zeno (who hoped Theodoric and Odovocar would weaken each other while fighting), invaded and conquered Italy.

The Eastern Empire, too, was hard-pressed for a time by the invasions and also by religious dissension in its provinces of Syria and Egypt over the nature of Christ, a dissension that threatened further schism in the empire. However, gradually the Byzantine Empire's natural advantages in comparison to the Western Empire, most important its strong economy and urban life, helped it weather the storms. A consensus was formed by all religious factions centered upon the ideal of a God-appointed Christian empire. Economic prosperity was reflected in lavish building all over the empire. The government bureaucracy was immeasurably strengthened by the emergence of a highly educated and dedicated class of civil servants, for whom the Byzantine Empire was the center of both their spiritual and their secular life.

One of these bureaucrats, Anastasius, became emperor, and through wise government, including limiting spending and cutting taxes (the bane of the Western Romans), stabilized finances and bequeathed to his successors an empire with the potential to revive Rome's past glory.

Byzantine Expansion

Expansion was the goal of Justinian I (see sidebar, p. 117), who ruled from 527 to 565, and initially it seemed he would succeed. In his reign, although some contemporaries complained he was "ruining the Roman Empire"



The female figure in this ivory plaque, carved by Byzantines in the late fifth century C.E., represents Rome. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



The female figure in this ivory plaque, carved by Byzantines in the late fifth century C.E., represents Constantinople. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

and "bringing everything into confusion," the Byzantine Empire reached its greatest extent. Justinian had to deal with political factions, and he did so with the help of largely Germanic armies under the generals Belisarius and Narses. After securing his authority, his armies checked Persian expansion from the east and then regained what had once been Roman territory to the west. In 535–534 Belisarius regained Carthage territory from the Vandals in northern Africa, and in 552–555 Narses retook Italy from the Ostrogoths. They also recaptured Sicily, Sardinia, and southern Spain. Justinian's wife, Theodora, formerly an actress, played an active role in his government, especially furthering Christianity. She and Justinian had churches and other public buildings erected and encouraged a flowering of the arts. In 532–562 they oversaw the building of Hagia Sophia—a project started by Constantine—which would become the seat of Eastern Orthodoxy. Tribonian, Justinian's chief legal minister, presided over the codification of Roman law.

Despite Justinian's military victories, his domestic policies undermined his government. He saw the empire as the terrestrial mirror of God's heavenly kingdom, with the emperor as God's personal representative on Earth. This stance gave him a certainty about God's will that fostered an uncompromising rigidity in both religious and political affairs. He enforced religious orthodoxy with an iron hand and transformed the Byzantine bureaucracy, formerly a supple institution with a degree of autonomy, into his own personal instrument, replacing professional bureaucrats and government experts with his own henchmen, many of them deeply unpopular and autocratic, who carried out repressive political and fiscal policies. Justinian's policies resulted in a savage uprising in 532, which only confirmed his view of the need to rule with a stern hand, in which Theodora encouraged him.

Justinian's dream of restoring the universal empire seemed to become unattainable after a series of disasters. The bubonic plague decimated the Byzantine population in 542–546, with catastrophic affects on urban and economic life. In the 540s Persia launched a successful invasion in the east, pagan SLAVS appropriated areas of the Balkans, and the Ostrogoths under their able king, Totila, rolled back Byzantine-held territory in Italy to a few coastal outposts.

In spite of the apparent demise of his greatest hopes, Justinian held on, repelling invasions and sending Narses back to Italy, where he defeated Totila's forces at Taginae (near modern Gubbio), killing Totila and regaining Italy for the Byzantines in 552. By the end of his reign he had very nearly succeeded in accomplishing a rebirth of Rome's world empire. Africa, including Egypt, and Italy were once more imperial territory; lands from Greece north to the Danube border were held by the Byzantines; and north of the Alps, the BURGUNDII were under the rule of the empire's allies, the FRANKS. Spain was still held by the Visigoths, but only uncertainly, and Byzantine forces had taken the area around Cartagena, a development that promised further gains. Furthermore Justinian's ideal of a universal Roman Christian empire accomplishing God's will on Earth took firm root among the Byzantines and was held by all succeeding emperors. Culture and society continued along late Roman lines (in their Greek reinterpretation) without substantial

Justinian I: Restorer of the Empire

Justinian (born Petrus Sabbatius; Latin in full, Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus) was born in Illyria in 483. He was the nephew of the Eastern Roman emperor Justin I, who made him coemperor shortly before his death in 527.

Two years earlier Justinian had married Theodora, an actress renowned for her beauty. She had great influence over him until her death in 548. Two powerful political factions—the Blues and the Greens organized around two chariot teams who raced in the oval racing track of the Hippodrome—caused unrest in Constantinople. This led to the Nika riot of 532, in which a mob rescued their leaders, whom Justinian had condemned to die for criminal activity. They then attempted to overthrow the emperor. Justinian, at the reportedly impassioned urging of Theodora, remained in the city to suppress the rebellion rather than flee. The protestors were tricked into gathering at the Hippodrome and were slaughtered by forces loyal to him.

Justinian, with the help of his able generals Belisarius and Narses, regained territory throughout the Mediterranean, defeating rival powers, the Ostrogoths and Vandals, and expanding the empire to its former greatness. To maintain a unified empire, he sponsored the codification of Roman laws known as the Justinian Code (also called the *Corpus juris ciuilis,* or Body of civil law), enacted in 534. This document is the legislative foundation for most modern European nations. He implemented imperial supremacy over the church known as Caesaropapism policy, although his efforts were later interpreted as heresy.

Justinian's organizational skills helped create a unified and artistically prolific era. He promoted a renaissance of Hellenism. He commissioned many other public works throughout the empire—churches, monasteries, forts, and government buildings—including the church Hagia Sophia (the Church of Holy Wisdom, also known as the Great Church). Completed in 562, it served as the seat of the Eastern Orthodox religion for more than nine centuries. His reign is documented mainly through Procopius's writings. Justinian died in Constantinople in 565 and was succeeded by his nephew Justin II. He is referred to in many texts as Justinian the Great.

disruption despite almost two centuries of turmoil.

New Threats in the Sixth–Ninth Centuries

Byzantium remained rich and powerful even after Justinian's adventures. Forces that would lead to eventual decline, rather than past wars and overtaxation, included the weakening of the economy caused by the plague. A more serious problem was the essentially civilian character of the Byzantine Empire, which created difficulty in raising enough troops to counter the mounting military threats of the fifth century and beyond. This was one area in which the Germanic-dominated West, whose polities, most important the Frankish kingdom, were the descendants of the Roman military, had the advantage over the Byzantines.

With the many northern European peoples in motion as a result of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, however, the Byzantines were hard-pressed to hold territory. Two growing threats after the death of Justinian in 565 were the LOMBARDS, who invaded and gradually occupied much of the Italian Peninsula in 568, and the AVARS, who invaded the Balkans. Meanwhile the BULGARS and the SLAVS also carried out raids in the Balkans and in Byzantine provinces to the north of Constantinople. At times these peoples formed alliances against the Byzantines—the Avars and Lombards, and the Avars and Persians, for example. The Slavs had been empowered by the Avars, who formed them into a loosely organized empire based on tribute and pillage. From 570 onward the Slavs' raids were devastating in their effects on the Byzantine Empire. The weak emperor Phocas was unable to prevent the Avars and Slavs from taking over most of the Balkans and Greece aside from some coastal enclaves.

An Avar force besieged Constantinople itself in 626, and citizens of Thessalonica, the Byzantines' most important European city, could credit its salvation from the invaders only to divine intervention by the city's patron saint, Demetrius.

The Avars also had an indirect effect on the empire when their pressure forced the Lombards out of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary), causing them to launch the most destructive and long-lasting Germanic invasions of Italy. Some in Italy actually welcomed the Lombards as deliverers from Byzantine taxation and rigorous enforcement of Eastern religious orthodoxy. Support from the Franks in the 580s enabled the Byzantines to some extent to push back the Lombards, preventing them from taking the whole peninsula. But all that remained to the empire were Rome and Ravenna, a fragile corridor connecting them, and coastal enclaves around Venice, Genoa, and ports in the south.

Despite the lamentations of Pope Gregory the Great about the "unspeakable" Lombards, the effects of their invasion on Italy were not uniform all over the peninsula. The worst-hit areas were the frontiers between Lombard- and Byzantine-held territories, where fierce fighting created a desolate no man's land. In the Lombard heartland in the north the quick takeover by Lombard elites actually had relatively little effect on ordinary people, peasants with no wealth to plunder, who experienced merely a change of their landlords, as well as relatively little effect on inhabitants of cities able to hold out against the Lombard disorganized sieges. On the other hand areas that remained under imperial control suffered considerably from increasing maladministration by bureaucrats appointed by Justinian and subsequent emperors for their loyalty rather than experience.

Meanwhile the renewed vigor of Persia posed an even greater threat to Byzantium's most valuable and populous provinces. In the disastrous reign of Phocas in the early seventh century the Persians ravaged Anatolia and conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, carrying off the empire's most treasured relic, a piece of the True Cross in 614, and reaching the Bosporus by 626. Nevertheless, galvanized by the loss of the True Cross, possession of which in some sense formed the core of the Byzantine Empire's very reason for being, the emperor Heraclius, in a stunning turnaround, defeated the Persians in 628 in Nineveh in present-day Iraq, annihilating their forces and for the time being ending their threat. Heraclius, founder of the Heraclian dynasty, also neutralized the Avars by buying them off.

Soon, however, yet another threat arose from the east, partly made possible by the power vacuum created in the Byzantine-held parts of the Near East and Africa as Persia and Byzantium were locked in their struggle to the death. In the mid-seventh century the Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula, inspired by their new religion of Islam, founded by Mohammed in 622, swiftly captured Byzantine territory in the Near East and North Africa. Within 10 years the Byzantine provinces in the east had become part of the new Arab Empire. An important reason for the Arab Muslims' success was the alienation of many in these regions from the Byzantines' political and religious policies and

their Greek culture. Coptic and Aramaic speakers who followed the Monophysite Christian faith, persecuted by the Orthodox Byzantines, saw the Arabs as fellow Semites and deliverers. They hoped for, and received, religious tolerance from their new leaders. On the other hand, Anatolia, the most staunchly Orthodox Byzantine province, held out against repeated attempts at conquest by the Arabs.

But the Byzantine war against the Arabs in Asia Minor devolved into a bitter war of attrition, as the Byzantine traditional division of power between civilian and military authorities was abandoned, and control over military zones, called *themes,* was given over wholly to military commanders. These commanders adopted a scorched-earth policy that devastated the Anatolian plateau, making farming impossible in many areas. Many commanders became in effect warlords taking land for themselves. Anatolian cities became mere fortresses as trade routes were cut off by continual guerrilla war. The emperor-general Leo III, founder of the Isaurian dynasty, finally regained Asia Minor from the Arabs with a victory at Akroinon in Phrygia in 739. But the reconquest as a whole was a Pyrrhic victory, with a transformation of the Byzantine world—whose hallmark had been its high standard of culture and its essentially civilian nature—into a militarized society too poor to afford the retirements of civilization comparable to that in western Europe.

Dealing with the Arabs distracted the Byzantines from their holdings in the west—they withdrew soldiers and reduced their subsidies to the Franks (as documented in the disappearance of Byzantine coinage from Frankish coin hordes of the time); as a result the Lombards benefited most conspicuously. In 643 the strong Lombard king, Rothari, captured the Byzantine outposts in the regions of Liguria and Veneto in northern Italy; by 680 the Byzantines were forced to recognize the Lombard kingdom. In 679 the Bulgars invaded present-day Bulgaria, establishing the First Bulgarian Empire.

In 711 Arab Muslims and Berbers—known as MOORS—invaded the Iberian Peninsula, destroying Visigothic power in a single battle. The Visigoths had continued to resent the Byzantines to the end, even after they had given up their heretical Arian form of Christianity in 586 and allowed the Roman Church to hold regular councils that legislated on both secular and religious affairs. Even the great scholar Isidore of Seville, while prudently advocating cooperation with the Byzantines, considered them deceitful and unmanly Romani. Nevertheless, the loss of Spain to Islam was another severe blow to the empire.

The city of Constantinople with its three defensive walls (whose construction began in 413 during the reign of Theodosius II) itself repelled repeated attacks during this period of Byzantine history: by the Avars in 626 and the Arabs in 673–677 and 717. Also in the seventh century to counter external cultural pressures, Byzantine rulers actively promoted Hellenism.

Still another power was emerging in western Europe, the Germanic Franks. In 773 their ruler, Charlemagne, defeated the kingdom of Lombardy in Italy, and in 800 has was crowned emperor of the West (which would evolve into the title of Holy Roman Emperor) by Pope Leo III, an act that gave both the Franks and Rome new power. Charlemagne also decisively defeated the Avars by 805. The Byzantines recognized Charlemagne's authority in 812 out of political expediency in the face of the Frankish military machine.

In the ninth century while pressure on Byzantium from the new ruling Islamic dynasty, the Abbasids, lessened as they shifted their focus to the east, moving their capital to Baghdad, Arab states in the west, including Spain, engaged in serious raids by sea. Crete in 828 and much of Sicily in the 870s fell to Arab pirates. To the north the Bulgars, who had moved into the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Avar state and had assumed control of the Slavic population, defended their territory against the Byzantines, defeating and killing Emperor Nicephorus in 811 and making his skull into a drinking cup. Even their conversion to Christianity did little to curb their threat to Byzantium, for the Bulgars made use of the more sophisticated government administration that accompanied conversion. Moreover they became literate by means of the Slavonic alphabet. They thus were able to challenge Byzantine universality both politically and theologically, claiming legitimacy as a rival, God-appointed empire. The Kievan RUS also began raiding Byzantine territory.

Internal Disputes

As it resisted external military pressures Byzantium endured political intrigue. A number of these conflicts arose around theological issues concerning the nature of Christ and the use of images in liturgy. Violence ended the reigns of 29 of the 88 Byzantine emperors, if not by death than by blinding to make them

unfit for rule. With the endemic political intrigue and frequent usurpation of power, a number of dynasties held power in Byzantine history.

The early Byzantine leaders were considered part of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which dated back to Augustus and his rise to power in Rome in 31 B.C.E. The Heraclian dynasty, which began with Heraclius in 610, lasted until 717 through 12 emperors, the last Theodosius III. Leo III then gained power, the start of the Isaurian dynasty, which also had 12 rulers, until 867 and Michael III's reign.

Macedonian Dynasty

The longest dynasty in latter-day Byzantine times was the Macedonian dynasty, founded by Basil I, emperor in 867–886. It endured for more than two centuries until 1081 and consisted of 25 reigns.

The early Macedonian dynasty oversaw a period of expansion and resistance against pressures from the Bulgars and Rus, testament to the great resiliency of the Byzantines. The evolution away from Justinian's autocratic ideal of Byzantium's God-given absolute and universal rule toward a far more pragmatic and flexible approach played a primary role in the Byzantines' reemergence. Their theological agenda was administered by Slav-speaking missionaries, who furthered Byzantine interests with persuasion rather than armed might. Basil I's armies and fleets prevented further Muslim expansion and strengthened Byzantine interests on the Balkan and Italian Peninsulas. The Byzantines exploited the Lombard's weakening by Arab raids, establishing themes in Calabria and Langobardia (present-day Apulia). Dissension and disunity in Italy in the late ninth century, as Lombard lords, Frankish kings, and the papacy struggled for dominance, exacerbated by Arab and also MAGYAR raiders, enhanced the prestige of Byzantium, its civilization and culture contrasting with that of uncouth Franks and Lombards.

In 907 during the reign of Leo VI, Basil's son, the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality with Slavic allies, led by Oleg, failed in an attempt to capture Constantinople (an earlier attempt in 860 had also failed). Basil II, who was coemperor in 976–1025 with his ineffectual and uninvolved brother, Constantine VIII, defeated the Bulgars in 1014, incorporating their lands into the Byzantine Empire four years later. He also expanded Byzantine territory into present-day Armenia, Georgia, Iraq, and Syria. Trade was expanded in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.

Along with the territorial and economic growth was a revived intellectual life. Basil I also presided over a reorganization of finances and a recodification of laws. His son, Leo VI, known as Leo the Wise, continued his father's work and wrote verse and theological studies. Leo's son, Constantine VII, was a patron of the arts and wrote political treatises and a biography of his grandfather. Throughout this period classical Hellenic traditions were revived in art and literature. Ancient manuscripts were recopied and analyzed, and encyclopedias were compiled. Scholars drew on Arabic studies as well, especially in mathematics and the sciences.

The late Macedonian period, however, saw a decline in political, economic, and cultural life in Byzantium. The concentration of land and wealth among a few wealthy individuals and families and the church hurt the general economy. Meanwhile western Europe and the Muslim world were making new technological breakthroughs, and their armies were becoming more efficient. Byzantium became even more isolated from the Christian West in 1054, when the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church suffered a final break, a schism that had begun with the dispute between the patriarch Photius and Pope Nicholas two centuries before.

A new Muslim threat was growing in the east. The Seljuk Turks (*see* TURKICS), followers of Islam, defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert (Malazgirt) in Asia Minor and captured Emperor Romanus IV in 1071 (he was released but died the same year in exile). His successors, Michael, who ruled in 1071–78, and Nicephorus III, who succeeded him, lost much of Asia Minor to the Seljuk Turks. Nicephorus, who abdicated after only three years, was the last emperor of the Macedonian dynasty. The Comnenian dynasty of 13 emperors began with Alexius I in 1081.

The Crusades

Palestine in the Near East—considered a Holy Land by the adherents of the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religions (*see* JEWS)—fell to the Arab Muslims in 638. Yet the region remained relatively open, a center of commerce and religious and intellectual activity until the late 11th century, when the Seljuk Turks became the dominant Islamic people in Asia Minor and took control of Jerusalem. Their harassment of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and their aggressive stance toward Constantinople became a concern to Christian leaders. Emperor Alexius I

appealed to the West for help defending against invaders. Soon afterward in 1095 Pope Urban II gave a speech at the Council of Clermont in France encouraging aid to Byzantium against the Islamic threat. In response, from the late 11th century through the late 13th century a number of military expeditions, the Crusades, were undertaken by European Christian powers to liberate the Holy Land. In most of these endeavors Constantinople served as a gathering place for armies heading south and east.

The First Crusade consisted of organized armies under a number of nobles. Other people joined them en route or traveled to port towns, then sailed to Constantinople on their own to meet up with the crusaders, creating a force of an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 in late 1096 and early 1097. The majority were Franks. From Constantinople the crusaders crossed to Asia Minor and traveled southward overland through Muslim states and principalities in present-day Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. Major victories in the First Crusade included the capture of Nicaea (modern Iznik in present-day Turkey) in 1097, the capture of Antioch (a site in present-day Turkey) in 1098, and, in a bloody massacre in which the crusaders annihilated most of the Arab and Jewish inhabitants, the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the creation of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Other crusader states founded at this time were the County of Edessa (in northern Syria and southern Turkey), the Principality of Antioch (in Syria), and the County of Tripoli (in Lebanon). Some crusaders thus maintained a presence in the region, in particular members of the military orders, the Knights Hospitalers and the Knights Templars; others returned home. Byzantium took advantage of the victories to gain some land in Asia Minor. Subsequent crusades were intended to offer support to the crusader states and expand Christian-held territory, yet none had the success of the First Crusade.

The Fourth Crusade, in 1202–4, never reached the Holy Land. Its Frankish leaders joined the VENETIANS of the city of Venice on the northern Italian Peninsula, retaking Zara (Zadar) on the Adriatic coast of present-day Croatia, part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The Franks then joined in a dynastic struggle for Constantinople itself. In 1205 after seizing and looting the city, with the support of Alexius IV, they deposed Alexius III and established the Latin Empire of Constantinople in Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. Alexius V led a revolt against them, killing Alexius IV, but he himself was soon killed. Theodore I, son-in-law of Alexius III, fled to Nicaea and founded a new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. One result of the change in power was that now the city of Venice in the Italian Peninsula controlled the sea route between the two cities, as well as much of the empire's commerce and wealth. The Venetian connection with the Byzantines resulted in much cross-cultural influence between Italy and the East. Moreover, even though Pope Innocent III condemned the crusaders' acts of violence against fellow Christians, the events surrounding the Fourth Crusade contributed to the ongoing dispute between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. Byzantine power continued to be centered at Nicaea through the reigns of three emperors until Michael VIII, founder of the Palaeologan dynasty, recaptured Constantinople in 1261.

Decline and Fall

The Palaeologan Empire's resources were very limited and stretched thin throughout its existence, however, and the Byzantine decline continued, with its borders shrinking. Another emerging threat were the Ottoman Turks. After the breakup of the Seljuk Turk empire Osman I founded the Ottoman or Osmanli Turks, descendants of one of the latest invading tribes from central Asia. He waged a campaign in Asia Minor against the Byzantines, capturing Bursa shortly before his death in about 1326. In 1362 Adrianople fell to Murad I. Under Bayezid I, his son, the Ottomans continued to expand their holdings in the Balkans, defeating the SERBS and their allies at Kosovo in present-day southern Serbia and, in 1396, the Hungarians (*see* HUNGARIANS: NATIONALITY) and their allies at Nicopolis (modern Nikopol) in present-day northern Bulgaria. In 1397 Bayezid besieged Constantinople. Tamerlane (Timur), leader of a rival Turkic empire centered at Samarkand in present-day Uzbekistan, defeated the Ottomans at Angora (modern Ankara) in Asia Minor, forcing Bayezid to raise the siege.

The Ottoman Empire was fragmented for a time, but Mehmed, Bayezid's son, reunited it, and his successors, Murad II and Mehmed II, secured additional territory. Murad defeated a crusading European army at Varna in present-day eastern Bulgaria in 1444. Mehmed personally commanded the siege of Constantinople in which new large cannons were used to breach the wall that had withstood so many invasions. Constantine XI was killed defending one of the gates of the city. Constantinople fell on May 29,

1453. Mehmed's first act after the victory was to convert Hagia Sophia into a mosque. He also named the city Istanbul. Remaining Byzantine outposts would also soon fall.

The year 1453, the end of the Byzantine Empire, is one of the dates cited as the beginning of the modern age.

CULTURE

Economy

At the time of the separation of the Roman Empire into eastern and western portions in the fourth century, the Eastern economy was far stronger than that of the West. An urban economy thrived in some 900 cities, headed by that of Constantinople, the supreme emporium between East and West, while cities in the West were becoming depopulated ruins. The Western empire was heavily indebted to Byzantium, as it borrowed money to finance its wars. Agriculture prospered in the East. Differentiation between rich and poor in the West was extreme, with most wealth held by a few individuals, while in the East a bureaucratic class whose position was based on merit formed a thriving urban "middle class," which contributed to the commercial prosperity of the upper class as well.

The monetary system created by Constantine I, based on the gold *solidus,* which lasted into the middle of the 11th century, also contributed greatly to the Byzantine economy, by allowing empirewide monetary stability and fostering imperial unity. This was true even though the government's purpose in regulating the coinage was to facilitate tax collection and disburse payments to troops and officials. In general the imperial government played a central role in the economy, with regulations on the purity and supply of precious metals, as well as on the organization of commerce and skilled crafts.

Agriculture was practiced on large estates, on the Roman villa model. The church had vast holdings, as did the emperor. As in the West, heavy taxation led to the abandonment of arable land by peasants, as did depopulation caused by bubonic plague.

Byzantine Sea Power Byzantine sea power was crucial in maintaining the trade networks that knit together the empire. Africa and especially Egypt remained the "breadbasket" for the Eastern Empire, and the important corn dole (provision of grain to the populace) in Constantinople was supplied from Egypt by sea. The Byzantines protected their many coastal provinces with their navies. When the Vandals in the fifth century preyed on the trade routes between Africa and Italy, they destroyed long-distance traffic in the western Mediterranean (which would not recover for centuries), which eliminated the northwest African trade in foodstuffs. Byzantine sea power was crippled by Arab fleets in the seventh century but recovered after the rise of the Abbasid dynasty.

The challenges to Byzantine sea power diminished trade and other contacts between Byzantium and the West. Previously long-distance trade between East and West had been heavily backed by the imperial apparatus; as this ceased to function in the West, Syrian and Jewish traders took over specializing in eastern luxury items prized by the Germanic elites in the West. This trade was seriously disrupted by the Arabs in the seventh century; nevertheless the flow of goods from East to West never dried up completely, often taking the form of diplomatic gifts from the Byzantines to allies and important churchmen.

Government and Society

Flexibility of the Byzantines Examples of change after the seventh century include ending of the corn dole in Constantinople, now beyond the empire's means; employing Slavs as new manpower to bolster the plague-ravaged Byzantine population by encouraging their resettlement in the empire; and replacing civilian aristocracy, hidebound in its obsession with rank and a convoluted (positively "Byzantine") protocol, with military officials whose positions were based on merit. The government found ways to enlist its people's support by using "populist" symbols and beliefs. Large estates were replaced by free village communities of peasants.

Byzantium for centuries had preserved the organization of the Roman state and civilization as it had been at its height (in the West that organization had withered away long before the actual end of the Western Roman Empire in 476), urban based, with a balance between civil and military authority. Under Byzantine rule countries over a wide area of Europe and the Near East were bound by a common culture and governmental structure and an interconnected economy. After the Persian and Arab wars when most urban life was extinguished except in Constantinople itself, Byzantium resembled the old Greek city-states. Yet even they had depended on the urban civilization they transplanted to new

lands—Syracuse in Sicily and Alexandria in North Africa. Byzantine cities became mere fortified centers more on a par with many towns in the West, and in its degree of militarization the empire resembled Germanic kingdoms such as that of the Franks. And Byzantine rulers were considered kings, a break from the classical Greek tradition.

Question of the Beginning of the Byzantine State This "sea change" of the Byzantine state in the mid-seventh century has created an ambiguity for many scholars, concerning when Byzantine history actually began—with the creation of Constantinople as Eastern Roman capital from the Greek city of Byzantium by Constantine I, or with the new beginning some 400 years later. The "Byzantines" of the first 400 years considered themselves Romans, and in many ways their society was Roman. Perhaps the crucial departure of Byzantine Rome from the Western Roman tradition lay in Justinian's formulation of the emperor as God's instrument; in contrast, in the West the bishops of Rome and their papal successors claimed spiritual centrality. Or perhaps it occurred with the increasing importance of Hellenic traditions in the 10th century. Certainly the Byzantine state as distinctly "Byzantine" evolved over centuries as it strove to achieve a synthesis of late Roman institutions, Orthodox Christianity, and Greek culture.

Taxation Of critical importance to the life of the Byzantine state was the administrative apparatus for taxation inherited from Rome, consisting of a body of salaried and well-educated officials who efficiently managed tax registers all over the far-flung empire and directed tax collectors. In the Germanic West such functions depended on a ruler's military prowess and ability through personal charisma to maintain the loyalty of his vassals—all matters fraught with uncertainty. In contrast the tax-collecting machinery of the Byzantines allowed them to make effective use of what wealth existed in their provinces (which in many cases were not much richer than lands in the West).

Justinian Code Control of justice was another major element of the Byzantine state. The basic legal principle, inherited from Rome, was that all legal (along with spiritual) authority emanated from the emperor. In practice all courts in the empire of whatever level were administered by centrally appointed judges. Law codes were promulgated by emperors, beginning with Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis,* a compilation and systemization of a thousand years of Roman law. Because of the many copies make of this work, it survived the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and, through the revival of interest in Roman law in 11th-century Italy, become the basis of civil law all over Europe. Leo III ordered the collection of laws called the Ecloga in 739, and Leo VI promulgated the authoritative Basilica Code.

Militarization of Local Government The Byzantines maintained the Roman model of civilian local government based in municipalities until the invasions of the seventh century forced them to adopt a form more suited to military necessity. Local theme commanders were given a large degree of autonomy to deal with conditions in their districts. Their soldiers were given tax-exempt lands to encourage their continued presence, and to spare the central government the obligation of paying them. The main difference between this scheme and that of the Germanic kingdoms was that Byzantine emperors could exercise a greater degree of control over local commanders through an elaborate system of written instructions (made possible by the central bureaucracy), inspections by central government officials, and, most important, disbursement of funds.

Military Practices

Byzantium's armies were streamlined after the disastrous seventh century into an elite expeditionary guard called the *tagmata* and into army crops called *themata* (themes), which remained permanently in thematic districts. Each was commanded by a *strategos* (general), who acquired civil and military authority over his army district.

The Byzantine navy enjoyed a monopoly of sea power in the eastern Mediterranean until Arab fleets in the seventh century bested them, seizing Cyprus and Rhodes and twice blockading Constantinople. When the Arab Abbasid dynasty turned away from the Mediterranean, Byzantine sea power recovered, now based on more localized thematic fleets that patrolled and were supplied from particular areas. This solution proved problematic in the long run, as a number of the naval themes revolted. Nevertheless Byzantine navies remained strong because of the technical superiority of their ships, the skills of their seamen, and the greater availability of timber and other naval supplies compared to those of the Arabs. Only after the ninth century, when the Byzantine subject cities of Venice and Amalfi began developing

their own naval power, was Byzantine supremacy seriously challenged.

The Varangian Guard was founded by Emperor Basil II in 988, with 6,000 warriors from among the Kievan Rus, possibly sent by their king, Vladimir, to gain favor with the emperor. (In Byzantium the term Varangian did not only apply to the Rus, but to anyone of a nationality other than "Greek"; there is reason to believe, that Varangian was a term used for a foreigner in the service of the Byzantine government.)

Art

By the late Roman era even before the collapse of the Western Empire a significant cultural divide had opened between East and West. Already the Eastern Empire's basis in Greek culture and thought distinguished it from the Latin West. After the fall of the Roman West knowledge of the Greek language was increasingly confined to the great minds of the day, such as Boethius. Later Latin ceased to be the official language of the Byzantine Empire. When the Ostrogoths took power in Italy, they exploited suspicions of Italians of the "unmanly" Greeks. In Byzantium religious controversy was sometimes seen in terms of Roman versus Greek, as when in the seventh century a dissident theologian was accused of "loving the Romans and hating the Greeks."

Yet Byzantine influence on the West, particularly on the plastic arts, was strong throughout her history. As indigenous Roman culture withered away, Byzantine art objects, often given as diplomatic gifts to allies in Italy, kept local craftsmen aware of new styles and techniques. Papal records show that such gifts consisted of holy relics in sumptuous containers, elaborate vestments richly embroidered, ornaments such as icons worn around the neck on gold chains, and luxury textiles such as silk. One can gain an impression of the impact such treasures had on the raw new kingdoms of the West from an account of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in Francia in around 1140. He describes a "precious chalice out of one solid sardonyx" crafted more than a thousand years earlier, in the Alexandria of Queen Cleopatra. The abbot comments that he often queried travelers who had been to Constantinople as to "whether the things here could claim some value in comparison with those there." Even at this late date distant Byzantium remained the center of the cultural world of Europe.

But Westerners a few years later accomplished the final severing of the Byzantine cultural tradition. In 1185 Norman pirates from Sicily sacked and looted Thessalonica. In 1204 Venetians and crusaders of the Fourth Crusade systematically emptied Constantinople itself of its treasures.

Icons The Byzantine iconographic tradition is the aesthetic heart of Byzantine society. Iconography was a programmatic art in the sense that it was completely infused with theological concepts, with a religious program. The making of icons had been strictly regulated since the Seventh Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 787. The sanctity of icons derived from their high degree of stylization prescribed by church law, intended to arouse reverence for their prototypes, which, it was claimed, dated from the time of Christ. Thus the making of icons was isolated from the normal evolutions in style and taste most artistic traditions undergo. To change the style of icon painting would be to stray from the divine originals that icons existed to reflect. Icons were intended to give the viewer direct contact with the divine, the aim of all orthodox liturgy. To this day they play an integral part in Eastern Orthodox ritual, as worshipers make processions through the church to kiss the icons. Icons are believed to heal and work miracles.

Portraiture was greatly influenced by iconographic style. Portraits of emperors are rigid and impersonal, submerging the individual personality beneath the public image, the personification of the Byzantine Empire. A central concept to this art, and indeed to the political posture of the Byzantine emperors, was *taxis,* the belief that the gestures, actions, and raiment both of liturgical ritual and of the rituals of court protocol created or brought down to Earth an experience of that divine order that was the goal of humanity. The purpose of the Byzantine Empire was to promote and defend this divine order.

The concepts informing Byzantine art are imbued with the thought of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato, particularly his teaching concerning material versus spiritual reality. Plato denigrated sense experience of the material world as a means of arriving at true knowledge, saying that our senses are too prone to error and delusion. Only the ideas or archetypal forms that derive from the one, which is universal truth, are real, and the forms we see with our senses are mere shadows or reflections of them. The concept that icons are reflections of divine originals is actually far from the thought of Plato, for whom the Ideas and Forms are to be grasped through philosophical discourse,

abstract reasoning, and mathematical study, particularly of geometry. But the icon makers' neglect of the world they saw before their eyes in favor of the forms handed down to them by the iconographic tradition bears a Platonic stamp. It was communicated to Christian theologians by Augustine, whose study of the philosophy of Neo-Platonism taught him to conceive of the spirit as immaterial and to hold that physical matter bears the impress of the divine only in its form. For Augustine evil was matter devoid of form.

The discussions over the nature of Christ—determined after the Council of Nicaea in 325 to be the same substance as the father, rather than merely of like or similar substance—were later continued by the Byzantines on the question of whether Christ was of one nature, wholly divine, or of two, divine and human, inseparably present in a single being. Again this paradox of opposite substances combined in one is reflected in the icons, material objects imbued through their form with the divine, the invisible rendered visible.

Religion

Christianity had a greater hold on the whole of society in the Eastern Empire than in the West, where its spread among Germanic peoples was for centuries more superficial and failed to penetrate to the society's core. Through monasticism Christianity instead provided an alternate social and political organization to that of government. Among the Byzantines, however, service to the empire amounted to service to God, whose temporal city was Constantinople. Religion formed the temporal as well as spiritual center of gravity for Byzantium's diverse and far-flung empire.

Even after Byzantium's temporal power had waned, its spiritual and cultural influence over a vast region continued to be great. It can be seen in the Balkans; in northern Russia, Coptic Egypt, Ethiopia; and in the European West, where its influence emerges in Sicily, Naples, and Flanders. The spread of Christianity into Slavic lands in the ninth century and also among the Kievan Rus in the 10th were signal victories for the Byzantines. The church, in a sense the conduit by which the political principles of the Roman Empire were conveyed to rulers of the Middle Ages, was a model of the concepts of territorial and hierarchical organization that could make states out of tribal territories. All over Europe its teachings transformed princes whose charisma derived solely from their wealth and success in battle into kings possessing the attributes and responsibilities of national leader and judge. The anointing of a king as first Christian of the realm clothed him in a mantle of spiritual as well as temporal authority.

Theological Disputes Because of the centrality of religion to Byzantine society in both temporal and spiritual matters, theological disputes had wide-ranging, often violent effects. The First Ecumenical Council, convened by Constantine I, met at Nicaea (modern Iznik) in Asia Minor in 325 and condemned Arianism, a movement founded by Arius, a Greek ecclesiastic in Alexandria, Egypt. Arianism proclaimed that Jesus was not equal in his divinity to God the father. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople in 428–431, preached a doctrine making a distinction between Jesus as a divine being and Jesus as a man begotten by God the father and a mortal woman. He was condemned as a heretic by the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431. The nature of the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Christ continued to be debated among religious factions over the centuries. Monophysitism, a movement in the fifth and sixth centuries, maintained that in Christ there was one nature, divine in Christ, but not two, divine and human, and the Monophysites became a formidable religious and political force.

Iconoclasm, opposition to the religious use of images and the resulting idolatry, became another contested issue. In 726 Emperor Leo III had all icons removed from churches and destroyed. The emperors Constantine V and Leo IV also actively promoted iconoclasm. Irene, who served as regent to her son, Constantine VI, from 780; as his coruler in 792; and as sole ruler in 797–802 after having him imprisoned and blinded, summoned the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 787, which sanctioned the use of sacred images. Leo V, emperor in 813–820, again removed the icons. In 843 Theodora, as regent for her son, Michael III, had the patriarch Methodius (later a missionary to the MORAVIANS) proclaim the final restoration of icons.

In 858 during his reign Michael appointed Photius as patriarch of Constantinople. Photius also served for a time under Michael's successor, Basil I. His dispute with Pope Nicholas I in Rome over control of dioceses and theological matters resulted in what is known as the Photian Schism between East and West.

In 1436 Emperor John VIII Palaiologos made a state visit to Italy with high prelates from the Orthodox Church, hoping through negotiation and discussion to resolve points of

difference between the Eastern and Western churches. The effort failed.

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the Byzantine Empire is its endurance through centuries of turmoil equal to any in human history. And although the popular image of Byzantium is one of rigid, almost otherwordly social and political immobility (an image perhaps fostered in the West by the Byzantine religious icons and portraits of their emperors, stiff and unreal in execution, unchanging in style), in reality the opposite is true. Its ability to survive its crises was derived from a capacity for reinvention. This is seen in Justinian's creation of an ideal Byzantine Empire that aroused in his people the zeal to attempt to reincarnate the universal Rome of the past, and equally in the Byzantines' laying aside that ideal when its time had run its course, in favor of a new pragmatism suited to new conditions.

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C

Cadurci (Cadurces)

The Cadurci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Cahors in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Divona, on the site of Cahors, became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Cahors takes its name from the tribal name. The ELEUTETI were perhaps a subgroup.

Caerenii (Caereni)

The Caerenii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northwestern Scotland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. It is possible that they were PICTS and not Celtic speaking, however.

Caerosi (Caeraesi; Caeroesi)

The Caerosi were a tribe of GERMANICS or CELTICS, or a combination of the two. They lived north of present-day Trier (Trèves) on the banks of the Prüm River in western Germany. They had contact with the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E.

Caledones (Caledonii)

The Caledones are classified as CELTS or PICTS. They lived north of the Grampian Mountains in Britain in present-day western Scotland. A number of Celtic and non-Celtic peoples became grouped as CALEDONIANS or ancient SCOTS, as distinguished from BRITONS, in their contacts with ROMANS in the first century B.C.E and early centuries C.E., among them the Caledones. The Caledones, along with other tribes in the region, were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E.

Caledonians (Caledones; Caledonii)

The name Caledonians was applied by the ROMANS to the tribes of ancient Scotland above the isthmus connecting the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde. The term is sometimes applied interchangeably to the ancient SCOTS and PICTS as opposed to the BRITONS in Britain to the south (the Scots and Britons are both discussed as CELTS). The first–second-century C.E. Roman historian Tacitus uses the name Caledonia for the entire region and discusses the BORESTI as a Caledonian tribe. The second-century Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy uses the name CALEDONES (or Caledonii) in reference to one tribe. Among the other tribes recorded in the region are the BORESTI, CAERENII, CARNONACAE, CORNOVII, CREONES, DECANTAE, EPIDI, LUGII, SMERTAE, TAEXALI, VACOMAGI, VENICONES, and VERTURIONES. Tacitus also writes that the Romans under Gnaeus Julius Agricola defeated a coalition of Caledonian tribes at the Battle of Mons Graupius in about 84 C.E.

In 142 C.E. the Romans built the Antonine Wall across the Forth-Clyde line. In 208 C.E.

CALEDONIANS

location:
Scotland

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic or Pictish

language:
Gaelic or Pictish

CAMPANI

location:
Campania in southwestern Italy

time period:
Fifth to fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

the Roman emperor Lucius Septimius Severus invaded Caledonia in an attempt to pacify the resisting Scots, but he died at York before accomplishing his goal. By that time a second confederation had been formed, referred to as the MAEATAE, which included the Verturiones and possibly the Boresti and Vacomagi. The concept of the Caledonians as a people endured through the Roman occupation of Britain, which ended in 410 C.E.

Caleti (Caletes)

The Caleti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near present-day Le Havre on the north coast of France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy). Armorica was occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E.

Cambolectri (Cambolectri Atlantici)

The Cambolectri are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day Vendée region of western France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They are thought to have been related ancestrally to the AGESSINATES, also known as the Cambolectri Agessinates. They lived to their east.

Campani (Campanians)

The Campani are classified as an Italic tribe. They lived in the present-day region of Campania in southwestern Italy around present-day Naples. They were an Oscan-speaking people who had coalesced into a nation by the mid-fifth century B.C.E., after the ETRUSCANS lost their power in the region. They formed the Campanian League of city-states in about 420 B.C.E.

In 343 B.C.E. the First Samnite War erupted over a dispute between the SAMNITES and the SIDICINI, allies of the Campani. The Samnites invaded Campania and defeated the Campani near modern Capua on the Volturno River. The Campani requested help from the ROMANS, who defeated the Samnites in 341 B.C.E.

The Campani joined the confederation known as the Latin League in a revolt against the Romans that same year, 341 B.C.E.; in addition to the Siducini, their partners were the AURUNCI, LATINS, and VOLSCI, fellow ITALICS. The alliance collapsed by 338 B.C.E. under both Samnite and Roman pressure.

Cangi

The Cangi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain and are classified as CELTS or BRITONS. They were defeated by the Romans in 61 C.E. along with the ICENI under Queen Boudicca (Boadicea).

Cantabri (Cantabrii; Cantabros)

The Cantabri are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived along the coast of present-day northern Spain and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. They resisted the ROMANS along with the ASTURES and GALLAECI but were finally defeated in 19 B.C.E.

Cantiaci (Cantii)

The Cantiaci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the region known as Cantium (modern Kent) on the coast of the English Channel in present-day southeastern England and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. In the first century B.C.E., they had contact with the ROMANS under Julius Caesar, who praised them for their civilized ways. For a time they were part of the dominion of the CATUVELLAUNI. Durovernum Cantiacorum on the site of present-day Canterbury became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation; Cantium and Canterbury take their names from the tribal name.

Cantii

See CANTIACI.

Carantanians (Karantanians; Carinthians; Carinthian Slavs)

CARANTANIANS

location:
Southern Austria; northern Slovenia

time period:
Late sixth century C.E. to 976

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
South Slavic

Carantanian or Carinthian is a name given to SLAVS living in a region called Carantania by the FRANKS of the eight and ninth centuries C.E. Located on the upper reaches of the Drava and Sava Rivers in present-day southern Austria and northern Slovenia, the area was of great strategic importance to the Franks, forming both a march land (buffer zone) and a staging area for attacks on Moravia.

Slavs first came to this region in the late sixth or early seventh century. They interacted with local Germanic groups. Some of them united under the Frankish merchant named Samo. The resulting culture has been called the Carinthian culture. Around 740 the Carantanians asked the duke of Bavaria for protection against the AVARS and thereafter came

under Bavarian rule (*see* BAVARIANS). When Charlemagne of the Franks deposed the duke of Bavaria in 788, Carantania came under Frankish rule. In 976 it evolved into a duchy, Carinthia, or Kärnten, in the Frankish Empire and eventually a state of modern Austria. The SLOVENES, who settled in present-day Slovenia to the south of Carinthia, were probably in part descended from the Carantanians.

Carelians *See* KARELIANS.

Carinthian Slavs *See* CARANTANIANS.

Carnonacae
The Carnonacae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northwestern Scotland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. It is possible that they were PICTS and not Celtic speaking, however.

Carnutes
The Carnutes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Loire around Chartres in present-day northern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. According to Caesar, a Druid holy site, the center of all Gaul, was situated in the territory of the Carnutes. Autricum on the site of Chartres became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Chartres takes its name from the tribal name.

Carolingians *See* FRANKS.

Carpenati (Carpenatians)
The Carpenati were among those peoples of the Italian Peninsula who prospered in the region of Latium (part of modern Lazio) in present-day west-central Italy before the rise of the ROMANS as a dominant people in the fourth century B.C.E. Their origins are not known because they spoke a unique language, with Etruscan, Latin, and Oscan influence.

The Carpenati were bordered by the FALISCANS to the north, the Tiber River to the east, the SABINES to the south, and the ETRUSCANS centered in the stronghold of Veii to the west. Their principal cities were Capena, Feroniae, Lucus, and Saperna. The Tiber, flowing into the Tyrrhenian Sea, allowed for many cultural and economic exchanges among the various peoples.

From the late seventh to the early sixth century B.C.E. the Carpenati were under the influence of the Etruscans, which culminated in their admission to the Etruscan League. In the fourth century B.C.E. they aligned with Rome against the Etruscans over control of the Tiber region. They were eventually absorbed by the Romans.

CARPENATI

location:
Lazio in west-central Italy

time period:
Seventh to fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Carpenati

Carpetani
The Carpetani are classified as an Iberian tribe. In the first millennium B.C.E. they lived along the Tagus (Tajo) River in the vicinity of present-day Toledo, the site of their capital, and Madrid in central Spain. They had contacts with the tribes to their north classified as CELTIBERIANS, with mostly Celtic ancestry, who settled the northern and western regions of the Iberian Peninsula displacing IBERIANS. The CARTHAGINIANS under Hannibal defeated the Carpetani in 220–219 B.C.E. The ROMANS captured their capital in 197 B.C.E. and named it Toletum. In the Roman provincial system later established, the Carpetani homeland was part of Tarraconensis.

Carpatho-Rusyns *See* RUSYNS.

Carpi (Carps; Karps; Capes; Carpians)
The Carpi were probably a tribe of THRACIANS, a subgroup of the DACIANS, although some scholars classify them as SLAVS. They lived in the Carpathian Mountains (probably named after them) in present-day Romania to the north of the Roman province of Dacia, and hence their designation, along with the COSTOBOCII, as the free Dacians. Some of them also lived to the east in present-day Moldova. They carried out a number of attacks on the ROMANS. In 273 C.E., allied with the GOTHS and SARMATIANS, they crossed the Danube for attacks on the Roman province of Moesia (parts of present-day Serbia and Bulgaria). It is thought that they were absorbed by other groups subsequently.

Carthaginians (Phoenicians; Poeni; Puni)
Carthaginians were inhabitants of the ancient city-state of Carthage, situated on a peninsula in the Bay of Tunis in present-day Tunisia on the north coast of Africa. PHOENICIANS,

CARTHAGINIANS

location:
North Africa; Iberian Peninsula

time period:
Ninth century B.C.E. to 439 C.E.

ancestry:
Phoenician (probably Semitic)

language:
Punic (Semitic)

Carthaginians time line

B.C.E.

late ninth to mid-eighth century Carthage founded in North Africa.

mid-fifth century Himilco explores Atlantic coast of Europe.

409 Carthaginians gain foothold in Sicily.

264–241 First Punic War between Carthaginians and Romans

237 Carthaginians invade Iberian Peninsula.

227 Founding of New Carthage in Spain

218–201 Second Punic War between Carthaginians and Romans; Hannibal invades Italy; Carthage loses holdings in Spain.

149–146 Third Punic War between Carthaginians and Romans; Carthage is sacked.

C.E.

29 Romans found new city at Carthage.

439 Vandals occupy Carthage.

533–534 Byzantines capture Carthage.

assumed to be out of present-day Lebanon in Asia, founded the city, but the Carthaginians as a people are discussed separately in historical texts.

ORIGINS

Legend holds that a queen by the name of Dido founded Carthage, but it is thought to have been established by Phoenicians from Tyre (Sur) in Asia as a trading post perhaps as early as the late ninth century B.C.E. (although archaeological evidence only exists from the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.E.). The city had two harbors, connected by a canal; a walled fortress overlooked the harbors from a hill. The name Carthage is from the Latin Carthago or Cartago, derived from the Phoenician word Kart-hadasht, for "new city." The Romans called its inhabitants Poeni, from Phoenikes (or Phoenicians), from which the adjective Punic is derived.

LANGUAGE

The Carthaginians spoke a dialect referred to as Punic, or Pun. It was related to Phoenician, the Semitic language of Carthage's founders, but influenced by Berber, the Hamitic language of the Berbers of North Africa.

HISTORY

The colony of Carthage evolved into a city-state under an aristocracy of nobles and wealthy merchants. Through conquest and trade it became influential throughout the Mediterranean region. By the sixth century B.C.E. Carthaginians had subjugated the Libyan tribes and earlier Phoenician colonies and controlled the coast of North Africa from the western extent of Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean.

Carthaginian Activity in Europe

The Carthaginians, following the earlier Phoenician tradition, were a seagoing people and were active in commerce in the Mediterranean region. In the sixth century B.C.E. Carthage gained control of Malta and Sardinia (part of present-day Italy), which had formerly been Phoenician and then Greek colonies.

The Carthaginians had trade contacts beyond the Mediterranean region, however, reached by sailing through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Atlantic Ocean. In about 450 B.C.E. Himilco, perhaps the brother of Hanno, who had earlier explored part of Africa's west coast, visited Atlantic coastal areas to the north, as far as present-day Brittany in France and the British Isles, although there is no archaeological evidence to indicate such travels. It is thought they used this route to trade for tin.

Starting in 409 B.C.E. the Carthaginians waged war with the GREEKS over Sicily, gaining a foothold in the west; the eastern boundary of Carthaginian power was the Halycus (modern Platani) River. Yet attempts to control the entire island led to a series of defeats over the centuries.

In the third century B.C.E. the ROMANS challenged Carthage's control of the western Mediterranean in a series of three wars known as the Punic Wars (after the Roman name for the Phoenicians, Poeni). In 241 B.C.E. at the end of the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.) the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca was forced to make peace with the Romans, after a naval defeat by the Roman consul Gaius Lutatius Catulus, and to give up holdings in Sicily.

In 237 B.C.E. Hamilcar Barca led an invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, fighting IBERIANS and CELTIBERIANS. His son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son, Hannibal, completed the conquest, occupying present-day southeastern Spain. Hasdrubal founded the city of Carthago Nova (New Carthage; modern Cartagena) in 227 B.C.E.

In the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.) Hannibal, with a full baggage train and ele-

phants, marched eastward along the Mediterranean's north coast from Spain and crossed the Alps in a journey into Italy, where he had success against Roman forces. The Carthaginian victory in the Battle of Cannae in 216 B.C.E. was one of the worst defeats in Roman history. The city of Rome held against his forces, however, and Roman victories elsewhere led to Hannibal's recall to Africa in 203 B.C.E. In 202 B.C.E. at Zama, northwest of Carthage, he was defeated by a Roman army under Scipio Africanus (Scipio the Elder), which led to loss of territory in Spain.

The End of Carthage

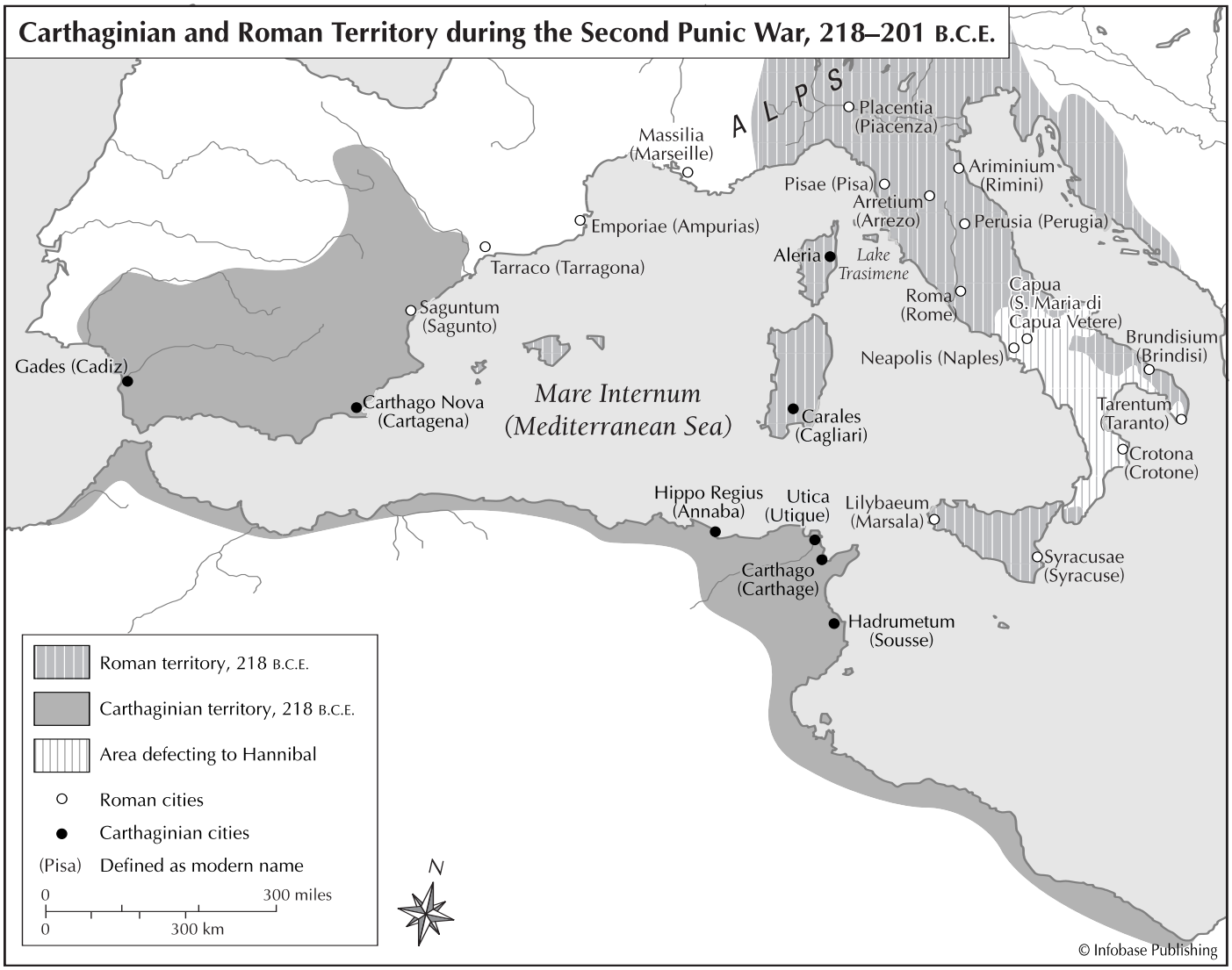
In 146 B.C.E. at the end of the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.E.), the Romans under Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Scipio the Younger) sacked and burned Carthage. A new city, founded by the Romans in 29 B.C.E., became a center of Roman administration. The Germanic VANDALS under Gaiseric, along with the SUEBI and ALANS, invaded Africa from Spain and in 439 C.E. occupied Carthage, making it their capital. In 533 C.E. it was taken by the BYZANTINES. In the late seventh century C.E. with Arab expansion westward, Carthage again came under attack and was destroyed in 698. The site, under Arab control, was continuously inhabited over the centuries and is presently a suburb of Tunis.

CULTURE (*see also* PHOENICIANS)

Carthage, as a center of trade, became a melting pot of people and ideas, especially influenced by Greece and Egypt.

Economy

The Carthaginian economy was built around trade. Among the Carthaginian products were purple dye, African grain, fruits, nuts, wine,





Carthaginians used coins such as this one from the late fifth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

slaves, exotic animals, ivory, lumber, pottery, glassware, jewelry, beds, and bedding. They bartered these goods for tin, silver, and gold.

Government and Society

Carthage was ruled by a king, a council of elders known as the Gerousia, and two *suffetes,* or magistrates. The suffetes held office on the basis of merit and wielded much of the power. The wealthy merchant families also had a great deal of influence.

Military Practices

The Carthaginians controlled the shipping lanes, protecting their monopoly through a powerful navy. Some of their galley ships were quadriremes and quinqueremes, with four or five tiers of oars on each side, designed for ramming ships. They also used foreign mercenaries, especially Iberians, Celtiberians, and GAULS, They minted gold coins to pay for their armies.

Religion

Baal-hammon (Amon), the chief deity, and Tanit (Tinith), probably his consort, and the equivalent of the Phoenician goddess Astarte, thought to represent the Sun and the Moon, respectively, were worshipped by the Carthaginians, along with other minor gods. Baal-hammon and Tanit supposedly fertilized the soil and provided renewal. Versions of the Greek gods Demeter and Persephone and the Roman goddess Juno also were worshipped by Carthaginians.

The Carthaginians, as did other Phoenicians, carried on the tradition of far-reaching sea travel and commerce. Carthaginian merchants were so common in foreign lands that they were even satirized in Greek theater. In competition with the militaristic Romans, however, the Carthaginians also concerned themselves with conquest and, maintaining a presence in Europe for part of their history, becoming an early obstacle to Roman expansion. The historic struggle with the Carthaginians further fueled the Roman trajectory toward empire.

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Carvetii

The Carvetii are classified as a Celtic tribe, perhaps a branch of the BRIGANTES. They lived in Britain in the present-day county of Cumbria in northwestern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. Luguvalium on the site of present-day Carlisle became a *civitas* capital during the occupation by ROMANS.

Cashubians *See* KASHUBES.

Cassi

The Cassi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. According to Julius Caesar they were allies of the TRINOVANTES and surrendered to the ROMANS in 54 B.C.E., along with the ANCALITES, BIBROCI, CENIMAGNI, and SEGONTIACI. Cassivellaunus, who led the resistance of the CATUVELLAUNI against the Romans, may have been of the Cassi, perhaps a subgroup of the Catuvellauni.

Catalanians (Catalans; people of Catalonia)

The name Catalanians refers to people now or formerly living in the historical region or autonomous community of Catalonia, situated in present-day northeastern Spain. Over the centuries the IBERIANS, PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, CARTHAGINIANS, ROMANS, and VISIGOTHS all had a presence there. Catalan (or Barcelona) was established as an independent county of the FRANKS by the ninth century C.E. and eventually extended its territories beyond the Pyrenees. It united with Aragon in 1137, and, since the 13th century, Catalonia has alternately gained and lost autonomy from Spanish rule. Since

1978 it has been an autonomous community within Spain, with the Catalán language (a Romance language distinct from Spanish) officially used (*see* SPANISH: NATIONALITY). There are also Catalán speakers in Andorra (*see* ANDORRANS: NATIONALITY), who maintain a cultural identity as Catalanians.

Catalauni (Catalaunes)

The Catalauni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Châlons-sur-Marne in northern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Catti

See CHATTI.

Caturiges

The Caturiges are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul, in the Valley of the Durance in the western Alps in present-day southeastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Along with the CEUTRONES and GRAIOCELI, they attempted unsuccessfully to obstruct the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in the Alps in 58 B.C.E.

Catuvellauni

The Catuvellauni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the present-day county of Hertfordshire in southern England and are discussed as CELTS or as BRITONS. With the ATREBATES and TRINOVANTES, they were one of the three most powerful tribal kingdoms in Britain in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.

The Catuvellauni leader Cassivellaunus (perhaps of the CASSI) resisted the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 54 B.C.E. After their defeat they established trade contacts and competed to control the imports of Roman goods.

In 10 C.E. the territories of the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes were united by the Catuvellaunian king Cunobelin (Cymbeline). In 42 C.E. his sons, Caractacus (Caradoc) and Togodumnus, inherited his kingdom and moved against the pro-Roman Atrebates (One theory of the rationale for the Roman invasion of Britain in 43 C.E. was that the Atrebates appealed to Rome for help against the Catuvellauni.) Afterward Caractacus and allies in Wales among the ORDOVICES and SILURES resisted Roman occupation. He eventually sought refuge among the BRIGANTES under Queen Cartimandua in 51 C.E., but she turned him over to the Romans.

Verulamium on the site of present-day St. Albans became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation lasting until 410 C.E. Londinium on the site of present-day London, another Catuvellauni town, eventually became the capital in Roman Britain. They were both attacked in the revolt led by Queen Boudicca (Boadicea) of the ICENI. A tribe known as Catuvellauni, probably related ancestrally, inhabited part of Gaul near the SENONES and would thus be discussed as GAULS.

Caucasians (Caucasic peoples)

The Caucasus Mountains are cited by many geographers as part of the boundary between Europe and Asia. In discussions of ancient history this natural barrier, much as the Ural Mountains to the north do, stands between different cultures and traditions on its opposite sides. In modern times this barrier also has geographic significance because the North Caucasus is the southern extent of European Russia.

Nevertheless, in understanding the flow of peoples and history, the mountains are an arbitrary boundary, emphasizing, once again, how Europe and Asia are not in fact two separate entities but are one Eurasia, with peoples of central Eurasia, in terms of culture, language, and even physical characteristics, blending elements of both Europe and Asia. The entire Caucasus region—both Ciscaucasia in the north (North Caucasia) and Transcaucasia in the south (South Caucasia)—was settled by related peoples and was conquered in the 18th–19th centuries by Russia. Moreover, in the 20th century the South Caucasus territories—Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia—were, as were the territories to the north, part of the Soviet Union (USSR) as the Transcaucasian Federation, officially the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. That is to say, the peoples of the South Caucasus share ethnicity, culture, and history with the peoples of the North Caucasus.

The term *Caucasians* (from the Latinized form of the Greek *Kaukasos,* possibly derived from the Hittite *Kaz-Kaz,* their name for a tribe on the Black Sea) is sometimes applied to all the people of the Caucasus (not to be confused with the term's more general usage for an entire race, first applied in 1775 under the supposition that the people of the region were typical of the white race). But this book uses the term for peoples of the Caucasic language family. Other peoples of the Caucasus are classified as

CATUVELLAUNI

location:
Hertfordshire in southern England

time period:
Second millenium B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (Celtic)

CAUCASIANS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Eighth century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
North Caucasic

Caucasians time line

B.C.E.

second millenium Indo-Iranians reach Caucasus.

eighth century Scythians reach Caucasus.

sixth century Greeks trade with Caucasians.

fourth century Sarmatians and Macedonians reach Caucasus.

17 Romans establish province of Cappadocia south of Caucasus and trade with Caucasians.

C.E.

first century Alans living in North Caucasus

fourth century Huns occupy territory on Black Sea.

fifth century Byzantines south of Caucasus

sixth century Turks reach Caucasus.

seventh century Khazars in North Caucasus; Arabs in South Caucasus

11th to 13th century Kipchaks and Seljuk Turks reach Caucasus.

13th century Mongols seize Caucasus.

15th century Ottoman Turks dominant in South Caucasus

1785 North Caucasus designated a Russian province.

1817 Warfare erupts between Russians and Caucasians.

1834–58 Shāmil rebellion against Russians

1864 Many Caucasians emigrate to Turkey as Russia annexes North Caucasus.

1917–20 Russian Revolution and Russian Civil War lead to Soviet takeover of Caucasus.

1944 Deportation of Caucasian Muslims during World War II

1956–57 Caucasians rehabilitated and allowed to return to homeland.

1991 With collapse of Soviet Union, republic of North Caucasus becomes part of Russian Federation.

1994–96 Chechen war of independence from Russia

1999–2000 Renewed fighting in Chechnya

Indo-Iranian (*see* OSSETS), Turkic (*see* TURKICS), and Semitic. A number of Caucasian peoples with separate entries in this book, although presently part of the Russian Federation (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY), have preserved their identities as distinct ethnolinguistic groups.

ORIGINS

Caucasic peoples, on the basis of archaeological continuity for the last 8,000 years or more, are considered indigenous to the Caucasus and are probably descended from Neolithic peoples living there, among the early workers in bronze. They occupied their present territories longer than any other European language group, with the possible exception of the BASQUES. The Caucasic root language is comparable in age to Indo-European. Moreover the distribution of loanwords from ancient Semitic-speaking peoples of Mesopotamia to the south confirms a long-term Caucasic presence in the region. The divergent dialects indicate that Caucasians have lived near one another peaceably as distinct communities for millennia. Peoples speaking Indo-Iranian languages perhaps reached the region by the second millennium B.C.E., and Turkic peoples in the early Middle Ages. Many Caucasic individuals became multilingual. The languages were traditionally not written, and Caucasians over the centuries adopted alphabets of other peoples to keep records.

LANGUAGE

The Caucasus is known for the great number and diversity of its languages and dialects. The first-century C.E. Roman scholar Pliny the Elder wrote that the ROMANS conducted business in the region with the help of 80 interpreters, many of them for the multitudinous Caucasic dialects. The Caucasus was called Jabal al-Alsine for "mountain of languages" by Arab geographers. The two branches of Caucasic, a non-Indo-European family, are sometimes grouped as North Caucasic and South Caucasic (or Kartvelian). North Caucasic, the branch spoken by European peoples, is subdivided by some linguists as North-Central, North-East, and North-West. Caucasic languages have a wealth of consonants

HISTORY

The Ancient Caucasus

Each of the many Caucasian tribes has its distinct traditions and history, but, as a group, the peoples are part of the general history of the Caucasus and the successive migrations and invasions by other peoples. The stretch of land between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea became a trade route between the peoples of southwest Asia, such as from Mesopotamia to the south, and the steppe peoples in eastern Europe and central Asia. Among the earliest invaders known to establish a presence in the Caucasus were the SCYTHIANS, who arrived in the region from central Asia by the eighth century B.C.E. Caucasians built fortified towers in the mountains to defend against them. In the fourth century B.C.E. the SARMATIANS migrated westward and began competing with the Scythians, mainly to the north of the Caucasus. Numerous peoples competed over the South Caucasus in

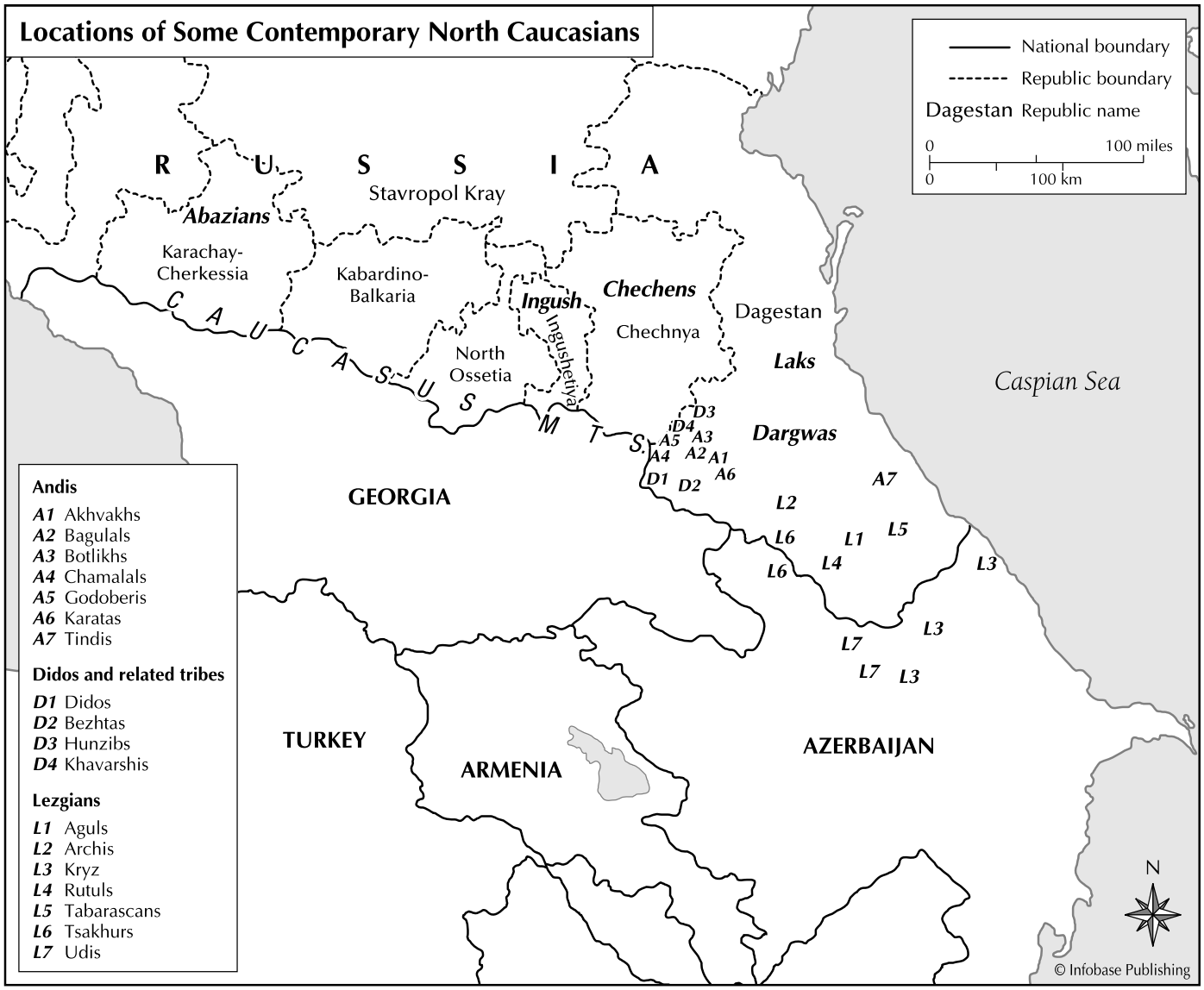
ancient times, among them Medes and Persians in the sixth century B.C.E.

The GREEKS, also in the sixth century B.C.E., extended their trade near the South Caucasus by way of the Black Sea. Colchis, a land bordering the Black Sea in the South Caucasus, was colonized by Greek inhabitants out of Miletos in western Asia Minor. The region became part of Greek mythology: Zeus reportedly chained Prometheus to a Caucasus mountaintop as punishment for siding with humankind against the gods; Jason and his Argonauts sought the Golden Fleece in Colchis. And Medea, a sorceress who helped the Greek Jason steal the Golden Fleece, was the daughter of the king of Colchis.

MACEDONIANS and Greeks under Alexander the Great captured territory south of the mountains in 330 B.C.E. By the second century B.C.E. the Parthians, perhaps descendants of the Scythians, had established an empire out of present-day northeastern Iran stretching near the South Caucasus. The Romans also held territory as far to the northeast as the Caucasus region; the Roman province of Cappadocia, established in 17 B.C.E., extended along the southeast coast of the Black Sea as far as Trapezus (modern Trabzon, Turkey), and traders ventured into the actual Caucasus by both land and sea.

Later Invaders

The ALANS, an Iranian people, assumed to be descendants of the Scythian-Sarmatians, are mentioned in Roman texts as living north of the Caucasus Mountains in the first century C.E. The next great wave of outsiders to reach the region were the HUNS, who lived along the Volga River, which feeds the Caspian Sea, also as early as the first century C.E. They pushed westward to the Black Sea by the fourth century.



In the South Caucasus in the third–seventh centuries, the Persians under the rule of the Sassanians were dominant, but other peoples, such as the Armenians, competed with them. In the sixth century a confederation of TURKS known as Goktuks built an empire that extended from Mongolia to the Black Sea. AVARS are known to have been in the Caucasus region by the mid-sixth century before they pushed on west and created a khanate in central Europe. In the seventh to eighth centuries Arab Muslims became the dominant power to the south. KHAZARS held territory from the steppes southward to Transcaucasia, that is, lands south of the Caucasus Mountains in Asia. Arabs meanwhile expanded northward out of Arabia, spreading the Islamic religion. The Khazars resisted, but by the mid-seventh century the Arabs seized territory in the North Caucasus region. The Khazars succeeded in driving them back into Transcaucasia in 685 but were themselves forced out of Transcaucasia by the 720s. The BYZANTINES out of Constantinople, from the fifth to the seventh century, held territory in the South Caucasus.

From the 11th to the 13th century the Caucasians were flanked by the Seljuk Turks to the south. The Alans still held lands in the North Caucasus, but the Turkic KIPCHAKS to their north were more powerful. In the 13th century the MONGOLS invaded from eastern Asia, and the Caucasus Mountains eventually became the dividing line between two khanates, the Kipchak khanate (or Khanate of the Golden Horde) to the north and the Ilkanate to the south. Both of these khanates consisted of numerous Turkic peoples, some of whom became known—some sharing bloodlines with Mongols—as TATARS. In the late 14th century after the Mongol Empire had weakened, a Turkic ruler by the name of Tamerlane (Timur), from Samarkand in the region of Turkestan (part of present-day Uzbekistan in Asia), created an empire extending as far east as the territory between the Caspian and Black Seas, including the Caucasus. The Ottoman Turks were the next great power in the territory south of the Caucasus, and they dominated the region for subsequent centuries.

With the breakup of the Mongol Empire in 1382 some people of the Caucasus—some among whom in the north were known as CIRCASSIANS—regained their independence. Most of them by this time were Muslims. Many of the Caucasians of present-day Georgia (formerly the Kingdom of Georgia), where Christianity had been introduced in the fourth century, were Christians.

Through these centuries of occupation by other peoples many of the Caucasians managed to maintain their traditional lifeways by remaining in the high country of the Caucasus Mountains.

Russia and Caucasians

Much of the later history of the Caucasians, while the Ottoman Turkey and Persia competed for territory in the south, involves expansion of the Russian SLAVS out of the north. Russia became one of the players in the region in the 16th century, as they expanded eastward, although a concerted effort to occupy the region did not take place until the reign of Peter the Great in 1672–1725. Much of the 18th and 19th centuries was taken up with the Russo-Turkish Wars and involved the entire Black Sea region. The Crimean Tatars were among the Turkic enemies of Russia. Many of the early forces the Russians sent to the Caucasus were COSSACKS of Slavic ancestry. (In fact, all capitals of the North Caucasian Russian republics were founded as Cossack fortifications.) By 1785 the North Caucasus had been designated a Russian province.

During much of the 19th century, starting in 1817, the Russians and Caucasians, as well as other peoples of the region, continued to battle over the Caucasus. The Ottoman Turks gave up their claim to the Caucasus in 1829. Russian settlement was encouraged, and the influx of settlers in the North Caucasus led to organized rebellion, such as that in Dagestan in 1834 led by Shāmil, said to be of Avar ancestry. His forces were defeated in 1858. With the last pockets of resistance defeated in 1864, many of their villages purposely destroyed, and Russian administrative control established, an estimated 400,000 people of the region—Caucasians and others—emigrated, both forcibly and by choice, many of them to Turkey.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the new Soviet government attempted to reorganize the Caucasus political structure (as it would time and again over the decades). During the Russian Civil War of 1918–20 between the Whites (anti-Communists) and Reds (Bolsheviks) Cossacks of the North Caucasus participated in the White Voluntary Army and established a Cossack Republic. In 1921 with Bolshevik victory some 70,000 Cossacks were deported to Siberia. Bolshevism was centered in the cities, with Caucasian mountain villages able to maintain traditional lifestyle. Meanwhile the movements of separatism and pan-Islamism grew among the indigenous population. From

the late 1920s the Soviet government promoted a policy of Russification among the various Caucasian peoples, discouraging nationalism and repressing Islam.

During World War II in 1942 Nazi forces of Germany launched an offensive to capture or neutralize the oil resources of the Caucasus; the next year the Soviets managed to drive them from the region. In 1943–44 during World War II Joseph Stalin accused Muslim peoples of the region of collaborating with Germany and ordered their deportation to Soviet Asia, especially Kazakhstan; it is estimated that one-quarter to one-half of the migrants died in transit. In 1956–57 the émigrés were "rehabilitated" and the next year they were allowed to return to the Caucasus, although many stayed in their new homes.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the republics of the North Caucasus have been part of the Russian Federation. Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia in Transcaucasia have become independent nations, however. The CHECHENS in the north unsuccessfully fought a war of independence in 1994–96, with additional sporadic fighting from 1999 to the present.



A Caucasian peasant of the late 19th century smokes his pipe. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-106016])*

European Caucasian Tribes

European Caucasian tribes include the ABAZIANS; the ANDIS and tribes related linguistically to them; the DIDOS and related tribes; the LEZGIANS and related tribes; the related Chechens and INGUSH; the related DARGWAS and LAKS; the UBYKS; and the various groups known historically as CIRCASSIANS. These larger classifications consisted of and still consist of many tribes with their own dialects and traditions, many of them now recognized as official ethnic groups in the Russian Federation (and others maintaining traditions even without official status). In Dagestan alone there are 19 official ethnic groups (both Caucasian speaking and non-Caucasian speaking).

In the South Caucasus (Asia) Caucasic-speaking peoples include the Georgians and Kartvelians, the latter subdivided into the Imeritians, Lazes, Mingrelians, and Svanetians.

CULTURE

Economy

The majority of Caucasian peoples have traditionally supported themselves through the raising of livestock—sheep, goats, oxen, cattle, and horses—in the highlands and farming, especially of grains, in the lowlands. Terracing has allowed for some farming in the rugged highlands. Hunting and fishing have also provided sustenance. The Caucasus, a crossroads between Europe and Asia and offering ports on both the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, has been a center of trade throughout history. Mountain peoples sometimes descended from their villages to trade with lowland peoples. The discovery of oil in modern times and other industrialization have led to new sources of revenue.

Government and Society

Traditional Caucasian social structure is based on tribal (or village), clan, and family groupings. Among many groups communities are headed by a village elder and assistant village elders, elected by the village assembly; village judges and the local cleric settle disputes regulated by two codes of law, customary law (known to some groups as *adat*) and Islamic law (*shariah*). The Muslim cleric (*qadi*) administers justice according to the Muslim code of *shariah*. Clans are patriarchal, with respected elders leading them, but generally nonhierarchical and egalitarian, although clan members show respect for clan elders. Some of the ancient tribal names have endured as names of clan groupings. Even in modern urban life, clan relationships are still important among many groups, who can trace their ancestry back to highland villages and clan towers. At times of warfare various tribes sometimes united under a common leader. Some

tribes founded military organizations, with men taking part in regular battle drills.

Dwellings and Architecture

In the highlands of the Caucasus villages typically consist of stone houses clustered together. Others have more isolated homes, separated by mountain paths. Some villages consist of individual homesteads surrounded by fences. In addition to stone, wood and wattle covered with clay are used. House types vary considerably. Some groups favor single-storied buildings, others multistoried ones. The Caucasians built fortified towers (sometimes called clan towers)—massive stone structures—in ancient times for defensive purposes.

Clothing

Caucasian women have traditionally worn *chukhtas* (hooded garments). Others have worn *burkas* (garments covering the entire body with holes for the eyes, typically worn by many Muslim women). A more modern style of dress consists of scarves or woolen shawls tied around the head.

Art

Some Caucasians became known for elaborately designed woven rugs, others for stone or wood carving.

Religion

Animism was once an important part of Caucasian religion. Ancient cults were associated with thunder, fertility rites, and sacred groves, among other beliefs and practices. Islam began spreading to the region with the Arab invasions of the seventh to eighth century. Between the ninth and 14th centuries two rival religions competed in the region: Islam and Christianity. Islam prevailed, and the majority of Caucasians are Sunni Muslims, except in Georgia, where Christianity is the majority religion. Some Jews and other minority sects are also present.

A prime characteristic of the region known as the Caucasus is its diversity. Geographically it has mountain ranges, plateaus, foothills, plains, rivers, and lakes, with forests, grasslands, marshes, and dry steppes. It has myriad peoples—more than 50 recognized groups living there today and many more throughout history. They speak numerous languages, more languages and dialects than in any region of comparable size. This diversity of peoples and cultures has flourished over the centuries despite the external pressure of invading peoples and concerted attempts at imposing new ways of life.

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Cauci (Kauki)

The Cauci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Wicklow in eastern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Irish.

Cavares

The Cavares are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Avignon in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls.

Celtae (Galli)

The name Celtae is the Latin version of the name Celts (itself derived from the Greek Keltoi). In the first century B.C.E. the name, based on classifications by Julius Caesar, was applied specifically by the Romans to those Gauls living in Gallia Celtica (or Gallia Lugdunensis), a central region of Gaul mainly in present-day France between the Loire and the Seine. The Romans called them Celtae to distinguish them from the Belgae of Gallia Belgica to the north and the Aquitani of Gallia Aquitania to the south. In Roman usage at the time the names Celtae and Galli were interchangeable.

Celtiberians (Celt-Iberians; Celtiberi; Celtiberes; Ibero-Celts)

The Celtiberians were those CELTS living on the Iberian Peninsula. Because of their contact with native IBERIANS, they are classified as culturally distinct from other Celts of the central European Hallstatt/La Tène zone, from Britain across France and Germany to Poland. The term Celtiberia is sometimes used specifically for a region in the north-central part of present-day Spain between the Tagus (Tajo) and Ebro Rivers, where the Celtic presence and influence were strongest. But it is also used for all those tribes in the western two-thirds of the peninsula exposed to Celtic influence to any degree.

ORIGINS

The various Celtic-speaking peoples were the descendants of the tribes of the Bell Beaker and other Bronze Age cultures that before that of

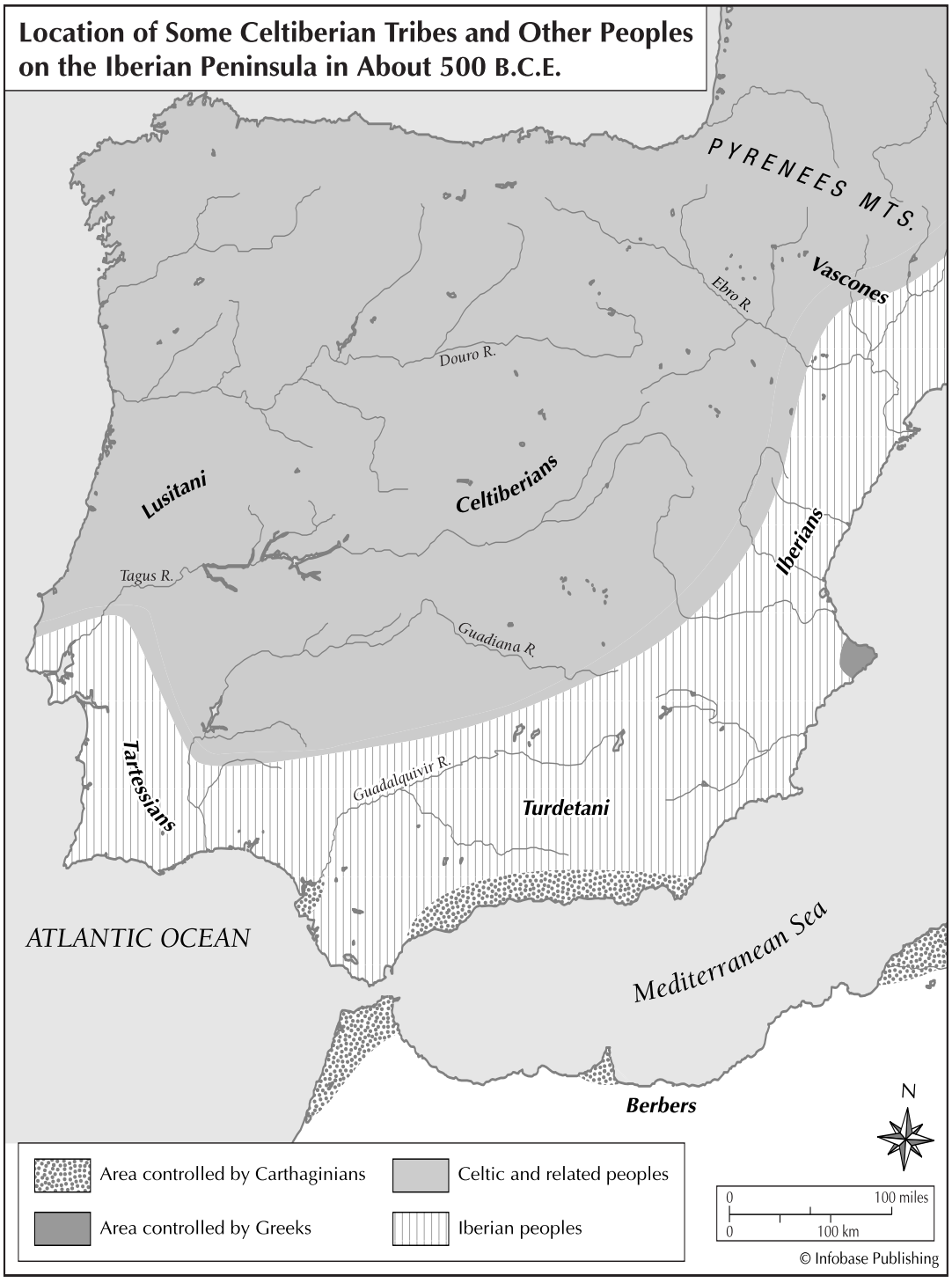
CELTIBERIANS

location:
Iberian Peninsula

time period:
sixth century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic; Iberian

language:
Celto-Iberian (Celtic)



Celtiberians time line

B.C.E.	
seventh or sixth century	Celts migrate to Iberian Peninsula.
237	Carthaginians occupy southern part of Iberian Peninsula.
201	Defeat of Carthaginians by Romans leads to Celtiberian independence.
197	Romans establish colonies on Iberian Peninsula.
133	Romans destroy Numantia.
105	Celtiberians drive Germanic Cimbri and Teutones from Spain.
26	Northern Celtiberians revolt.
19	Celtiberians pacified.
C.E.	
411	Vandals and Suebi occupy Spain.
412–414	Visigoths occupy Spain.

the peoples of the Neolithic cultures that developed after the introduction of farming practices to Europe. It is thought that during the Iron Age by about 600 B.C.E. Celtic peoples had settled on the Iberian Peninsula, or Hispania, as the ROMANS called it, after they had migrated across the Pyrenees from the north. They met and assimilated with a local culture dating to the Late Bronze Age. The fifth-century Greek historian Herodotus places them there by 500 B.C.E. Their mention by Herodotus, who identifies them as the same people as those living north of the Danube River in central Europe, is the earliest extant written record of Celts anywhere. The name Celtiberi is Roman. Inscriptions in the Iberian and Latin alphabets of the Celto-Iberian language constitute the most extensive body of epigraphical Celtic material earlier than the medieval Irish literature. Contacts with the Iberians in eastern and southern Spain, who traded extensively with PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, CARTHAGINIANS, and Romans, gave the Celtiberians much stimulus from those cultures.



This stone relief shows a Celtiberian warrior carrying a Celtic shield and an Iberian sword. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

The north-central highland region of Iberia, which would become Celtiberia, shared in the Urnfield phenomenon of other proto-Celtic regions in Europe, in which cremation and deposition of ashes in urns buried in cemeteries replaced inhumation. This practice was also taken up by the Iberians in the northeast. The people engaged in pastoral farming, mostly of sheep and goats. The culture in general seems to date from the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition. Study of place-names attests to the presence of what can be called a "proto-Celtic" language quite different from Celto-Iberian, its archaism evident in the preservation of an initial *p* for many words (not to be confused with p-Celtic languages, a later development). Elements of this culture—alternative burial rites, ritual sites, and deity names—continued after the emergence of the Celtiberian culture as a sort of substratum that was slowly disappearing. Affinities between Celtiberians and Iberians seem to be based on elements of this older substratum, which they all held in common.

Invasion theories, as elsewhere in lands on the Celtic periphery, have been advanced for the origin of the Celtiberian culture. They explain the available archaeological evidence less well than a process of cultural assimilation and evolution set in motion by both local conditions and the arrival of some by ethnically Celtic groups, probably mostly elites rather than whole peoples.

LANGUAGE

The Celtiberians spoke a branch of the Celtic Continental Celtic languages, known as Celto-Iberian, or Hispano-Celtic; the other two Continental branches are Gaulish, spoken in Gaul, and Lepontic, spoken in northern Italy. Celto-Iberian is actually a q-Celtic language, making it closer in origin to the Gaelic branch of the Insular Celtic languages of the British Isles, spoken in Ireland and Scotland, than to p-Celtic Gaulish. The ancient annals of Ireland speak of invasions of tribes from Spain, and this similarity of language may suggest some sort of contact between the two peoples possibly brought about in part through trade. On the other hand Celto-Iberian may have been, as was Irish Gaelic, a language closer to Common Celtic, the ancestor of all the Celtic languages—the relative isolation of the Celtiberians, as did that of the Irish, prevented them from participating in the evolution to p-Celtic elsewhere. Some p-Celtic peoples did migrate there, however. The Celtiberian language absorbed many features from the local non-Indo-European languages of the Iberians.

HISTORY

The heart of the Celtic region was on the hill country and mesetas (plateaus) in present-day north-central Spain between the Tagus (Tajo) and Ebro Rivers. Tribes there included the AREVACI, BELLI, BERONES, LOBETANI, LUSONES, OLCADES, PALENDONES, TITTI, and TURBOLETAS. The Arevaci eventually dominated the region. Surrounding tribes included the CANTABRI, GALLI (also the Roman name for GAULS), and TURMOGI to the north and the VACCAEI and VETTONES to the west. The tribes even farther west, some of them in present-day Portugal—among them the ASTURES and LUSITANI—also adopted some Celtic

traits (although the Lusitani are generally discussed as Iberian). The CELTICI and GALLAECI, also to the west, were probably more predominantly Celtic in culture, as indicated by their names' resemblance to the names Celtic and Gallic. There were dozens of other tribes who could be classified as Celtiberians in Celtiberia proper as well as surrounding areas.

The tribes in the eastern and southern parts of the peninsula, among them the BASTETANI, TARTASSIANS, and VASCONES, kept their pre-Celtic languages and way of life. Those Iberians living along the coast had the earliest regular contacts with the rest of the Mediterranean world, especially Phoenicians and Greeks, who had trading settlements there.

Carthaginians in Spain

In 237 B.C.E. the Carthaginians, Phoenicians out of Carthage in North Africa, invaded the Iberian Peninsula and occupied the region south of the Guadalquivir River. They extended their influence farther to the north through alliances with Celtiberian chieftains. Celtiberians, renowned as warriors, were hired as mercenaries by the Carthaginians. They participated under Hannibal in his attack in 219–218 B.C.E. on the Roman-allied city of Saguntum (modern Sagunto), precipitating the Second Punic War, and were with him in his march eastward along the Mediterranean's north coast, where he defeated Gallic tribes (Gauls); across the Alps; and into Italy. The defeat of the Carthaginians by the Romans in 201 B.C.E. in the Second Punic War led to their loss of Spain in addition to some island possessions.

Roman Inroads

After the war with the Carthaginians the Romans established a greater presence in Spain, at first along the entire Mediterranean coast. In 197 B.C.E. the Romans created two provinces—Hispania Citerior (Hither or Near Spain) and Hispania Ulterior (Farther or Far Spain)—as well as a bureaucracy to rule them. Over the next two centuries they would meet with great resistance from the indigenous tribes.

The Lusitani living to the west in present-day Portugal, perhaps partly Celtic, mounted a number of organized revolts against the Romans, in 195–190, 154–150, and 147–139 B.C.E. In the meantime the Romans waged war in Celtiberia proper, clearing the Ebro Valley of Celtiberian forces in 143 B.C.E. Ten years later Roman legions under Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Scipio the Younger), after a 16-month siege, destroyed Numantia, the stronghold of the Arevaci on the Douro River.

Celtiberian resistance continued, however. In 80 B.C.E. the Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorius, who had been sent to govern Hither Spain, led a campaign against other Roman factions and sought the support of Iberians and Celtiberians. He was defeated by Pompey in 73 B.C.E., whereupon he was executed. The Lusitani were defeated once and for all by troops under Julius Caesar in 61 B.C.E., three years before his first campaigns in Gaul.

Some Celtiberians and Iberians, as did the Gauls, served in Roman armies and thus were caught up in the power struggles among various factions. In 45 B.C.E., the year before he was assassinated, Caesar defeated Pompey's sons at Munda in southern Spain. The tribes in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula continued to resist the Roman presence, however—in particular the Astures, Cantabri, and Gallaecai, who in 26 began attacking settlements. The Celtiberians suffered final defeat by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa in 19 B.C.E., after which all the tribes were pacified.

In 13 B.C.E. as part of the provincial system of the Roman Empire the Iberian Peninsula was divided into the provinces Tarraconensis, Lusitania, and Baetica. In 260 C.E. peoples in Gaul, Spain, and Britain became part of an independent Gallic empire, governed by Marcus Cassianius Latinius Postumus. But in 273 C.E. the emperor Aurelian defeated the rebels.

Germanic Invasions

The Carthaginians and Romans were not the only invaders of the Iberian Peninsula. In the late second century Germanic-speaking tribes—the CIMBRI and TEUTONES—crossed the Pyrenees after a victory over Roman forces in southern Gaul in 105 B.C.E., but they were repelled by Celtiberians by 102 B.C.E.

In later centuries other GERMANICS invaded the peninsula and wrested control from the Romans. The VANDALS and the SUEBI occupied Spain in 411 C.E.; the VISIGOTHS seized lands in southwestern Gaul and Spain in 412–414, driving the Vandals into Africa.

In the fifth century the Celtic language died out. By that time the Celtiberian way of life had also passed away.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

The Celtiberians, as had other Celts, had agricultural and herding economies. The exchange of goods through trade was also important, although the Celtiberians, living inland, were not a direct part of the extensive Mediterranean

trading activity. Yet they traded with the Iberian peoples living to their east, some of whom maintained port cities. The resemblance of the Celto-Iberian language to Irish Gaelic may imply some sort of contact between the two regions; Irish copper and gold had been traded to southern Spain since the Early Bronze Age as part of the Bell Beaker trading system but, as in the Iron Age, northern Iberia was not part of this. Celtiberian chieftains may have benefited from the Carthaginian trading empire through their alliances with Carthaginians in the third century B.C.E. and thus had some contact with Ireland.

Government and Society

As did Celts in other parts of Europe, Celtiberians lived in small settlements, but they maintained tribal connections and specific territories. The exact social and political organization of village as compared to tribe is not known. Some groups—a number of allied villages—certainly in times of war were ruled by chieftains, but life within the villages themselves is thought to have been communal and egalitarian.

The local conditions that fostered the Celtiberian culture, with its social hierarchy and fortified settlements, included the harsh geographical conditions in central Iberia. Seasonal movement of flocks to avoid the dryness of the mesetas in summer and the cold of the high mountains in winter, led to population increase but also to social stratification as the holders of the high summer pastures were enriched. The seasonal movement of flocks also seems to have caused conflicts, leading to the development of a warrior class to protect the flocks from raiders and enforce their passage. The common occurrence in inscriptions of the word *ambatus,* meaning "client," suggests a system of tenantry and overlordship. The artifacts called *tesserae,* small bronze inscribed tablets sometimes in the shape of clasped hands, used as tokens of recognition and of hospitality agreements, give a sense of the character of the Celtiberian culture, one of wide-ranging travel over large territories with its concomitant insecurities and conflicts.

The Celtiberians adopted innovations from the Iberians, such as the use of currency and an alphabet and the planning of towns on orthogonal (four-way) axes, which ultimately derived from Mediterranean civilization. These elements were introduced to them earlier, by the sixth century B.C.E., than they were in other Celtic areas and not, as happened with the Gauls, in the context of invasion.

Finds such as funeral stelae and laws inscribed on bronze tablets begin to show a strong Roman influence in Celtiberia after the second century B.C.E. The Celtiberians began to build large *oppida* (towns) to accommodate mass movements of people from the countryside. Other signs of social evolution include the disappearance of weapons from burials and the advent of urban magistrates. With the increasing Roman influence Celtiberian society became more stratified.

Dwellings and Architecture

Celtiberian architecture resembled that of Celts in other parts of Europe. Roundhouses were the norm, resembling those of the British Isles rather than of Gaul. The earliest Celtic inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula lived in fortified hilltop settlements, the typical Celtic hill forts. By the third century B.C.E. their compounds—known as *castros*—became increasingly urbanized with orderly street plans, a process that occurred in Celtic *oppida* to the north as well. Chevaux-de-frise fortification (sharp stones or other objects set upright in masonry) was sometimes used, a sign that the horse was important in war.

During the last pre-Roman phase the Celtiberians were building monumental architecture with great columns derived from the Iberians, as well as Greco-Roman-style villas.

Military Practices

Historical texts relate that the Celtiberians were both hospitable and fond of war. They had a tradition of duels between champions, and of the *devotio,* according to which a warrior dedicated his life to his chief.

Among other peoples Celtiberian warriors enjoyed a reputation as the finest mercenary infantry of their time. As did their Iberian neighbors they became known as accomplished cavalrymen, riding the local breed of horse known as Lusitano.

Technology and Art

The Celtiberians became master metalworkers, crafting utilitarian objects, such as horse bits, daggers, and shield fittings, as well as ornamental ones, such as the neck rings known as torcs (torques), brooches, and bangles. They also produced wheel-made pottery and stone sculptures. Although they were influenced by the pre-Celtic Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, their art shows Iberian and also Tartessian influences. A Celtiberian invention, a two-edged sword, was adopted by the Romans. The

"antenna-sword," with dual knobs on the pommel suggesting antennae, is typical of regions in Celtic Europe that retained the Urnfield cremation burial rite into the Iron Age. The short sword also used by Celtiberians was probably of Mediterranean origin. They used a Tartessian-style fibula with a spring-loaded pin.

The geometric decoration and the use of terra-cotta for their painted pottery show Tartessian influence; the urns used for burial have an S-shaped profile similar to those used in central Europe. In general, proximity to advanced Mediterranean cultures caused the Celtiberians to adopt new technologies earlier than Celts elsewhere. For example, they began using the potter's wheel by the fourth century B.C.E.

Despite Iberian and Mediterranean influences, Celtiberian art, at least until the Roman invasions, retained a profoundly Celtic aesthetic and feeling.

Literature

The Celtiberians developed a script, partly syllabic and partly alphabetic, from the local Iberian scripts, but only a small number of Celtiberian inscriptions dating from between the sixth and first centuries B.C.E. have been found. They followed the Iberian practice of making large bronze tablets with sacred or legal significance, the former typically used by the Druids for religious purposes. One of these tablets, found at Saragossa and dating from the early first century B.C.E., has the longest Celtic text to survive from antiquity. Another bronze tablet using the Latin alphabet mentions aqueducts and seems to refer to complex social concepts such as that of public property and to institutions intended to mediate between ethnic groups. With the advent of the Romans, the Celtiberian script was gradually replaced by the Latin alphabet.

At least one well-known Roman writer acknowledged his Celtiberian ancestry. The first-century Roman poet known as Martial, born in Spain in the Celtiberian town of Bilbilis, wrote that he was descended from Celts and Iberians both. Other classical authors born in the provinces, even if they had a native strain in their background, did not acknowledge it. But men such as the first-centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Seneca the Elder (Lucius Annaeus) and the more famous Seneca the Younger, born in Corduba (modern Cordova), an Iberian town in southern Spain on the Guadalquivir, perhaps were at least influenced by the native culture around them.

Religion

The Celtiberians, as did other Celts, had Druids living among them. Cremation burials were more prevalent among the Celtiberians than La Tène-style inhumations. There were many local variants in the style of cemeteries; urns in some places were buried under tumuli (mounds) and in others set up in rows accompanied by stelae (upright stones carved with figures in relief).

The Celtic god Lugh or Lugus, apparently in multiple form, was worshipped in Celtiberia, as attested by an inscription found in Uxma, Spain. "L. L. Urico donated this, sacred to the Lugoves, to the guild of shoemakers." Lugh was connected with crafts and shoemaking in the insular literature of Ireland and Wales. The Matres, the trio of goddesses worshipped in Gaul, had their cult in Celtiberia as well. Other deities known from inscriptions have names with the prefixes Bandu-, Nabia-, and Reve- sometimes attached to a non-Indo-European name; these probably originated with the indigenous people of north-central Iberia whose culture was gradually subsumed by that of the Celtiberians.

The problem of classifying Celtiberians calls up the issue of ethnicity versus cultural influence. There is no way to know the degree of Celtic ancestry among the ancient tribes of the Iberian Peninsula, because the degree of intermarriage among migrating and native peoples is not known. Calling a group Celtiberian as opposed to Iberian thus becomes primarily a cultural matter or sometimes a political one, depending on alliances among tribes. The concept of "peoples" throughout prehistoric and historic times is a fluid one, and the labels we place on them become a matter of convenience.

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CELTS

location:
Greater Europe

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

Celtici

The Celtici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day southern Portugal and southwestern Spain near the non-Celtic TARTESSIANS at least by the first century B.C.E.; they are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. Their name indicates that they are classified as a Celtic people, although they were far from the region in north-central Spain that came to be designated as Celtiberia proper.

Celts (Celtae; Kelts; Keltoi; Kelten; Celtic peoples)

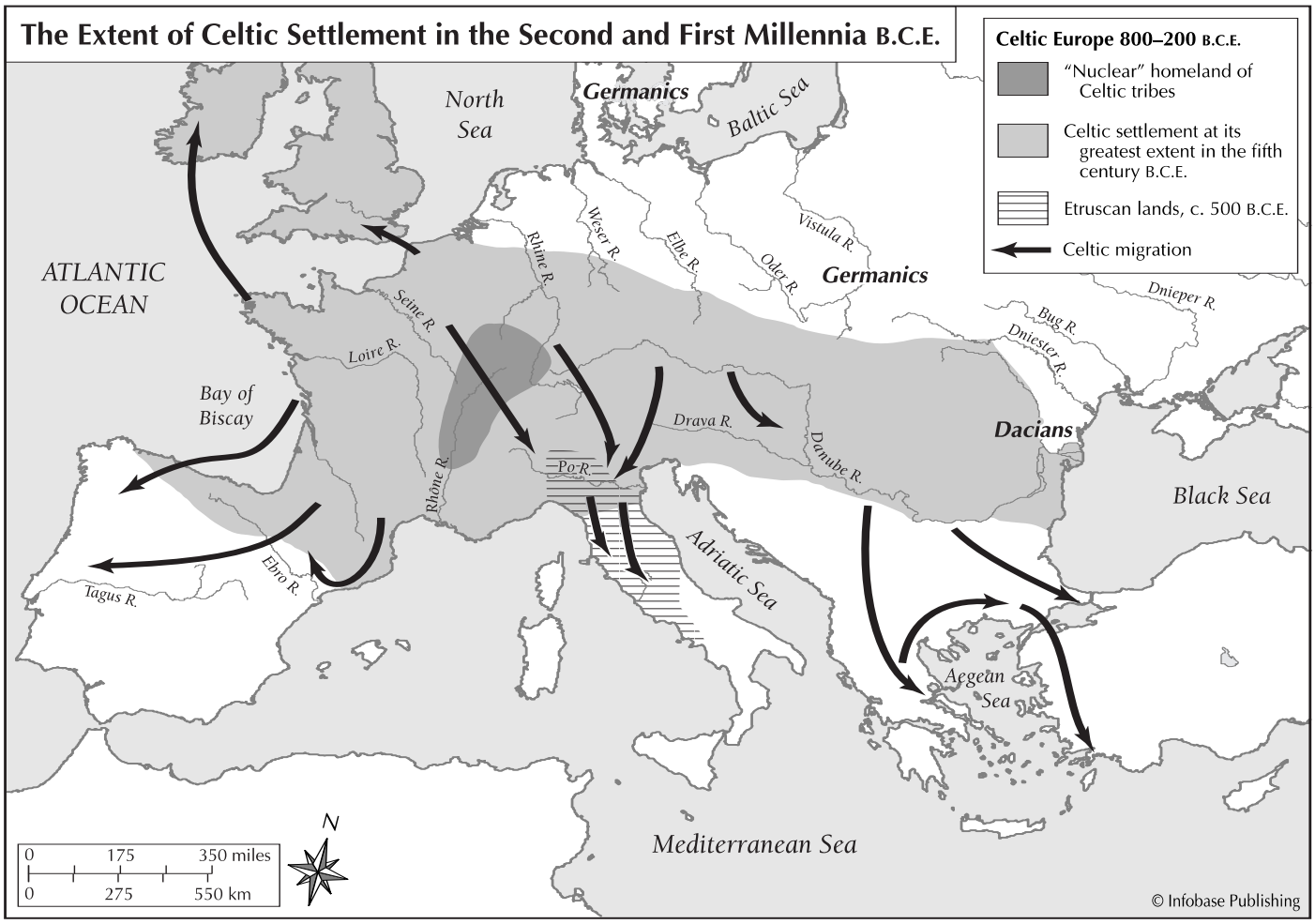
Celts, in its modern usage, is an encompassing term referring to all Celtic-speaking peoples. Celtic peoples occupied many parts of Europe over several millennia and are known by a variety of names. Many of the Celtic tribes on the mainland are discussed, also collectively, as GAULS. Celtic tribes on the British Isles are known generally as BRITONS, CORNISH, IRISH, MANX, WELSH, or SCOTS. Those in Brittany in western France are the BRETONS. Those on the Iberian Peninsula are known as CELTIBERIANS.

The ancient GREEKS first used the name Keltoi in the sixth century B.C.E. to describe people living to the north of their colony of Massilia (modern-day Marseille in southern France), although it is not known what group used this name, if any at all. It was reported by the ROMANS, who used the name Gauls to describe the northern tribes, that some among them referred to themselves collectively by the name CELTAE and one tribe used the name CELTICI.

The group name Celts can be thought of as parallel to that of the ancient GERMANICS, that is, the many different European peoples speaking Germanic languages, known by an array of other names. Perhaps it would be less confusing if the terms were always presented as "Celtic peoples" and "Germanic peoples" to indicate that these are general terms based on language and not on tribal or political organization.

ORIGINS

The identity of the Celts has been a cause of great debate among scholars. The current view, based on archaeological and linguistic evidence





as well as classical texts, is that people in Iron Age Europe and Britain spoke related languages and shared certain cultural traditions, such as the use of a common art style, usually called La Tène. The proposition that there was a single Celtic race is generally discounted in favor of a pan-Celtic culture. Yet scholars still debate over the extent and pervasiveness of that culture. The difficulty of defining the Celts as a people lies in the very different nature of the various sources of evidence about them: archaeology, linguistics, and written accounts by contemporaries.



This bronze figure from western Austria was probably sculpted by a Celtic people. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

The Celts are the first northern European people to be recognized and described by Mediterranean civilization. The archaeological record tends to provide a long view of cultural change and differentiation—archaeologists paint with a broad brush compared to historians. The picture of European prehistory shows long continuities and very slow evolutionary change; this is no less true for the Celtic Iron Age than for earlier periods. To archaeologists the Iron Age shows as much continuity with previous eras as difference. The tribes who were called Keltoi by the Greeks had a culture not so different from that of the Bronze Age Bell Beaker culture that dominated Europe during the second millennium B.C.E. With the emergence of written history about "barbarian" Europe, the time scale speeds up dramatically, and the dwellers in Iron Age roundhouses step onto the stage of world history as actors with distinct names, costumes, and traits. The challenge in studying and classifying these people is to strike a balance between the impression of marked differences among peoples in different eras and regions that ancient writers give and the picture of broad cultural commonalities given by archaeology.

Archaeology provides concrete evidence that the Celts were the people living in the part of Europe occupied by modern-day Poland, Austria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Switzerland, Germany, northern Spain, France, and the British Isles during the Iron Age. Earlier theories that the Celts overran Europe from a variously located homeland to the east are now widely discounted. The Celts were the descendants of the tribes of the Bell Beaker and other Bronze Age cultures and before that of the peoples of the Neolithic cultures that developed after the introduction of farming practices to Europe.

During the Late Bronze Age several important cultural phenomena that may have coincided with the emergence of a distinctive "Celtic" culture appeared. One of these was the almost universal shift from burial to cremation of the dead and the burial of their ashes in urns, which gives the period the name Urnfield. A marked trend toward fortification began around 1100 B.C.E., with hilltop forts or timber stockades on lower ground being built over a wide region. In some areas burials were more elaborate and ostentatious than ever before and included large amounts of grave goods, many of them from far away, evidence of wide-ranging trade networks. One of the richest burial grounds has been found at Hallstatt in the Austrian Alps, where salt was mined on a large scale. Changes, too, were occurring during this time in settlement and subsistence patterns. In all, this period saw a series of revolutions in most aspects of life.

Celts time line

B.C.E.

after 1300 Late Bronze Age emergence of some elements of distinctive Celtic culture

1000–800 Hallstatt culture spreads north of Alps.

600 Greeks found trading center of Massilia (Marseille) in Celtic territory near mouth of Rhône River in southern France.

c. 500 Earliest historical mention of Celts by Greek geographer Hecataeus of Miletus.

fifth century Etruscans establish trade routes through Alps to Rhine-Moselle region.

late fifth century Greek and Etruscan trade with Celts halted by warfare with Romans; mass migrations of Celts into Italy and Balkans.

335 Alexander the Great receives delegation of Celtic tribal leaders.

third century Celts move south through Macedonia and into Greece; Celts under Brennus reach Delphi; no permanent settlements are made in Greece; Celts move into Anatolia in Asia Minor, causing widespread destruction.

230 Attalus of Pergamon decisively defeats Celtic army.

first century Romans under Caesar and others conquer Gaul; Caesar attempts to invade Britain.

C.E.

first century Romans conquer Britain.

first to fifth centuries Celtic lands of central Europe overrun by Germanic tribes.

fifth to sixth centuries Gaul and southeastern Britain conquered by Germanic tribes; Celtic culture survives in parts of Britain, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland and in Brittany in France.

LANGUAGE

Celtic languages were descended from the postulated proto-Indo-European language, the ancestor of nearly all modern European languages.

The Celtic languages were the product of the process of *language drift* whereby languages diverge from one another at a more or less steady rate when population groups of speakers are separated from one another. The different branches of the Celtic language group slowly evolved from proto-Indo-European in situ in the different regions mentioned. During the Iron Age differentiation between languages in these regions had not reached a point at which their essential family relationship had disappeared. The Germanic languages of peoples living during the latter Iron Age in the north European

plain, who were to displace the Celts, developed in the same way.

The different Celtic languages, including those currently known in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Brittany peninsula of northwestern France as well as those that must have been spoken in other Celtic lands, now lost, evolved from a common ancestor, called by linguists Common Celtic. Common Celtic is divided into Continental Celtic on the mainland and Insular Celtic on the British Isles. It is theorized that Common Celtic diverged from Indo-European in central temperate Europe about the same time as Italic and Germanic languages developed on the Italian peninsula and the northern European plain, respectively.

Continental Celtic includes Gaulish (Gaullish; Gallic), Celto-Iberian (or Hispano-Celtic), and Lepontic, all now extinct. Insular Celtic includes the Brythonic branch, including Breton, Welsh, and the now-extinct Cornish, and the Gaelic (or Goidelic) branch, which includes Irish, Scottish, and the near-extinct Manx.

The earliest Celtic writing is found in ogham inscriptions from the fourth century C.E., a form of writing in which letters are represented by groups of strokes and notches, which appears on stone monuments.

HISTORY

Celts in the Iron Age: Contact with Greeks

The earliest historical mention of the Keltoi dates from the sixth–fifth century B.C.E. by Greek geographer Hecataeus of Miletus. His writings survive only in fragments, but he is considered a main source of the fifth-century B.C.E. historian Herodotus, who also mentions the Keltoi. Yet it is likely that the Celtic tribes the Greeks encountered in the early sixth century B.C.E. had been in their territories and speaking Celtic languages for a long time, as early as the Late Bronze Age (1300–800 B.C.E.) or even earlier. Cultural trends that began after 1300 B.C.E. still largely prevailed eight centuries later.

In the eighth century B.C.E. the city-states of the Greeks were beginning to coalesce; urban growth was accompanied by rapid population growth that the farmlands on the Greek mainland could not sustain. Overpopulation and the need for raw materials led to emigration and trading ventures on a large scale both eastward to the corn lands of the Pontic steppe south of the Black Sea and westward to metal-rich Etruria on the Italian Peninsula. Intensive trade with the latter region was under way by at least 770 B.C.E., and Greeks established trading emporia around this time on the island of Ischia in the northern part of the Bay of Naples. Greek traders steadily extended trade routes westward, in the land-hugging style of navigation of the time, which, for example, followed the coast around the Italian boot and then along the south coast of present-day France. In 600 B.C.E. the Greeks founded Massalia (present-day Marseille) near the mouth of the Rhône River. The Rhône became the highway north to the lands of tribes of the Hallstatt culture, the earliest culture definitely associated with the Celts.

Competition with the CARTHAGINIANS of northern Africa for trade with mineral-rich Tartessos on the Iberian Peninsula forced the Greeks to focus their energies northward, and during the sixth century Massilia developed rapidly for the purpose of controlling both the Rhône valley leading north and the route through the Carcassonne Gap and along the Garonne and Gironde Rivers to Celtic tribes and the rich sources of tin to the north and west.

Contact with Greek civilization had a profound effect on the societies with whom they traded. Products of Greek artistic genius such as finely crafted metalware, painted amphorae, and other pottery dazzled the northerners and were avidly sought. Possession of such exotic goods exalted the status of chieftains, and goods of lesser quality were passed on to retainers in cycles of gift exchange. Emulation by local craftsmen stimulated them to develop the distinctive Hallstatt and later La Tène craft styles. And tribes immediately adjacent to the Greek trading areas, controlling the flow of goods farther inland, grew immensely rich. Commodities associated with wine drinking were especially favored in the Hallstatt region; great numbers of wine-filled amphorae were carried to the north as wine replaced mead and beer in drinking rituals.

The leading households of the west Hallstatt zone in southern France competed for trading access to the Greeks, as shown in the relative richness of burials over time in different regions. Trade varied also because of the activities of the Greeks' competitors, the ETRUSCANS. The Greeks tightened their control over the Rhône trade route in part as a result of conflict during the sixth century with the Etruscans. Yet by the fifth century B.C.E. the Etruscans had found trade routes bypassing the Rhône, which led through Alpine passes to the Rhine-Moselle region, where high-quality iron ore was available, such as in the Hunsrück-Eifel region.

The tribes in the Rhine-Moselle region had already begun to develop a society of elites, possibly because of their involvement in providing slaves to the Hallstatt elite for trade with the Greeks. Now with direct contact to the Mediterranean luxury trade, they in their turn became rich. Etruscan influence on the tribes here is shown in their adoption of the Etruscan-style two-wheeled chariot and in the flowering of the richly inventive La Tène art style. The waxing of fortunes in this region coincided with the waning of the west Hallstatt system, whether this came about through direct aggression from the La Tène tribes, internal instability, or a diminution in the flow of Mediterranean goods is unclear. After 450 B.C.E. the Greek and Etruscan trading networks were under increasing stress from the growing power of expansionist Rome until, by the end of the fifth century, they had been completely disrupted by continual warfare in the western Mediterranean. The collapse of the west Hallstatt trading system may have been a consequence of this disruption or of an instability inherent in the custom of gift exchange, as aspiring leaders among the warrior class required war to win spoils for followers. Thus raiding of neighbors was endemic, and warfare was an essential part of the social system.

The absence of luxury items from Greece may been part of the stimulus for the development of the La Tène style in the Rhine-Moselle region, as native craftsmen strove to fill the vacuum. For a time La Tène craftsmen managed to create enough prestige goods to maintain social equilibrium despite the loss of the Mediterranean trade. However, a rapid population increase, documented in the growth of the number of cemeteries during the fifth century B.C.E., greatly exacerbated matters. Together these factors resulted in what has been called a major system collapse, which led to a period of large-scale migrations.

That population increase caused the migrations was also documented by classical writers; the Roman Pompeius Trogus of the late first century B.C.E. said that the Gauls (the term the Romans used for all Celtic tribes, which has also been applied to those who inhabited a specific region known as Gaul) had outgrown their region and sent 300,000 men away to seek new lands. According to the Roman historian Livy (of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.), King Ambigatus of the BITURIGES, a powerful Gallic tribe, possibly as early as the sixth century B.C.E., in order to rid his kingdom of the throng of unruly warriors and their families, chose two young kinsmen, Bellovesus and Segovesus, to lead a mass migration, one group to go east to the Danube River and the other to Italy. Livy's account may indicate another cause for the migration: the consolidation of power in fewer hands, leading chieftains to wish to rid their kingdoms of the constant raiding by younger members of the warrior class, for whom military exploits were the means to prove themselves. This tension between forces inherently at odds would be seen again and again in the succeeding centuries, for example, among the Germanic tribes who helped bring about the fall of the Roman Empire, and among the VIKINGS, who raided throughout Europe, and among the SLAVS, who slowly gained territory.

The significant decrease in cemeteries in the Rhine-Moselle region strongly suggests that these initial mass migrations emanated from there.

The Celtic Invasion of Greece

Evidence from cemeteries provides evidence of where the migrating groups went: southward down the Po River valley into Italy and eastward along the Danube into present-day Hungary and on to Transylvania in present-day Romania. The archaeological record and the writings of classical historians agree about the movements of tribes from the Rhine-Moselle region to the east: They traveled along the Danube into Transdanubia (eastern Hungary) in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E., founding substantial settlements near the Carpathian Mountains and Transylvanian Alps in Romania. In the latter part of the fourth century B.C.E. they launched raids from Transdanubia southward into Illyria (east Adriatic coast) and between 300 and 280 B.C.E. into present-day Bulgaria. In 335 B.C.E. Alexander the Great of the MACEDONIANS received delegations of Celts living near the Adriatic. In 279 B.C.E. Celts migrated to Macedonia; they consisted of three groups, one of which eventually moved into Serbia, another to Thrace; the third, led by a chieftain of the GALATOI called Brennus, passed beyond Thrace and through the Pass of Thermopylae and penetrated deep into Greece as far as Delphi, probably attracted by tales of the great wealth that adorned Apollo's shrine. This campaign failed because of severe winter weather, and the Celts fell back to Macedonia; many joined other Celtic groups in the Danube basin.

The combined groups became known as the SCORDISCI, whose major *oppidum* (town) was Singidunum, on the site of present-day Belgrade in Yugoslavia. Three tribes, the

TECTOSAGES, TOLISTOBOGII, and TROCMI,, moved into Anatolia (Asia Minor), where they created widespread havoc. By 276 B.C.E. they had settled in parts of Phrygia but continued raiding and pillaging until finally quelled by Attalus I of Pergamum, a Greek kingdom in western Asia Minor, in about 230 B.C.E. They were called the GALATOI or Galatians. In the name *Galatoi* are echoes both of Galli and of Keltoi, implying an ancient connection.

Perhaps as a result of this restless movement of Celtic tribes, of which the only extant historical record concerns the migrations into Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor from about 450 to 200 B.C.E., the culture across a broad swathe of Europe, from France to northern Italy to Poland and Transylvania, remained remarkably uniform. There was even an outpost of Celtic culture on the Iberian Peninsula, where Celtic tribes had migrated perhaps by the sixth century B.C.E.; they are classified as Celtiberians. The La Tène style is found in artifacts throughout this region, spread perhaps in part through migration of whole tribes, but also in part by trade. Warrior burials from this period are found throughout the La Tène zone, attesting to the continued importance of warfare; by the end, however, dense settlements of farmsteads and villages, with signs of increasing craft specialization, point to the emergence of greater social stability and the ascendancy of the arts of peace rather than of war.

Celts and the Roman Empire

The shock wave of the La Tène systems collapse, which sent one group of tribesmen to Italy, ultimately set them in conflict with the greatest power of the day, the Roman Republic. The region in Italy settled by the Gauls in the first wave of migration during the fourth century B.C.E. was called Cisalpine Gaul (thatis, Gaul on this side of the Alps), as opposed to Transalpine Gaul (Gaul across the Alps). Cisalpine Gaul was divided into Cispadane Gaul (Gaul on this side the Po) and Transpadane Gaul (Gaul across the Po). Transalpine Gaul (modern France and the Rhineland) was subdued by the Roman general Julius Caesar in the first century B.C.E., and most of Britain was under Roman rule in the first century C.E. In the same period the Celts of central Europe became dominated by Germanic-speaking peoples. In the latter centuries of the Roman Empire, Germanic tribes placed increasing pressure on Roman Gaul and Britain, eventually overrunning large parts of both provinces.

Celts of the Atlantic Coastal Zone

Western coastal Europe differed to some extent from this pan-European Celtic culture. Groups of Gauls in western France, for example, in Aquitania (in the southwest) and Armorica (modern Brittany in the northwest), preserved their own distinct culture and when imitating La Tène elements adapted them to suit local taste. The same is true for the Britons of Britain. There are exceptions to this; vehicle burials in Yorkshire, for example, show close similarities with those in the Seine valley. The Yorkshire tribe were called PARISII; the similarity of the name with that of a tribe in the Seine valley strongly suggesting a tribal migration. BELGAE from Gaul had settled in southeastern Britain by the first century B.C.E.

Germanic Europe beyond the La Tène Zone

As for Europe north of a line drawn from the mouth of the Rhine eastward to the Sudetan Mountains and on to the Carpathian Mountains, the people continued to live the "longhouse lives" (referring to the Neolithic building style) their ancestors had practiced since farming arrived there in the Neolithic Age, untouched by events to the south. In their isolation they were slowly evolving the language family ancestral to the Germanic languages of today.

Modern Celts

Except for isolated pockets in areas of the British Isles and France, which once were on the far fringes of the Celtic world, the pan-Celtic culture was swept away by forces set in motion by the Roman Empire and its collapse. In medieval times and to the present the Celtic tradition and languages have survived in Brittany (in western France), Wales, Cornwall, the Isle of Man, the Scottish Highlands, and Ireland, where they are identified as Bretons, Welsh, Cornish, Manx, Scots, and Irish.

CULTURE

Economy

Early Farming Practices After 1300 B.C.E. and the probable emergence of Celtic culture farming practices maintained continuity with the past in that a variety of crops were grown. New crops added to this mix changed the character of farming in several ways. In the past different varieties of wheat and barley dominated grain crops, accompanied by legumes such as lentils and peas. But now millet and rye began to be grown throughout Europe; oil-bearing plants such as flax and poppy began to be important,

along with broad or Celtic beans. Common characteristics of these newcomers are their easy and prolific growth and their ability to flourish in harsh climate conditions. Millet is able to withstand drought and has a short growing span; in historic times millet was known as the crop of the poor, to be used not only in unleavened bread but also in porridges and fermented drinks. Millet became important in central and northern Europe during the Early Iron Age. Celtic beans, nitrogen fixers that improve soil fertility, can grow in a variety of conditions, including cool, moist weather. The oil-bearing plants have a high protein content, making them very nutritious, and they have a delicious taste, as the name of one of them, gold-of-pleasure, attests. Seeds of this plant were sprinkled on a loaf of bread found at the Early Iron Age site of Aggtelek in Hungary.

Not only the crops changed, but field systems did as well. Although the majority of fields in central Europe were cultivated by the beginning of the Bronze Age, their layout changed significantly in a number of regions after 1300 B.C.E. Previously field systems had consisted of many small fields workable by single families. Now long dykes were driven through this mosaic, creating much larger subdivisions of the countryside, which amounted in size to large ranches or estates. This phenomenon is found in Britain particularly; in Wessex the numerous hill forts are clearly related to these greatly enlarged systems of fields and linear boundaries. Hill forts contained large granaries; whether the grain stored in these was used to enrich single chieftains or to supply whole tribes in times of famine is unclear.

During this period large wild as well as domestic animals continued to be exploited, including wild cattle called aurochs and very large wild pigs. Red deer and a wide range of small mammals, as well as birds and fish, were important. Among domestic animals cattle and pigs were most important in Celtic regions; large numbers of cattle were herded in groups sorted as to age and sex. In Hallstatt Poland pigs predominated. Bees would have been kept, although evidence for this practice is scant. After 1300 B.C.E. horses took on a new importance, as evidenced by the appearance of ornate bronze and iron horse trappings in burials over a wide region of eastern Europe.

Iron Age Farming Cattle were used by Celts of the Iron Age mostly to work as draft animals and to supply milk; the primary meat animal was the pig. Milk and milk products and fresh and salted pork were the mainstays of the Celtic diet, along with porridge made of barley bran; breads from emmer wheat, spelt, oats, and rye; and legumes. Flax was grown for linen and linseed oil. Poppies were also grown; whether they were used to obtain opium is unknown.

Investigation of the large *oppida* (fortified settlements) that developed toward the end of the Celtic era has shown that, despite their large size, they were not true cities. Instead they were enclosed villages in which much of the acreage was given over to farm fields. Almost all of the food eaten in the *oppida* was produced there, and there are few signs of "urban" eating habits involving exotic imported foods such as spices or fruits such as figs that could be grown only in the south. The only foodstuff imported—and that in large quantities—was wine.

In general, Iron Age Celtic farming had changed little from that of the Bronze Age, either in crops or in animals. All of the Celtic domestic breeds were ancient, primitive forms little changed from those of the Neolithic, demonstrating a low level of animal husbandry in terms of attempts to improve breeds. Celtic cattle were the smallest in the history of cattle evolution, with a slender build, short horns, and narrow skull. Roman cattle were about six inches taller. Celtic pigs were similarly small and primitive. Surprisingly, considering the high regard Celts had for the horse, they were not skillful horse breeders. Celtic horses were much too small to ride and were used instead to pull chariots or carts. When Celtic chieftains wanted larger horses, they imported them from the SCYTHIANS in the steppe regions of eastern Europe, as indicated by eastern horse trappings found in burials. The Scythians also introduced chickens to Europe, and the Celts were most responsible for their spread, although they did not keep them in large numbers. They may have kept geese and ducks; their domestication is hard to determine archaeologically, since domestics differ little from wild breeds in skeletal structure.

In contrast to diets in the Bronze Age, wild animals were largely absent from those of Iron Age Celts in some regions—whether because of the shrinkage of forests and overhunting, or because of religious taboos, is not known. Of all their domestic animals, including the dog, only horses were apparently never eaten by the Celts.

Trade By the Late Bronze Age, although the quantity of goods traded was not great, thriving, long-range trading contacts across the putative Celtic regions of Europe were well established.

Trade at this time was completely intertwined with social relations; centralized market economies using coinage as a "socially neutral" medium of exchange, which allowed complete strangers to do business with one another, existed only in the cities of the Near East. In the Celtic regions goods moved through a continuous series of face-to-face gift exchanges or barter. Despite the essentially local nature of such exchanges, goods moved over long distances, as documented in recoveries from shipwrecks. A shipwreck off the coast of Turkey from this period revealed swords made in the style of smiths on the Atlantic coast as far north as Britain, as well as goods from a wide range of localities. The distribution of particular styles of metalworking over a wide area also demonstrates long-range contacts; for example, a sword type called Rössen has been found from Britain to Czechoslovakia.

An extremely important commodity new to trade at this time was salt from the Austrian Alps, mined and made in evaporation pools at Hallstatt and present-day Hallein (also in the Austrian Alps). Burials in cemeteries in the area from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages contain valuable objects from both north and south of the Alps, suggesting both the extent of the salt trade and the wealth it generated. One large cemetery near Hallstatt contained 2,000 burials. Salt mining began around 1000 B.C.E.; after 750 B.C.E. the amount being mined increased significantly. More than 3,000 square feet of galleries, which would have provided 2 million cubic meters of salt, were dug.

Some glass beads found in Europe were made of glass of a composition similar to that of glass made in the Near East; the Ulu Burun shipwreck off the coast of Turkey, dated to around 1300 B.C.E., carried raw glass ingots from the Near East, possibly evidence that such glass could have found its way to Europe via the Greeks. Amber was traded in large quantities from northern Europe to Mycenaean Greece.

In the first century B.C.E. trade flourished at Hengistbury Head in Dorset in Britain. Quantities of wine amphorae from the mainland and metal ores from Devon and Cornwall found at Hengistbury suggest that heavy cargoes were unloaded there; evidence for large numbers of cattle, together with signs of butchery and leather dressing, suggest that return cargoes may frequently have consisted largely of dry animal hides. The Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. includes hides in his list of British exports; according to Caesar, the VENETII used those hides to make sails for their ships, among other products.

Government and Society

Bronze Age Warrior Ideology The pan-European Iron Age Celtic culture with its warrior class is thought to have descended from a warrior class already present in the Bronze Age. This emerged not in one place but in parallel all over Celtic Europe, sparked by the spread of what is called the Bell Beaker ideology around 2500 B.C.E.

This movement of ideas and, possibly, of people may be linked to the transformation known from archaeological evidence to have occurred at this time over large areas of Europe. Values and practices dating to the adoption of farming at the beginning of the Neolithic Age were replaced with new values held by an elite warrior class that emerged at this time, known from burials containing finely wrought bronze weapons, armor, and other prestige items. The common theme throughout those elements that distinguish the Celtic cultural complex—from the hill forts to the exquisitely wrought artifacts of the La Tène style—may have had its distant beginnings in this Early Bronze Age ideology based around the values of individuality and aggression. For people at this time the possession of valuable goods, whether cattle or objects of precious metals infused with the magic art of the smith, are proofs of bravery and the favor of the gods.

Political Power of Priests What may distinguish the Celtic warrior ideology from the very similar ideologies of later peoples, such as the Germanics, is another set of values held by a class of Celtic society equal in importance to the warrior class: that of the priestly order called the Druids. The signal importance for the Celts of the Druids, who in a real sense seem to have outranked any other social class and were the equals of kings, may be the most distinguishing feature of the Celts when compared to other warrior societies in Europe. The building of Stonehenge in Britain could have come about through a compromise between bearers of the Bell Beaker Culture, the first people in Europe who followed an individualistic warrior lifestyle, and people for whom the great communal rituals held in henge monuments, which had emerged earlier during the Neolithic Age, remained important. The distant ancestors of the Druids may have been priestly elites who directed the building of the great Neolithic monuments such as the stone circle and giant henge

at Avebury, the stone alignments of Carnac in Brittany in France, Maes Howe stone mound in Orkney, the Callanish stone circle in Scotland, and New Grange in Ireland.

The values of the Druids, the importance of learning and the arts and of communality among a people as a whole as a counterweight to the sometimes destructive individualism of warriors, devotion to the gods, the sacredness of the land, equality of women (who could become Druids) and the importance of goddesses, may have been a continuation of values of Neolithic times before warfare had assumed its later importance.

The Romans took the Druids' political power very seriously. The emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. all issued edicts to curb Druidic activity, which suggest its continuing strength. Suetonius Paullinus deliberately attacked the British Druidic stronghold on the island of Anglesey off the Welsh coast in 60 C.E. as a means of quelling British resistance to Roman rule. The Romans believed that Druids used their prophetic powers to incite rebellion against Roman order.

A World of Farmers The archaeological evidence suggests that farmers made up the overwhelming majority of the population. The splendid weaponry and other accoutrements found in warriors' graves has fostered a picture of Celtic society in which warriors and chieftains had more prominence than they did in reality. The common image of a Celtic warrior society led by a chief or king may reflect an exception rather than the rule. Reassessment of evidence from the fortified hilltop settlements known as hill forts suggests they were often used as much for display or symbol as for defense. At the same time new studies contradict the idea that hill forts were typically the residences of chieftains since clear evidence of an aristocracy is hard to find. Instead the evidence points to a more communal and a relatively egalitarian society of small, competitive farming families in many areas of Iron Age Europe.

Gift Exchange The exceptions to this egalitarian state were found among tribes living near the borders of the Greco-Roman world or having access to Mediterranean trade goods, for whom the gift-exchange cycles seem to have led to greater social differentiation. More successful traders gathered ever more followers, exerting ever greater influence the richer they became and ever greater control of military power and trade.

Differentiation The Iron Age differed considerably across Europe. Although there were contacts and shared cultural elements, the differences in all aspects of life between neighboring areas are as evident as the similarities. One region might bury its dead in graves with grave goods, for instance, whereas in the next burials are absent. Areas differed as to whether they had hill forts and settlements enclosed by substantial earthworks or open settlements. Clearly groups had a great deal of contact with one another; it is probable that trade and marriages among different groups were common. But it must have been important for tribes to mark out their particular differences and their sense of their own uniqueness.

Class System According to various classical authors and the ancient Irish Brehon Law, tribes were divided into three classes: kings, of which there were different ranks; warrior aristocracy; and freemen farmers. In Ireland there were local kings ruling tribes, regional kings ruling provinces, and the High King of all of Ireland. The Druids, the priestly caste, were recruited from families of the warrior class but ranked higher. Caesar distinguished between men of religion and learning, warriors, and commoners. As in other Indo-European systems, the family was patriarchal.

Drinking and Feasting The inclusion of feasting equipment—drinking horns, a cauldron, and alcohol—in princely tombs provides clear evidence for the importance of feasting in Celtic Europe. Every undisturbed, elite burial found on the mainland from the late Hallstatt and early La Tène periods contains feasting and drinking equipment. In addition classical sources and the insular literature of Ireland and Wales provide abundant testimony that the ability to give mighty feasts with bountiful alcoholic drink was a key part of a leader's claim to rule.

Since the Corded Ware period in the Late Neolithic, ceramic vessel sets, probably used to consume beer or mead, had appeared mainly in male burials. By the Bronze Age drinking vessels were being made of sheet metal, primarily bronze or gold. However, the importance of feasting in Celtic society increased greatly in the late Hallstatt period, soon after the foundation of the Greek colony of Massilia. Afterward wine in amphorae was traded north and east along major river systems together with metal and ceramic drinking vessels from the Greek world.

The rarity of wine and a chieftain's display of impressive imported goods added to the impact of his feasts on his followers. Classical authors emphasize the value of wine to northerners, adding that the lower classes drank wheaten beer prepared with honey.

Classical texts suggest that the layout of feasters, a chieftain, and his retinue sitting in a circle around a central hearth or fireplace had an almost ritual social significance. The alcoholic beverage circulated among them in a common cup with the chieftain taking the first draft, then sending it along among his followers, an act symbolic of his generosity. The sharing of the common cup may also have symbolized a common bond among the chieftain and his followers. Alcohol helped reduce social distance, suspicion, and rivalries. On the other hand several authors point to the seating arrangements as reflecting a hierarchy within the retinue, as those closest to the leader of the group received the largest quantity of liquor and the choicest cut of meat, both symbolic of favored status. Music was very probably a part of these feasts, with bards celebrating the warriors' deeds and those of their ancestors. Classical texts report that Celtic feasting involved bragging competitions that frequently led to brawls, even death.

The literature of medieval Ireland gives many details of feasts; literature among the Celts of later times was rooted in part in the storytelling that was an integral part of feasting. Vessels made of bronze, gold, wood, horn, and pottery are described in the Irish literature, and these correspond to archaeological finds from the Early Iron Age on the mainland and in the British Isles. The social symbolism of drinking is reflected in the connection between the Irish words *laith* (liquor) and *flaith* (sovereignty or lordship): *laith* flowing in abundance from the fount of *flaith*. Drinking horns, which were among the finds at Halstatt Burials, are frequently referred to in Irish poetry as symbols of authority and kingship, and as late as the 15th century a 300-year-old drinking horn was cited by the Kavanagh family as the basis for their claim to the kingship of Leinster.

The connection between the right to rule and the ability to host a feast at which alcoholic beverages are distributed is a continuing theme in Irish and Welsh literature. In the Irish *Baile in Scail,* for example, Conn and his followers are taken before a seated girl wearing a gold crown, with a silver vat in front of her and a vessel of gold and a gold cup. The girl is the personification of Ireland, and whomever she offers the ale of sovereignty will become king in a symbolic wedding ritual. The girl gives a cup of red ale to Conn, then disappears, leaving behind the drinking equipment as a symbol of his authority.

Military Practices

On the whole the people of the Urnfield world lived according to the ceaseless round of the seasons of the agricultural year; this peaceful rhythm must have been punctuated from time to time by warfare, judging by the numbers of weapons from this period that have survived in graves and other deposits. Conflict was on a small scale, with raiding parties that engaged the enemy warriors in single combat, rather than large massed armies. Warriors used swords, daggers, spears, and arrows. Although only metal armor has survived, it was probably used only for display or for intimidation of opponents, perhaps in an attempt to make them believe they were confronting men of bronze; bronze armor offered no protection against sword blows and leather or wood would have been much more effective. A number of bronze shields have been found in northwestern Europe, especially on the British Isles.

The sword, first developed in the Middle Bronze Age in the eastern Alpine area, was central to the warrior's panoply, judging by the rapid evolution of different forms, indicating a kind of Bronze Age arms race to maintain technical superiority. Swords that have been found show signs of wear and repeated sharpening, attesting to their importance to their owners. A prevalent sword type was a long slashing sword called the "carp's tongue" from the shape of its tang. In Britain the first true swords were imported from the Rhineland from about 950 B.C.E. Although certain sword types were used across Europe, they were modified into differing regional styles. The construction of swords shows that although some were obviously functional, others must have been used only for display.

The Urnfield period saw the beginning of widespread building of protective ramparts and ditches around settlements, often on hills but also on lower ground. Forts at first had timber ramparts; they were later reinforced by wooden frames faced with stone and filled with rubble, and sloping revetment banks. The distribution of such forts in southwestern Germany was very even, with forts every 10 to 15 kilometers (six to 10 miles), apparently serving a thinly distributed population, again suggesting the small scale of military operations and the relative lack of social differentiation. Such forts usually seem to have had only a short lifetime before being destroyed.



Celts wore this type of helmet in the late first century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

The use of horses to pull chariots increased steadily through this period and into the Iron Age, as shown by the numbers of metal bits and cheek pieces found. After 800 B.C.E. many graves began to contain horse-riding equipment, coinciding in time with a westward movement of peoples, recorded by Herodotus, from the steppe lands to the east, whose horses were large enough to be ridden.

During the Early Iron Age chariots became heavier and, except in Britain, began to decline in use in favor of mounted cavalry. Warriors on foot used short thrusting spears and javelins for throwing. With iron, armor came into practical use, at least among the elite.

The Celts of the Iron Age seem to have made use of a kind of psychological warfare; Roman writers attest that they often fought naked in the ancient warrior style, perhaps to convince the enemy that they were as invulnerable as gods or that they were such formidable warriors they had no need for shields or armor. They would make terrifying sounds by blowing large trumpets, called carnexes, which had beast-shaped mouths, and they would roar as if they were wild beasts. Caesar mentions that Gallic warriors painted themselves with a blue dye called woad to make themselves look more terrifying. Bards often accompanied the warriors, inciting them to battle and hurling imprecations of savage satire against the opponents. The Celts believed the bards could call up magic mists to confuse the enemy.

The Purpose of War Our modern ideas that war should be waged solely for political or national purposes and that the resort to war represents a failure of diplomacy would have been very foreign to men of the European Bronze and Iron Ages. The relative inefficiency of their weaponry ensured that the casualty rate in their wars was never high. Men went to war for intangible purposes, such as to prove their prowess and win fame, so that tales would be told of their deeds after their deaths, as well as to gain territory or spoils. There may even have been a spiritual component to war, similar to the belief of the Vikings that only death in battle ensured that one would attain Valhalla. In risking their lives Bronze and Iron Age warriors throughout Europe may have been offering themselves in sacrifice to the gods; in the exhilaration of overcoming fear, they may have experienced a kind of ecstatic communion with the divine. Elaborate decoration of arms and armor may have been analogous to the decoration of temples and sacred vessels used in religious ritual. It is even possible that the Urnfield religious revolution with its changed attitude toward the material body resulted from the emergence of warfare as an integral part of society. The experience of battle could have furnished its seminal spiritual experience.

Dwellings and Architecture

Hill Forts The rich trade of the sixth century B.C.E. coincided with the appearance of hilltop settlements called hill forts, such as Mont Lassois in Burgundy, France, and the Heuneburg in southern Germany. Some Hallstatt chiefs emulated the Greeks even to the extent of building Mediterranean-style mud brick walls as defensive structures, completely inappropriate for the rainy north. A characteristic architectural phenomenon of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Celtic Europe, hill forts began to appear around 1100 B.C.E. and were built in a zone of temperate Europe from Wales and southern Britain, through northern France, southern Belgium, central Germany, to the present-day Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland. Their numbers increased considerably during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. The style of these settlements was broadly similar throughout this zone, so that forts in Slovakia resemble those in Wales.

A rampart along the edge of the hilltop site enclosed circular or rectangular timber houses; metal-reinforced roads connected dwellings and grain storage buildings. In Biskupin, a hill fort in Poland, houses were arranged tightly together in 13 parallel rows, multiple houses sharing a single gable roof, along timber corduroy roads adjoined to a ring road along the rampart. There were 105 houses in the complex, suggesting a possible population of 400–500. Although the orderly layout implies a controlling power of some kind, there is no other evidence of social differentiation in, for example, house size. The use of hill forts peaked in the sixth and fifth centuries, and many were abandoned by the fourth century.

Scholars disagree over the purpose of hill forts and the degree to which they were used for defensive purposes. The mud brick ramparts of Hallstatt versions argue against defense as their primary purpose as they must have been regularly eroded away by rain and in need of refurbishing. Despite broad similarities, hill forts differ from region to region. In Britain, for example, they seem to have the character of farming villages. Later in the Celtic period, especially under Roman influence, some hill forts evolved into *oppida*, fortified towns more municipal in nature than military.

The Roundhouse A common Iron Age building style was the roundhouse. The exact construction of roundhouses is hard to determine because most of the building materials were natural, such as timber and reed. Organic materials like these do not survive for long unless they are protected in some way, such as in very dry, very cold, or waterlogged conditions. Out in the open and exposed to the elements, natural organic materials used in roundhouse construction rarely survive the test of time.

Archaeological excavation has revealed evidence for the foundations of roundhouses such as postholes, stake holes, wall gullies, and stone wall foundations. The remains of hearths have also been found, and occasionally drains, drainage trenches, and drip gullies (formed by rain water dripping off the end of roof eaves and falling on exposed ground). Daub sometimes becomes fire-hardened similarly to pottery. Occasionally archaeologists find packed clay or daub floors within the interiors of the roundhouse wall foundations.

Iron Age roundhouses, as well as farms and hill forts, faced east or southeast in the direction of the morning Sun. In some cases roundhouses were built so that their doors faced the location where the Sun rose on the winter solstice. Many apparent rubbish pits on further analysis display an organization in their deposition that points to ritual. Some of this rubbish includes complete animal and human carcasses and bits of carcasses, possibly the result of sacrifice. But even broken potsherds, old tools, and worn-out quern (hand mill) stones were sometimes placed in special parts of a farm, together with other objects, sometimes even according to a particular order.

Clothing

The male clothing of the Celts in its basic elements was probably broadly similar to that of men throughout temperate and northern Europe, even in those areas, such as lands of the Germanics, outside the Celtic sphere. It consisted of trousers, shirt, leather shoes, and a covering cloak, the ancestor of European dress that prevailed after the influence of the Mediterranean world had waned with the fall of the Roman Empire. Trousers, called *bracae,* particularly distinguished Celtic dress from that of Greeks and Romans. To the Greeks wearing trousers was a sure sign of barbarity, as sure as having a moustache, beard, or long hair (in this betraying their insularity and Greek chauvinism, for the highly civilized Persians wore all of these).

Women wore a sleeved under-tunic covered by a chiton, a rectangular cloth similar to a poncho with an opening for the head and neck, which was belted at the waist; over all they would wear a cloak like that of the men if the weather were cold. For both men and women, the brooches (also called fibulae) used to secure their cloaks were often prized ornaments and were made in a variety of intricate shapes, usually of bronze, but also of precious metals. The shapes of brooches were the subject of fashionable preference, which differed from place to place and changed constantly throughout the Celtic period.

Until the Roman conquest the wool used for clothing was from sheep whose fleece was very coarse; fine wool sheep were introduced to Europe by the Romans. Thus wool was mostly used for making cloaks. Diodorus Siculus, a first-century B.C.E. Greek historian living in Sicily, writes that the cloaks had striped or checkered designs, with the stripes close together. This could describe Scottish tartan patterns, which combine broad bands of different colors running perpendicular to one another to form squares of color with thinner stripes of contrasting color setting off the squares. Swatches of fabric were preserved in the Hallstatt salt mines; some of these resemble tweeds still made today in Celtic areas such as the Scottish islands of the Outer Hebrides. Others show a tartanlike combination of parallel thin stripes running perpendicular to broader bands. Wool was commonly woven into twill.

Linen was also widely used and woven into cloth. It was the fabric of choice in Celtic Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary; in La Tène France and Switzerland twilled wool was preferred.

Diodorus called the Celts' clothing "astonishing," and besides their *bracae,* what impressed him were the bright colors of their shirts and the embroidery with which they were embellished. Remnants of linen cloth found in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia were stitched with red, gold, and silk thread. Embroidery was done with a simple stem stitch; meanders and swastikas were common motifs.

Diodorus mentions that the Celts bleached their hair blond by washing it in lime and combing it back from their forehead, rather like a horse's mane. (To Romans this shaggy hair made Celts look like woodland spirits, perhaps the satyrs of myth and legend.) Some were cleanshaven, but men of high rank shaved their cheeks, leaving a moustache that grew over the mouth and trapped particles of food.

An important ornament type was the torc (torque), a metal neck ring made of metal wires twisted together so as to resemble a rope or cord, with an opening in the front with molded terminals welded to the ring ends. Torcs may have been worn only by the nobility, particularly during the La Tène period; astonishingly elaborate and heavy gold, silver, and bronze torcs have been recovered from burials. Some torcs almost appear unwearable, as though they were used more as symbols of status. The Gallic warriors who overran Italy and Greece during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. went into battle naked (as did the Iron Age Celts), some of them wearing only a torc. Deities are shown wearing torcs; a famous example is the horned god on the Gundestrup Cauldron (a huge silver cauldron found near Gundestrup, Denmark, thought to document Celtic religious iconography), who also holds a torc in his right hand, a large snake in his left. Torcs thus had some religious significance as well. Some scholars speculate that the rope appearance of the torc refers to a noose or garotte, the terminals like knots, used to dispatch a sacrificial victim. The wearing of torcs by warriors may have been a sign that in going into battle they were devoting themselves to or putting their fates into the hands of a god—perhaps Esus, who received his sacrifices through having them strangled or their throats cut.

Transportation

The Bronze Age The long-range trade evident already in the Late Bronze Age implies efficient means of transportation among Celtic peoples. Little is known about Bronze Age ships and boats to the north of Mediterranean regions, but the trade routes along major rivers such as the Rhône, the Rhine, and the Danube show that water transport was important. A model boat found in Wales from this period is somewhat bowl-shaped; much later, in the early medieval period, the Irish made long sea voyages in a type of bowl-shaped boat made of hides called a curragh or coracle. This is the kind of boat St. Brendan reportedly utilized in the sixth century C.E., when he went on a long sea journey as a pilgrimage. It is possible that the Irish, who of all Celtic peoples had experienced the least influence and interference from other more dominant cultures, were at this time continuing a boat-building tradition of their Celtic ancestors even as far back as the Bronze Age. Curraghs made of wood are still used today by Irish fishermen.

More is known about land travel from this time because of the survival of timber or brushwood tracks laid down in marshy areas, which have been preserved in peat or under water. In the Somerset Levels in England a major phase of track-building took place around 1200 B.C.E., possibly a result of climate change that caused higher rainfall and flooding. Such tracks consisted of brushwood pegged in place, supplemented by wooden planks in wetter areas. In dry areas the location of important sites gives an idea of routes.

Evidence of Celtic vehicles includes depictions and models, and bronze fittings, wheels, and whole wagons found in burials. Great ceremonial wagons and wheeled urns were used in ritual processions; farmers used slow-moving wagons with solid wooden wheels—similar to those of the Neolithic—drawn by oxen or horses.

The Iron Age Archaeological evidence shows that trading vessels that plied the English Channel in the late first millennium B.C.E. had high sides and flat bottoms; they relied on heavy cargoes or ballast to give them stability. Ships arriving at Hengistbury Head in Dorset, for example, carried heavy wine amphorae, but on their return journey to the Continent they carried only light-weight cattle hides and thus needed ballast. A number of "quarry hollows" and "scoops" were discovered on the north shore of the defended promontory at Hengistbury, dug to obtain gravel for ballast. The hollows and scoops were found close to the old shoreline, where the flat-bottomed boats were no doubt beached or berthed to facilitate unloading and reloading.

Other Technologies

The Late Bronze Age Industrial Revolution One of the revolutions after 1300 B.C.E. was an explosion in metalworking activity among the Celts both quantitatively and qualitatively. Enormous hoards of metal objects from this period displaying a great increase in the skill of smiths have been unearthed. Multiple-piece rather than the simpler two-piece molds of earlier times were now used to form molten metal, allowing a greater variety of shapes. Sheet-metal working began during this period, and bronze armor was made—cuirasses, greaves, helmets, and shields, shaped and elaborately embossed with hammers of various sizes. Such armor was useless for actual defense; demonstrations have indicated that it can easily be penetrated by blows from a bronze sword. Its main purpose, then, must have been decorative and/or ritualistic. The lost-wax method became important; in this method wax was shaped into

the desired form and encased in clay, which was fired in a kiln, causing the wax to melt away, leaving a mold without seams. The ease with which wax could be worked enabled smiths to create much finer and more subtle forms with more intricate detailing than ever before.

These new techniques both enabled and inspired smiths to endow even the most utilitarian objects, such as axe heads, cauldrons, rivets, and buckles, with beautiful decoration and form. These efforts probably derived less from aesthetics of the sort that inspires modern fine craftspeople than from a sense of the magical and spiritual quality of metal, which has been transformed from rough ore, through the magic agency of fire, into something completely different. Greek myths such as that of Prometheus, who created humankind out of clay, and others concerning men made of bronze may suggest the attitude of early bronze workers elsewhere in Europe. The implication is that in transforming natural materials into pottery and metal, smiths emulated the creative acts of the gods. Such attitudes, remembered dimly about their own past by Greeks of the classical period, may well have been held as well by other Europeans during the Bronze Age in Europe. In using their utmost skill to beautify their creations, smiths may have been expressing their sense of divine emulation. The burial of huge quantities of metal objects, possibly as offerings to the gods, may derive from similar attitudes.

The great increase in the volume of bronze made implies a well-established, long-range trading network because the sources of copper were widely dispersed (Ireland, the Alps, Carpathians, and Balkans), as were the probable sources of tin (Cornwall, Brittany, and parts of what are present-day Germany, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Spain, and Italy). The presence of copper in Ireland and of tin in Cornwall, Brittany, and Spain may have made these areas on the periphery of Celtic Europe closer to the sphere of Celtic cultural influence.

Glassmaking began during the Early Bronze Age, although not in great volume, since it required a much higher firing temperature than did bronze. Glass was made mostly in the form of beads for decoration; in Switzerland so-called eye beads and beads with twists of different colors were made. Glass-making spread quickly throughout Europe; such rapid technology transfer demonstrates the interconnectedness of Europe at this time under the probable Celtic cultural hegemony.

The Iron Age The transition to the Iron Age was slow and incremental, although iron was far more readily available than the copper and tin needed for bronze; iron is found throughout most of Europe. The melting point of iron is only slightly higher than that of copper, and bronze-working techniques were used at first in working iron. Recent research suggests that iron did not directly replace bronze at the end of the Bronze Age but rather took over the roles of flint, which had continued in use during the Bronze Age because of its superior hardness and cutting ability.

Coal came into use in the Iron Age in coal regions such as Britain. Large quantities of coal fragments, many of them burned or charred, have been found in the defensive ditches of an enclosed Late Iron Age settlement at Port Seton near present-day Edinburgh, Scotland.

Art

Evolving Styles As with other aspects of Iron Age Celtic culture the roots of Celtic art can be traced back to the Urnfield period of the Bronze Age. The rich burials of the Hallstatt culture at the beginning of the Iron Age provide many examples of Celtic art that have affinities to art of the Bronze Age. Under the influence of Mediterranean styles, but maintaining their autonomy, artisans of the Rhine-Moselle region created the La Tène style, which became the first pan-European art style, influential across a wide region. La Tène style is evident in the making of many objects, such as weapons, vessels, and jewelry, in bronze, gold, and occasionally silver.

The Celts decorated even the most mundane of objects with beautiful art. Tools that were used for everything from war to cooking presented opportunities for carving or metalwork. The art of the Celts was inseparable from their religion; it embodied a sense that forces unseen underlay every activity and imbued every object in the material world. The intricate swirls and spirals so characteristic of Celtic art may have been intended to evoke in the viewer and user of decorated objects a sense of harmony with the spiritual realm that so permeated the material.

Stylized plant motifs and fantastic animals, derived from the Scythians and other steppe peoples, are characteristic of Celtic art; the human figure plays a secondary role. Celtic art was full of elliptical and opposing curves, spirals, and chevrons, also derived from steppe art. These elements were combined in dynamic yet symmetrical geometric patterns in relief, engraved, or in red, yellow, blue, and green

enamel on shields, swords, sheaths, helmets, bowls, and jewelry. They also appeared on painted pottery: cinerary urns, food vessels, incense bowls, and drinking cups.

Fine examples of Hallstatt period Celtic art from a tomb at Hochdorf in Germany, show continuities with art from Urnfield times. It contained the princely burial of a man wearing a great gold torc, bracelet, shoe and belt coverings, and a conical birchbark hat that is thought to be an emblem or symbol of high status. The torc (torque) and bracelet are stamped with lines of bosses reminiscent of bosses on cups from Urnfield times, although far more intricate and varied in shape. The torc has a pattern of tiny stylized horsemen. A shallow gold cup has Urnfield-like bosses around its rim.

A tomb in Hallein contained flagons whose decoration is typical of the later La Tène style. A later La Tène sandstone statue of a warrior found at Glauberg, Germany, has teardrop shapes on each side of his head although upside down; they seem to be sprouting out of his head. This is called by archaeologists a Blattkrone, "leaf crown," and is thought to symbolize divine status. Heads with Blattkronen adorn a four-sided pillar from Pfalzfeld in Germany as well as other figures from the period.

Celtic Linear Art An important type of pottery developed in Roman Britain, called Glastonbury Ware, illustrates a fundamental difference between Celtic and Greco-Roman art. The focus of the latter was on the spatial, creating a sense of volume and mass, of three dimensions, even in reliefs or two-dimensional painting. Greco-Roman art is basically sculptural, whereas Celtic art is linear, more like drawing. Thus Roman artisans, when making reliefs on their pottery, carved dies in the desired shapes, much as they would have carved out a marble sculpture. The British artisan used a funnel to extrude a line of wet clay somewhat in the way he might have used a brush to apply paint. The curves of his lines and their rhythms were most important. Thus, in scenes showing running hares or dogs, their elongated bodies are paralleled by curving lines above and below; the shapes of the bodies themselves are hardly more subtle than thickened lines. The sense of speed derives at least as much from the lines as from the bodies, which, one feels, would have had equal impact if they were two- rather than three-dimensional.

The essential difference between Celtic and Greco-Roman art is well illustrated by the Hochdorf cauldron, which has reposing lions along its rim. Two of the lions are of Greek manufacture; the third is Celtic, probably made by a Celtic artisan to replace a missing Greek lion. Compared to that of the Greek lions, the shape of the Celtic lion is clumsy, a mere barrel body topped by a head whose muzzle is a simple funnel, with little attempt to model the lion's cheeks, chin, and nose. The mane is suggested by incised lines rather than the fully sculpted curls on the Greek lions. However, the lines of the tail curling into a circle and of the crouching haunches are much more skillful and charged with potential energy.

Celtic Christian Art The final efflorescence of Celtic art occurred in Christian Ireland and in Irish monasteries in Scotland after the fifth century C.E. The Irish incorporated new elements from the Romans and from the ANGLO-SAXONS in their illuminated manuscripts such as *The Book of Kells* and their metalwork. The Irish adapted the Pictish tradition of large carved standing stone cross slabs to create the three-dimensional high Irish cross.

Music

Material evidence for the practice of music among the Celts is scanty. Few musical instruments or depictions of them have been found earlier than the first centuries C.E., when Mediterranean instruments were introduced in Celtic lands under Roman influence. This may mean no more than the lack of material evidence of Celtic poetry, both media being transmitted orally. It is nearly certain that Druidic poetry had a musical element in the same way that the Homeric poetic tradition did. In traditional societies all over the world, music and poetry have been and are inseparable. That the Celts had a keen understanding of the psychological impact of music is shown by their use of carnyxes, their great war trumpets shaped like roaring beasts, to terrify their enemies.

Among the few sources of evidence on early Celtic music are the Venetic bronze situlae found in present-day Slovenia. These are large decorated bucket-shaped vessels that depict scenes of festivity and apparent ritual. Although some situlae have been found in areas associated with the Illyrian-speaking Veneti, other similar ones come from the eastern Hallstatt zone, demonstrating considerable cultural commonality between Hallstatt and Venetic peoples. Dating to about 700 B.C.E. the situlae show a number of different forms of instruments. The four-stringed lyre (similar to the lyre of contemporary Homeric Greece) predominates in these scenes, played standing in processions and to

accompany dancers and played seated to entertain feasters. The other most common instrument is the syrinx, or panpipes, usually with five pipes (suggesting the use of a pentatonic scale). Panpipes are thought to be of eastern European rather than of Mediterranean origin. Another type of instrument resembles the Greek *aulos*, a vibrating reed flute typically with two pipes.

Contemporary pots in the western Hallstatt zone in southern Germany and France show mostly female dancers not accompanied by instruments; they dance with their arms raised. At the Hallstatt site itself several actual instruments have been found, including a set of simple end-blown bone pipes, a single pottery globular flute from the cemetery, and a cow's horn with carefully cut mouthpiece discovered in a salt mine. Far more complex than these are the nine-tubed panpipes cut from sheep or goat bone found in what seems to have been the grave of a priest or religious person of some kind in the cemetery of Przeczyce near Katowice in southern Poland. Here we have a possible connection of Druids and music.

The late Hallstatt chiefs who participated in trade with the Mediterranean world adopted the musical aspects of feasting of Greeks and Etruscans along with the accoutrements of wine-drinking. Artifacts depict dancers at feasts; in some cases these are sword dances, appropriate for the warlike Celts. An Etruscan ceremonial rattle of iron with bronze jangle plates has been found in a princely Hallstatt grave.

From near Budapest comes a tiny bronze figurine of the late Hallstatt period, possibly a mount from a bronze vessel or cult model, of a man playing the double pipes, or *aulos,* one of the few evidences of music from the central Celtic region. Indeed the most abundant evidence of instruments among the Celts comes from the periphery of the Celtic world and shows clear influences from other cultures. Very little evidence of musical instruments has been found in the period from about the fifth century B.C.E., the time of the collapse of the Hallstatt economic system, to the first century B.C.E., when Celts in Gaul and then Britain came into contact with Romans. Some researchers have thought this evidence that Celts were essentially unmusical. It seems more likely that their musical practice consisted mostly of song and dance. Again, the importance of poetry among them makes it nearly certain that music was of great importance as well.

A few bone pipes with pentatonic tuning have been found dating from this period in Britain, as also a bronze coin showing a centaur playing an *aulos*-like set of pipes. Much more numerous evidence has been found for the great war trumpets called carnyxes. These were nearly man-high trumpets with mouths fashioned to look like beasts; they were held vertically with the snarling beast mouth forward. As in the case of other instruments, few carnyxes or depictions of them have been found in the central La Tène region. A second-century B.C.E. frieze on a temple in Pergamon shows Galatian Celts in battle blowing carnyxes; other examples come from Roman Gaul; and the Gundestrup Cauldron (a great silver-gilt cauldron, found at Gundestrup in Jutland but probably made in Thrace for eastern Celts and dating probably from the very late second century B.C.E.) shows boar-headed carnyxes. Several actual instruments have been found in Britain, including one with a boar's head that had a moveable tongue made of wood that had been preserved in the peat bog where it was found.

In Ireland an indigenous type of metal horn with a curving stock had begun to be made in the Bronze Age; it is thought to have been an imitation in metal of animal horn instruments. Such horns continued to be made in the Iron Age. Another bronze horn was found in the lake deposit of Llyn Cerrig Bach on the Isle of Anglesey, the ancient Druid stronghold of Mona, clear evidence of the use of such instruments in ritual. They can play only a few notes but the tone of modern reproductions suggests an evocative quality that must have been impressive when used in religious rites.

Celtic coinage in Gaul and Britain, which mostly dates from during the period of Roman contact, has many depictions of instruments, including of lyre-players. There is textual evidence that Maponus, a god of people north of Hadrian's Wall in Britain, was identified with lyre-playing Apollo. The existence of a lyre-playing Celtic god is further attested by a figurine found in Gaul wearing a torque with large buffer terminals, sign of high or divine status, and clasping before him a seven-stringed lyre. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century B.C.E., speaks of *bardoi,* bards, singing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. Although this comes from a time when Celts were again coming into contact with the Greco-Roman world, since religious practice is inherently conservative in nature, it seems unlikely that the use of instruments in worship would have been taken up in Druidic circles so quickly. (The conflation of Celtic with Roman gods happened only over time and mostly after the conquest.) Rather, they may well have been

using lyres for a very long time, as attested by Hecataeus of the sixth–fifth century B.C.E. A piece of a possible lyre dated to the third century B.C.E. was found below the rampart of a hill fort in north Wales. Irish early medieval texts such as the Ulster Cycle mention stringed instruments.

On the other hand the assymetric harp so associated with the Celts of the British Isles came into use only in the ninth century C.E. Regarding the vibrating reed instrument most associated with Celts in both Britain and Brittany, the bagpipes, there is no evidence of their use before the Middle Ages.

Literature

Insular Literature A central part of the training of Druids involved memorizing and composing poetry. They learned great numbers of verses by heart, and some studied for as long as 19 years; they thought it wrong to commit their learning to writing, as this might dilute its potency, but used the Greek alphabet for other purposes. In Celtic literature poets were able to perform magical acts through their recitations, for instance, calling up magic mists to provide cover for the war bands they accompanied, or reciting savage satires that rendered enemy warriors helpless. Some scholars believe that occult religious knowledge was hidden, in riddling fashion, in a number of important Welsh poems, as for example, "The Battle of the Trees" and "The Song of Amergin."

After the Welsh and Irish adopted Christianity along with the literary traditions of the Greco-Roman world, in addition to compiling their ancient tales, writers made new compositions, such as the Welsh *Y Gododdin* (The Gododdin) and the Irish *Lebor na hUidre* (The book of the dun cow), which successfully integrated old and new influences.

A discernibly "Celtic" spirit and atmosphere have continued to pervade the literatures of Ireland and Wales to the present, as evinced by poets such as Ireland's William Butler Yeats and Seamus Heaney and Wales's Dylan Thomas, with mystical life at the center of their work.

Religion

The Urnfield Revolution Archaeology gives us the first glimpse of Celtic religious practices from ancient times. The widespread change in burial practice after 1300 from inhumation to cremation and the burial of ashes in urns in well-defined cemeteries seem likely to have resulted from a seminal change in spiritual beliefs. Although cremation had been practiced before this and inhumation continued in some places afterward—indicating that local and personal preference continued—the "Urnfield" phenomenon constituted a genuine revolution. Urns were covered with small and sometimes very large mounds and sometimes accompanied by rich grave goods; however, as a rule Urnfield graves tended to be poorly furnished. The change to cremation may reflect a change in attitude toward the material body: that no longer was the body needed for the continuance of the spirit in a life after death. Likewise grave goods for use in the afterlife may no longer have been deemed necessary. A sense of the spirit as an unseen agency or force more akin to mental and emotional processes than to the visible body, escaping from the body by being transformed by holy fire into smoke rising toward heaven, may lie behind the Urnfield revolution. In keeping with such an attitude, memory, aided by commemorations of the dead in song and story, may have been considered a more fitting tribute than physical monuments.



This golden votive offering was made by a Celtic craftsperson. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Spiritual Symbols and Cult Places in the Late Bronze Age The bird was an important symbol during the Late Bronze Age, represented in figurines of clay and bronze and in decorative motifs on wagons and cauldrons. Water birds draw or are associated with boats and even

wagons and chariots. The many depictions of these creatures of the air suggest a new focus on a spiritual realm in the sky in addition to that of the underworld beneath the soil.

People during this period continued the practice of ritual deposits underground, however, including hoards of metal objects, pottery, and human and animal bone, possibly from sacrificial victims. Deposits were made within fortifications and at cult sites of earlier times; Bronze Age pottery was deposited in the holes that encircle Stonehenge, built 1,000 years earlier. It is probable that open-air sites such as sacred groves and hilltops were used for ritual activities, as documented for Iron Age Celts by Greek and Roman writers.

The Druids A significant aspect of Celtic spiritual life was the presence among them of the Druids, a priestly class of enormous importance both for religion and for social life. After the Roman and then the Germanic takeover of much of Celtic Europe around the start of the first millennium C.E. the importance of the Druids is perhaps most clearly seen in Britain, where, according to Caesar, the Gauls sent their sons for their religious training. The relative isolation of Britain and of Ireland may have allowed the survival there of values antedating the aggressive individualism of the Bronze Age warrior ideal, and closer to the older Neolithic values of community and a sense of identity growing out of allegiance to the group and to the land. The rites of communal worship and communal labor on megalithic monuments and vast earthworks may in part have given the religious observances of the Britons their particular prestige and mystique to the rest of the Celtic world. But they may only have been preserving a socioreligious ideology once common throughout Celtic Europe.

Much is mysterious about the Druids because they never revealed their doctrine and practices in writing, perhaps because to do so would have been an impiety. Fragments only of these matters were known to the Greeks and Romans who wrote about them. Even the meaning of the name *Druid* is not known with certainty. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* speculates that because of their reverence for the oak, the name *druidae* may derive from the Greek name for the oak—*drus*. Another suggestion by modern scholars is that *druid* is derived from the proto-Indo-European word **wid,* denoting wisdom (as in English *wit* and *wisdom,* which have that root), with *dru* an intensive, so that *dru* + **wid* meant "very wise." Yet another theory combines *drus* meaning "oak" with **wid* to give "oak wisdom"—a form of esoteric knowledge gained during rituals involving the oak. Some scholars, ancient and modern, have noted the resemblance of *druid* to *dryadae,* the Latin for the oak nymphs of Greek myth, female spirits who haunted oak trees.

A word related to *druid* is Drunemeton recorded by the Greek Strabo, writing in the first century B.C.E., as the place of judgment of the Galatians of Asia Minor, an offshoot of the Galatoi. The second part, *-nemeton,* would be cognate with the Old Irish Nemed, denoting a sanctuary or a consecrated place. Drunemeton, then, would mean either "very holy sanctuary" or "oak sanctuary." The use of specially consecrated sanctuaries for judgment and other functions was evidently a pan-Celtic practice, given the wide dispersal of place-names containing *nemet*. Strabo emphasized the legal activities that took place there, but in archaic societies, judicial, political, and religious functions are not at all distinguished in a modern sense. The root of *nemet* and *nemeton* in Old Irish is *nem,* "heaven."

Druids as Judges Caesar describes the Druids as having a judicial function equal to their religious one. They presided over all disputes and adjudged guilt in murder. The source of their power was their ability to forbid anyone who flouted their decisions to attend religious rites and sacrifices. Caesar described this as a heavy punishment among the Celts, tantamount to shunning by the whole of society.

In general, because of the prestige accorded the Druids, according to Caesar, and the benefits they enjoyed, including exemption from military service and any tributes or taxes, many wanted to join their order, and many parents sent their children to study with them. The course of study included the memorization of many verses, probably numbering in the thousands. It is likely that law codes were embodied in many of these verses, a practice that continued in Wales into the Middle Ages as preserved in the *Triads of Wales,* a collection of verses denoting transgressions and their penalties.

Druidic Rites Among the many matters of obscurity concerning the Druids is what their rituals were. Roman writers mention horrific sacrifices, one involving a Roman general fighting the Boii who had allied themselves with Hannibal during the Second Punic War. The general was captured and beheaded, his skull then gilded for use in sacred rites as a libation and drinking cup. This may be no more than

Roman prejudice against a tribe who had aided Hannibal, but then again may not.

A rite described by Pliny has been more generally accepted by scholars and is the only detailed description of a druidic ritual. It concerns mistletoe, a parasitic plant that grows on trees but only very rarely on the oak. Thus, when a mistletoe plant was discovered growing on an oak tree, the Druids carried out a very special rite to gather it. They had a feast under the tree to which they took two white bulls. A Druid in a white vestment would lop the mistletoe with a golden pruning hook, while others caught it below in a white cloth. The bulls were then sacrificed, perhaps in recompense to the god for the gift of the sacred plant. The mistletoe was highly prized, says Pliny, as a means of giving fertility to cattle and as an antidote for poisons; the Gauls called the mistletoe "the healer of all things." The word for mistletoe in Irish today means "allheal" or "panacea." Aside from this descriptive term, there is no actual name for mistletoe in Irish; the only other possibility is Drualus, "Druid"s plant," another description rather than a name. Just as the Druids never described in writing or described their cultic practices to outsiders, the actual name of this sacred plant may have been taboo, withheld from any outside the Druidic order who might weaken its potency or draw down evil by carelessly speaking its name.

Education of Druids Among the Celts religion and cultural products such as poetry were closely interlinked. A central part of the training of Druids involved memorizing and composing poetry. They learned great numbers of verses by heart, and some studied for as long as 19 years; they thought it wrong to commit their learning to writing, as this might dilute its potency. In Celtic literature poets were able to perform magical acts through their recitations, for instance, calling up magic mists to provide cover for the war bands they accompanied, or by reciting savage satires that rendered enemy warriors helpless.

Excommunication by the Druids A striking aspect of Caesar's account of Celtic religion, given in his *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (Commentary on the Gallic War, 52–51 B.C.E.), and that of other Romans is the attention to its special importance for the Celts. They were reportedly given to religion, and banishment from participation in religious ritual, which was occasionally meted out to wrongdoers by the Druids, was considered the gravest of punishments. That this importance of religion to the Celts was remarkable to Romans, whose own society was closely bound up in religious ritual, is in itself eloquent testimony on Celtic spirituality. It is clear that for the Celts the interpenetration of the secular and sacred realms, of the material and the spiritual, was complete. It seems that every aspect of their life related to an organic unity of the here and the hereafter, the natural and supernatural, in which each was the continuation and completion of the other, and there was constant communication between them.

Evidence about Celtic Religion The usual difficulty in studying the Celts caused by the incomplete and varying evidence about them is compounded with respect to their religion because they seem to have considered it impious to commit any of their belief to writing, even when they had begun to use Latin and ogham script under Roman influence. Only after the Irish and Welsh converted to Christianity did scholar monks among them begin to commit their mythological narratives to writing, centuries after paganism had ceased. The obvious shortcoming of deriving evidence of pagan beliefs from Christian scholars, whose basic attitude was one of condemnation, is counterbalanced by the close links between the Celtic Christian Church and Druidic beliefs and practices. Scholarship and the preservation of religious narrative were central to Druidic practices; a large part of the education of Druids consisted of committing their mythology to memory. In a sense the Irish monks in particular were simply carrying on this enterprise in a different medium, the written word. Striking archaisms of style and content in their writings give a sense of the monks' fidelity to their ancient sources.

There are two other main sources of information on Celtic religion. There are contemporary written accounts of Celtic religion by Greco-Roman writers; they, however, observed Celtic religious practices only at the end of the Celtic Iron Age, and under circumstances of turmoil and dramatic cultural change. There is also a large body of iconographic evidence and of inscriptions on monuments. The Celts left many religious monuments and artifacts, but in the absence of contemporary information on their liturgy and belief system from the Celts themselves, such monuments and icons are hard to interpret. Moreover, most inscriptions date from the Roman era.

Yet this piecemeal body of evidence, when taken together, exhibits a number of consistencies among the different sources, which must

constitute a core of authentic information. For example, the second–first-century B.C.E. Greek philosopher Poseidonius and others describe three classes in Gaul involved in sacred ritual and learning: Druids, bards, and a group called in Gaulish *vatis* (seers). This division corresponds to the medieval Irish literature that also tells of Druids, bards, and *filidh,* or seers. In general the sacredness of "threeness," of the triad, is supported both by iconography, for example, the many sculptures in Gaul showing a triad of women called in inscriptions the Matrones, "the mothers," and the importance of the concept in Irish and Welsh literature.

Perhaps even more fundamental is the Celts' belief in the sacredness of the land and of nature in general. It is possible to discern in the evidence that the Celts divided the natural world into three spiritual realms: earth, water, and air or sky—the latter sometimes represented by fire. Evidence includes the water rituals of the Bronze Age, which continued into Celtic times; earth burials of both the human dead and metal hoards, and the use of hilltop sites for ritual. The chief god in the Irish pantheon was the Dagda, a sky god, whose mother was Danu or Dana, an Earth goddess who also seems to have been a deity of rivers, especially the Danube (in German, Donau). The Gauls had a mother goddess called Madron whose sacred river was the Marne.

The Celtic attitude toward the land is indicated by an important branch of learning among the Irish, called *dindshencas,* "the lore of famous places," by which mythical narratives were furnished to account for place-names. In Ireland place-names numbered in the hundreds and were given to all sorts of sites: hill and mountain tops, clearings and fields, rocks, fords, confluences, rivers, and springs. A striking example is the twin hills near Killarney now known as the Paps; in Gaelic they were called the breasts of Anu, the mother of the last race of gods to live on Earth, the Tuatha de Danaan. At least two of the early Irish festival sites, Carmun and Tailtiu, were the reputed burial places of goddesses associated with the fertility of the Earth. In Gaul, too, deity names were given to such sites. In both Gaul and Ireland named places proliferated along tribal boundaries but also in the territorial centers, a reflection of the Celtic sense of the land as redolent with deity.

The sacredness of the land is underscored by the coronation ritual of Irish kings, which consisted of a sacred marriage between the new ruler and a woman—possibly a priestess, or else the king's consort-to-be—who represented the Earth goddess. A Gallic god mentioned by the first-century C.E. Roman writer Lucan was Teutates, the god of the tribe; presumably as the god's mortal representative the Irish sacred king married the representative of the goddess. That such unions were meant to ensure the land's fertility may be the symbolic meaning of the many tales concerning widowed hags, blighted and decrepit as a winter landscape, who are restored to radiant youth and springtime beauty by the act of intercourse with a virile hero.

The Problem of Celtic Gods Perhaps the most dramatic contradiction among the various sources on Celtic religion concerns their gods—their names, numbers, and functions. Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* gives the names of five important gods among the Gauls, some of whom have clear counterparts elsewhere in the Celtic world, while others are hard to relate to other evidence. Caesar's main source aside from firsthand experience is thought to be Poseidonius, whose work on the Celts of Gaul was also used by the first-century B.C.E. Greek historian Timagenes. Including also Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, this trio constitute what is called the Poseidonius school.

Caesar mentions five deities, giving them only the names of Roman gods with whom he identifies them. Mercury, the most important Celtic god, had the greatest number of images made; he was the inventor of all arts, the guide and protector of travelers and tradesmen, and in general the patron of commerce. Many images of Mercury have in fact been found in Roman Gaul; moreover, he seems to have a clear counterpart in the insular literature: the Irish Lugh (in Welsh, Lleu), who is commonly described as "skilled in many arts together." The fact that the capital of Roman Gaul was Lugudunum (Lyon) and that many other towns seem to have derived their names from Lugh, including Liegnitz in Silesia, Leiden in Holland, and Carlisle (Luguvallum) in Britain, brings the identification full circle. Lugus has been identified with the sculptures of a deity wearing a Blattkrone, "leaf crown," possibly of mistletoe leaves, which first appeared around 500 B.C.E., when La Tène chieftains were enriching themselves through trade with the Greeks and Etruscans. The later statues of Mercury usually showed him bearing a moneybag (ostensibly to pay the boatman ferrying souls across the River Styx, for Mercury was the conveyor of souls to Hades, the land of the dead in Greco-Roman myth).

For the other gods Caesar mentions, however—Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva—

identification with evidence from other sources becomes problematical. Inscriptions mentioning Minerva are found throughout Roman Gaul and Britain; the dedication of a temple in Bath (Aquae Sulis) in Britain to Sul-Minerva identifies her with the goddess Sulis of the medicinal springs there. The Celtic word for *eye* was *sul,* perhaps a reference to the use of medicinal springs to cure eye ailments, but also to her role as patroness of learning and goddess of divine wisdom: Sul the All-Seeing One. She, as did Minerva, oversaw the teaching of crafts. However, Caesar said that healing was the province of Apollo.

The greatest problem with Caesar's clear-cut and simple scheme is that it stands in contrast with the teeming abundance of deities mentioned in Irish and Welsh literature and in inscriptions. This has led some scholars to conclude that the Celts had no universal gods and that all of them were local and particular to each tribe. However, again correspondences in inscriptions, depictions, and the insular literature are not wanting (as in the case of Lugh), and the proliferation of names probably came about through local tribes' giving their own names to pan-Celtic deities, who nevertheless had the same attributes all over the Celtic world. Sulis, for example, had an Irish counterpart in Brighid, daughter of the chief god, Dagda, who was also concerned with healing, craftsmanship, and poetry. Brighid may have had a counterpart among the BRIGANTES of northern Britain, whose goddess was called (in the Latinized version of her name) Brigantia, "exalted one."

The state religion of Rome, fundamentally urban and national in nature, with its highly organized pantheon and yearly cycle of festivals, represents religion at a later stage of development than that of the tribal Celts. The Romans used their religion as a unifying agency to bind together peoples all over the Empire—to Romanize them. The Protean religion of the Celts seems to have emphasized individualism—individual reinterpretations of pan-Celtic gods and beliefs (similar to local reinterpretations of the La Tène art style). The disjunct between Caesar's account and Irish and Welsh myth derives from this fundamental difference in religious attitude.

The whole tenor of the Celtic worldview as seen in the insular literature defies the neat classifications of Romans. A common theme of Irish and Welsh myth is that its characters frequently change from one form into another. The Irish "Song of Amergin," for example, consists of a long series of statements beginning with "I am." The narrator describes the changes he has undergone, from being a wind, to being a wave, a ray of sunshine, a hawk on a cliff, the greenest of plants, a boar, a salmon, and many others, ending, "I can shift my shape like a god." A Welsh story tells of a character called little Gwion, who changes his shape in his efforts to escape the angry goddess Cerridwen, each shift followed by one of hers. He becomes a fish, whereupon she becomes an otter and hunts him; he becomes a mouse and she a cat, and so on. The strong impression the mythology creates is of a world of fluid change and eternal becoming in which appearances are deceiving and categories unimportant.

It was precisely the gods' ability to assume different forms or multiple forms that made them objects of worship to the Celts. An inscription in Spain to Lugh or Lugus refers to him in the plural—the Lugoves, and the Matrones probably represent a divine mother in triplicate. Names of goddesses in particular proliferate—Rosmerta, Nantosvelta, Damona, Sirona, and Nemetona, among many others. A goddess whom the king figuratively weds may have been conceived of as the mother of the people, of the tribe, as well as of the land. The Welsh goddess Branwen, for example, has been described as one of the great ancestor goddesses of Britain; the Irish triad of Eriu, Fodla, and Banbha are considered the ancestor goddesses of Ireland. The consort Maia, also called Rosmerta (the provider), accompanies "Mercury"—or more probably Lugus—on many Gaulish monuments and is also a fertility goddess.

The character of Celtic goddesses was by no means entirely benign, and some of them presided over warfare. Such were Buanann ("The Lasting One") and Scathach ("The Shadowy One") and the triad of Morrighan ("The Phantom Queen"), Bodhbh Chatha ("The Carrion Crow") and Nemhain ("Frenzy"), who would incite warriors on the battlefield but also confuse and ensnare them to their deaths. The Gallic equivalent of Bodhbh Chatha is Cathubodua, known from an inscription in Haute-Savoie in France. The Iceni queen Boudicca of the British Isles led warriors to battle and invoked the goddess Andraste. Another important epiphany of the goddess was as a horse, called Epona, "The Divine Horse" or "Horse Goddess," whose name is preserved in hundreds of inscriptions. She was connected to the fertility of the land and of nature, and was another form of goddess as mother of the realm, judging by the coronation ritual of some Irish

kings, which consisted of the king miming being born to a mare. The Irish horse goddess was Macha, who gave her name to Ard Macha, "Height of Macha," an important pagan sanctuary that later became the center of Christian worship in Ireland. Her Welsh equivalent was probably Rhiannon, "Divine Queen."

In general the importance of goddesses to the Celts, together with the fact that women could join the priestly class, strongly differentiates Celtic religion from others in contemporary Europe—those of the Greeks and Romans, as well as the Germanics, whose goddesses are clearly subservient to the gods. This, together with marked similarities between a number of Celtic myths and stories in the Vedas of India, for example, the myths of the Irish queen Medhbh and the Indian Mahdavi, has led many scholars to conclude that Celtic religion arose out of and preserved a substratum of belief and ideology once common to the speakers of the original Indo-European language, who spread throughout Europe and India sometime during the Neolithic Age. Moreover many religious terms in Celtic languages derive from proto-Indo-European, attesting to the conservative nature of Celtic religion.

The earliest appearance in what would later be Iron Age Celtic Europe of a clear warrior ideology was that of the Bronze Age Bell Beaker Culture. There is suggestive evidence that Bell Beaker warriors engaged in some sort of compromise with people holding to the older Neolithic values of worship of nature and the land, perhaps embodied by a goddess, which they expressed by building great earthworks and stone monuments and holding rites of communal worship there. Stonehenge and other great stone circles in the British Isles may well be a monument to this compromise, since Beaker warriors probably took part in their building. Although we may never know what deities in particular were worshipped at Stonehenge in the Bronze Age, goddesses or a single goddess of the Earth were probably among them. And the religion of Iron Age Celts may have preserved some aspects of this cult along with other aspects of Bronze Age spirituality, which, among Greeks and Romans, had been greatly modified by the latter half of the first millennium B.C.E.

Some of the earliest written evidence on Celtic religion is from the sixth–fifth-century B.C.E. Greek geographer Hecataeus of Miletus, of whose writings only fragments remain. He gave an account of people worshipping in a round temple. He is quoted at length by Diodorus Siculus on the religion of a people called the Hyperboreans (referring to the fact that they lived "at the back of the North Wind," called Boreas by Greeks). Hecataeus writes that according to tradition Latona, Apollo's mother, was born on an island the size of Sicily opposite the coast of Celtic Gaul, and that people there venerated Apollo more than any other god, worshipping him with continual song and harping in a sacred grove and in a round temple. This temple has been thought to be Stonehenge, although there are other candidates, including the Callanish stone circle in Scotland. The Hyperboreans had had contacts with the Greeks "from remote periods," Hecataeus writes, and were particularly attached to the Delians, inhabitants of the Aegean island of Delos, which was a center of Apollo's worship in Greece.

Apollo-Maponus A strong candidate for the Celtic Apollo of Hecataeus is Maponus, "The Divine Son," who was especially worshipped in northern Britain, as attested by inscriptions of Roman times. In Gaul his sacred sites were located near healing springs, so that he may be identified with the god Caesar calls Apollo, "who drives away disease." Maponus is indeed equated at least once with Apollo Citharoedus, "the Harper."

According to Hecataeus Apollo visited Britain once every 19 years, "in which period the stars complete their revolutions," and because of this the Greeks distinguish the cycle of 19 years by the name of "the great year." The 19-year cycle is the period required for the lunar and solar calendars to return to synchrony. As noted earlier, Caesar informs us that a period of 19 years was the statutory study period for any acolyte wanting to train for the Druidic priesthood. The reference to continual harping and hymn singing accords with the importance of poetry and music in Druidic training and practice. Because of the Greeks' trading links with northwestern Europe, it is not impossible that Hecataeus received his information from first-hand accounts by traders or other travelers. Greek travelers to Britain would have given the name of their god Apollo to a British god who had characteristics similar to Apollo's; the fact that this god's season began with the spring equinox, as Hecataeus mentions, suggests he was a Sun god, as was Apollo. He must also have shared Apollo's patronage of music, healing, and prophesy. It may not have been solely, or even principally, desire for plunder that led the Celts who overran Greece in the fourth century to make their way to Apollo's principal shrine at Delphi.

Contrast between Celtic and Greek Religion In general Apollo figures in Greek myth as a god who took over the attributes of an earlier great goddess; for example, he assumed patronage of the shrine at Delphi by killing the goddess's sacred python. This story has been thought to document the shift in Greek religious belief to a strongly patriarchal system, with the mother goddess no longer the equal partner of the father god, Zeus. (Thus Hecataeus's account emphasizes Apollo's worship, saying nothing about that of Apollo's mother, Latona.) The situation was otherwise with the Celts, who held to attitudes they once shared with the Greeks of "remote periods" in the past. (For the Romans, too, Apollo was the god of healing, which for the Celts continued to be the province of the goddess Sulis/Brighid.)

Maponus receives little mention in medieval Irish and Welsh literature; for the Welsh he was Mabon, son of Modron—or Matrona, the divine mother. However, inscriptions attest to his importance; he figures prominently in the Celtic paradigm of the triad of father god, mother goddess, and divine son: Teyrnon (Divine Lord), Modron, and Mabon. This triad appears in Irish myth as the Dagda (among other names), Boand or Boann, goddess of the river Boyne (as Modron was of the Marne in France), and Mac ind Og, "The Young Son" (also called Oengus). They dwelt in Bruigh na Bóinne, the great Neolithic passage grave now called Newgrange. Mac ind Og tricked his father into ceding him possession of Bruigh na Bóinne by wordplay, which places him in the tradition of the Divine Son as trickster (like Mercury).

Cosmology and the Cult of the Sacred Center The "sacred geography" of Ireland provides a glimpse into the cosmology of the Celts as a whole. In a scheme that has analogues in many of the world's cultures, including those of India and China, the five provinces of Ireland mapped out an earthly microcosm of the lineaments of the immortal world. The four provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connacht represented the cardinal points of the compass, and Midhe (middle), not territorially separate from the others, was located in the center. The royal coronation site of Tara, where the high kings of Ireland were crowned, stood within Midhe, and the structures there were probably intended to reflect the universe in microcosm. There was a Gallic analogue to Tara for, according to Caesar, the Druids of Gaul would meet at a holy site in the territory of the CARNUTES, which was believed to be the center of all Gaul. The crux of the Celtic cosmology, then, seems to have been the concept of the multiplicity of the world transcended and unified within a sacred center, like the "jewel in the heart" of the many-petaled lotus of Tibetan Buddhism.

Iron Age Human Sacrifice Greco-Roman writers of the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., including Caesar, Strabo, Lucan, and Tacitus, state that the Celts engaged in human sacrifice. A variety of methods, they say, were used, including drowning, burning, hanging, stabbing, shooting with arrows, throat cutting, and tearing to pieces. Women, men, prisoners, children, and even priests were among the victims. Many modern scholars think that Roman writers, whose compatriots were engaged in conquering the Celts, exaggerated and distorted their accounts, as commonly happens when the conquerors write about the conquered. Much archaeological evidence exists, however, that strongly suggests sacrifice. This evidence is from the whole span of the Iron Age from the seventh century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., and in Britain for some time after the Roman conquest.

Individual finds on their own cannot be interpreted as proving human sacrifice, since a body showing signs of violent injury could have suffered murder or execution, and the injuries could have been inflicted after death. But certain aspects of the context in which bodies are found can point to sacrifice. Bodies buried in pairs, such as a man and a woman, who clearly died at the same time, suggest the Indian practice of *suttee,* in which wives were sacrificed to accompany husbands. (Such a practice has been documented for the Vikings of Russia by eyewitness account.) An example is the Early Iron Age Hallstatt D royal tomb at Hohmichele on the Upper Danube. It included two large burial chambers, each of which had contained two bodies of high-ranking people. There were also low-status secondary graves within the mound. These could have been retainers or dependents of a noble sacrificed so that they could continue to serve him or her in the next world.

Bodies were sometimes placed in disused grain storage pits. A number of these have been found at Danebury hill fort in Britain. Such deposits appear to have occurred from the seventh to first century B.C.E. and to have been done on average once every six years. The limbs of these bodies had sometimes been bound together; some were weighted down with large flint or chalk blocks. All of these factors seem to point to a ritual component of their deaths, perhaps including sacrifice. The purpose of such sacri-

fices could have been propitiation of deities of fertility.

Stronger evidence of sacrifice is that of bodies that show signs of struggle. At Curragh in county Kildare, Ireland, signs of writhing and struggle exhibited by a woman's skeleton suggest she was buried alive. Other such bodies have been found.

Of the many burials in streams and bogs a number were almost certainly sacrifices. Some, for example, from La Tène (which means the shallows) and Cornaux in Switzerland were weighted down with heavy timbers in the shallows of a lake. Lindow II, a young man who was deposited in a marsh in Cheshire, England, in the first century C.E., was apparently killed ritually, underscored by the importance of the number 3 involved: in the means of killing him (head blows, strangling, and throat cutting) and in the details (three head blows from an ax, and three knots on the cord that strangled him).

Ceremonial aspects of many of these bog deaths include the fact that victims were buried naked and that they had eaten special food just before their death. Lindow II had some bits of blackened cake or bannock in his esophagus. This finding recalls a custom among boys in remote Scottish villages that persisted almost to the present. On May 1, called in some parts of the Celtic world the feast of Beltane, boys would go out to the moors, kindle a bonfire, and divide a cake into pieces, one for each boy. One of the pieces was blackened with charcoal and all were placed into a hat. Each boy, blindfolded, drew a piece of cake from the hat; whoever chose the blackened piece was called the "devoted" one, that is, dedicated or made over for sacrifice, which he mimed by jumping three times through the bonfire. The cake Lindow II had eaten, in addition to barley and wheat, contained mistletoe pollen, suggesting the season of his death, since mistletoe pollinates in March or April.

The numbers of possible or probable sacrifices found as a proportion of all burials suggest that sacrifice was not common but rather unusual and special; this indeed conforms to the written accounts. Sacrifice was possibly performed at critical times: for example, to avert famine and epidemics or to commemorate the death of a leader or defeat in battle. Lindow II was sacrificed around the time of the Roman invasion, in itself a crisis serious enough to elicit an extraordinary response.

Seasonal Festivals Much of what is known about the seasonal festivals of the Celts is taken from insular sources. In Ireland the year was divided into two periods of six months by the feasts of Beltane (May 1) and Samhain (Samain; November 1), and each of these periods was equally divided by the feasts of Imbolc (February 1) and Lughnasadh (August 1). Samhain seems originally to have meant "summer," but by the early Irish period it had come to mark summer's end. Beltane is also called Cetsamain (First Samhain). Imbolc, sometimes called Oímelc (sheep milk), inaugurated the lambing season and was particularly associated with the goddess Brighid. Beltane (Fire of Bel) was the summer festival, and there is a tradition that on that day the Druids drove cattle between two fires as a protection against disease. For the festival of Lughnasadh (Festival of Lugh), into recent times, in one of the rituals people pretended to be working at different tasks: weaving, spinning, or plowing. Early commentators gave this a Christian interpretation: The people were miming work that they had done unlawfully on the Sabbath. However, the miming may once have been in honor of many-skilled Lugh.

Esus and Other Celtic Gods Three other important gods of the Celts mentioned in classical literature were Taranis, the god of thunder; Esus, the god of the underworld; and Teutates, the god of the tribe. According to Lucan each required a specific type of sacrifice. For Taranis, as thunder and lightning god, fire was the method of death and prisoners of war were burned alive in giant wicker cages in his honor; alternately, his victims were dispatched by a blow to the head, another way of symbolizing the lightning bolt. The victims of Esus were either hanged from sacred trees, stabbed to death, or killed by both means. Teutates received his sacrifices in sacred wells and pools. The threefold means of killing Lindow II may have meant that victims were offered to all three gods. His head blows would have been a sacrifice to Taranis. His strangling and throat cutting, in this interpretation these two means conflated into one, could have been to Esus. And his deposition in the marsh could have given him to Teutates.

Esus's name meant "lord" or "master." That his victims were sacrificed by hanging from trees suggests he may have been a tree or vegetative god. A relief in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame de Paris portrays him as a bent woodman cutting a branch from a willow tree. This and a related relief from Trier, in Germany, both called Tarvos Trigaranus (The Bull of the Three Cranes), associate him with the sacred bull and his accompanying cranes or egrets.

Esus is sometimes paired with a horned or antlered god named Cernunnos, known by name only from a single inscription, as a sort of alter ego who ruled one-half of the year; Cernunnos ruled autumn and winter and Esus, spring and summer. Thus the bull in the relief at Trier would be Cernunnos and the cranes, whose migratory return heralded the spring, would be Esus. The Gundestrup Cauldron depicts an antlered god who may have been Cernunnos. Sitting cross-legged in a posture that resembles the Tantric lotus position, the god holds in one hand a snake (commonly a symbol both of renascence since snakes are "reborn" after shedding their skins, and of spring since snakes emerge from underground in the spring) and in the other a torc (torque). He also wears a torc, the twisted cord appearance of which could symbolize Esus's garotte.

Zoomorphic Deities The many animals on the Gundestrup Cauldron imply that Cernunnos was a form of the Hindu god Shiva in the guise of Pasupati, Lord of Beasts. In general there is much animal imagery in Celto-Roman iconography, representing the deities in combinations of animal and human forms, again attesting to the Celtic fascination with shape shifting. Another prominent zoomorphic deity type is the divine bull, the Donn Cuailnge (Brown Bull of Cooley), which has a central role in the great Irish hero tale "Táin Bó Cuailnge" (The Cattle Raid of Cooley) and recalls the *Tarvos Trigaranus* reliefs from the cathedral at Trier in Germany and at Nôtre-Dame de Paris. Other animals that figure particularly prominently in association with the pantheon in Celto-Roman art as well as in insular literature are boars, dogs, bears, and horses.

Celtic Christianity Under the auspices of the Roman Empire, for which Christianity had become the state religion, the Christian faith was well established in Celtic Britain by the fourth century C.E. At the same time St. Patrick, a Romano-Briton who had been captured in an Irish raid and spent years of his boyhood as a slave in Ireland, returned there to convert the Irish after he won his freedom. He spearheaded the foundation of a new church in Ireland, which then became the center of Celtic Christianity. Patrick particularly targeted the Druids as key to converting the Irish people as a whole.

By the early seventh century though the church had succeeded in reducing the Druids to irrelevancy, their influence continued to be felt in the Irish Catholic church, particularly in its devotion to learning. The Irish monks did much to preserve a knowledge of ancient Roman literature in early medieval Europe. The distinctive organization of the Irish church, based on monasticism in which bishops were subordinate to the abbots of monasteries, may well have been based on the sacred colleges of the Druids. The *filidh,* although Caesar calls their mainland equivalents seers, carried on the Druidic traditional learning and were able to maintain many of their activities unchecked, retaining a considerable part of their pre-Christian tradition, social status, and privilege. *Cormac's Glossary* (c. 900) recounts that St. Patrick banished those rituals of the *filidh* that involved offerings to demons, and it seems probable that the church took particular pains to stamp out animal sacrifice. What survived of ancient ritual practice tended to be related to *filidhecht,* the traditional repertoire of the *filidh,* or to the central institution of sacral kingship. Although the concept of the sacred marriage of the king with the goddess of sovereignty that constituted the core of the royal inauguration seems to have been purged from actual practice at an early date, it remained alive for many centuries in the literary tradition.



In 1991 the president of the European Union's Commission on Culture, at the opening of an exhibition on the Celts in Venice, announced that being Celtic was the common bond that drew together all the nations of Europe, in effect saying, "We are all Celts." This statement was received in some quarters with less than enthusiasm or even worse. Commentators in the United Kingdom, particularly in Northern Ireland, no doubt under the influence of the highly charged political atmosphere there, equated it with Nazi assertions of racial supremacy and nationalist pride. Clearly the commissioner intended just the opposite: that Celtic identity could be a unifying concept replacing the nationalism that, since the emergence of nation-states in the late Middle Ages, has repeatedly torn Europe apart and in the 20th century put the world on the brink of nuclear annihilation.

That a culture that had largely disappeared before the end of the first millennium C.E. could retain enough vitality 1,000 years later to cause controversy is remarkable even though many of its modern manifestations, particularly in popular art and music, are in great measure modern constructs that say more about us than about the ancient Celts. What we can discern of Celtic culture shows it to have been a unifying—although by no means always peaceful—force over much

of Europe for centuries. The spiritual and artistic aspects of Celtic culture can be compared in this to the Christian Church, to Renaissance art, baroque and classical music, and even modern science—that is, it transcended national or ethnic boundaries.

Less a distinct "people" than a socioeconomic and spiritual order, Celtic culture arose and flourished in a Europe that had yet to know civilization fully. (The often-lamented Celtic lack of writing, which forever places aspects of their culture beyond our understanding, was nevertheless of their essence as an oral culture.) Moreover the Celtic culture was the culmination of the earliest warrior-elite culture in Europe—that of the Germanic peoples was later. Our continued fascination with Celtic culture lies in its embodiment of tribal, precivilized Europe. The fragments of it that remain put us in direct touch with a vanished world.

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Cenimagni

The Cenimagni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain and are discussed as Celts or Britons. According to Julius Caesar they were allies of the Trinovantes and surrendered to the Romans in 54 B.C.E., along with the Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi, and Segontiaci. It has been assumed the Cenimagni were actually the same as the Iceni.

Cenomani (Aulerci Cenomani)

The Cenomani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Le Mans in northwestern France and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. A Celtic tribe with the same name, thought to be a branch of the same people, lived in present-day northeastern Italy in the early centuries B.C.E., neighbors of the Boii and Senones and allies of the Romans. They defected from the alliance in 200 B.C.E., siding with the Carthaginians, but made peace with the Romans three years later. Suindinum on the site of Le Mans became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Le Mans takes its name from the tribal name.

Ceretani

The Ceretani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Mediterranean around present-day Céret in present-day southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Céret takes its name from the tribal name.

Ceutrones (Ceatrones)

The Ceutrones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the Alps in the district of Tarentaise in eastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Along with the CATURIGES and GRAIOCELI they attempted unsuccessfully to obstruct the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in the Alps in 58 B.C.E. Another group by the same name were a subgroup or allies of the NERVII. They lived in present-day Belgium.

Chamavi (Chamavians; Camavi)

The Chamavi are classified as a Germanic tribe. In the first century C.E. they lived north of the Rhine and southeast of the Zuider Zee in present-day northeastern Netherlands and northwestern Germany. By the third century they had become allied with other GERMANICS—the AMSIVARII, BRUCTERI, CHATTUARII, and TUBANTES—as FRANKS.

Chatti (Catti; Chatten; Cattans)

The Chatti are classified as a Germanic tribe. In the first century C.E. they lived near the Weser River in present-day Belgium to the Main River region in present-day western Germany. They typically allied themselves with other GERMANICS against the ROMANS; a Roman legion under Didius Julianius, posted at Mogontiacum (modern Mainz), campaigned against them in the second century C.E. By 162 C.E. the Chatti were raiding across the Rhine and attempted to settle there until being repelled by the Romans in the Marcomannic Wars (*see* MARCOMANNI). Some of them may have joined the BATAVI early in their history, possibly when the Batavi settled on an island formerly held by them. In the third century or later they merged with the FRANKS. The CHATTUARII were perhaps the same people or a subtribe.

Chattuarii

The Chattuarii are classified as a Germanic tribe (possibly the same tribe as the CHATTI). They lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany. By the third century C.E. they had become allied with other GERMANICS—the AMSIVARII, BRUCTERI, CHAMAVI, and TUBANTES—as FRANKS.

Chauci (Chaucians; Chaukes; Cauci; Chanci)

The Chauci are classified as a Germanic tribe. By the end of the first century B.C.E. they lived on the shore of the North Sea in present-day northwestern Germany west of the Elbe estuary. They supported Arminius of the CHERUSCI in his alliance of GERMANICS against Rome in 9 C.E. By the latter part of the second century they were known to carry out raids along the Atlantic coast of present-day France. By the end of the third century they had merged with the SAXONS, living to their east.

Chazars

See KHAZARS.

Chechens (Czechens; Nokhchi; Noxchuo; Akki)

The Chechens are a Caucasic-speaking people, living for the most part in the north-central republic of Chechnya (or Chechenia; or Chechen Republic) in the North Caucasus of southwestern Russia (*see also* CAUCASIANS; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Chechens also live in neighboring Ingushetiya, Dagestan, and other parts of the Russian Federation—Ukraine; Kazakhstan; and Kyrgyzstan. Chechen is a Russian name derived from the name of the first conquered settlement. The Chechens in Dagestan go by the name of Akki.

ORIGINS

Caucasic-speaking peoples are considered indigenous to the Caucasus. Peoples maintaining tribal identity as Chechens are believed to have inhabited the north slope of the Caucasus Mountains since the second millennium B.C.E.

LANGUAGE

The Chechens' North Caucasic language is classified as part of the North-Central (Nakh) branch and related to the languages of the INGUSH and the Bats of the nation of Georgia to the south in Asia. The Cyrillic alphabet is used in the written form. Most Chechens also speak Russian.

HISTORY

In ancient times the Chechens lived in both the highlands and plains but built fortified watchtowers in the mountains to guard against attacks by nomads from the Eurasian steppes, the SCYTHIANS among the earliest in the eighth century B.C.E. Other peoples to establish a presence in the region and at various times rule the Chechens and other Caucasians of the North Caucasus were the ALANS, HUNS, AVARS, TURKS, and MONGOLS.

In the 18th century Russians—with predominantly SLAVS in power—competed with the Ottoman Turks and Persians over the entire Caucasus. The Chechens—Islamic by that time—resisted the Russian presence, whereas the Christian OSSETS, descendants of the ALANS, generally supported it. In 1785 a freedom fighter known as Sheik Mansur established a movement to resist Russian intervention that still exists today.

In the 19th century a war was fought between Caucasians and Russians for control of the region. In 1834 Chechens joined forces with rebels from Dagestan led by Shāmil, said to be of Avar ancestry, and resisted Russians until 1858, when Chechnya became part of the Russian Empire. In 1865 some 40,000 Chechens were expelled from their homeland and settled in Turkey. In 1893 oil was discovered near Grozny, the capital of Chechnya, which had been founded as a Russian fort during the Russian conquest of the Caucasus. This discovery led to a growth in Russian settlement.

In 1918–20 during the Russian Civil War years the Chechens rebelled under Sheik Uzun Haji against the Whites (the anti-Communist forces) still controlling the region. After their defeat of the Whites, the Reds, or Bolsheviks, occupied the Caucasus. In 1922 the Chechen Autonomous oblast was established. In 1936 the Soviets merged the Chechens with the Ingush in the Checheno-Ingushetiya Republic and began a program of collectivization. The Chechens continued to resist, and new fighting erupted in 1940. In 1944 during World War II Joseph Stalin accused the Chechens and other people in the region of collaborating with Germany and ordered their deportation to Soviet Asia, especially Kazakhstan. Checheno-Ingushetiya was abolished. The Chechens and Ingush were allowed to return to their homeland in 1956–57, and the joint republic was reestablished.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991, the Ingush and Chechens founded their own republics, at which time the Chechens declared their independence from the Russian Federation. (The Chechens call their land Ichkeria.) General Dzhokhar Dudayev, a retired bomber pilot, was elected president. In 1994 Russian troops invaded Chechnya (or Chechenya). Bitter fighting lasted for two years. Dudayev was killed in a Russian rocket attack. Fighting between Russian and Chechen forces again occurred in 1999–2000, and Chechen resistance to the Russian military presence has continued to this day.

Chechens time line

C.E.

1785 Resistance movement against Russians founded.

1858 Chechnya becomes part of Russian Empire.

1865 Chechen diaspora to Turkey

1944 Chechen diaspora to central Asia

1991 Chechnya declares independence.

1994–96 Warfare between Chechens and Russians

1999–2000 Renewed fighting between Chechens and Russians, with Chechen resistance continuing to the present.

CULTURE

Economy

The Chechens traditionally raised livestock in the highlands and farmed in the lowlands. They carried on trade with neighboring tribes.

Government and Society

Traditional Chechen society is based on *taip* (clan formations) and the family. Most Chechens can trace their family and clan back to a particular mountain village. Social structure is nonhierarchical and egalitarian, with clans differing in size but not in prestige. Clan structure is patriarchal. Each clan is headed by a respected elder. Leaders of the Chechens as a whole have come into being primarily for military purposes in response to an external threat.

Literature

The Chechen poetic tradition includes epic and lyric songs. Songs continue to be composed in traditional forms. Humor pays a large part in content. Russian conventions, such as rhyme, are also used. Traditional prose makes much use of humor (as does conversation in modern everyday life). Modern Chechen literature includes standard European genres.

Religion

Some Chechens were first converted from their pagan religion to Christianity in the fourth century, when Georgian missionaries were active among them. But the majority adopted Islam from the 16th to the 19th century. Many are part of Sufi brotherhoods.

Chechen history since the 18th century can be summarized as one long struggle toward independence from the Russians.

CHECHENS

location:
Chechnya and surrounding regions of southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Chechen (Caucasic)

CHERUSCI

location:
Weser River in western Germany

time period:
First century B.C.E. to second century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

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Cheremis *See* MARI.

Cherkess *See* CIRCASSIANS.

Cherusci (Cheruscii; Cherisci)

The Cherusci are classified as a Germanic tribe. During the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. they lived along the Weser River near present-day Hanover in western Germany; their principal town was Veubingen. They were early allies of the ROMANS.

The Cherusci warlord Arminius is famous as a leader of an alliance of GERMANICS (*see* sidebar "Arminius" under Germanics) against Rome. He led the Cherusci, CHAUCI, and MARCI in a rebellion against Romans under Publius Quinctilius Varus, defeating three legions over the course of three days in 9 C.E. at Teutoburger Wald (Teutoburg Forest). Arminius's victory forced back the Roman frontier from the Elbe River to the Rhine—after which the Romans built a line of fortifications, called the Limes Germanicus, or simply the *limes,* from the Rhine to the Danube. Arminius also successfully led a force against the MARCOMANNI in 17 C.E.

The Cherusci later became allies of the Romans. In the second century they were gradually absorbed by neighboring tribes, especially the LOMBARDS.

FURTHER READING

Peter S. Wells. *The Battle That Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

CHUVASH

location:
Chuvashiya in western Russia

time period:
Fourth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic; possibly also Finnic

language:
Altaic (Turkic)

Chorvati (Khorvaty)

The Chorvati, considered a Slavic-speaking tribe, may have lived northeast of Bohemia; other evidence, however, places them among the other SLAVS of Kievan RUS. There is debate as to whether these Chorvati lived in the region between southern Poland and southwestern Ukraine or on the southeastern borders of the Rus state. The latter is generally favored in recent studies. Some scholars speculate that references to a group ancestral to the CROATS, called the White Croats (also know as Belocroati or Bielo-Chorvats), may have been to the Chorvati. Medieval Russian sources state that the Chorvati were attacked in 992 C.E. by Prince Vladimir of Kiev; their name disappears from sources after this time. It is unclear what relationship these Chorvati may have had with Croats in southern and western Slavic lands.

Chuds *See* VEPS; VOTES.

Chuvash (Chuvashes)

The Chuvash are a Turkic-speaking people, living mostly in Chuvashia (Chuvashiya; the Chuvash Republic), an autonomous republic in western Russia. Their unique Altaic or Turkic dialect is related to that of the BULGARS, who migrated to the region in the fourth century C.E. The Chuvash claim descent from them, although other peoples, in addition to TURKICS, may be ancestral to them, in particular the FINNICS.

The Chuvash were under the rule of the MONGOLS in the 13th century, and that of the Russians by the mid-16th century (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Chuvashia was organized as an autonomous area in 1920 and became an autonomous republic in 1925.

Since 1991 Chuvashia has been a republic within the Russian Federation. Situated in the Volga basin and crossed by the Lower Sura River, it is farm country, and the Chuvash grow a variety of crops and keep livestock. Unlike the majority of other Turkic-speaking peoples in Russia, who are Islamic, most Chuvash practice Russian Orthodox Christianity.

Ciberni *See* SUGAMBRI.

Cimbri (Chimbri)

The Cimbri are generally believed to have been a tribe of GERMANICS. Their ancestral homeland was north of the TEUTONES on the Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark. In the late second century B.C.E. the two tribes departed from their ancestral homeland and traveled through much of western Europe, becoming the first known Germanic peoples to invade territory held by the ROMANS.

CIMBRI

location:
Jutland Peninsula (present-day Denmark); western Europe

time period:
c. 120–101 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

ORIGINS

Jutland was known to the Romans as Chersonesus Cimbrica, or the Cimbric Peninsula. Despite their Scandinavian homeland, which indicates a connection to other Germanic-speaking peoples around them, the Cimbri were in fact CELTS, according to some scholars. The Greek philosopher Poseidonius of the second–first century B.C.E. indeed classified them as well as the Teutones as Celts. But the Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., interpreting Poseidonius's work, said that they were Germanics who migrated across the Rhine. In general the Romans labored under considerable confusion when trying to identify and classify those "barbarians" who lived in northern, central, and eastern Europe beyond the bounds of their empire. The Romans who lived in Gaul reportedly called them *Germani,* meaning either "genuine" or "people of pure descent," to indicate that they were the original or real Celts. They may have seen the Cimbri as Celts in the sense that their society and culture were in many ways quite similar to those of the Celts, particularly in having a prominent warrior class. The Germanics across the Rhine, including the Cimbri, were "genuine" and "original" in the sense that their societies had felt as yet little of that influence of the Greco-Roman world that had altered Celtic societies so greatly. Strabo does mention physical differences between Germanics and Celts, the latter being taller and having yellower hair.

HISTORY

Starting in about 120 B.C.E. the Cimbri and Teutones migrated from Jutland. It has been theorized that a cataclysmic Atlantic high tide destroyed their coastal villages, leading to their departure. Most are thought to have headed southward. They moved first through Moravia and Hungary to the middle Danube, where they attacked the Celtic SCORDISCI. One group of Cimbri may have migrated from Jutland along the coast of the Baltic Sea into present-day Poland.

In 113 B.C.E. the Cimbri and Teutones invaded the territory of the Celtic TAURISCI, allies of the Romans, south of present-day Vienna, Austria, in the province of Noricum, and defeated a Roman army sent to defend the Taurisci. The migrants proceeded westward, gaining allies from among both Germanic and Celtic peoples. Although their defeat of the Roman army left Italy defenseless before them, causing fear and panic in Rome, for unknown reasons they continued westward and looped through Gaul. An alliance of Celtic BELGAE in northern Gaul repelled them, but they generally were unimpeded as they moved southward again, through the province of Gallia Transalpina, destroying town after town and again inflicting disastrous defeats on Roman armies sent against them in 109, 107, and 105 B.C.E. The continuing migration took some of them across the Pyrenees onto the Iberian Peninsula.

By 102 B.C.E. those tribal members who had been in Spain returned to join tribal members in a two-pronged invasion of Italy—the first such Germanic invasion—most of the Teutones along the coastal route, and the Cimbri reaching the Po River valley in northern Italy by way of the Alps. Because of the new Germanic threat the Roman consul Gaius Marius reformed the Roman army, taking soldiers from among the landless citizens, including the growing urban proletariat. He defeated the Teutones at present-day Aix-en-Provence in southeastern France in 102 B.C.E., and the Cimbri near Vercellae (modern Vercelli) in present-day northwestern Italy in 101 B.C.E. It is said that when the outcome of the battle was clear, Cimbri women killed their children and themselves. Marius was viewed as the savior of Rome.

So deep was Roman fear of the northern barbarians, of whom the Cimbri were but the latest representatives whom they had faced, that Roman society embarked on a process of greater militarization than ever before, and when in the next century Julius Caesar was determined to conquer Gaul, he had only to play on this fear in the Senate to have his way. The Cimbri and their allies therefore contributed greatly to the impetus that led to the creation of the Roman Empire.

According to the writings of Julius Caesar the ADUATUCI of Belgium claimed to be descendants of the Cimbri and the Teutones, although they are generally classified among Celtic-speaking peoples.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

The hypothesized cultural characteristics of Germanic tribes are based largely on works of

Cimbri time line

B.C.E.

c. 120 Cimbri migrate from Jutland Peninsula with Teutones.

113–105 Cimbri and Teutones defeat Roman armies in southern Austria.

101 Romans under Gaius Marius defeat the Cimbri in northern Italy.

Roman writers. Archaeology can be invaluable in revealing a people's culture through the material remains they leave behind, but tribes such as the Cimbri, constantly on the move by the time they attracted the attention of ancient writers, left little of themselves in any one place. Even though they were said to have originated in northern Jutland, there is no way to know how long they had been there or whether their original homeland lay elsewhere. Thus it is not certain that archaeological finds in Jutland are indeed from the Cimbri.

Roman writers described the Cimbri as hordes of warlike men carrying swords and spears and with animal totems on their helmets, accompanied by blonde women and children whose hair was like that of old men—that is, white blond, as the hair of Danish children is today. They were typically described as ferocious.

In 5 C.E., when Tiberius sailed with a fleet to Jutland, his men came upon the ruins of large fortifications. They assumed these must have been built by the Cimbri, reputed to have been from this country. Ruins the Romans found later in the former La Tène region of the Rhineland were ascribed to the departed Cimbri but were actually those of Celtic hill forts.

Military Practices

The Cimbri were known for using trained dogs in battles. Their swords were poor and easily bent so that the Cimbri warriors often had to stamp them back into shape. Cimbri women reportedly took part in war by attacking their men to prevent them from retreating and, when this failed, killing their own children and themselves to prevent being captured.

Religion

Use of Omens A puzzle about the Cimbri and Teutones is why, after they had repeatedly demolished Roman armies, they did not fall upon a defenseless Rome but instead moved off. It is possible that they did so because of omens from their gods warning them away. Seeresses would gaze into the steaming blood of a sacrificed youth perhaps in silver cauldrons such as the one found in Gundestrup in Denmark seeking omens. Dice throwing and observing the flight of birds or listening to their cries were other means of receiving divine messages.

Bull Cult According to Roman accounts, the Cimbri had an important bull cult. This may have dated to the Bronze Age, when helmets with bull horns were made. Although the Gundestrup Cauldron was probably made in the territory of the Celtic SCORDISCI (near Belgrade in present-day Serbia) by a Thracian silversmith using Celtic motifs, it may have been taken to Jutland by a Cimbric warrior with the prominent figure of a bull with which it was adorned.

The history of the Cimbri and Teutones with regard to the Romans represents a foreshadowing of events over the next centuries: Germanic tribes battled the Romans throughout Europe, and Roman generals gained power through key victories. The powerful unleashing of societal and cultural forces during and after the Roman period threw together cultural groups throughout Eurasia, groups that had for centuries and millennia remained mostly isolated and unchanging in their territories. The new interaction is revealed in the history of a single artifact: the Gundestrup Cauldron, named for the Danish town in former Cimbric territory near which it was found. Considered a key piece of evidence for Celtic religious belief, it was probably made in the first half of the second century B.C.E. by a Thracian (*see* THRACIANS), judging by its style. Some of its images are Celtic (*see* CELTS); others are Greek (*see* GREEKS), Scythian (*see* SCYTHIANS), Iranian, and Indian; others can be traced as far away as Siberia and China. And it is thought likely that this enormous silver cauldron was carried, after a raiding foray somewhere in the south, back to his homeland by a Cimbric warrior, to be hurled into a bog as tribute to the gods for his victories.

Cimmerians (Cymmerians)

CIMMERIANS

location:
Ukraine; southwestern Russia

time period:
Ninth to sixth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Probably Thracian or Iranian

language:
Cimmerian (probably Thraco-Illyrian or Iranian)

The Cimmerians possess one of the earliest identifiable names of any people in eastern Europe. Although little is known about them, it is known that they lived for a time north of the Black Sea before migrating to Asia Minor. Their name is thought to be derived from Gimirru, the Assyrian name for them, which means "people traveling back and forth."

ORIGINS

The Cimmerians are mentioned in Homeric texts, probably written in the ninth century B.C.E. Yet not until the eighth century did they become an identifiable people. It is not known where they originated, but their homeland in Europe was in present-day southern Ukraine extending into southwestern Russia. They may have been related to the THRACIANS.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Cimmerians is not known. It is assumed they were Thracian, speaking a Thraco-Illyrian language, or Indo-Iranian, possibly speaking an Iranian dialect related to other steppe peoples of their period.

HISTORY

Probably about 720 B.C.E. the Cimmerians were driven out of Europe across the Caucasus Mountains into Asia. It is generally believed that they led an attack on the kingdom of Urartu (or Van) ruled by King Rusa in present-day Armenia in about 714 B.C.E. After being defeated by the Assyrians under Sargon II, they headed westward into Asia Minor, where in 696–695 B.C.E. they conquered the Phrygians led by King Midas, who reportedly committed suicide after defeat. In 652 B.C.E. the Cimmerians also conquered the Lydians of the city of Sardis in Lydia. During the next decade the Cimmerians raided towns of the AEOLIANS and IONIANS, Greeks who had settled in western Asia Minor.

After 640 B.C.E. the Cimmerians under Lygdamis led two campaigns against the Assyrians but were defeated. The Lydians, led by Alyattes, defeated them in about 610 B.C.E., and the Cimmerians disappeared from the historical record. Survivors possibly settled in Cappadocia in present-day north-central Turkey, as suggested by the Armenian name for the region, Gamir.

In the meantime some Cimmerians possibly migrated westward to the Hungarian Plain and survived there until the end of the sixth century.

CULTURE

Although no definitive connection has been made, the Cimmerians are associated with a number of archaeological sites and early steppe cultures. It is assumed they originally lived a nomadic life similar to that of other steppe peoples. In addition to horses they probably traveled with domesticated cows, sheep, and goats. They probably fought as mounted archers as other steppe peoples of western Asia and eastern Europe did. When settled in their European homeland north of the Black Sea, they adopted a partly sedentary agricultural existence, supplementing their economy through trading and raiding.

Cimmerians time line

B.C.E.

eighth century Scythians arrive in Cimmerian territory between Black Sea and Caspian Sea.

c. 720 Cimmerians driven from Europe into Asia.

714 Cimmerians attack Kingdom of Urartu.

c. 650 Cimmerians at height of power in Asia Minor

The name *Crimea,* identifying both a peninsula extending into the Black Sea and an administrative subdivision of Ukraine, is derived from the name of the Cimmerians.

FURTHER READING

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Circassians (Zyukhoy)

The Circassians are a collection of tribes of CAUCASIANS, living in the northwestern Caucasus region in southwestern Russia (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). The two main groups of Circassians are the Adyghians (Kiakhs or Lower Circassians), who live mostly in the republics of Adygea and Karachay-Cherkessia in Russia, and the Kabardians (Upper Circassians), who live mostly in the republic of Kabardino-Balkaria to the east. The Adyghians, since the 1930s and the Soviet period, are further subdivided into Adyghians proper and Cherkess. Circassia is the historic name for the entire region. Many Circassians live in the plain immediately to the north of the mountains, others live in the piedmont, and the rest in the high mountains. Circassian communities also exist in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Iran.

ORIGINS

Caucasic-speaking peoples are considered indigenous to the Caucasus. The Circassians are thought to be descended from a group of Caucasian tribes along the Kuban River who called themselves Adygey and who have possibly maintained tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E.

LANGUAGE

The Circassians spoke dialects of the North-West (Abkhazo-Adygheian) branch of North Caucasic, related to dialects of the ABAZIANS, Abkhazians (of Asia), and UBYKS. Their two principal dialects are Kiakh and Kabardian.

CIRCASSIANS

location:
Northwestern Caucasus Mountains in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Caucasic

HISTORY

The Circassians had early contacts with the GREEKS, who did not hold territory in Circassia but who established colonies to the south and traded along the coast of the Black Sea as early as the sixth century B.C.E. The ROMANS also later secured territory to the south of the Ubyks. Invading peoples who controlled or wielded influence in Circassia in the Middle Ages were the KHAZARS and MONGOLS. After the breakup of the Mongol Empire in 1382 the TATARS and Turks (*see* TURKICS) became dominant in the region. In 1785 the North Caucasus was designated a Russian province.

During the Shāmil Rebellion of 1834 against Russian rule in Dagestan, led by Shāmil, said to be descended from the AVARS, most Circassians remained neutral. In 1864 during a period of contesting the region with the Turks in the last of the Russo-Turkish Wars the Russians defeated the Circassians, after which many were expelled or chose to relocate, mostly to Turkey. During the period when the Caucasus was under the dominion of the Soviet Union (USSR), the various ethnic groups were reorganized in the 1930s along with political boundaries. The Adyghians are the titular people of Adygea; the Cherkess share Karachay-Cherkessia with the Turkic KARACHAY; and the Kabardians share Kabardino-Balkaria with the Turkic BALKARS. There are also large Circassian groups in Turkey, Jordan, and Syria.

CULTURE (*see also* CAUCASIANS)

The Circassians traditionally have practiced herding of livestock, farming, and fruit growing. Hunting and fishing help provide sustenance.

The Circassians formerly practiced an animist religion. They were Christianized in the sixth century but adopted Islam in the 17th century when under the rule of the Ottoman Empire of the Turks.

Circassians time line

C.E.

sixth century	Christianity reaches Circassians.
17th century	Circassians convert to Islam.
1834	Most Circassians remain neutral in Shāmil Rebellion against Russians.
1864	Many Circassians emigrate to Turkey after defeat by Russians.
1930s	Reshuffling of Circassian identities by Soviet authorities

The name *Circassians* has been mistakenly used for all peoples of the North Caucasus.

FURTHER READING

Amjad Jaimouka. *The Circassians* (London: Routledge, 2001).

Cocosates (Cocossates)

The Cocosates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul between present-day Dax and Bordeaux in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Coenicenses

The Coenicenses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Lower Rhone in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Conderates

The Conderates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Condrieu in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Condrieu takes its name from the tribal name.

Condrusi

The Condrusi are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Meuse River in present-day eastern Belgium at least by the first century B.C.E. The EBURONES and PAEMANI, also thought to consist of both CELTS and GERMANICS, were their neighbors. All three tribes are sometimes grouped among the BELGAE according to Caesar, for instance, a subdivision of GAULS.

Consoranni (Consoranis)

The Consoranni are classified as a Celtic tribe. At least by the first century B.C.E. they lived in Gaul in the northern Pyrenees, around present-day St. Lizzier in southwestern France. They are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Convenae

The Convenae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the northern Pyrenees around present-day St-Bertrand-de-Comminges in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the BIGERRIONES. Lugdunum Convenarum on the site of St-Bertrand-de-Comminges became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul.

Corieltauvi *See* CORITANI.

Coriondi (Coriundi; Koriondi)

The Coriondi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day counties of Kildare and Tipperary and perhaps part of the county of Carlow in southeastern Ireland, having possibly migrated there from Britain later than did other Celtic peoples at least by the early centuries C.E. They are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. The CORIONOTOTAE of present-day northeastern England were probably ancestrally related to them.

Corionototae

The Corionototae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the Tyne valley of present-day northern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. They were possibly a subgroup of the BRIGANTES and related ancestrally to the CORIONDI of southern Ireland.

Coriosolites (Curisolites; Curiosolitae; Coriosolli)

The Coriosolites are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Corseul in western France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy). This areas was occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Fanum Martis on the site of Coseul became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Corseul takes its name from the tribal name.

Coritani (Corieltauvi)

The Coritani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. They appear to have been a confederation of smaller tribes. They lived in present-day Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Northamptonshire. The Coritani issued coins before the arrival of the ROMANS in the first century C.E. Ratae Coritanorum on the site of present-day Leicester became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation.

Cornish (Cornishmen; people of Cornwall)

The Cornish are the people of Cornwall, part of a peninsula about 75 miles long in extreme southwestern England. They are mostly descended from CELTS and are grouped among BRITONS. The peninsula ends at the cape of Land's End, the farthest southwestern point in Britain. The Scilly Islands, an archipelago of the Cornish peninsula, have been culturally part of Cornwall from early times.

ORIGINS

Cornwall was called by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus Belerion, meaning "shining land." The final syllable of the name Cornwall is from the Old English *walh,* derived from the Anglo-Saxon *wealas,* "foreigner," applied also to people of Wales. The first syllable seems to point to a connection of Cornwall with the CORNOVII of Wales, also defined as WELSH. Members of the Cornovii are known to have joined the Roman army as auxiliaries and a Cornovian cohort was stationed for a time on Hadrian's Wall. It is possible that some were also stationed in Cornwall and remained there after the ROMANS departed. On the other hand the word *cornu,* meaning "horn" in Brythonic, could refer to the horn shape of the Cornwall peninsula and thus could have been the derivation of the tribal name of people there, suggesting that a branch of the Cornovii tribe lived in the region. The Cornovii in Wales could have been originally from Cornwall, possibly during the Iron Age, when there was movement of tribes through Celtic Europe and Britain. Cornwall was referred to in written sources as Cornubia by the eighth century C.E.

In common with other Britons people in Cornwall were strongly influenced by the pan-European Celtic culture, influences that date to the Bronze Age. The presence in Cornwall of tin, a rare metal in Europe, which was essential for the making of bronze, guaranteed that people

CORNISH

location:
Cornwall in western Britain

time period:
Fifth century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Primarily Celtic

language:
Cornish (from the Brythonic branch of Insular Celtic) and English

Cornish time line

C.E.

40s	Romans invade Cornwall.
55–60	Romans build fort at Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter), *civitas* capital of Dumnonii.
sixth to eighth centuries	Anglo-Saxon incursions into Cornwall
710	Exeter captured by Anglo-Saxons.
722	Roderic, king of Britons in Wales and Cornwall, repels Adelred, king of Wessex.
838	Egbert of Wessex defeats combined Dumnonian/Viking armies at Hingston Down.
late ninth century	Exeter retaken by Cornish.
927	Athelstan of Wessex expels the Cornish forces from Exeter.
1068	Sons of defeated Anglo-Saxon king Harold II raid southwest coast of Norman-held England; after their defeat William creates earldom for Cornwall.
1201	King John of England grants Cornish charter for regulatory body, the stannary parliament.
14th century	Cornwall given status as duchy, with eldest son of reigning king of England as duke.
1497	Cornish rebel over Henry VII's imposition of new taxes; army of 15,000 marches to London but is defeated.
1646	Surrender of Pendennis Castle by its commander, John Arundell, to Sir Thomas Fairfax's parliamentary forces, ending English Civil War.
1812	Rebellion of American prisoners of war from War of 1812 who are housed in prison on Dartmoor

there were part of the prehistoric Bronze Age trade network probably pioneered by people of the Bell Beaker culture. The traders exchanged bronze tools and gold ornaments with the Cornish for minerals.

The remains of Cornish Bronze Age villages can still be seen on Bodmin Moor and the West Penwith Uplands. Excavations have shown that people at this time were well organized, living in villages and practicing farming and metalworking.

The situation of Cornwall, a narrow peninsula jutting far to the west of most of Britain, has tended to isolate it from many trends in Britain. Cornish tin was shipped probably directly to Brittany from Cornwall, with the result that the Cornish had closer ties with people there than with other inhabitants of Britain. Cornish tin mines were known to the GREEKS and the CARTHAGINIANS.

In the Iron Age Cornwall was part of the territory of the DUMNONII, who also inhabited present-day Devon.

LANGUAGE

The now-extinct native language of the Cornish is from the Brythonic branch of Celtic; both Welsh and Cornish evolved from a western dialect of Brythonic spoken in the rest of Britain. The last speaker of Cornish, according to her tombstone, was a woman named Dorothy Pentreath, who died in 1777 in the town of Mousehole, just eight miles from Land's End. Cornish is related to Breton, spoken by the BRETONS of Brittany, among whose ancestors were people from Cornwall who emigrated during the fifth and sixth centuries after the Romans left Britain. Efforts are currently under way to revive the Cornish language, with some modest success so far.

HISTORY

Possible Early Visitors

The Roman writer Rufus Festus Avianus gives an account of a place named Oestrymnon with bays and isles and tin and lead and a trading people who built boats of skins and leather. It is thought to be Cornwall and the account may have been based on information from a voyage of CARTHAGINIANS led by Himilco in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. The Greek navigator Pytheas described visiting a region in Britain that is assumed to be Cornwall in the fourth century.

Roman Occupation

In 55–60 C.E. the Romans built a fort at Isca Dumnoniorum (modern Exeter), the *civitas* capital of the Dumnonii, on the river Exe in Devonshire. The wild moors of Dartmoor, Exmoor, and Bodmin Moor prevented the Romans from trying to incorporate much of Cornish territory into their villa system. As always Cornish tin most interested them. Very few Roman remains are known west of Exeter. Two substantial Roman buildings and a salt works are located near Bawdrip far inland, and an account in *Geographia* by the first–second-century Alexandrian writer Ptolemy mentions a town of the Dumnonii called Tamaris on the river Tamara, presumably the Tamar, which flows through both Cornwall and Devon and at whose mouth is the present-day city of Plymouth. Ptolemy's knowledge of Tamaris implies that the Romans made some use of the town, probably as a port. Located on the southwestern edge of Bodmin Moor in Cornwall, the Roman fort at Nanstallon overlooks the river Camel from the south. The fort is both the most southerly and farthest western of all Roman mil-

itary works in Britain, and there are two tin mines near Nanstallon, the only Roman tin mines known in Britain.

Around 75 C.E. work on Isca Dumnoniorum's forum and basilica had begun on the site of the former fortress, and by the late second century the town walls were built, 10 feet thick and 20 feet high, enclosing the same area as had the earlier fortress. Isca Dumnoniorum was in decline by the late fourth century. Soon afterward in 410 the Romans officially ended their occupation of Britain.

Anglo-Saxon Inroads

From the sixth to the eighth century the ANGLO-SAXONS pressed westward, attempting to annex territory from the Dumnonii. Dumnonian resistance kept them at bay, and the tribal capital of Exeter, the former Isca Dumnoniorum, held out until 710.

In subsequent encounters with the Dumnonii the Anglo-Saxons were mainly victorious, except in 722, when Roderic, king of the Britons in Wales and Cornwall, repelled Adelred, king of Wessex.

The Wessex Anglo-Saxons finally annexed Cornwall in the ninth century in the course of confronting the VIKINGS, who had begun raiding in their territory in North Devon and Somerset in 836. The Wessex king Ecgberht fought them at the Battle of Carhampton but was forced to withdraw. Two years later the threat to Wessex became even more serious when the Dumnonii joined forces with the Vikings. Ecgbehrt defeated the combined armies at Hingston Down in 838. According to early annals the last independent king of Dumnonia died by drowning in 875.

Cornish resistance continued for decades, however, and Exeter was retaken. In 927 Athelstan of Wessex expelled the Cornish forces from Exeter and in 936 fixed the east bank of the Tamar River as the boundary between Anglo-Saxon Wessex and Celtic Cornwall.

Advent of the Normans

Devon and Cornwall served as a staging area for Anglo-Saxon resistance against the initial successful campaign of the NORMANS under William the Conqueror in 1066. In 1068 the sons of the defeated Anglo-Saxon king Harold II raided the southwest coast of Britain. After they were defeated by William's local commanders, William created an earldom for Cornwall, whose ruler, Robert of Mortain, swore fealty and undertook to guard the threatened frontiers and maintain internal security in return for land.

Later Centuries

In 1201 King John of England granted to the Cornish a charter for a regulatory body called the stannaries (*see also* Government and Society). In the 14th century Cornwall was given the status of a duchy, over which, by convention, the eldest son of the reigning king of England ruled as duke.

Michael Joseph An Gof was joint leader with Thomas Flamank of the Cornish rebellion of 1497, caused by the imposition of taxes by Henry VII to pay for a war against the SCOTS. The additional taxes were imposed at a time when the foundation of the Cornish economy, tin production, was in decline. Another grievance was that the council of the duke of Cornwall had sought to impose new regulations on the tin trade, angering the Cornishmen, who resented this interference in the workings of the stannaries. They ignored these regulations and as a result the king confiscated the stannary charters and suspended the stannary government, thus inflaming the population even further against the English. A popular army that at its largest numbered 15,000 began a march to London, hoping to gain recruits from other regions along the way. When this did not transpire, morale among the Cornish began to fall, causing desertions. Arriving at London, the depleted body of about 8,000 men, haphazardly armed and untrained, met a large English army of more than 25,000. In the ensuing fight 200 Cornish were killed and their leaders captured. On Tuesday, June 27, Michael Joseph An Gof and Thomas Flamank were taken from the Tower of London, where they had been tortured, to Tyburn, where they were hanged, drawn, and quartered.

During the English Civil War in the 17th century Cornwall was a stronghold of royalist forces. It was the surrender of Pendennis Castle by its commander to the parliamentary forces that brought the civil war to an end in 1646.

During the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain a prison near Princetown on Dartmoor was used to house American prisoners of war. The harsh conditions led the prisoners to stage an uprising, called the Dartmoor Rebellion, during which many Americans were killed or wounded.

CULTURE (*see also* BRITONS; CELTS)

Economy

Farming The proximity of Cornwall to the warm Gulf Stream gives its southwest coastal

region a subtropical climate. The river valleys are highly productive; the uplands support sheep and cattle pastures. The moors of Cornwall and Devon are inhospitable and unsuited to agriculture.

Carn Brea Iron Age Hill Fort The large hill fort Carn Brea, perhaps dating to the early first century C.E., provides an example of early economic activity in Cornwall. Occupying a prominent granite ridge, its formidable ramparts were faced with large stone slabs. Several hut circles have been traced in the fort's interior. Excavation of storage pits has revealed tin and copper ore caches, and one even contained a hoard of gold coins of the CANTIACI tribe in Kent. Evidently the community was focused on trade in the natural metal resources in the area, which may have been exploited for millennia. On the other hand the site of the hill fort was first occupied in the late Neolithic Age before mining began, around 3190–2687 B.C.E. (a time frame based on radiocarbon dating).

Expansion of the Tin Trade under the Romans The Roman villa at Magor Farm, Illogan, near Redruth is the only one known in Cornwall and is the only substantial Romano-British building in the entire peninsula west of Isca Dumnoniorum, the *civitas* capital of the Dumnonii tribe, almost 90 Roman miles by road from Illogan. Its location near tin mines makes it likely to have been an administrative center for the substantial trade in tin from Cornwall during the later Romano-British period. The Romans in search of greater quantities of tin opened mines in the hills to the east of Trevelgue Head near Newquay.

Government and Society

Until the Middle Ages the Cornish had a tribal society similar to that of other Britons.

Starting in 1201 24 members or "stannators" were elected to a stannary parliament, which was led by a speaker chosen from among the stannators and by an officer appointed by the duke of Cornwall or the Crown, who was lord warden of the stannaries. The stannary parliaments had no regular term but were assembled from time to time at the determination of the lord warden as needed, in order to revise old laws or to enact new ones.

The stannary courts held jurisdiction over tin mining and production (the name *stannary* derives from the Latin *stanum,* tin). They operated according to a body of customary law that must have had very ancient roots, in that tin mining in Cornwall dates from the Bronze Age. In medieval Cornwall Cornish tin miners and smelters were exempt from the authority of any other court than the stannaries, except in cases involving land or homicide. Stannary laws concerned such matters as the percentage of their yield that tin workers had to pay the owner of the land they worked, called toll-tin, and matters of land ownership and usage.

The last Cornish stannary parliament was held at Truro in 1752. In the mid-19th century the various local stannary courts were consolidated.

Dwellings and Architecture

Cornwall is known today for its many well-preserved Neolithic and later stone constructions, particularly on the high granitic plateau of Dartmoor, where lack of farmland or other resources has deterred subsequent settlement and destruction of prehistoric sites. The Grey Wethers, a stone circle reputed to have been used by Druids and partly reconstructed during the 19th-century revival of interest in prehistory, is among the most famous.

Roman Era A form of dwelling unique to Cornwall was first built on Land's End during the Roman era. Called the courtyard house, it consisted of several small stone roundhouses arranged around a courtyard. They were constructed singly and also in villages. The best-known courtyard villages are at Chysauster and Carn Euny; that in Carn Euny represents the final phase of occupation of the site. One courtyard house is known in the Scilly Islands. Such houses ceased to be built after the first part of the first millennium C.E.

Settlement Patterns To a degree not found elsewhere in Britain the settlement patterns and location of farmsteads in Cornwall in the medieval period and beyond changed very little from what they were in the Iron Age. Archaeological surveys of the number and distribution of "rounds" (enclosed prehistoric farmsteads with a single ditch and bank) find a significant percentage of them adjacent to medieval settlements, suggesting that the medieval houses were built on top of prehistoric ones. Hamlets and churches were built within Iron Age earth enclosures that in some cases can still be seen; fogous, stone-lined underground chambers, have been found near farms still active today. More rarely sites exist that have been continuously occupied since the Bronze Age. In general the basic farmland/heathland zones appear to date back into the second millennium B.C.E. The most significant change over

time has been the increase in enclosure of heathland, while use of arable farmland has remained unchanged, suggesting that already by the Iron Age at least people in Cornwall had arrived at an optimal use of their land and an environmental equilibrium sustainable for centuries.

Of more than 5,000 medieval settlements identified in Cornwall, archaeologists estimate that about 2,500 were built on top of Iron Age settlements. When the approximately 1,000 prehistoric settlements that were abandoned are taken into account, the number of settlements in Late Iron Age Cornwall approaches that of medieval times. Many of the prehistoric rounds had at least three roundhouses. If it is estimated that most of the 3,500 rounds were home to about 30 people, the Iron Age population of Cornwall was more than 100,000, close to the number of Cornish in 1801 C.E. (before the population increases of the Industrial Revolution had begun). Thus the environmental "steady state" mentioned was matched and made possible by population stability.

Other Technologies

Pottery A particular type of large ceramic funerary urn, known as Trevisker Ware, had its origins in Cornwall but was traded all over southern England and northern France in the Bronze Age.

Cornish Tin Mining Cornish tin was mostly obtained by "streaming," that is, collecting nuggets of almost chemically pure tin from the sandy beds of streams. To prepare the tin the Cornish became highly skilled at smelting.

Tin Mining in the 18th Century The mines of Cornwall, along with those elsewhere in Britain, attracted a number of 18th-century inventors, including the Scot James Watt, who hoped to use his improved steam engine to aid in mining operations. A Cornishman named John Edyvean invented the inclined plane system, to reduce the necessity for locks along canals used to transport ore. The world's first steam-powered rock-boring machine was built by a Cornish firm in 1812. Mining operations expanded in Cornwall after the Cornishman Richard Trevithick's invention of a high-pressure steam-powered engine in 1796. Trevithick, one of the pioneers of steam locomotion and considered by many to be its real inventor, constructed the first passenger-carrying steam engine, known locally as the "puffing devil," at Penydaren in 1801. In 1829 the Cornishman Goldsworthy Gurney made the first long-distance journey in a steam-powered vehicle from Bath to London at an average speed of 15 miles per hour.

Literature

At least by the 15th century monks began to write literature in the Cornish language, mostly on religious and biblical themes. Cornish literature was influenced by Breton and by English literature. The earliest known work is *The Passion of Our Lord,* or *Mount Calgary,* which treats its subject in a poeticized manner. The *Ordinalia,* a trilogy of mystery plays, is perhaps the masterpiece of the literature. The plays may have been performed annually as part of the festival of Corpus Christi, which inspired mystery cycles elsewhere in Britain. Many references in the plays to the locality of the Collegiate Church of Glasney in Penryn suggest they were written there. For centuries Glasney was one of the most important religious centers in the southwest of Britain, with an influence that stretched to Exeter, the royal court, and Canterbury, the ecclesiastical center of England.

Religion

Burial Practices During the Neolithic and Bronze Ages people in Cornwall made monumental stone mortuary buildings of the type found along the Atlantic seaboard of Europe from Scotland, Ireland, and Brittany to Spain. Local Cornish variants include entrance graves and mound-covered stone passageways, in Cornwall and the Scilly Isles; portal dolmens, large vertical stones holding up a horizontal stone dolmen, in Cornwall and West Wales; and Cotswold-Severn cairns on each side of the Bristol Channel.

Merry Maidens, the name of a Bronze Age stone circle near Penzance, is suggestive of the process of Christianization in Cornwall. The legend concerning the circle is that the stones were originally maidens who, because they danced on Sunday, were turned to stone. Two large standing stones (one fallen) to the northeast of the Merry Maidens are called the Pipers, who had provided music for the illicit dancing.

Conversion to Christianity An important missionary to the Cornish was St. Petroc in the sixth century. Petroc went first from Ireland to Padstow and then to Bodmin, founding monasteries at both places. The church of St. Petroc in Bodmin, built in the 15th century, contains an elaborately carved Norman font and the 12th-century ivory casket said to have held the bones of Petroc. Bodmin was once noted for its holy wells; one of these can still be found in the

churchyard of St. Petroc's Church bearing the date 1700. The well water is thought to be a cure for eye troubles.

In the seventh century the Synod of Whitby reestablished England as an ecclesiastical province of Rome, with its formal structure of dioceses and parishes. Yet the Celtic Church in Cornwall was not party to the decision and the Cornish Church retained the monastery as its model.

While the Protestant Reformation was winning many converts in the rest of Britain, the Cornish remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1549 thousands of Cornishmen marched to defend the Roman Catholic service. Protestantism entered Cornwall in the 18th century in the form of the Wesleyan movement, and Cornwall has remained a predominantly Methodist area since.

The Cornish were one of the Celtic peoples of the British Isles who, because of their relative isolation on the Cornish peninsula far to the southwest of most of Britain, maintained their Celtic language and identity for centuries after the rest of Europe was dominated by Germanic peoples. The Cornish, who for most of the Celtic period were on the far periphery of the Celtic world, helped to preserve the Celtic culture, so much of which has been lost. At the same time the importance of mining in Cornwall led to the invention and development there of devices important to the progress of the Industrial Revolution, including the inclined plane and steam-powered transportation.

FURTHER READING

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Cornovii

The Cornovii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day western England and northeastern Wales at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH. They possibly have an ancestral connection to the CORNISH. Viroconium on the site of present-day Wroxeter became a *civitas* capital during the occupation by the ROMANS. Another probably nonrelated group of the same name, who can be classified as CALEDONIANS, SCOTS, or PICTS, lived in present-day northern Scotland.

Cossacks (Kazaks)

COSSACKS

location:
Russia; Ukraine

time period:
14th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic; Turkic

language:
Russian; Polish; Ukrainian; Turkic

The Cossacks are a peasant people of mixed descent, especially from among the SLAVS and TURKICS, who have inhabited over the course of their history parts of eastern Europe, especially present-day Russia (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). They mainly inhabited steppe country extending from the region north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea eastward to the Altai Mountains in Siberia in Asia. The term Cossack is derived from the Turkish word *kazak,* for "free person" or "adventurer."

ORIGINS

The formation of Cossacks is traced to the 14th and 15th centuries C.E. Originally the term referred to semi-independent groups, many of them made up of TATARS, which formed in the Dnieper River region of eastern Europe. The term was applied by the end of the 15th century to runaway serfs—many of them Slavs, including Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles—who settled in self-governing military communities along the Dnieper and Don Rivers.

LANGUAGE

The Cossacks spoke a variety of Slavic languages, depending on their origins and homelands, including Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian.

HISTORY

In the 15th century the first Cossack military units were organized in Ukraine, then part of the unified Polish-Lithuanian state, in an attempt to fend off attacks by Tatars. The Cossacks formed independent, self-governing military communes along the river valleys of the steppe, in Russia as well. By the 16th century six principal Cossack settlements had been established: the Dnieper on the Dnieper River, Don on the Don River, Greben in Caucasia, Volga on the Volga River, Yaik on the Ural River, and Zaporozhian west of the Dnieper. That century the Russian czarist government—mostly SLAVS in power—began to extend its control to frontier regions and forced military service on Cossack males, age 18 to 50. Cossacks were organized for the most part as cavalry units, and some among them rose to leadership roles.

Cossacks helped in the wars against the Tatars in the Crimea and in the Caucasus in the 16th century. All capitals of the Russian republics eventually established by the Russians in the northern Caucasus were founded as Cossack fortifications. Many Cossacks stayed in the region. In 1581–82 a Cossack by the name of Yermak Timofeyevich led a force eastward across the Ural Mountains and conquered the Tatars at Sibir (from which the name Siberia is derived). His activity marked the beginning of Russian expansion eastward into Asia, much of which was carried out by Cossack units. Cossacks also played a part in opening up Russian Asia as fur traders and pioneers.

Because of growing threats to their remaining autonomy the Cossacks revolted more than once. In about 1649 Zaporozhian Cossacks under Bohdan Khmelnytsky rebelled against Polish rule. In 1670–71 under Stenka Razi, and again in 1773–74 under Yemelyan Ivanovich Pugachov, the Cossacks, supported by non-Cossack peasant groups, revolted against Russian czarist rule, with most of the rebel activity in the lower Volga valley. Both times they were defeated and both times their leaders were executed. Yet the Cossacks, valued for their military prowess, became a privileged military class. In the 19th century and early 20th century they were used by the czarist government to quell a number of uprisings.

By the early 20th century there were 11 principal Cossack communities: Amur, Astrakhan, Don, Kuban, Orenburg, Siberia, Semirechensk, Terek, Transbaikalia, Ural, and Ussuri. In the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 the Cossacks refused to aid the government. In the subsequent Civil War of 1918–20 they opposed the Red Army.

Under the Soviet system the Cossacks lost their special status in the military. They also lost much of their wealth and were forced to relocate and farm collectively. In World War II (1941–45) Cossack cavalry divisions were formed to fight the invading Germans.

In recent times the Cossacks have experienced newfound unity and influence as well as a cultural revival, especially the Don and Kuban Cossacks, as the communities along those rivers are known. In 1990 a number of Cossack associations were founded, in the Russian south as well as in northern cities. In 1992, the year after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a Russian governmental decree granted the Cossacks the status of an ethnic group.

Cossacks time line

C.E.	
1581–82	Yermak defeats Tatars on behalf of Russian czarist government.
c. 1649	Cossack revolt under Bohdan Khmelnytsky against Polish rule
1670–71	Cossack revolt under Stenka Razin against Russian rule
1773–74	Cossack revolt under Yemelyan Ivanovich Pugachov against Russian rule
1992	Russian government gives Cossacks status as ethnic group.

CULTURE

Economy

Many of the Cossack communities supported themselves through wheat growing and stock raising.

Government and Society

Cossack villagers, as did other Russian peasant communities of the period, owned land in common. They were governed by assemblies, presided over by elected elders known as *atamans*. One elder, the *hetman,* oversaw several communities, especially in times of war. An 1869 law allowed officers and civil servants to own land as personal property, altering traditional cohesiveness.

Military Practices

Cossacks were organized into military units, particularly cavalry. They earned a reputation for bravery and skilled horsemanship. The short double-edged sword typically carried by



Cossack soldiers sit astride their horses in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-no reproduction #])*

Cossacks, called a *quama,* according to their tradition evolved from the short sword of Roman legionnaires.

Although a European people by origin, the Cossacks contributed to Russian history mainly as soldiers/explorers, fur traders, and pioneers in Siberia.

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Costobocii (Costoboci)

The Costoboci were probably a tribe of Thracians, a subgroup of the Dacians, some scholars classify them as Sarmatians. They lived east of the Carpathian Mountains in present-day Romania to the north of the Roman province of Dacia; hence their designation, along with the Carpi, as free Dacians. Neighbors included the Sarmatian Roxolani and Germanic Bastarnae. In 167 c.e. the Costobocii attacked Roman forces in Dacia, then south of the Danube in Macedonia and Greece. Scholars think that they were later absorbed by other groups.

Courons *See* Curonians.

Creones

The Creones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day western Scotland at least by the first century b.c.e. and are discussed as Celts, Caledonians, or Scots. It is possible that they were Picts and not Celtic speaking, however.

Crivichi *See* Krivichians.

Croats (Croatians; Hrvati)

The ancient Croats were a tribe or tribes of Southern Slavs who began settling on the Balkan Peninsula by the seventh century c.e.

ORIGINS

There is not as yet a consensus concerning the location of the original homeland of the Croats. A mid-10th-century account by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII), one of whose informants lived in the region of Dalmatia (Adriatic coastal parts of modern Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia), writes that Croats and Serbs settled there in the reign of Heraclius in the first half of the seventh century; Heraclius invited them there, provided they convert to Christianity, as allies against the Avars. There are several problems with Constantine's account, however. A settlement of Croats and Serbs at this time would antedate any known Slavic archaeological remains in the Balkans (some sites and material, including that of the "Old Croat Culture" in Hungary, which initially were given early dates, have been reexamined and found to be not earlier than the mid-seventh century). Given the scarcity of any signs at all of the Slavs in the Balkans in this century, however, the early settlement by Croats and Serbs is not at all impossible.

Some of the material in this text has features that make it appear more like a legend than a straightforward account, with elements characteristic of Slavic folktales, such as the tale of the five Croat brothers, and there are duplications suggesting it may have been simply a compilation of earlier material—different versions of the same story, as in many medieval annals and histories, which often are collections of oral traditions—with no attempt at verification. Second versions of the story are given both for the Croats and for the Serbs, and they are similar. Both emphasize that the Croats and Serbs settled in the Balkans at the behest of the emperor; this material may be from a Byzantine source, who emphasized that the emperor had given the Croats and Serbs the land so as to establish promoting imperial claims of suzerainty over them, a political motivation that casts some doubt on the veracity of the account. Each story also locates the homelands of the Croats and Serbs in, respectively, "White Croatia" and "White Serbia," both located near Bavaria on the border of the kingdom of the Franks, giving rise to the name White Croats (also recorded as Belocroati or Bielo-Chorvats).

Other documents also refer to this homeland of the Croats, but they date from the ninth and 10th centuries and also—puzzlingly—the early fifth century, and the sources who mention it are graphically distant. One is the 10th-century Arab geographer Ibn Rusteh, another

the fourth–fifth-century Iberian scholar Orosius, whose account of the matter is known only from a translation by Alfred the Great, and who was writing at a time 100 years before the Slavs are thought to have emerged as a distinct ethnic group; therefore it is highly improbable that he could have been referring to a Slavic people. It is also possible that Orosius was Ibn Rusteh's source, because Iberia was under Muslim rule. Thus it is difficult to know how much this account can be trusted. If Croats entered the Balkans from near Bavaria, their sojourn there must have been brief, because Slavic expansion westward from the Lower Danube region into southern Austria toward Bavaria had only begun in the sixth century. It is possible that Croats and Serbs were initially part of this movement up the Danube tributaries leading into the eastern Alpine region but then for unknown reasons broke away and headed southward into the Balkans. The movements of early Slavic groups are too little understood either to rule this out or to provide evidence for it.

The account may be referring to a tribal group called the CHORVATI, who apparently lived in the northeast of the region of Bohemia (and were sometimes associated with the "White Croats"); other evidence places the Chorvati in the region of the Kievan RUS. There is debate as to whether these Chorvati lived in the region between southern Poland and southwest Ukraine, or on the southeast borders of the Rus state. Possibly the Croats or Chorvati in these different areas had once been a united tribe that split. This phenomenon of tribes in different areas having the same name occurs with other Slavs—for example, the name Polane appears both in Poland and near Kiev. It may be that Slavs had common names or ways of naming tribes, analogous to the proliferation of certain modern family names such as Smith or Jones, most of them not actually related.

Some linguistic theories postulate that the name Croat is actually of Iranian Sarmatian origin and was later adopted by Slavs. However, this hypothesis has little convincing evidence to support it.

LANGUAGE

The Croatian dialect is part of the South Slavic branch of the Slavic language family, which includes Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian (with separate Serbian and Croatian dialects), Macedonian, Slovenian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. The last two were recently claimed by their national groups to be separate languages. All Slavic languages are similar enough that speakers of different languages can at least roughly understand one another. Thus the question of whether different Slavic tongues are fully separate languages or only dialects is often contentious and difficult to answer.

HISTORY

Migrations

At least by the seventh century, if not somewhat earlier, Croats were settling in the western Balkans, especially in Dalmatia, including the Dinaric Alps on the Adriatic side of the Balkans and in Pannonia (including parts of modern Hungary extending south and west into Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria) to the northeast. Dalmatia, where Slavs had begun raiding in about 550, had been the last surviving Western Roman province and was currently part of the Eastern Empire; by the time of the arrival of the Croats a significant number of the Romanized multiethnic population remained there. Over time as rapprochement between the Croats and the DALMATIANS (mostly ILLYRIANS) took place, the latter's culture had a strong effect on the Croats, perhaps greater than in any other Slavic territory. Slavs and Avars increasingly penetrated this area after the fall of Sirmium gave them access to the western Balkans, from the 570s to the 590s destroying towns and settlements all the way to the coast.

Influences

Croats, as did other Southern Slavs, continued to be much affected by the BYZANTINES, since the whole region remained in the Byzantine sphere of influence even during periods when territories there had been wrested from direct imperial control by various invaders—Avars and BULGARS. The Croat territory's westerly position exposed them to influences from Western powers—Italy and the Frankish kingdom—but the wealthy coastal towns of Dalmatia, which continued to have Byzantine cultural and political

CROATS

location:
Ukraine; Croatia; neighboring parts of Balkan Peninsula

time period:
Fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Croatian (South Slavic)

Croats time line

C.E.	
seventh century	Croats migrate to Balkan Peninsula.
eighth century	Croatian territory becomes organized into seven provinces.
c. 876–879	Several Croatian provinces unite to form a state.
c. 910–914	King Tomislav comes to power.
925	Pope John X recognizes Tomislav as first king of Croatia.
1102	Croatia is annexed by Hungary.

affinities, remained extremely influential on the Croats as well. Western influences included the Latin alphabet and the Roman Catholic Church.

Reorganization

In the eighth century Croatian territory was organized into seven provinces. It bordered on the province of Ostmark, part of the Frankish territory. Croats managed to stave off threats of annexation by Charlemagne, and in about 876–879 several Croatian provinces united to form a state, which comprised Croatian lands on the Adriatic coast and an inland province in Pannonia called Slovenia. The most important early ruler was Tomislav, who gained power sometime from 910 to 914. In 924 or 925 he was crowned by a papal legate, thus gaining church sanction for his reign. Civil unrest followed his death in 928, however, weakening central authority. The territory that included part of modern Bosnia broke away from Croatia. Croatia was annexed by Hungary in 1102.

Enduring Identity

Croatian territory continued to be part of Hungary and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the latter's collapse in 1918. At this time Croatia became part of the newly formed Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later named Yugoslavia for "south Slavs." Croatia declared its independence from the former Yugoslavia in 1991 and gained international recognition the next year.

Large movements of Croats from elsewhere in the Balkans into Croatia took place in the late 20th century, making its ethnic makeup more than 90 percent Croat (*see* CROATS: NATIONALITY). People who consider themselves Croats also live in a number of the modern states in the Balkans and neighboring regions in addition to Croatia. In order of Croatian population size, these are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Hungary, Austria, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Moravia in the Czech Republic.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

Art

A distinctive metalworking style that appeared in the 10th century was named Bialobrdo, after a site in Croatia. The style crystallized in part because of the settlement in the Carpathian basin (modern Hungary and neighboring Slovenia), of the MAGYARS, a steppe people, who combined their own styles with Croatian influences, as well as influences of the Avars and MORAVIANS. Characteristic Bialobrdo jewelry included pieces made of plaited wire, sheetwork pendants, snake-headed bracelets, and S-shaped temple rings (used to ornament headbands). The style spread throughout Hungary, Slovakia, and part of Transylvania. Some of the elements of this style are still used in folk costumes.

Religion

According to their folk belief the Croats, like other Southern Slavs, were sometimes visited by demons or spirits called *vila,* beautiful naked warrior maidens armed with bows and arrows. The *vila* danced on mountaintops as supposedly witches and the Valkyries did in Germanic lands. As late as the 13th century men left offerings for the *vila,* who lived in springs and caves and under trees and stones.

A divisive factor between the Croats and the Serbs to their east has been their religious affiliations: The Croats are Roman Catholic and the Serbs adhere to the Eastern Orthodox creed and liturgy.

The Croats, although they came under the rule of various powers, maintained their language and their sense of themselves as a distinct nationality to the present.

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Croats: nationality (Croatians; Hrvati; people of Croatia)

GEOGRAPHY

Croatia is bounded in the northeast by Hungary, and in the northwest by Slovenia. Bosnia and Herzegovina lie to the east and south, Serbia and Montenegro lie to the east. The Adriatic Sea defines the nation's western limits. Croatia's area is 21,829 square miles.

The fertile Pannonian and para-Pannonian plains of the north and northeast are lush agricultural regions. The Sava and Drava, two principal rivers, provide water for the plains and eventually drain into the Danube River in the east. Zagorje Hills, a valley north of Zagreb, separates the two rivers. The Dinaric Alps lie in the south and west of Croatia, where the country's highest peak, Mount Troglav (6,276 feet), is found. The Karst, a limestone plateau, is also

found in this region. Croatia's coastline includes the Istrian Peninsula, which stretches into the Adriatic Sea, and the Dalmatian coast, to the Gulf of Kotor. More than 1,000 islands and inlets are scattered along the coastline.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The first dukedom of Croatia was formed—consisting mostly of CROATS but other SLAVS as well—in 879 C.E., recognized as independent by Pope John VIII. Tomislav became the first king of Croatia in 925, having expanded its borders to include the duchies of Pannonia and Dalmatia and at times parts of Bosnia. By 1102 Croatia signed the "Pacta Conventa," establishing a personal union with the Hungarian monarchy. In 1527 Croatia accepted the Hapsburgs as their monarchs and continued to exist as part of the Hapsburg Empire in exchange for common defense and a basic retention of existing privileges.

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was formed in 1867, replacing the Hapsburg dynasty. Croatia proper and Slovenia remained under Hungarian jurisdiction while other regions such as Dalmatia were passed to Austrian administration.

At the end of World War I (1914–18) Austria-Hungary was dissolved. Croatia then joined the independent Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later united as Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia endured until its dismantling during World War II. Croatia took advantage of the German invasion of 1941 to declare its independence and expand its borders to include a large portion of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Germany continued to occupy Croatia throughout the war. Its independence was short lived; in 1945 after the war Croatia became one of the six republics of a reconstituted Communist Yugoslavia. The breakup of Soviet power and the general destabilization of the Eastern bloc allowed Croatia and Slovenia to secede and declare independence in 1991 and gain international recognition the next year.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The distinctive cultural identity of the Croats with respect to other Southern Slavs has historically derived from their greater ties with Western Europe. They are largely part of the Roman Catholic world, as opposed to that of the Eastern Orthodox Church, to which most Slavs belong, and the Croatian state strongly supports the church. As part of the former Yugoslavia Croats escaped the Russification that held sway through much of Communist Europe and have been able to retain a sense of their own nationality. The divide between Croats and other Slavs came to a tragic head with the Croatian and Bosnian civil wars, as ethnic Croats and ethnic SERBS in Croatia and Bosnia engaged in bloody reprisals called "ethnic cleansing" against one another.

The strong Croatian nationalism derives from the fact that through much of their history Croats have been ruled by foreigners, from the MAGYARS to the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) and the Austrian Hapsburg dynasty. Through much of this period although not independent, Croats have enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy, which has allowed them to preserve their cultural identity. On the other hand ethnic Croats have been separated in different states with the redrawing of the map of the Balkans after various conflicts, a matter that has created in Croats a passionate desire for their own independent state. Under the Hapsburgs in the 19th century ethnic Serbs were settled in Croatian territory as privileged soldier-farmers; in some areas they became the majority of the population, a matter that rankled Croats, who formed the poorer and less educated segment of society. Serbs have tended to denigrate Croats because of this status and because of their perceived failures (in Serb eyes) in maintaining their Slavic identity in religion, choosing Roman Catholicism over Eastern Orthodoxy, and through cooperation with Hungary, with its Magyar element, and with the Austrian Hapsburgs. Serbs and other Slavs have pointed to the Croats' involvement in the suppression by Austria of the Hungarian



Two Croats pose for a photograph in 1855. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-474554])*

CROATS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Croatia (Hrvatska); Republic of Croatia (Republika Hrvatska)

derivation of name:
Disputed, possibly Sarmatian

government:
Presidential/parliamentary democracy

capital:
Zagreb

language:
Principal language is Serbo-Croatian, a South Slavic language, also known as Croatian, Serbian, or Bosnian, depending on the ethnic and political standpoint of speaker; Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, and German are also spoken.

religion:
About 88 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; about 5 percent claim to be Eastern Orthodox Christian; Muslims and Protestants also constitute a small percentage of the population.

earlier inhabitants:
Illyrians; Romans; Croats; Serbs

demographics:
Croats make up about 90 percent of the population; Serbs, about 5 percent; remaining minorities include Bosniaks, Hungarians, Slovenes, Czechs, Rroma, Albanians, Montenegrins, and other nationalities.

Croats: nationality time line

C.E.

790	Principalities of Primortska Hrvatska near Adriatic coast and Posavska Hrvatska emerge.
879	First dukedom of Croatia is formed.
925	King Tomislav is crowned first king of Croatia by decree of Roman Catholic Church.
1102	Croatian kingdom is annexed by Hungary.
1202	Commercial city of Zara is conquered by crusaders.
1389	Serbs invade Krajina region of Croatia.
1501	Marko Marulić's epic poem *Judita* (The history of the holy widow Judith), considered first Croatian literary work, makes plea for resistance against Turks.
1527	Croatia forms state union with Austria.
c. 1530	*Robinja* (Female slave), play by Hanibal Lucić, one of Europe's earliest secular dramas, is staged.
1607	National and University Library is founded in Zagreb (originally part of Jesuit College; reorganized in 1874).
1612	Municipal theater on island of Hvar, first theater in closed building in Europe, is built.
1699	Treaty of Karlowitz restores part of Croatia to Turks.
1826	Publication of Ivan Gundulić's epic poem *Osman,* written two centuries before, gains attention for Dubrovnik as literary center.
1835–48	Illyrian movement led by Ljudevit Gaj seeks political and cultural independence.
1846	National Museum is founded in Zagreb.
	Smrt Smail-Age Čengića (The death of Smail-Age Čengića), epic poem by Ivan Mažuranić, is published.
1848	Croats take part in Revolution of 1848.
1867	Ausgleich Compromise cedes united Croatia-Slavonia to Hungary.
1910	Sculptor Ivan Meštrović helps organize exhibition at Zagreb.
1915	Croatia invades Armenia.
1917	Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes sign Pact of Corfu declaring principles of unity among southern Slavs.
1918	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is established, ruled by Serbian Karageorgevic dynasty.
1919	Writer Miroslav Krleža founds leftist review *Plamen.*
1929	Alexander I, ruler of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, changes name to Yugoslavia in attempt to impose national unity on Croats and other non-Serbia minorities.
1941	Independent State of Croatia is formed, including most of Bosnia and western Serbia; during World War II Ante Pavelić leads a fascist government under Nazi Germany.
1945	World War II ends; Croatia joins six other constituent republics under Yugoslav socialist federation ruled for 35 years by Josip Broz (Tito).
1961	Dušan Vukotic's film *Substitute/Ersatz* made at Zagreb Animation Studio becomes first non-U.S. animated film to win Academy Award for best animated short film.
1970s	Ethnic tensions between Croats and Serbs lead to riots and violence; Tito's government cracks down on Croats.
1991	Croatia declares independence; Croatian Serbs, assisted by Yugoslav army, drive out Croats from Krajina and eastern Croatia.
1992	Four protected areas are formed, separating Croats and Serbs; Croatia supports Bosnian Croats against Bosnian Serbs in civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1995	Dayton Peace Accords end war in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Croatian forces retake territories lost in 1991, causing Serbs to flee to Bosnia and Serbia.
1996	Croatia joins Council of Europe.
1998	Croatia regains control over eastern region of Slavonia.

rebellion during the Revolution of 1848 (which the Croats had hoped would win them their independence) as a sign of pandering to rule by Germans, even more hated by Slavs than the Magyars.

Croats, less fiercely nationalistic than Serbs, have a culture in which many elements are blended. Their cuisine still reflects Hungarian and Austrian influences (for example, the Zagreb veal cutlet, perhaps inspired by the Wiener schnitzel of Vienna); Italian and Mediterranean influences are strong as well. Folk music along the Dalmatian coast has affinities to Italian folk music, and the *kolo* circle dance is in the circle dance tradition of the Mediterranean, while folk music elsewhere in the country maintains a Slavic tradition.

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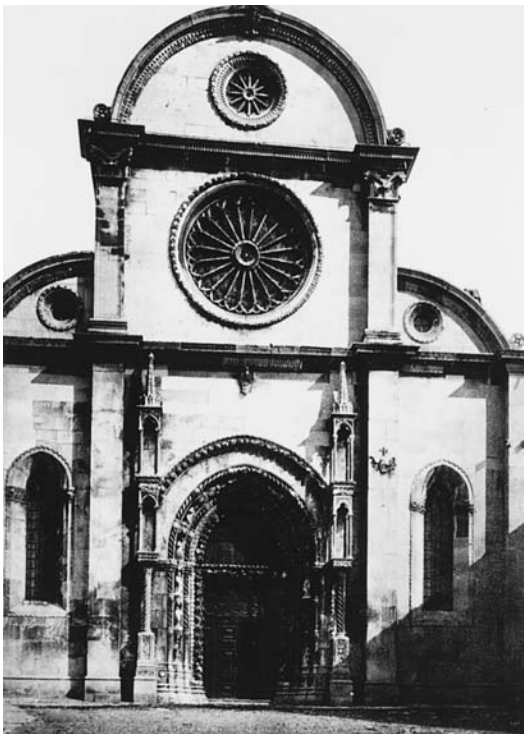
Cruithne *See* Picts.

Cumans (Kumans; Qumans; Kun; Polovtski; Polovtsky; Polovetsy; Polovtsians; Kipchaks)

The Cumans, or Polovtski, consisted of the western tribes of Turkics in the tribal confederation of the nomadic Kipchaks, living in western Asia and eastern Europe from the Aral Sea to the Black Sea by the 11th century C.E. (The name Cumans is used both as a synonym and as a designation of a subgroup of Kipchaks.) The Cumans expanded into central Europe by the 12th century. After Mongols invaded Europe in the 13th century some Cumans migrated into Hungary. Byzantines called them Cumans; Slavs called them Polovtsi, and Magyars referred to them as Kuns. Cuman means "pale" or "sallow" in varying languages.

ORIGINS

The ancestors of the Cumans, as with other Kipchaks, are thought to have lived in western Siberia by the ninth century and to have migrated into Europe by the 11th century.



This late-19th-century photograph shows the facade of the cathedral at Šibenik, Croatia, formerly Dalmatia. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-109393])*

LANGUAGE

The Cumans spoke the now-extinct Cuman (Kuman) dialect of the Northwestern (Kipchak; Ogur) branch of the Turkic language. A number of dictionaries exist from the Middle Ages, including the late-13th-century *Codex Cumanicus,* with words presented in Kipchak, Latin, and Persian.

HISTORY

The Cumans carried out raids in present-day Romania by the late 11th century, defeating the Pechenegs, also Turkic speaking, in 1064 and absorbing survivors into their tribes. In 1090–91 some Cumans were allied with the Byzantines against the Pechenegs. By the 12th century the Cumans controlled territory in present-day Moldova and the regions of Transylvania and Walachia in present-day Romania, whence they carried out raids south of the Danube River. In the first half of the 13th century Mongols invaded Cuman lands. Some Cumans sought asylum among the Rus in present-day Ukraine, others among the Bulgars in present-day Bulgaria, and among the Magyars in present-day Hungary. Others

CUMANS

location:
Eastern and central Europe

time period:
11th to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Cuman (Turkic)

became subjects of the Mongols in what became known as the Kipchak khanate.

In 1221–25 the Teutonic Knights, a military and religious order that had been active in the Christian Crusades to the Near East, campaigned on behalf of King Andrew II of Hungary against the Cumans. In 1227 the Cuman prince Barc and 15,000 of his people were baptized as Christians. King Béla IV of Hungary assumed the title "king of Cumania," and two years later granted asylum to the Cuman prince Kuthen and his followers, who had earlier tried to organize a Slavic resistance to the Mongols. But he was murdered as a potential threat to Magyar interests. The Cumans left Hungary during the Mongol invasion of 1240–41, but Béla resettled them there in 1245. The wife of Stephen V, Béla's son, was a Cuman princess. Their son László (Ladislas) was known as the Cuman and, during his reign in 1272–90 the Cumans played an important role in Hungarian affairs.

The Cumans, known for their fighting skills, served as mercenaries for a number of armies in the region, including the Byzantines and the crusaders out of western Europe.

CULTURE (*see* TURKICS)

The experience of ranging through the vast and empty steppe lands seems to have affected the cultures of all nomadic steppe peoples along similar lines. The Cumans were no exception. The Byzantines, in grouping the various steppe peoples who attacked them, including the Cumans, together as the SCYTHIANS, a name given by the Greek historian Herodotus to a people of his own time (fifth century B.C.E.), may have been guilty of oversimplification in equating diverse cultures from different places and times.Yet there is more than a little truth to this view. The looseness and freedom of steppe culture, the constant travel over long distances to find decent grazing in a harsh climate, the propensity for raiding, the autonomy of individuals (though males only), the formation of tribes and hordes, and the lack of codified law were all common characteristics of the Scythians, SARMATIANS, HUNS, AVARS, Cumans, and other Turkics.

The Cumans, as did other nomadic steppe peoples, swept into Europe as conquerors and controlled territory for a time. Although they were not the founders of a permanent state, they played an important role for centuries in relation to other peoples.

Cumans time line

C.E.	
11th century	Kipchaks settle lands north of Black Sea; western tribes become known as Cumans.
12th century	Cumans settle in Romania.
1220s	Mongols arrive on Cuman territory.
1245	Cumans settle permanently in Hungary.

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Curonians (Cours; Courans; Courones; Cori; Curi; Curlandrs; Kurs; Kurons; Kursa; Kursi; Kurshi; Kurzemians; Kurlanders; Kershes)

The Curonians, a tribe of BALTS, lived in the region known as Courland, situated along the Baltic Sea and the southwest shore of the Gulf of Riga in present-day western Latvia. They had extensive contacts with VIKINGS across the Baltic Sea in Scandinavia at least by the ninth century. Along with the LETTS, SELONIANS, SEMIGALLIANS, and assimilated Finnic-speaking peoples (such as from among the ESTHS, LIVS, and VOTES), they are among those peoples considered ancestral to contemporary Latvians (*see* LATVIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

By about 2000–1500 B.C.E. pre-Baltic peoples, probably Indo-European-speaking, inhabited the region; the Curonians and other tribes would emerge in the region by the ninth century C.E. The name of the Curonians occurs in historical sources earlier—as the Latin Cori in 853 C.E.—than the names of the other tribes in the region. *Kur* in Latvian means "mound" or "hill" and is possibly related etymologically.

LANGUAGE

Some scholars consider the now-extinct Curonian to have been a transitional language between Eastern and Western Baltic. The Curonian language still existed at the end of the 16th century, but Curonians already used it less often than the Latvian language.

HISTORY

Curonians and Vikings

The Curonians traded with the peoples of Scandinavia directly across the Baltic Sea, but trading parties were frequently attacked and robbed on both sides. In about the ninth century the Vikings of present-day Sweden and Denmark invaded Courland. A reason for the hostilities was retribution against the successful attacks on Swedish and Danish towns; another reason was the struggle for control of the river mouths and usable ports from which traders could penetrate the continent and trade with the Mediterranean region. The Balts would continue to offer fierce opposition to the Vikings for centuries.

In 840, according to the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (who wrote in the 13th century), the Viking leader Ragnar Lodbrok organized a raid on the Curonians and Sambians, a subgroup of BORUSSIANS. In 853 the Vikings again attacked the Curonians and lost to a united army of five Curonian tribes. The Vikings attacked again, capturing Seeburg (modern Grobina in Latvia) and Auole (near modern Skuodas in Lithuania).

Conflicts continued over the centuries. In 1161 the Danes captured Palanga Castle in Courland. In 1170 Curonians and Esths attacked Oland Island in Sweden.

Curonians and Crusaders

In 1202 the German prelate Albert von Buxhoevden founded the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword, uniting and controlling the various military factions. In 1210 Curonian ships were able to defeat German ships in Irbe channel and kill more than 30 crusaders. They then attacked Riga, but the city's defenses held out.

Over the next years the order subdued the various Baltic and Finnic peoples in the region. In 1230 the Curonian king Lamikis, pressured by the Danes, LITHUANIANS, and POLES, and in order to avoid rule by Brothers of the Sword, agreed to become a vassal of the pope. The Brothers of the Sword (who merged with the Teutonic Knights) refused to honor this arrangement, and by 1269 had subjugated the Curonians, making Courland their domain. In 1561 the Teutonic Knights dissolved their order and combine Courland and Semigallia into the duchy of Courland, which became a Polish fief.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

Economy

Early Curonians were farmers and herders, who also gathered berries and mushrooms, kept bees, and hunted small game. Because the main trade road from the Scandinavian region to Byzantium passed through Courland, a rich trading culture developed. An important export was amber, found in large quantities on the coasts of the Baltic Sea.

Government and Society

Curonians organized their territory in regions and built heavily fortified castles. Before the medieval period Curonians, as did most ancient Balts, had a relatively egalitarian society. Communal meetings would be held periodically, presided over by a council of elders. Medieval Curonians organized their territory in regions and built heavily fortified castles. They adopted the practice, widespread over northern Europe, of organizing their fighting men into military orders.

Music

Curonians performed *daino,* song cycles, believing that nature will reveal itself if the song is sung correctly and the dance rhythms evoke the right vibrations. A common practice among traditional tribal cultures, it was a means by which humans could interact with nature and thus ensure the well-being of the tribe.

Religion

The Curonians were known for their prophets, who supposedly could foretell the future, and peoples of other cultures traveled to them for consultation.

In 1075 the German historian Adam of Bremen described the Curonians as "the most cruel

CURONIANS

location:
East of Vistula River at Gulf of Riga

time period:
Ninth century to 1561 C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Curonians time line

C.E.	
840	Viking leader Ragnar Lodbrok organizes raid on Curonians and Sembians.
853	Vikings invade Courland.
1161–70	Curonian and Viking conflict
1202	Military and religious order Brothers of the Sword is founded to Christianize Baltic lands.
1210	Curonians attack Riga.
1269	Brothers of the Sword defeat Curonians.
1561	Teutonic Knights dissolve their order and combine Courland and Semigallia into duchy of Courland, which becomes Polish fief.

tribe." The Vikings, fierce warriors in their own right, had a prayer that asked protection from "fire, storm and the Curonians."

Cycladites (Cycladians; people of the Cyclades)

The Cycladites were an Early Bronze Age people living on some of the approximately 220 islands and islets of the Cyclades island group to the east of the Greek mainland in the southern Aegean Sea, an arm of the Mediterranean. They flourished in the late fourth millennium and third millennium B.C.E. and had contacts with the MINOANS of Crete living to their south on the island of Crete as well as coastal peoples on the Greek mainland and in the western Mediterranean, including Asia Minor. They are discussed with the Minoans of the Middle Bronze Age and the MYCENAEANS on the Greek mainland of the Late Bronze Age as Aegean civilizations distinct from the later Hellenic civilization of the ancient GREEKS.

ORIGINS

The origins of the Cycladites are not known. The earliest inhabitants of the islands were Neolithic peoples, who, as indicated by the oldest site found on the island of Saliagos, migrated there by 5000 B.C.E., probably from Asia Minor. The Cyclades—extending from Andros in the north to Thera in the south—along with the Dodecanese Islands to the east—formed a natural bridge between Asia and Europe and perhaps were visited by many peoples. Cycladites also founded settlements on the coastal Greek mainland and Crete. The name Cyclades for the island group is derived from the Greek *Kyklos,* meaning "circle," which was used to describe those islands forming a rough circle around the sacred island of Delos.

CYCLADITES

location:
Cyclades Islands of Greece

time period:
c. 3300 to c. 2000 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Possibly Semitic

LANGUAGE

Nothing is known of the Cycladites' language other than place-names. Perhaps, like Minoan, it was related to the ancient languages of Asian peoples, such as Semitic.

HISTORY

The Cycladites passed through many cultural phases over the long span associated with them, and distinct periods can be classified on the basis of archaeological evidence. Three main phases of Bronze Age Cycladic civilization are defined: the first, Early Cycladic I, a formative period, from about 3300 to 2800 B.C.E. on the islands of Amorgos, Antiparos, Melos, Naxos, Paros, and Thera; the second, Early Cycladic II, the height of Cycladic culture, from about 2800 to 2300 B.C.E., on Amorgos, Naxos, Syros, Thera, and perhaps Melos; and the third, Early Cycladic III, declining culture and the start of Minoan influence, from about 2300 to 2000 B.C.E., on Melos, Paros, and Thera. The Grotta-Pelos culture, as determined by artifacts found at excavations, relates to the first period; the Keros-Syros culture, to the second; and the Phylakopi culture to the third.

The Cycladites originally lived in unfortified settlements in coastal areas. In later stages because of pirates they moved to the interior of islands and situated their settlements in defensible sites and built walls and towers. When the Minoans became dominant in the western Mediterranean, the Cycladites again moved to coastal regions. There is evidence of a new movement of people who may have displaced some of the indigenous Cycladites and related coastal peoples on the Greek mainland toward the end of the third millennium B.C.E.

CULTURE

Economy

Cycladites hunted and fished in addition to farming. Major crops were grains, grapes, and olives. Livestock included sheep, goats, and pigs. Cycladites also depended on trade with other peoples for some of their goods.

Precursors of Long Distance Trade In the early Greek Bronze Age (c. 3200–c. 3000 B.C.E.), long-distance trade began in earnest, starting in the island group of the Cyclades, which, located between the Greek mainland and Asia Minor, acted as a series of "stepping stones" between the two. The first galley ships capable of long sea voyages were developed in the Cyclades, and Cycladite traders used them both to export their own commodities, metals and marble, to Asia Minor and Greece, and to transship goods between those two regions. Bronze metallurgy came first to the Cyclades and then to mainland Greece from the Near East by the latter fourth millennium B.C.E., and the scarcity value of bronze, whose component metals, tin and copper, were seldom found in any one region but had to be brought together through trade, caused those involved in bronze making and trading to become rich to a degree not known before in Europe. The lucrative bronze trade, and trade in other exotic materials desired by the new elites, soon became exploited by both seagoing and land-bound raiders, as attested by

the large numbers of bronze weapons that have been found dating back to the third millennium B.C.E. in the Cyclades and in Greece.

Dwellings and Architecture

Cycladic houses were made of stones and mud and plaster on interior walls, with roofs of reeds and branches. They were built without a hearth, possibly because of firewood shortages on the small islands. A house at Lerna (the so-called House of Tiles) on the eastern mainland, also from the Early Bronze Age, was built on a grander scale with two stories and an upstairs balcony. Among the excavated ruins were found small baked clay tiles apparently from a sloping roof, some of the earliest roof tiles known to have existed.

Transportation

Skilled mariners, the Cycladites used galley ships—probably without a deck and with a double bank of oars—to travel throughout the western Mediterranean. Ships had a low bow and a high stern post.

Other Technologies

The Cycladites were proficient in stonework, metallurgy, and ceramics. They quarried stone and mined ores. The island of Kithnos was a major source of copper ore, and silver and lead were mined on Siphnos; tin was probably imported from Troy on Asia Minor and from other locations. Tools and weapons, including arrow points, were crafted from both obsidian and bronze. Gold and silver were used to make jewelry, and marble to make vases and sculptures. The stone vases were hollowed out by boring with an abrasive such as emery or sand. Pottery—including vases, flasks (*aryballoi*), and cooking vessels—was shaped without a potter's wheel.

Art

Cycladic pottery had both impressed and incised designs. Abstract designs were angled and curved with spirals and concentric circles. Pottery was also decorated with flowers, human forms, legendary beings, and animals, including goats, birds, and dolphins.

Frescoes show scenes of daily life; men hunting and boxing; girls picking flowers, often crocuses; and spectators observing ships at sea. Among the animals depicted are blue monkeys, which seems to have some religious significance.

The most famous Cycladic works of art are small figurines, predominantly of the islands' white marble but also crafted from bone, ivory, seashells, and metal. The vast majority are only several inches tall, but some as large as four feet tall have been found. They are mostly female. Some have folded arms; others play instruments—harps or double pipes. Some reveal traces of paint, often around the hair and eyes. Whether they represented legendary beings is not known, and their purpose remains a mystery, although they are often found in graves. Such sculptures are rare in Bronze Age civilizations.

Religion: Burials

The Cycladites buried their dead individually or sometimes in pairs in small stone-lined graves. Bodies were placed lying on one side. The cemeteries, generally near the settlements, sometimes were surrounded by a wall. Stone platforms sometimes built near the cemeteries may have been used for burial rituals. Objects, such as figurines, jewelry, and daggers, were placed in the graves.

The religion of people on some of the Cyclades seems to have been influenced by Minoan belief—or at least arose from a substratum perhaps common to many Aegean peoples. Horns of consecration and snakes are part of the iconography found on Thera, for example.



This idol from the Cycladites was found in Amorgos and dates to about 2500–1100 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

The mild climate of the Cyclades Islands encouraged settlement, but their small size and limited resources made it difficult for the Cycladites to compete with the expanding Bronze Age cultures on Crete and mainland Greece. Middle Bronze Age civilization, as it developed among the Minoans, drew on Cycladic influences, however.

Further Reading

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Cycladites time line

B.C.E.

c. 3300–c. 2800	Early Cycladic I period; bronze becomes widely used.
c. 2800–c. 2300	Early Cycladic II period; the Cycladites at cultural peak
c. 2300–c. 2000	Early Cycladic III period; Minoan influences reach the islands.

Cymmerians *See* CIMMERIANS.

Cypriots: nationality (people of Cyprus)

CYPRIOTS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Cyprus (Greek, Kypros; Turkish, Kibris); Republic of Cyprus

derivation of name:
From the Greek word *kypros* meaning "copper"

government:
Republic

capital:
Nicosia

language:
Official languages are Greek, Turkish, and English.

religion:
About 85 percent of the population are Greek Orthodox; religious minorities include Muslims, Maronites, and Armenian Apostolic.

earlier inhabitants:
Minoans; Mycenaeans; Greeks; Phoenicians; Assyrians, Persians, Ptolemaics (Hellenic dynasty in Egypt); Romans; Byzantines; Venetians; Turks

demographics:
About 85 percent of the population are Greek; about 12 percent are Turkish.

GEOGRAPHY

Cyprus lies in the Mediterranean Sea, west of Syria and south of Turkey. Although defined as part of Europe, the island is closer to Asia. The total area is 3,572 square miles. Cyprus narrows in the east near the Syrian coast, forming the Karpas Peninsula. The interior of the island consists of flat plains, called Messaoria. Parallel to the northern coastline lies the Kyrenia range, and to the south lie the Troödos Mountains, where the highest peak, Mount Olympus measuring 6,401 feet, is found. Cyprus has two saltwater lakes, few freshwater lakes, and no rivers.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Cyprus was ruled by many different peoples in ancient times, among them the GREEKS and ROMANS. While subjects of BYZANTINES, Cyprus was raided by Arabs many times from the seventh to 10th century C.E. It was captured by the English king Richard I (the Lionhearted) during the Crusades in 1191 and sold the next year to French interests. In 1489 it was acquired by the VENETIANS. The Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) gained control in 1571. When the Turks lost the Russo-Turkish Wars (1877–78) Cyprus fell under British administration. It became a British colony in 1925 and was proclaimed an independent republic in 1960. The largely Greek population has close ties with Greece (*see* GREEKS: NATIONALITY). In 1975 after Turkey had invaded the year before and claimed the northern part of the island, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was established (*see* TURKS: NATIONALITY). In 1985 the Turkish population proclaimed the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus; only Turkey gave it international recognition, however.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The nature of the modern Greek-Cypriot identity has involved a struggle between two opposing points of view: Greek-Cypriot nationalism, which emphasizes Cyprus's ties with Greece, and Cypriotism, an ideology that pledges support to the political independence of the island. With the advent of British colonialism in 1878 Greek-Cypriot nationalism, in the form of the demand for union (*enosis*) with Greece, began to be transformed into a mass movement. In reaction there gradually arose an opposing Turkish-Cypriot nationalism, calling for the partition (*taksim*) of Cyprus along ethnic lines. The balance of power between the two political viewpoints was dramatically realigned after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. A decline of nationalist ideology occurred in the post-1974 years because nationalism was seen as at least partly responsible for the invasion. For the first time since Cyprus's independence from Britain in 1960, the Cypriot flag began to be publicly displayed on a large scale and to replace, or at least be placed beside, the Greek flag. The events of 1974 increased the psychological distance between the Greek Cypriots and the mainland Greeks. The coup that led to the Turkish invasion was designed and executed by Greeks and their associates on the island. Thus the *kalamarades* (pen pushers), as the mainland Greeks are commonly called in Cyprus, were blamed for the Turkish invasion of 1974.

All of these events caused Cypriotism to rise in favor. The official Greek-Cypriot leadership espoused a policy of rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots, stressing that the Turkish Cypriots were not the enemy and that the two communities could again live together as they had in the past. Cypriotism refers to the idea that Cyprus has its own genuine character and thus must be viewed as an entity that is independent of the motherlands of the two main communities of the island, that is, Greece and Turkey, instead of as two communities that are merely extensions of the motherlands. In this way Cypriotes are seen as having some common ground.

With the victory of Andreas Papandreou's socialist Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in the Greek parliamentary elections of 1981, Greek nationalism in Cyprus again moved to the fore. Papandreou rose to power on an explicitly nationalist anti-West agenda, promising to make the Greeks the true masters of their country. For the Greek Cypriots this was a new Greece, different from the Greece that had "betrayed" its own child; it was a Greece with which the Greek Cypriots could again proudly identify even without *enosis*. What Greek-Cypriot nationalists aspire to now is not union with Greece but the reaffirmation of Greek identity in the context of an independent polity that is tied to Greek culture and is in some way politically anchored to the Greek state.

The argument between nationalists and Cypriotists has taken place in varying interpretations of history amounting to the "invention" of tradition by the two sides. The ideological

clash focuses on key events from the recent history of Cyprus, such as the coup of 1974. Many other issues and turning points in Cypriot history, however, often become objects of ideological contest—from the legacy of the pre-Greek Cypriot past more than three millennia ago or the Phoenician influence to the relations between the island's Greeks and the Turks during Ottoman rule. Both camps claim to possess the "true" history and accuse the other of the distortion of history.

Cypriots: nationality time line

C.E.	
1191	Cyprus is seized by Richard I (the Lionhearted), during Third Crusade.
1192	Cyprus is sold to French Lusignan dynasty.
1376	Genoese control port of Famagusta.
1474	Lusignan dynasty ends.
1489	Venetians acquire island.
1571	Turks conquer island.
1878–1914	British administer Cyprus.
1883	Cyprus Museum is founded in Nicosia.
1925	Cyprus is made British crown colony.
1950	Folk Art Museum is founded in Nicosia.
1960	Cyprus becomes independent republic.
1971	Theatre Organization of Cyprus (THOC) is founded.
1974	Turkish troops invade northern Cyprus.
	Kyrenia Museum of Folk Art is founded.
1975	Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in northern Cyprus is proclaimed, recognized only by Turkey.
	New Cyprus Association is founded to promote unity among Cypriots.
1985	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is proclaimed.
2004	Cyprus joins European Union (EU).

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Czechs (Tcheques; Cechove; Češi; Bohemians)

The ancient Czechs were a tribe or tribes of Western SLAVS, centered in the present-day western Czech Republic near the SLOVAKS. They are considered ancestral to modern Czechs now living in the Czech Republic and neighboring countries (*see* CZECHS: NATIONALITY). The ancient tribal name was Cechove or Češi.

ORIGINS

It is thought that the Slavic ancestors of the Czechs settled along the Upper Elbe River in the region known as Bohemia by the mid- to late sixth century C.E., having migrated there from the original Slavic homeland north of the Carpathian Mountains. They are associated with Slavic peoples referred to by ancient writers as VENEDI. Czech tradition maintains that, subjugated by the AVARS, Czechs freed themselves under the leadership of Samo in the seventh century.

The earliest material evidence of Slavic settlement in the region known in the Middle Ages as Bohemia (from the Celtic tribal name BOII; *see* BOHEMIANS), which comprises roughly the western two-thirds of the present-day Czech Republic, dates from the mid- to late sixth century. Our knowledge of Slavs in this region is derived mostly from archaeological finds, pottery, house types, and other artifacts. The material culture characteristic of Bohemia at this time had affinities with that in contemporary Poland, whereas in its early stages the Czech language was similar to South Slavic languages; thus the question of where Slavs there originated—present-day Poland, the Danube valley to the south, or elsewhere, possibly present-day Ukraine or Moldova—is difficult to answer, and no consensus has as yet been reached. The earliest Slavic pottery in Bohemia is found in a dense cluster of sites in the west, where some GERMANICS continued to live for a time. As elsewhere in Slavdom these early Slavs had a very simple culture, living in small, square, sunken-floored huts and making pottery that by the standards of the time elsewhere in Europe was no more than crude.

The most well known early Bohemian Slavic culture is called the Prague culture, which is now dated to the second half of the sixth century. Prague sites are found in the same region as earlier Slavic sites in western Bohemia and along the Elbe River downstream from Prague in a region in present-day eastern Germany. There a Germanic tribal culture seems to have collapsed or been dispersed in the sixth century (possibly because of eastward pressures emanating, in the 530s, from the FRANKS of western Germany and France). Prague culture artifacts replaced the earlier Germanic material, which is not found in Prague contexts as Slavs seem to have moved

CZECHS

location:
Ukraine; former Bohemia; Czech Republic

time period:
Sixth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Czech (West Slavic)

Czechs time line

C.E.	
mid- to late sixth century	Slavs settle in Bohemia.
ninth century	Bohemian Slavs become organized into tribes, including Czechs; tribal confederacy centered on Czech territory near future site of Prague.
805	Bohemian leader Lecho killed by forces of Charlemagne.
840s–850s	Forces of Louis the German repeatedly raid Bohemia.
880s	Moravia annexes Bohemian territory.
884	Czech Premyslid ruler Borivoj converts to Christianity.
895	Bohemian princes travel to Regensburg to ally themselves with East Francia, possibly in reaction to arrival of Magyars in region.
907	Collapse of Great Moravia.
930s	Bohemian king Boleslav takes northern Moravia, parts of southern Poland, and Kraków.
950	Boleslav forced by German emperor Otto I to acknowledge Bavarian hegemony.
988–990	Poland retakes Moravian and Bohemian territories.
1212	Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II makes Bohemia largely independent kingdom within empire.
1355	Charles IV, king of Bohemia, elected Holy Roman Emperor.
1415	Jan Hus is burned at stake for heresy.
1420–1434	Hussite Wars
1618	Defenestration of Prague; Protestant revolt against Catholics
1620	Bohemians defeated in Battle of White Mountain.

on to land along the Elbe that had previously been cleared, although pollen evidence shows that in some places the forest had begun to regenerate. This suggests that Germanic peoples had abandoned these regions some time before Slavs arrived. The appearance of the Prague culture coincides with the disappearance of Germanic cultural markers both in Bohemia itself and in adjacent areas of eastern Germany (called by Slavic scholars Polabia after a now-extinct Slavic language that was spoken there until the 19th century), either because Germanic peoples left the area, because they had adopted Slavic culture, or because of a combination of factors. (The differences of Prague culture material from that of earlier Slavs in the area could have come about through contributions from Germanic peoples who had joined the Slavs, although this is speculative.)

The Prague culture in Bohemia continued through the seventh century and in some areas into the eighth. In southern Polabia a distinct culture evolved from the Prague culture, marked by a pottery type called Rüssen, after the site where it was first found, and its adherence to flat cemeteries at a time when in surrounding areas barrow (mound) burials had become common. Rüssen pottery making continued in the area into the early 10th century. Some of the earliest barrow burials north of the Danube region were made in Bohemia and to the east in Moldova.

In the eighth and ninth centuries as elsewhere in Slavdom in Bohemia numbers of strongholds were built, evidence of a greater organization—and probably stratification—of society, and of unrest.

LANGUAGE

The Czech language, formerly called Bohemian, is part of the West Slavic branch, which includes Polish and Slovak as well as a number of other less widespread languages.

HISTORY

Early Tribes

By the early ninth century a number of tribes had emerged in the densely populated and fertile Bohemian basin, bounded by mountains or uplands on the north, east and south. The basin itself was (and is) formed and watered by the tributaries of the Elbe, fed by the surrounding highlands. The geography of the area fostered a sociocultural cohesion that would help in the establishment of the Bohemian state. In the northwest were the Lučane and Lemuzi; the Czechs (known in early sources as Cechove or Češi) were in the center near the future site of Prague on the Moldau; in the northeast were a group called CHORVATI, or CROATS, the Pšovians lived on the Elbe between the Croats and Czechs; the DULEBIANS lived along the upper Moldau in the south.

The greater organization of society in Bohemia than elsewhere in Slavdom, aside from the building of strongholds, was also evident in the formation of a union or confederacy of tribes centered on the valley of the Moldau in the Bohemian basin. Among the tribes involved were the Czechs, Croats, Dulebians, Lemuzi, Lučane, and Zličane. The rise in numbers of strongholds built at this time was dramatic.

Competing States

The wealth of Bohemia attracted the interest of powerful states to the east and west. The MORAVIANS to the east had formed a state in the late eighth century; to the west lay the Carolingian Empire of the FRANKS. The *Royal Frankish Annals* (a year-by-year accounting of

events) for the year 805 tells of the campaign against a tribal ruler called Lecho (or Becho), led by emperor Charlemagne's son, Karl. It reports that Karl's forces "ravaged the land from one end to the other," killing Lecho (described as a chief rather than duke or king). The next year another invasion force, consisting of troops from Bavaria, Allemania (a region in present-day Alsace and Switzerland), and Burgundy (in present-day France), again lay waste to the land, "the army returning without serious losses," indicating the superiority of the Frankish military and the perils Bohemians faced.

Instability in the Frankish kingdom after the death of Charlemagne in 814 may have caused a lull in Frankish pressure on Bohemia, but the Treaty of Verdun in 843 stabilized Frankish leadership, and Louis II (Louis the German), who received the eastern territories of Charlemagne's empire closest to Bohemia, turned his attention to the wealthy Bohemian basin. In the 840s and 850s Louis's forces conducted raids on Bohemia. Hoping to gain protection from these raids 14 nobles and local rulers went to the church authorities of Regensburg in Bavaria in 845 offering to become Christian; they recanted a year later after realizing their conversion did not halt German incursions.

Moravia—known as Greater Moravia because of its expansion—annexed Bohemian territory in the 880s and fostered the rise of the Czech Premyslid dynasty, who would become the core leaders of the Bohemian state. Premyslid power was fostered by the wealth of their territory, centered on fertile farmlands of the confluence of the Moldau (Vltava) with the Elbe and other tributaries. These important waterways made the area a crossroads of trade, another source of wealth.

The semilegendary princess (sometimes called a queen) Libussa and her husband, the peasant Premysl, founded the Premyslid dynasty in the late eighth or early ninth century. In the ninth century the Premyslid ruler Borivoj married Ludmila, a princess of the Polabian Slavs, and under her influence became Christian; he was baptized at the court of Moravia by St. Methodius in about 884. This action caused a revolt by Bohemian pagans from which Borivoj fled to Moravia; the revolt was suppressed with the help of Moravians, drawing greater Moravian influences into Bohemia. Borivoj made Prague his capital, building there a church dedicated to St. Mary, and continued, with Moravian help, to subjugate the weaker tribes of Bohemia and consolidate his power.

Possibly in reaction to the arrival of the MAGYARS in the region in 895, all of the Bohemian princes traveled to Regensburg to ally themselves with East Francia, and Prague became part of the Regensburg diocese. Moravian influence in Bohemia was thus balanced by that of Bavaria, which promoted the interests of the Slavnik family, a rival of the Premyslids. As an example of this balance—although the church in Prague, the center of religious life in Bohemia, looked to Regensburg for leadership, Moravian priests who fled the Magyars were able to practice the Slavic rites of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The Bohemian princes acknowledged Premyslid primacy, but under the overlordship of Bavaria.

Meanwhile the Premyslids augmented Bohemia's natural defenses, its wall of mountains, by building an ingenious system of strongholds that formed a circle around Prague, itself heavily fortified. In this way the Bohemians avoided the fate of Great Moravia, which collapsed as a political entity by 907. By the 10th century Bohemia had become one of the most highly developed regions of Europe.

Outside the Premyslid realms around Prague the practice of paganism continued, and Vratislav, son of Borivoj, married a pagan from Polabia, Drahomir. When Vratislav died after his brief reign from 915 to 921, his Christian mother, Ludmila, assumed guardianship of his son and her grandson, Wenceslas (Vaclav), over the objections of his pagan wife, making sure he had a Christian upbringing. (According to legend, Drahomir had Ludmila murdered; whatever the truth, Ludmila later was made a saint, as was Wenceslas, considered the patron saint of Bohemia.) Religious tensions—between factions of pagans, Slavic-rite Christians, and Roman Catholic Christians whose allegiance was to Regensburg—hampered the power of the Premyslids, and Drahomir exploited Slavic Christians' frustration at Wenceslas's inability to break with Regensburg to promote the interests of her younger son, Boleslav I, who reigned in 935–972 (a Christian, however). In 935 Boleslav had his brother murdered and usurped his throne.

In about 936 Boleslav apparently sent forces into northern Moravia and beyond into present-day southern Poland, taking Kraków and then the nearby territories of the LEDZIANIANS, from there expanding far to the east. Strongholds that have been excavated in

the region of Silesia (southwestern Poland) and farther east bear a strong resemblance to contemporary Bohemian ones. Part of the attraction of these territories lay in the important trade routes that crossed them, leading to the Baltic. They were annexed by the Polish state in 988–990.

Although Boleslav wished to gain independence from the Bavarian overlordship, he was forced by the German emperor Otto I in 950 to acknowledge Bavarian hegemony over Bohemia; he honored this commitment by aiding German attempts to annex Polabia in 955. German support for the rival Bohemian leader Slavnik, whose son was a pupil of the bishop of Magdeburg, an important see founded by Otto, began at this time. Boleslav perhaps sought to counter this when he gave his daughter in marriage to the Polish prince on condition that he accept Christianity. This alliance was broken in the reign in 972–999 of Boleslav's son, Boleslav II, with the Polish annexation of Silesia.

The Prague diocese was founded at this time, its second bishop Slavnik's son, Wojciech, who had studied with Adalbert of Magdeburg (and who took the name Adalbert for himself, thus underscoring his German connections). The Slavnikovice family, whose seat was at Libice, east of Prague, continued to be powerful rivals of the Premyslids. Boleslav II in 995 seized the opportunity presented when Adalbert went to Rome to take Libice and slaughter nearly all of the Slavnikovice family.

In 988–990 the expanding Polish state took advantage of internal dissension in Bohemia to annex lands in Moravia and in much of Bohemia. Polish rule soon collapsed, however, and Moravia was retaken by Bohemia in 1019 and henceforth remained attached to the Bohemian state. Bohemian forces raided Polish territory in 1034 and reclaimed the body of the now-canonized Wojciech/Adalbert (who had been martyred while preaching to the BORUSSIANS in 997). Soon after Bohemia became fragmented among its feuding nobles. The Premyslid prince Vratislav II was the first to obtain the title of king of Bohemia as a nonhereditary privilege. In 1198 Otakar I was named the hereditary king of Bohemia.

13th to 17th Centuries

By the 13th century Bohemia, which had maintained its allegiance to the German empire, now called the Holy Roman Empire, had become one of the most important provinces in the empire. In 1212 the emperor Frederick II made Bohemia a largely independent kingdom within the empire. The primacy of Bohemia's cities as centers of trade attracted immigration by many German traders and craftsmen, furthering Bohemia's prosperity and cultural importance.

In 1310 John of Luxembourg married Elizabeth, sister of the Bohemian king, Wenceslas III. John was chosen to be the king of Bohemia to stem the political chaos that followed Wenceslas's death. John's son, Charles IV, succeeded him as king in 1346 and then, helped by the papacy, which was concerned to extend its political influence in the empire, was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1355. Now the center of the empire Prague grew into a major center of learning and culture in Europe. Charles undertook extensive building programs and in 1348 founded Charles University, the first university in central Europe.

A precursor of the Protestant Reformation took place in Bohemia in the 15th century under the leadership of Jan Hus, who was burned at the stake for heresy in 1415; his execution precipitated a period of conflict between Hussites and Catholics, culminating in the Hussite Wars of 1420–34. In 1458 the Bohemians elected as king a follower of Huss, Jiří of Podebrady, who was thus the first Protestant king in Europe. By the end of the century a large proportion of the Bohemian nobility had embraced Hus's teachings.

In 1526, when the Bohemian throne became vacant, Ferdinand I of the Hapsburg dynasty was made king of Bohemia (and Hungary). Both because of the Hapsburgs' German culture and because of their staunch support of Roman Catholicism, the Bohemian Czech nobility strongly opposed Ferdinand, culminating in a large-scale revolt in 1618, sparked when members of the Protestant Czech nobility threw several papal officials from a window in Prague (an event known as the Defenestration of Prague). The Protestant Czech nobility deposed Ferdinand and offered the throne of Bohemia to Frederick V, a Protestant German prince. The Protestant nobility across Germany quickly aligned themselves with Frederick, while Catholic Germany backed Ferdinand, who became Holy Roman Emperor (Ferdinand II) in 1619. The conflict soon escalated into the Thirty Years' War, involving most of the great European powers, which devastated Bohemia (and much of Germany).

In 1620 the Bohemian army was defeated at the Battle of White Mountain. Many Czech nobles were killed or sent into exile, and

Catholicism, along with German culture and language, was imposed on those who remained. Oppressive taxation and absentee landownership reduced the Czechs, except a few nobles who were favored by the Hapsburgs, to poverty. Imposed Germanization by Hapsburg rulers continued into the 18th century, even by the otherwise-enlightened Emperor Joseph II. Joseph had begun a widespread policy of freeing serfs throughout the empire, instituted numerous liberal reforms of law and government, and extended partial freedom of worship. However, Czechs saw as tyranny his policy of instituting German as the official language throughout the empire—based as it was on Enlightenment principles of fostering learning and mutual understanding between peoples and doing away with the irrational parochialism of local customs and cultures rooted in the medieval past.

Enduring Identity

Czechs participated in the rise of interest in ethnic nationalism that swept over much of Europe in the 19th century, part of the reaction to Enlightenment principles that had led to the romantic movement. A nationalist political movement arose, but independence awaited the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I (1914–18). In 1918 the largely Czech Bohemia became the core of the state of Czechoslovakia (which included Slovakia—*see* SLOVAKS: NATIONALITY), which in 1993, became two nations, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The overwhelming majority of people who consider themselves Czechs live in the Czech Republic, small numbers of Czechs live elsewhere in central Europe. These countries, in order of Czech population size, are Slovakia, Austria, Croatia, Ukraine, Romania, and Poland.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

Economy

Trade The major rivers of Bohemia, especially the Moldau and Elbe running to the Baltic, gave it a favored position for trade by a variety of European peoples. A Jewish traveler named Ibrahim ibn Yaqub journeyed to Bohemia in about 965 and observed and wrote an account of the trading enterprise here. He mentions that Prague was built of stone and chalk "and is the richest in trade of all these lands." He notes the wealth of agricultural products available for cheap prices—flour, barley, wheat, poultry, and horses. Fine leather goods were made in Prague, saddles, bridles, and "flimsy leather bucklers [shields] that are used in those parts." Ibrahim describes a curious product: "light fine kerchiefs like nets, embroidered with crescents, which are of no use for anything" (except perhaps vanity, to set off the beauty of the weaver). Such kerchiefs were packed in jars and used for currency, 10 kerchiefs worth a penny, to buy everything from slaves and horses to gold and silver.

Government and Society

Bohemian Stronghold Organization The Bohemian state developed as its organizational basis a system of strongholds surrounding Prague, the seat of the ruling family; the commanders of the strongholds owed allegiance to the rulers. This arrangement became the basic form of sociopolitical organization throughout western Slavdom. Their strongholds were large, ranging in size from 20 to 40 hectares, with inhabited outer enclosures; some of the inhabitants were craft workers.

Rivalry between Royalty and Nobility The Premyslids contended with other noble families in addition to the Slavnikovice; the situation in Bohemia was similar to that in many countries across Europe at this time, as centralizing and fragmenting tendencies played themselves out among leading families struggling to become royal and lesser nobles attempting to preserve their independence. In the 10th and 11th centuries archaeological evidence shows, many strongholds in Bohemia were destroyed and replaced by others built nearby. This evidence may document the usurpation by central authority of the old tribal nobility, both enabled and symbolized by the erection of new fortifications commanded by officials of the state.

Religion

Burials The characteristic burial rite of the Prague culture was in small cremation cemeteries with buried urns unmarked by mounds or barrows. In the seventh century in Bohemia barrow graves began to be made, with mounds enclosed by horizontal wood revetting (facing), rectangular in form, at their base. Cremated remains were deposited on top of the mounds. The impetus for this change in burial rite is unknown; it may have originated in territories to the south, where Slavs were heavily influenced by the culture of the AVARS, a warrior society from the steppe lands of Eurasia. The Avars themselves did not make barrow graves,

but their warrior elite culture emphasized the fame and glory of the individual warrior. Some among the Slavs seem to have adopted this ideology, marking their status by wearing ornaments made of luxury materials such as silver and gold. Another way they strove to achieve a more lasting fame was to erect burial mounds to commemorate fallen warriors.

Christianity Christianization of Bohemia began when its ruler Borivoj converted in 884, adopting the Slavic rites of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, Bohemia's proximity to the Roman Catholic Frankish and later German kingdoms drew Christians here into the sphere of the Western church, in part because the Bohemian princes, chafing under Moravian dominance in their country, sought a counterweight with the Franks. Their alliance with East Francia in 895 put Prague in the diocese of Regensburg in Bavaria. Moravians practicing the Slavic rite who fled to Bohemia from the Magyars were allowed their form of worship, but during the 10th century the Bavarian mission became increasingly influential until the Slavic rite fell into disuse.

For centuries strong German influence in Bohemia and Catholicism went hand in hand, and the Bohemian nobility's resentments against the former contributed to the growth among them of enthusiasm for the anti-Catholic teachings of the Bohemian preacher Jan Hus, one of the earliest church reformers, whose work anticipated the Protestant Reformation. Hus also gained great popular support, expressed in riots in Prague when he was excommunicated in 1410 and then executed in 1415. Attempts by the Bohemian monarchy (by this time closely associated with the Holy Roman Empire) to root out Hus's followers (Hussites) led to armed rebellion. Repeated invasions by imperial troops were repelled by Bohemian Hussite forces until a compromise was reached. By this time the Hussites had developed rival factions along class lines, the nobility (the Utraquists) reacting against the more radical faction composed of peasants and villagers (Taborites); the former accepted compromise with the empire. In the end in spite of their military successes the Hussites achieved few of their reforms, and the Taborite peasants who had wanted to continue fighting were in many ways worse off than before. The Hussite wars had important social implications, however, because the urban bourgeoisie of German descent had been driven out of the country during the fighting, giving new scope to the Bohemian Czech middle class and a greater sense of Czech nationality.

Remnants of the Hussites joined in the 1450s to form the Bohemian Brethren, which later would evolve into the Moravian Church.

Because of its geographical position Bohemia throughout its history has been on the front line of the great cultural divide between Slavic-speaking and Germanic-speaking Europe. Within Bohemia the Czech dialect, precursor of the modern Czech language, began developing after the eighth century as the Czech tribe emerged. From the ninth century, as the ruling dynasty, who were Czechs, consolidated their power, the Czech dialect grew to be the language of all Bohemians. Bohemian culture for centuries was strongly influenced by German culture and by a cosmopolitanism fostered both by trade and by Bohemia's importance within the multinational Holy Roman Empire. Yet the Czech identity of Bohemians was never forgotten and, at present, is more dominant in the Czech Republic than it has been for some 800 years. The notable cosmopolitanism of Czechs today is now fostered from within, rather than imposed from without.

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Czechs: nationality (people of the Czech Republic)

GEOGRAPHY

The Czech Republic is surrounded by Slovakia to the east, Poland to the north, Germany to the west, and Austria to the south. The republic is divided into the regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia. Czech Silesia is separated from Moravia by the Sudetes Mountains in the north, where Sněžka, the highest peak, measuring 5,259 feet, is found. Along the western border with Germany lie the Bohemian Forest (Böhmerwald) and Šumava Mountains. The Bohemian plateau lies in the west. The Bohemian-Moravian Highlands and low plains of the Bohemian Basin occupy cen-



People cross the Charles Bridge in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-120920])*

tral Czech Republic. A portion of the Carpathian Mountains are in the southwest along the Slovakian border. Principal rivers include the Elbe (known locally as the Lake), Vltava, Ohře, and Morava, which supplies a fertile agricultural valley. The republic's area is 30,450 square miles.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The SLAVS moved into the present-day Czech Republic at least from the early sixth century C.E. A merchant by the name of Samo of the FRANKS formed the Slavic state of Bohemia around 623 C.E. as a defense against the AVARS. In the late eighth century the Slavic state of Moravia was formed. By the 880s it came to encompass Bohemia, Slovakia, southern Poland, and western Hungary, hence the name Great Moravia. By 907 the MORAVIANS were defeated by the MAGYARS. The dynasty of the Premyslids united the tribes of CZECHS in Bohemia, and expanded territory under the supervision of the Holy Roman Empire.

By 1212 Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II organized an autonomous Bohemian state within the Holy Roman Empire. Bohemia expanded in 1335 to include part of Silesia.

Jogaila (Wladyslaw II), king of Lithuania and Poland, ruled Bohemia in the 15th century. The Austrian Hapsburg Ferdinand I ruled Hungary and Bohemia in 1526. At the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) throughout much of Europe, a period of increasing Germanization, occurred in Bohemia. In

CZECHS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Czech Republic (Ceska Republika)

derivation of name:
From tribal name Cechové or Češi

government:
Parliamentary democracy

capital:
Prague

language:
Czech, a West Slavic subgroup of the Slavic language, is the official language; Slovak is also spoken.

religion:
About 40 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; about an equal percentage are recognized as atheist; Protestants and Eastern Orthodox Christians make up the remaining.

earlier inhabitants:
Celts; Thracians; Marcomanni; Quadi; Heruli; Sciri; Slavs (Czechs; Slovaks; etc.); Franks; Magyars; Mongols

demographics:
About 82 percent of the population are Czech; about 13 percent are Moravian; other minorities include Slovaks, Poles, Germans, Silesians, Rroma, and Hungarians.

Czechs: nationality time line

C.E.

ninth century Bohemia is part of Great Moravia.

after 863 Missionaries Cyril and Methodius translate religious works from Greek into Old Church Slavonic, starting tradition of Czech literature.

c. 907 Moravia dissolves after invasion of Magyars.

950 Bohemia is forced by German emperor Otto I to acknowledge Carolingian hegemony.

1278 Bohemia is under Hapsburg rule.

1355 Charles IV of Bohemia becomes Holy Roman Emperor.

1415 Reformist religious leader Jan Hus is burned at stake for questioning pope's authority.

1579–93 Czech Protestant Kralice Bible is published and serves as literary model of classical Czech language.

1618 Thirty Years' War begins when Czech Protestant nobles revolt against Catholic Hapsburg dynasty, sparked by defenestration of Prague.

1620 Hapsburgs defeat Protestant rebels and rule Bohemia.

1648 Thirty Years' War ends with the Peace of Westphalia, starting a period of Germanization.

1749 Separate chancellery at Prague is no longer allowed by Hapsburgs.

1781 National Library is founded in Prague.

1790s Josef Dobrovský codifies revived Czech literary language.

1818 National Museum is founded in Prague.

1826 Systematic study of Slavic languages by Pavel Josef Šafárik is published.

1835–39 Josef Jungmann produces Czech-German dictionary, modernizing Czech vocabulary.

1836 Publication of lyrical epic poem, *Máj* by Karel Hynek Mácha; name of poem is used for national school of writers of 1860s, Máj group, including poet, novelist, and journalist Jan Neruda who uses newspaper essay as educational and political tool.

1848 Slavic congress assembled at Prague in the Revolutions of 1848 but opposition is defeated by Hapsburgs the next year.

1867 Bohemia became part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

At the end of World War I (1918) Austria-Hungary disbanded; Czechs and SLOVAKS united in the independent state of Czechoslovakia. Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia, Slovakia, and later Ruthenia were all part of Czechoslovakia.

By the terms of the Munich Agreement of 1938, Czechoslovakia ceded Sudetenland to Germany; Hungary and Poland later divided parts of Czechoslovakia. Threatened by Hungary and Poland, Slovakia separated from the country, declaring a short-lived independence. During World War II (1939–45) Nazi Germany occupied Bohemia and Moravia, forming a protectorate. At the end of the war Czechoslovakia's republic was reestablished, aided by the Soviet Union (USSR), which then annexed Ruthenia. In 1948 Czechoslovakia came under Communist rule. In 1992, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Czech and Slovak leaders agreed on partitioning Czechoslovakia into two independent states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which took effect January 1, 1993.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The Czechs, on the western edge of Slavdom, have an ancient tradition of opposing domination of their culture by outsiders, a tradition that may have strengthened Czech resistance to rule by the Russian-dominated Soviet Union in the 20th century. Although the Czechs experienced foreign rule since they became part of

1862	Composer Bedřich Smetana helps establish national opera house in Prague.
1867	Austro-Hungarian monarchy is formed, with rule over Bohemia.
1876–78	Composer Antonín Leopold Dvořák uses elements of Czech folk songs in *Moravian Duets* and *Slavonic Dances.*
1881	National Theater is founded in Prague.
1888	Painter and illustrator Alphonse Mucha moves to Paris, becoming involved in Art Nouveau movement.
1918	Moravia, Bohemia, and Slovakia form independent state of Czechoslovakia at end of World War I.
1920	*R.U.R.,* satirical play by Karel Čapek, introduces word *robot* into English.
1921–23	Osudy dobrého vojáka Svejka za svetové války (*The Good Soldier Scheweik*), a series of novels by Jaroslav Haček, is published.
1938	Czechoslovakia is forced to cede Sudetenland to Nazi Germany.
1939–1945	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Bohemia and Moravia.
1948	Czechoslovakia falls under Communist rule.
1960	Czechoslovakia adopts new constitution becoming known as Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.
1960s	Filmmakers Miloš Forman, Jirí Menzel, Vera Chytilová, Jaromír Jireš, and Ivan Passer help establish Czech New Wave in cinema.
1968	Liberal reforms of "Prague Spring" are crushed by Soviet-led troop invasion.
1984	Poet Jaroslav Seifert wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1989	Communist rule ends in Czechoslovakia; Václav Havel, a playwright who took part in anti-Communist protests, is elected president.
1990	Country is renamed Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.
1993	Czech Republic and Slovakia become independent nations.
1999	Czech Republic joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
2004	Czech Republic joins European Union (EU).

the Germanic Holy Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages, their cultural identity continued to be strong. This enduring identity was helped by the fact that the Czech Bohemian state grew into an important entity, a largely independent kingdom within the empire. The success of Bohemia's cities as centers of trade caused many German traders and craftsmen to migrate there, furthering Bohemia's prosperity and cultural importance.

The Czech language has among the oldest literary traditions of all Slavic tongues, beginning soon after the missionary brothers, Cyril and Methodius, devised an alphabet for Old Church Slavonic in the ninth century. The earliest preserved texts in the Czech language, mainly hymns, were written in the late 13th century at the courts of the Premyslid kings of Bohemia. From that time a vibrant literature in the Czech language flourished. During the medieval period Prague was at the forefront of European intellectual life, and the Bohemian king Charles IV founded Charles University, the first university in central Europe, in 1348.

The Czechs have been in the forefront of Slavic resistance against Germanic dominance, a position of which they have been conscious from the earliest times. Christianity had reached the Slavs of Moravia from the west under the political aegis of the FRANKS. Rostislav, prince of Great Moravia, invited Cyril and Methodius to his kingdom to counter Frankish influence.

Imposed Germanization reached a crescendo under Hapsburg rule in the 18th century. The Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II instituted German as the official language. His actions became a flashpoint for Czechs and made them all the more determined to promote the Czech language.

Bohemian patriotism began to revive in reaction to the centralizing tendencies of the Hapsburg government. These trends, along with currents of the romantic movement, such as a fascination with nationalistic and ethnic roots, spurred a Czech national literary revival in the first half of the 19th century. At the same time social and economic developments were helping to create a new middle-class audience for Czech literature.

Yet Czechs have not been content with a literature simply in reaction to foreign dominance. In the latter 19th century literary life crystallized around two movements, one stressing the need to Europeanize Czech literature, the other looking to the strength of native traditions and themes. In music too, nationalistic themes became important. Bedřich Smetana based much of his music on Czech folk songs and dances. Antonín Leopold Dvořák, a master of the symphony and chamber music, was also known for incorporating Czech folk music into his works.

In the 20th and 21st centuries Czech writers such as Karel Čapek and Jaroslav Hašek have been able to make the experience of being Czech a means of confronting issues central to modern life. Their works, typically set in the collapsing Austro-Hungarian Empire, remain widely read in many languages and relevant to the present day. Franz Kafka, although writing in German, made the police state of the Hapsburg Empire a metaphor for the alienation of modern society.

It is perhaps a fitting testimony to the importance of culture, not only for defining Czech nationhood conceptually but for guiding its course through history, that the first president of Czechoslovakia after the collpse of its communist government and then of the Czech Republic was the playwright Václav Havel.

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D

Dacians (Daci; Daceans; Geto-Dacians)

The Dacians were a people of present-day Romania, a subgroup of THRACIANS, who had significant contacts with the ROMANS from the mid-second century B.C.E. to the late third century C.E. Dacia, as defined in ancient times, was bounded on the north by the Carpathian Mountains, on the northeast by the Dniester River, on the west by the Tisza, and on the east and south by the Danube River.

ORIGINS

The Dacians were closely related to the GETAE, an earlier Indo-European people in the region; they may simply have been the same people at different points in history. Getae is a name used for them by the GREEKS, and Daci a Roman name. The two Thracian peoples, Getae and Dacians, are sometimes discussed together as Geto-Dacian. The name of their homeland, Dacia, became the name of a Roman province, and the name Dacians was used to designate peoples of varying ancestry in the region. The CARPI and COSTOBOCII are generally considered Dacian subtribes.

LANGUAGE

The Dacian language is thought to have been related to Thracian, spoken by people of Thrace (roughly present-day central and southern Bulgaria, European Turkey, and northeastern Greece). Some scholars believe that the Dacian language is related to that spoken by the ancient Phrygians, a people of Asia Minor, as well as by modern Armenians. With Roman colonization some Dacian dialects became somewhat Latinized.

HISTORY

The earliest literary accounts of Dacians date to the first half of the second century B.C.E., when they were successfully preventing the BASTARNAE, a Germanic tribe, from moving into the Carpathian Mountains. In the 170s B.C.E. their territorial control was said to be increasing; this new influence is generally assumed to imply an expansion from their original homeland, in the plain of Walachia north of the Lower Danube, into Transylvania, where they would have had contact with long established

DACIANS

location:
Romania

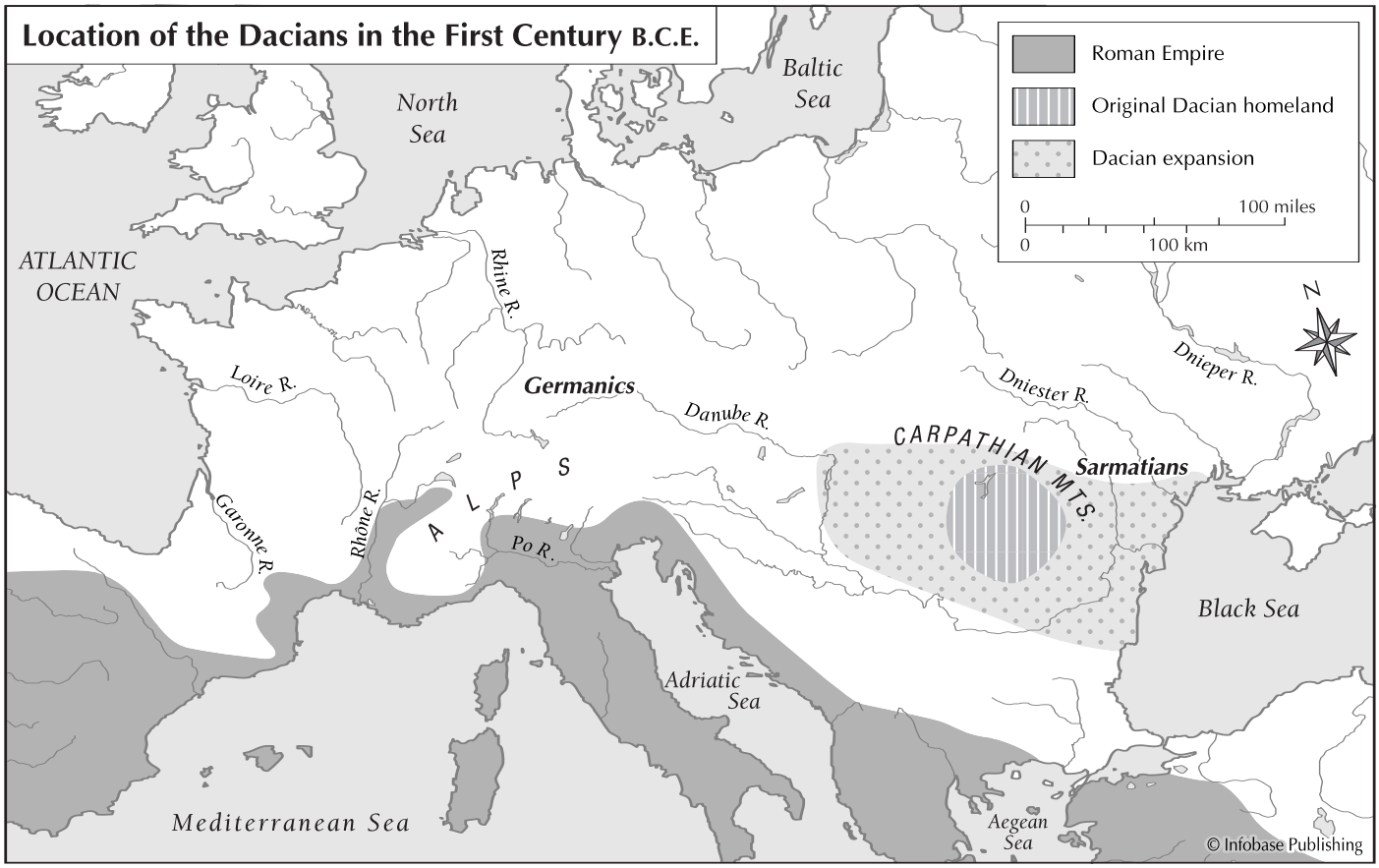
time period:
Second century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Thracian

language:
Thracian

Dacians time line

B.C.E.	
c. 60	Burebistas establishes kingdom.
C.E.	
101–102	First Dacian Wars between Dacians and Romans
105–106	Second Dacian Wars between Dacians and Romans
107	Roman province of Dacia is created.
256	Romans evacuate most of Dacia.



communities of CELTS, absorbing them into the expanding Dacian state.

The Dacians and Romans met in battle in 112, 109, and 75 B.C.E. By about 60 B.C.E. the Dacian leader Burebistas united various tribes in the region into a powerful kingdom. Among Burebistas's conquests were the Celtic BOII, SCORDISCI, and TAURISCI living to the west. The Roman general Julius Caesar was preparing a major campaign against the Dacians before his assassination in 44 B.C.E. The Dacians continued raids on Roman-held lands during the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, from 27 B.C.E. to 14 C.E. Though he claimed them as a tributary people they remained unconquered. They swept into Moesia (parts of present-day Serbia and Bulgaria) in 69 C.E. but were driven back by Roman legions. In 85–89 C.E. during the reign of Domitian the Dacians and Romans fought a series of inconclusive battles. The Romans claimed overlordship of the Dacians but paid them tribute to prevent further raids.

In 101–102 and 105–106 C.E. the Dacians under Decebalus fought against the Romans under Emperor Trajan in what are known as the First and Second Dacian Wars. Decebalus committed suicide upon his defeat. The Romans drove survivors northward and seized enormous wealth from the Dacians. Trajan established numerous colonies and in 107 C.E. created the province of Dacia, the last province established in the Roman Empire. The Romans built roads and oversaw the operation of Dacian gold, silver, and iron mines. Dacia also provided grain to the empire.

In 129 C.E. under Emperor Hadrian the province was divided into Dacia Superior in the north (roughly the region of Transylvania) and Dacia Inferior (extending south to the region of Walachia between the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube). In the mid-second century C.E. Emperor Antoninus Pius divided the region into three provinces, the Tres Daciae (Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia Apulensis, and Dacia Malvensis). By that time with merchants traveling to Dacia from numerous regions the region had become a melting pot.

By the second century C.E. Germanic peoples had entered Dacia, such as the Asding VANDALS in 171, granted permission by the Romans to do so. The GOTHS, who reached the Black Sea by about 217, also grew in strength to the east. In the 250s they invaded, driving the Romans out of most parts of Dacia by 256. In the 270s. Emperor Aurelian officially evacuated Dacia and moved the Roman colonies south of

the Danube to the province of Moesia. Yet some of the Roman population may have remained. In any case trade between the empire and Dacia continued, and Romans continued to have contacts with peoples they considered Dacians into the sixth century.

CULTURE (*see also* THRACIANS)

Economy

The plain of Transylvania, north of the Danube, provided fertile farmland for the Dacians, who intensively exploited the iron, gold, and silver of the Carpathians north of the plain. As the Dacian state grew in power, religious ideology came to play an important role in the agricultural economy in terms of what was grown. King Burebistas had all vineyards dug up, as, in a development not well understood, the Dacian religion now demanded abstinence. Grain was transported to the highland, where the religious center was located, and stored in pits. Gold and silver were also stored there in enormous amounts.

Control of Trade Routes Burebistas's move westward to annex territory of the Boii apparently was motivated by a desire to acquire control over an important north-south trade route on which amber from the Baltic was a major commodity. At the same time he attacked and partly destroyed colonies on the Black Sea that had arisen as a consequence of trade between the Dacian region and Sarmatia, a circumstance hard to understand, as previously the trade with this area had carried valuable commodities to Dacia to be traded to the west, such as cattle, slaves, and grain. It may be that Burebistas desired more control over the Black Sea trade.

Coin hoards show the trade route the Dacians used westward to the Roman/western Mediterranean world: through the middle Danube region, which the Dacians had wrested from the Celtic Scordisci, to colonies on the Dalmatian coast across the Adriatic from Rome. Coins from these colonies have been found in Dacian territory, as have large amounts of Roman denarii. Dacians made copies of Roman coinage for use within their state. (This has been a matter of some controversy, as some Romanian numismatists, especially while Romania was under Soviet domination and they sought to emphasize Romanian nationality, have insisted that all or most of the coins found in Dacian territory were made there, regardless of whether they are closely similar to Roman coinage and seem to be genuine Roman coins, or of an inferior quality suggesting they are copies probably made outside the aegis of Dacian royalty.)

Aside from coins the Dacians appear not to have imported any durable goods such as metalware or pottery but to have exported their own fine silverware and pottery. They seem to have acted as middlemen for foreign luxury goods but, perhaps for ideological reasons, kept none for themselves.

Government and Society

From the second century B.C.E. Dacian kings engaged in expansion of territory into a powerful state. The Dacian state was unusual in that it was nonliterate, at least at first, and that it did not have cities in the usual sense. However, their upland center did have a well-organized system of droveways called *plaiuri* that linked a high density of fortresses around Sarmizegethusa to open settlements and terraces with single dwellings. It may be that this complex functioned as a city. Interpretation of Dacian society from building remains is made difficult by Roman destruction; the Roman claim to have found a treasure hoard near Sarmizegethusa that contained an enormous amount of gold and silver suggests central control of the wealth coming to Dacia.

By the 80s B.C.E. the focus of Dacian power lay in Transylvania. King Burebistas held power in partnership with a religious leader named Deceneus, according to the sixth-century C.E. Gothic writer Jordanes (who used Greek writings as his source), a coupling of secular and spiritual power that was a feature of a number of central European groups, including Celts and GERMANICS. The SCYTHIANS, whose influence was still felt in the Lower Danube–Black Sea region, had also been ruled by a priest-king pairing. The spiritual center of the Dacian state was the circular sanctuary of Sarmizegethusa, thought to mirror in microcosm the circular ramparts of the Carpathians.

Under Burebistas's leadership a number of disparate tribes were welded to form a single powerful state covering roughly the present area of Romania. After some 20 years of consolidation Burebistas was in a strong position, able to command, according to the Greek historian Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., 200,000 warriors. After Burebistas's death the Dacian state broke into a number of smaller polities.

Dacian Isolationism The elaborate defensive layout of the complex of Sarmizegethusa in its remote mountain setting with its surrounding settlements, protected by a series of strategically

placed forts, gives a sense of Dacian society as isolationist and inward looking; of a people focused on religious worship, possibly in a seasonal round of festivals and observances, judging by the layout of the central sanctuary with its pillars representing the Dacian calendar. The fact that after the Romans under Trajan finally penetrated and destroyed this isolation the population left en masse is more evidence for this insularity and inward focus. Some scholars have hypothesized that the very vastness of the steppe and the ease of movement there, which constantly put different peoples in contact, fostered an intense need of individuals for ethnic identification both with their own group and against all others. The Dacians, perhaps inheriting this penchant from their Thracian forebears, may have found a group identity in life and ceremony carried out in their mountain sanctuary. When the Romans entered, the sort of Romanization that so many peoples in the Roman Empire embraced was for the Dacians unthinkable.

Military Practices

The Roman emperor Trajan celebrated his victory over the Dacians by erecting a column profusely carved with scenes from his war. The illustrations provide good evidence of Dacian military practices, dress, and other matters. Dacian soldiers are shown with relatively short hair (although not as short as the Romans') and trimmed beards (not the uncut manes and beards of such barbarians as Germanics, who sometimes drew up their long hair into top knots), evincing a certain level of civilization. They wear long trousers, showing the antecedents of Dacian culture in the horse-riding steppe world of first the Scythians and then the SARMATIANS. Although Trajan's column shows Dacian cavalry, most soldiers are on foot.

Dacian weapons included the short recurved bow of the steppes and a heavy curved sword, called a *falx* or *falas* (plural, *falces*), wielded with both hands. They used the latter to amputate arms and legs of the enemy. To counter this, Roman soldiers were equipped with arm and leg armor. One scene on Trajan's column shows Dacians wielding a ram-headed battering ram against a Roman fortress. They carried large oval-shaped shields of wood or hide edged with metal or iron plated. These were decorated with images that either proclaimed lineage or warded off evil.

Their religion, which promised immortality, caused the Dacians to be fanatical warriors, heedless of death.

Art

The Dacians created an art style in which the influences of Scythians and the Greeks can be seen. Their craftsmen were highly skilled in gold and silver working and in pottery making. Pottery was white with red decorations in floral, geometric, and stylized animal motifs. Similar decorations were worked in metal, especially the figure of a horse, which was common on Dacian coins.

Religion

Archaeologists have discovered what is probably a sacred precinct built on an artificial terrace high in the Orastie Mountains in Romania and have tentatively identified it with the Dacian sacred center named by ancient writers, Sarmizegethusa. The central feature of this precinct is an open area containing several concentric stone circles, the stones of different shapes. This is surrounded by a network of fortresses and temples. Features of the circular area seem to exhibit astronomical/calendrical alignments; if that interpretation is accurate, judging by the numbers of pillars, the Dacian calendar had 12 months, each of 30 days with five six-day weeks in each month.

The circular stone arrangement could in part have been symbolic of the arc of the Carpathians, offering a haven from the vastness of the steppes to the east. This vastness awakened in many societies in and around the steppe a need for a secure ethnic group with its own ideology and behavior clearly marking ethnicity. Dacian abstinence from drink and the vegetarianism of the inner core of the priestly class could have played this role.

The social order of the Dacian state was not based on kinship, but on centralized economic and religious power. The Greek writer Criton in his *Getica* says that Dacian kings deployed cunning and magic to overawe their subjects, whether wielded by them or by a priestly class of Dacians called *kapnobatai*, "smoke walkers." This name suggests they may have used cannabis, much grown in Thrace, to induce sacred trance states during which they communed with the gods (as did the shamans of northern Eurasia). They were celibate and ate no meat.

The God Salmoxis It is possible that Dacian religion had been influenced by the earlier Thracian worship of Salmoxis, a god who promised immorality to humans. (Herodotus, the Greek historian of the fifth century B.C.E., tells of

Salmoxis, a follower of the sixth-century B.C.E. mystic philosopher Pythagoras who traveled to Thrace and taught the Thracians the Pythagorean doctrine, which included the transmigration of souls into multiple lives.) Buddhist ideas could also have informed Dacian religion, and Judaism had reached the Bosporan kingdom of the Crimea by this time. The Dionysiac cult, which seems to have arisen in Greece through some kind of cross-fertilization of ideas with Thrace, could have reached Dacia in its evolved form, Orphism, which also promised immortality. Thracians of earlier centuries had also had hilltop sanctuaries. The Dacian priestly class may have emulated the Druids of the Celts.

No individual burials from the period of Dacian power have been found; rather, bodies were cremated, leaving bones to be buried in communal, barrel-shaped grave pits. This interment style is similar to Persian Zoroastrian practice.

The Dacian religion, as was that of the Celtic Druids, was powerful enough that when the Romans conquered Dacia, they razed all its temples to the ground.

Modern Romanians are a mix of many different peoples (*see* ROMANIANS: NATIONALITY). On the basis of the Romanian language (a Romance language related to Latin), some Romanians claim that the VLACHS of the region of Walachia are direct descendants of Daco-Romans.

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Dál Fiatach (Darini; Darnii)

The Dál Fiatach are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in northeastern Ireland (present-day Northern Ireland) at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. Scholars assumed they were the same people cited by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy as the Darini.

Dalmatians (people of Dalmatia)

The name Dalmatians has been used in various historical writings to refer to the people living in Dalmatia, the coastal region of the Adriatic, extending across present-day Bosnia and Herzegovenia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Croatia. Dalmatia, inhabited by the ILLYRIANS, was occupied by MACEDONIANS in the mid-fourth century B.C.E., and by ROMANS late in the first century B.C.E. In the fifth century C.E. GERMANICS under Odoacer of the SCIRI conquered the region but soon lost it to the BYZANTINES. SLAVS settled the area in the seventh century. Dalmatia was then alternately controlled by Croatian, Hungarian, Serbian, Austrian, and Italian dynasties. It was included in independent Croatia in 1991 (*see* CROATS: NATIONALITY).

Dál Riata (Dalriada; Dal Reti; Redoii)

The Dál Riata are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in northeastern Ireland (present-day Northern Ireland) and later southwestern Scotland, where they founded the kingdom of Dalriada by the fourth century C.E. Their ancestors are said to have been descended from a legendary line of Irish kings. Some among them are thought to have been of the ROBOGDI. They are discussed as CELTS, IRISH, or SCOTS.

Damnonii (Damnoni; Damnonians)

The Damnonii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain around present-day Glasgow in central Scotland; they are discussed as CELTS, or BRITONS, or SCOTS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E. They probably had no connection to the DUMNONII of present-day southwestern England. By the sixth century descendants in the original homeland were part of a kingdom known as Strathclyde.

Danes *See* DANES: NATIONALITY; DANI; VIKINGS.

Danes: nationality (Danish; people of Denmark)

GEOGRAPHY

Denmark, part of Scandinavia, is predominantly a peninsula, known as Jutland or Jylland, about 210 miles long, extending into the North Sea (to the north) and the Baltic Sea (to the east). Denmark borders Germany to the south; to the northeast is Norway, and to the northwest

DANES: NATIONALITY

nation:
Denmark (Danmark); Kingdom of Denmark (Kongeriget Danmark)

derivation of name:
From the Indo-European root *dhen,* meaning "low" or "flat," and the German root *mark,* meaning "border land" or "border forest"; ancient Goths used the name for territory between Gothland and Scania.

government:
Constitutional and hereditary monarchy

capital:
Copenhagen

language:
Majority of Danes speak Danish, the East Scandinavian branch of the North Germanic subfamily; German, English, Greenlandic (Eskimo), and Faeroese are also spoken.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population belong to the Lutheran Church; Catholicism and Protestantism are also practiced.

earlier inhabitants:
Cimbri; Teutones; Heruli; Jutes; Angles; Saxons; Dani.

demographics:
The majority of the population are Scandinavian; ethnic minorities include German, Inuit, and Faeroese.

Danes: nationality time line

C.E.

811 Danish-Frankish border along River Eider is formed.

958–c. 988 Denmark and Norway are united under King Harold II.

983 Southern Jutland becomes part of Denmark.

1018–35 Canute the Great rules kingdom that includes present-day Denmark, England, Norway, and southern Sweden.

1137–57 Skåne (Scania), Sjœlland (Zealand), and Jylland (Jutland) dispute over ruler during civil war.

c. 1200 Saxo Grammaticus writes *Gesta Danorum* (Deeds of the Danes).

1201–27 King Valdemar II conquers German county of Holstein, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and northern Estonia.

1282 Erik V writes constitution establishing parliament.

1386 Queen Margaret unites Danish Duchy of Schleswig with German County of Holstein.

1397 Queen Margaret unites Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in Union of Kalmar, under one monarch.

1523 Union of Kalmar is dissolved.

1534–36 Dispute over throne leads to civil "War of the Counts."

1550 First Danish Bible is published, co-translated by Christiern Pedersen.

1600 Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe works with German scientist Johannes Kepler.

1645 Under Brömsebro Peace during Thirty Years' War, Denmark-Norway gives Gotland, Jämtland, Ösel, and Härjedal to Sweden.

1673 Royal Library is founded in Copenhagen.

1675–79 Denmark fights Sweden in War of Scania.

1700–21 Denmark in alliance with Russia and Poland attempts to regain lost territory in Great Northern War.

1729 Greenland becomes part of Denmark.

1746 Prince's palace, which later becomes National Museum, is built.

1748 Det Kongelige Teater (Royal Theater) and Royal Danish Ballet is founded in Copenhagen.

1754 Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts is founded in Copenhagen.

1773 Denmark exchanges Oldenburg for Schlesvig; Danish king becomes duke of Holstein.

1779 Poet Johannes Ewald produces lyrical drama *Fiskerne* (The fishermen), containing lyrics to "King Christian Stood by the Lofty Mast," which are later used for Danish national anthem.

is Sweden. The main islands within the North and Baltic Seas are Lolland, Sjaelland, Fyn, Falster, Langeland, Mon, and Bornholm, lying between the mainland and Sweden. The Faeroe Islands, a collection of 18 islands in the Atlantic Ocean, and Greenland, near North America, are also part of the Danish monarchy.

Excluding Greenland and the Faroe Islands, Denmark covers a surface area of 16,639 square miles. Yding Skoyhoj, a low range of hills harboring Denmark's highest point, lies on the east coast. The west coast consists of dunes and sandbars.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Various GERMANICS inhabited the territory that became DENMARK, including the JUTES and DANI. Some among them became known to other Europeans as VIKINGS.

The Danish king Sweyn I conquered England in 1013 and 1014. His son, Canute II, was king of both England and Denmark in the early 11th century. Over the next several centuries the Danish empire expanded along the southern Baltic coast, to become twice the size of present-day Denmark. King Olaf II united Denmark and Norway, gaining Iceland and the

1801	Denmark fights Great Britain during battle of Roadstead of Copenhagen.
1807	Denmark allies with Napoleon I Bonaparte of France.
1814	According to peace treaty of Kiel Denmark cedes Norway to Sweden and Helgoland to Great Britain.
1818	Rasmus Kristian Rask's published studies help lead to development of modern science of comparative linguistics.
1819	Sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen is commissioned to make statues for Copenhagen Cathedral.
1835	First of fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen, *Eventyr, Fortalte For Børn* (*Tales, Told for Children*) are published.
1843	Tivoli Gardens open in Copenhagen; Philosopher Søren Aabye Kierkegaard publishes his first major work, *Enten-Eller* (*Either-Or*).
1849	Denmark becomes constitutional monarchy.
	Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger is acclaimed as national poet.
1863–64	Denmark proposes "November Constitution," violating peace treaty of 1851 which leads to second War of Schlesvig of Denmark, Prussia, and Austria.
1894	Carl August Nielsen's first symphony is performed.
1914–18	Denmark is neutral throughout World War I.
1914–31	Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen) resides on coffee plantation in Kenya; her novel based on her experiences, *Out of Africa,* is published in 1937.
1917	Poet Karl Adolph Gjellerup and novelist Henrik Pontoppidan win Nobel Prize in literature.
1918	Iceland is granted sovereignty.
1920	Northern part of Schleswig is awarded to Denmark by plebiscite.
1922	Nils Henrik David Bohr wins Nobel Prize in physics.
1928	*La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*), a film directed by Carl Theodorr Dreyer, gains international acclaim.
1940	Nazi Germany occupies Denmark during World War II although Denmark declares neutrality.
1944	Novelist and poet Johannes Vilhelm Jensen wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1945	World War II ends; Denmark joins United Nations (UN).
1949	Denmark joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
1973	Denmark joins European Community (EC).
1993	Denmark becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).

Faeroe Islands. Olaf's mother, Margaret, united Norway, Denmark, and Sweden as the Union of Kalmar. Sweden won its independence in 1523, dismantling the Union of Kalmar. Denmark colonized Greenland in the 18th century.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815) the Danish navy was defeated, forcing the Danes to side with Napoleon. By the Peace of Kiel in 1814 Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden, and Helgoland to Great Britain. Then Denmark won Pomerania, which it later traded to Russia for Lauenburg. In 1849 a new constitution declared Denmark a constitutional monarchy.

In 1920 the northern part of Schleswig was awarded to Denmark by plebiscite. Iceland declared complete independence from Denmark in 1918; Denmark granted Greenland home rule in 1979.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The geography of Denmark has played an important role in shaping Danish cultural identity. The Jutland Peninsula, except for a narrow portion, and nearby islands are set apart by sea from the European mainland. The proximity of its north coasts to Scandinavia



This photograph shows Danes in a courtyard in Nyborg, Denmark, in the late 19th or early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105975])*

has given Denmark a decidedly Nordic character. Its language is a Nordic one. An important part of its economic life is based on seafaring—fishing, trade, and, during the age of Vikings, piracy.

In prehistoric times the people of what is now northern Danish territory, as did those in Sweden and Norway, experienced a lag in receiving cultural innovations—such as farming and metallurgy—as compared with the rest of Europe. And yet in the historic period Denmark's southern regions readily adopted innovations received from abroad. Danes, then, have long experienced sufficient isolation to create their own distinctive identity, a mix of Nordic and mainland Germanic elements, while absorbing other cultural influences. Somehow Danes have found a way to take in foreign influences without being overwhelmed by them, to be adaptable and at the same time stubbornly themselves. Moreover, they have been able to create cultural products that are distinctively Danish but of sufficient quality that they are desirable to other peoples. A prime example of this is modern Danish furniture.

The great importance in modern Danish history of the "common" people—ordinary farmers and fishermen—has given Danes a populist outlook and a distrust for large institutions and for elites. The crucial role of Danish farmers in transforming Danish agriculture from wheat to dairy and pork farming, which in turn transformed Denmark from a poor to a prosperous country, has fostered their sense of pride and self-sufficiency. The folk high schools (for rural young people from 18 to 25 years of age), which began to be established in the mid-19th century, have had the same effect and have helped foster populist initiatives such as the agricultural cooperative movement. The populist outlook in Denmark caused the country to be in the forefront, in comparison to other countries in Europe, of electoral reforms, granting suffrage to the lower classes and to women in 1914–15.

Nonetheless the Danes' sense of hard-won, tenacious, and proud cultural identity has begun

to cause significant problems for Denmark in a Europe in which the old equation of ethnic identity and nationhood is no longer viable. The country's present difficulties in dealing with the "New Danes"—the many immigrants from abroad—were foreshadowed when after World War II Denmark refused to annex the former Danish territory of South Schleswig because it had a large German refugee population. Having abjured what would have been a valuable learning experience in integrating a population whose culture was not very different from their own, the Danes now must deal with the large numbers of immigrants, constituting about 4.5 percent of the population, from Morocco, Somalia, sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey, the Arab world, and the Far East, widely different from Danes in race and religion.

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Dani

Dani is the Latin form of the term Danes. From the fifth century C.E. the Dani were mentioned as a people living first in present-day southern Sweden and on the island of Sjaelland, part of present-day Denmark (where Copenhagen is located), and, by the eighth century, the Jutland Peninsula, mainland Denmark. Their ancestry is not known with certainty, although they are assumed to be GERMANICS. Different Germanic tribes had lived in the region over the centuries, such as the ANGLES, CIMBRI, GOTHS, HERULI, JUTES, SAXONS, and TEUTONES. The VIKINGS who raided lands to the south included peoples from this region and were generally referred to as Danes on the British Isles.

Dardani (Dardanians)

According to ancient sources, the Dardani—variously grouped but probably ILLYRIANS—lived west of present-day Belgrade in present-day Serbia and Montenegro in the third century B.C.E., their homeland in the ancient region of Thrace (and possibly there since the eighth century B.C.E.). They joined forces with the CELTS in 281 B.C.E., when the GREEKS refused to negotiate with GALATOI invading Macedon under Bolgius. That year these forces defeated and killed Ptolemy Keraunos, considered to be the first Greek leader to die at the hands of the Celts.

Dargwas (Darguas; Dargins)

DARGWAS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
(Dagestanian) Caucasic

The Dargwas are various Caucasic-speaking tribes—that is, CAUCASIANS—living for the most part in the northern Caucasus Mountains of central Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia, as well as in Stavropol Kray and the republic of Kalmykiya to the north. Their dialects are classified as part of the North-East (Dagestanian) branch of North Caucasic and are closely related to the dialects of the LAKS. The written form is based on the Akusha dialect and uses the Cyrillic alphabet. Among the subgroups of the Dargwas are the Akushas (the majority group), Khurkils (Urakhs), and Tsudakhars. The Kaytaks (Kaidaks) and Kubachis, although with varying traditions, have been classified among them.

Like other Caucasians, the Dargwas are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E. Over the centuries the Dargwas have been influenced by the many invading peoples from both Europe and Asia. Their economic life has been organized around trading, as well as herding and farming. They have maintained traditional extended family structures, as well as a village assembly and council of elders. They are primarily Muslims; Islam was introduced in the region by Arabs in the eighth–ninth centuries, although it did not become the majority religion until the 15th century; animist influences persist.

In 1991 Dagestan, consisting of 19 different ethnic groups, became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALTY.

Dauni

See APULI.

Decantae

The Decantae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day

northwestern Scotland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. It is possible that they were PICTS and not Celtic speaking, however.

Deceangli

The Deceangli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Wales and are further discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH. In the late 40s C.E. the ROMANS under Publius Ostorius Scapula, the governor of Britain, marched against them. Tribal members probably made the island of Mona (Anglesey), a stronghold from which to resist the Romans until defeat by Suetonius Paulinus in 61 C.E.

Deciates

The Deciates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Antibes in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Demetae

The Demetae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day southwestern Wales and discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH. Unlike the DECEANGLI, GANGANI, ORDOVICES, SILURES, and other tribes of Wales, the Demetae apparently did not resist occupation by the ROMANS in the first century C.E. Maridunum, on the site of present-day modern Carmarthen, became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation. They survived longer as a tribal entity than did Britons.

Derevlianians

See DREVLYANS.

Diablintes (Aulerci Diablintes)

The Diablintes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Jublains in northwestern France, probably between Le Mans and Bayeux, at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Didos (Didoi; Tsunti)

DIDOS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
(Dagestanian) Caucasic

The Didos are various Caucasic-speaking tribes, living for the most part in the northern Caucasus Mountains of western Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia. Their dialects are part of the North-East (Dagestanian) branch of North Caucasic and related to the dialects of the neighboring ANDIS. A related language known as Avarish is used for writing (*see* AVARS). In addition to the Didos proper, Bezhtas other peoples grouped in their linguistic family are Bezhtas, Hinukhs, Hunzibs (Honzals), Kapuchis, and Khvarshis, each tribe with its own traditions.

As are other CAUCASIANS, the Didos are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E. Over the centuries they have been influenced by the many invading peoples in their homeland from both Europe and Asia but have maintained many of their traditional lifeways. Most Didos live in villages along the upper reaches of the Andi-Koisu and Avar-Koisu Rivers; some also live in the lowlands.

In addition to the traditional raising of livestock, especially sheep, oxen, horses, and goats, terracing has allowed for some farming in the rugged highlands, where wheat and rye are among the main crops. The majority of Didos are Muslims; Islam was introduced into the region in the eighth–ninth centuries. Animist influences persist, however. For part of their history some among the Didos also practiced Christianity. Traditional Dido society is regulated by two codes of law, customary law (*adat*) and Islamic law (*shariah*), the latter of which is administered by a Muslim cleric (*qadi*). A council of elders (*dzhamat*) directed the village assembly (*rukken*).

In 1991 Dagestan, consisting of 19 different ethnic groups, became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Dobunni

The Dobunni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the present-day county of Gloucestershire in central England and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. They issued coins sometime before the occupation by the ROMANS in the first century C.E. and reportedly established peaceful relations. Their tribe seems to have been divided into a northern and a southern faction. Corinium on the site of present-day Cirencester became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation.

Dorians (Doricians; Doric Greeks)

The Dorians are one of the four ethnic groups into which the ancient GREEKS, or Hellenes, divided themselves in historical times; the others, the ACHAEANS, AEOLIANS, and IONIANS. The

Dorians settled mainly on the Peloponnese Peninsula, on Crete and other islands, and on southern Asia Minor. The Spartans of the city-state Sparta traced their origins to Dorian tribes. A dialect of Greek and an order of Greek architecture take the name Doric from the Dorians.

ORIGINS

Before the classical period the term Dorian was primarily a linguistic designation for people speaking the Doric dialect of Greek. Thus it is extremely difficult to identify Dorians from prehistoric times before written records, which could be used to identify a people's name and language, were kept. It is known that after the Greek Dark Ages by about the eighth century B.C.E. Doric speakers were living on the Peloponnese in much of the territory that had been held by MYCENAEANS, Bronze Age Greeks who had built the first great Greek civilization (c. 15th century to c. 1200 B.C.E.). It is thus plausible that Doric speakers displaced the Mycenaeans, whose civilization collapsed with great suddenness in about 1200 B.C.E. Earlier material remains are mute: Skeletons, artifacts, and buildings, are the only remnants of the inhabitants of what would become Dorian territory. Therefore the existence of a Dorian ethnicity increasingly becomes a matter of speculation.

Nineteenth and early-20th-century scholars believed that waves of Bronze Age invaders entered Greece as early as the third millennium B.C.E. They identified one group of these invaders as being Dorian. However, this identification rests on very uncertain ground. It seems clear that many groups and cultural influences entered Greece from abroad as early as the Copper Age or even earlier. The first Indo-European speakers may have arrived (probably in small bands rather than waves of invaders) as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E. Throughout the Bronze Age Greece was in touch with a wider world through trade and small-scale movements of peoples, but again there is no positive evidence of the existence of Dorians. Writing first emerged in Greece with the Mycenaeans. From this period evidence for the dialects of later Greeks might be found; however, the Greek spoken by the Mycenaeans is similar only to the dialect called Arcado-Cypriot spoken in later times on Cyprus and in the remote mountain region of Arcadia.

There is evidence that warrior groups from the Danube region north of Greece played some role in the demise of Mycenaean civilization, although their contribution was probably not decisive: only one of a number of factors involved. The fact that speakers of Arcado-Cypriot after the Dark Ages lived only on the margins of the Greek world, while Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic speakers dominated the Greek mainland, may imply that the ancestors of the latter three groups were among the warriors from the north who had arrived in Greece around 1200 B.C.E., probably taking part in the civil wars and raiding that were devastating the region and later settling lands abandoned by the fleeing Mycenaean elites.

It is possible that the Doric dialect or a precursor of Doric was introduced to regions suffering from the economic distress and depopulation of the Mycenaean systems collapse by newcomers accustomed to a simpler way of life independent of long-distance trade and the agricultural central planning engaged in by the Mycenaeans. Able to support themselves with subsistence farming and simple craft goods, Doric speakers could have taken advantage of the depopulated landscape. Doric together with the lifeways of its speakers could have been adopted by the local peasantry of the Peloponnese who had been left to their own devices by the collapse of Mycenaean authority. The extent to which these newcomers resembled or can be identified with Doric speakers of post–Dark Ages Greece is unknown.

The fact that Doric speakers were ruling Crete by the end of the Dark Ages may indicate that their ancestors took part in the raiding of the SEA PEOPLES, warrior groups of unknown eth-

DORIANS

location:
Most of Peloponnese in Greece; islands of southern Cyclades in Aegean; parts of Rhodes and Crete; Carian Peninsula in southern Asia Minor

time period:
c. 12th to fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Doric Greek; Aeolic Greek

Dorians time line

B.C.E.

c. 1200 Collapse of Mycenaean civilization amid widespread destruction in eastern Mediterranean, some apparently by warrior bands from Danube region who may have spoken Doric

c. 12th to eighth century Greek Dark Ages

eighth century beginning of Archaic period; rise of Greeks in Asia Minor; establishment of Dorian confederacy, Hexapolis; founding of Corinth, Sparta, and other Dorian city-states

sixth century Sparta founds Peloponnesian League.

500–449 Persian Wars; Greeks unite against Persia.

fifth century Doric dialect no longer spoken

336–335 Alexander the Great unifies Greece; Greeks begin to identify themselves as Hellenes, and not as different ethnic groups.

nicity who attacked Egypt and probably other territories in the eastern Mediterranean region around the time of the Mycenaean collapse.

The political situation at the time historians first classified their ancestors has to be taken into consideration. The term the Greek Dark Ages refers to the period from about 1200 to 750 B.C.E., beginning with the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and lasting to what is called the Archaic Period. Because no written records were kept during this time, later Greeks—Athenians, Spartans and others—had little idea of their own early history. The Dark Ages lifted first in Asia Minor, where it is presumed that many mainland Greeks had fled the devastation of their homelands. Mainland Greek records of early contact with these Asian Greeks refer to them simply as Achaeans or Ionians.

In the *Iliad,* presumably written by Homer in the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., a small number of Greeks from a region called Doris in north-central Greece between Mount Parnassus and Mount Oeta are mentioned as Dorians, but they are not presented as an ethnic division. Yet, by about the eighth century, probably when the mainland poet Hesiod created a genealogy of the Greek settlers of Asia Minor in his *Theocracy,* the Greeks there had separated into three communities, geographically and culturally distinct, from south to north, Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians. A location on the Carian Peninsula of southern Asia Minor was known as Doris.

The Greeks of Asia Minor traced their origins to the mainland, it is thought, to validate their identity as Greeks in the face of pressure from the east, from peoples such as the Lydians and Persians. The three communities on Asia Minor grew powerful and vibrant, establishing colonies throughout the Mediterranean. Through the Archaic period, however, under threats from invading peoples the Greeks of Asia Minor began a slow decline, while a Greek renaissance began on the mainland and flowered into classical Greece.

In turn the Greeks of the mainland identified themselves with one or another of these ethnic divisions in Asia Minor and for political reasons fashioned complicated myths of their origins to fill in the darkness of their history. Since Sparta's rise in the sixth century B.C.E. the Spartans claimed Dorian descent. The interpretation of Dorians as austere and savage warriors may be due to their association with Sparta, or Sparta may have identified its own nature with a preexisting view of the Dorians. From the fifth century B.C.E. the Spartans' principal antagonists, the Athenians, identified themselves with the Ionians, in order to distinguish themselves ethnically and culturally, because the Ionians of Asia Minor were regarded as more refined than the Dorians.

This ethnic posturing for political gain was temporarily interrupted by the Persian Wars of 500–449 B.C.E., since all the Greeks recognized their inherent similarities and banded together against what they considered barbarian invasions. The ancient ethnic groupings became largely irrelevant with the ascent of Alexander the Great of the MACEDONIANS in the fourth century B.C.E. and his unification of mainland Greece and founding of a Hellenic empire.

Origin Myth

The myth of Dorian origins, in addition being presented in the work of Hesiod, is found in the poetry of Tyrtaeus of the seventh century B.C.E., who composed to serve the Spartans, and in that of Pindar of the sixth–fifth century B.C.E. These early works identify the Spartans as descendants of one Dorus, a son of Hellen, ancestor of all the Greeks. Hellen was son of the pious Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only survivors of a flood sent by Zeus to destroy wicked humankind. Hellen was granted all of Greece, which his sons, Dorus, Xouthus (father of Ion and Achaeus, the supposed progenitors of the Ionians and Achaeans), and Aeolus (progenitor of the Aeolians), inherited. Dorus took as his inheritance the area called Doris.

According to the mythic writings under the leadership of Dorus or under Aegimius, a later king, the Dorians conquered the entire region of Doris, expelling the DRYOPES. Because of aid from Heracles in battling off invading LAPITHES, King Aegimius adopted Heracles' son, Hyllus, as his own. The Dorians of the Peloponnese grouped themselves into three clans, the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi, named from Hyllus and from Aegimius's two other sons, Dymas and Pamphylus. The adoption of Hyllus involved the Dorians in attempts by the Heraclidae to recover the Peloponnese from the Mycenaean king, Eurystheus. This version of events legitimized the invasion of the Dorians, in that they were returning the region to its rightful heirs. It also explains one of the key characteristics of religion in Dorian areas, which was the worship of Heracles.

This myth served several purposes. First it legitimized the Dorians, especially those of Sparta, as rightful rulers in the Peloponnese. It

also connected the Dorians to the other Greeks and explained the existence of a place named Doris in north-central Greece, which was no longer inhabited by Dorians.

LANGUAGE

The Dorians are identified with Doric, one of the main dialects of ancient Greek, but whether they spoke the language when they migrated or whether they took it up after settling among the remnants of the existing Greeks is not certain. Although most of the Greeks of the Peloponnese as of the sixth century B.C.E. spoke a language called Doric, including the Spartans who have been identified with the Dorian ethnic stock, there is no direct evidence to tie Doric Greek to the Dorians. The Dorians of Asia Minor spoke Aeolic in historical times, as did the Greeks of mainland Doris. Doric largely faded by the fifth century B.C.E., replaced in common speech by the Ionian and Attic dialects.

HISTORY

The early history of the Dorians is more that of an idea and a name than of a people. Historians from ancient times until the present, in treating the Dorians as an ethnic group, have tried to reconcile all the claims for Dorian kinship with mythical accounts, such as that of Hesiod's *Theocracy.*

The Greek Dark Ages

The Greek historian Thucydides dated the Dorian invasion about 80 years after the Trojan War described in the *Iliad;* the traditional date of the end of the war is 1200 B.C.E., although this time frame is impossible to verify. This was at the start of what is known as the Greek Dark Ages, when writing was lost, bureaucracy crumbled, commerce disappeared, the building of large temples and public works ceased, and decoration was reduced to geometric designs. The Dorians perhaps displaced other peoples or, as recent archaeological evidence indicates, filled the vacuum left by the Mycenaean collapse. In Sparta the Dorians of the Spartan city-state eventually enslaved a large part of the population of the surrounding region and subjected neighboring cities and towns to their hegemony. Dorians migrated to the Aegean islands of Crete, the Dodecanese and Sporades Islands, and Rhodes off the coast of Asia Minor, and from there to the southwest coast of Asia Minor. Rhodes and parts of Crete traced their descent to Dorians from Argos; Cnidus traced its descent from Argos and Sparta; other Dorian cities in Asia traced themselves to Epidaurus.

In Asia Minor the Dorian city-states of Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus formed a confederacy with three city-states in Rhodes and called it the Hexopolis. On the Greek mainland various Greek ethnic and linguistic groups organized themselves into independent city-states. Most peoples of the Peloponnese, including those of Sparta, Corinth, Aegina, Argos, and Megara, identified themselves as Dorian, speaking the Doric dialect, except the inhabitants of Arcadia, a relatively inaccessible region where Arcado-Cypriot was spoken, and the region of Attica, including the city of Athens, where Ionic was spoken. The Ionians may have been another group of northern warriors who took advantage of the demise of Mycenaean authority and the depopulation that resulted from the events at the end of the 13th century.

The Rise of City-States

Evidence from Argos, a formerly Mycenaean-era city that would later become a powerful Dorian stronghold, illustrates the process by which Doric-speakers settled and rose to dominance in the Peloponnese. Although most of the region surrounding Argos (called the Argolid) seems to have been deserted for centuries after the Mycenaean collapse, there is evidence of continuity of settlement at Argos itself, although on a much lesser scale than in Mycenaean times. The city probably had shrunk to mere village size. At some point during the Dark Ages Doric speakers came to power in the Argolid; this is known because by the time of the post–Dark Age Archaic period, there was an important Dorian city on the site of Mycenaean Argos. It is thought that the first Dorians to take hold in the Argolid numbered no more than in the hundreds, with their leader having the status of a village chief, but by the Archaic period Dorian Argos dominated not only the Argolid but most of the Peloponnese (until the rise of Dorian Sparta).

The Dorian Argives are thought to have developed the cult of Apollo and to worship the Olympian goddess Athena. But they also had cult places at sites where the Mycenaean goddess Hera (Era) had been worshipped and, in the late eighth century B.C.E., they built for Hera a temple that was the first post–Dark Age construction to approach in scale the "Cyclopean" building projects of the Mycenaeans. They placed this Heraion (temple to Hera) at a site, Prosymna, where Mycenaean Hera had probably

been worshipped, showing a desire to associate themselves with her divinity.

The timing of this construction is interesting because it was contemporary with the crystallization of the Homeric epics in which the patriarchal dominance of Olympian Zeus over all the gods and particularly Hera is firmly established. Hera is portrayed by Homer in a most unflattering light, alternately seething with bitter rage against Zeus and the Trojans, ignominiously dominated by Zeus, and presented by the poet in an ironic, almost humorous way that functions to provide comic relief from the tensions of the story. This triumph of patriarchy has long been cited as having been brought by the Dorians. Thus the building of the Heraeum by the Dorian Argives gives evidence of a more complex process than this.

Sparta and Corinth rose to prominence in the seventh century B.C.E. Before 500 B.C.E. Sparta founded the Peloponnesian League, a confederacy of allies, including Corinth. Historical records indicate that from the eighth to the sixth century B.C.E. Dorian city-states established colonies in Tarentum in southern Italy and on the south coast of Sicily, from Syracuse in the west to Selinus in the east. The Dorians also founded settlements in Africa (at Cyrene) and on the Black Sea coast. Of the Dorian city-states Corinth, a maritime power, was the most active colonizer.

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS)

Because of their association with Sparta and with the Greek Dark Ages the Dorians were regarded as warlike and austere, but the fifth-century B.C.E. Ionian historian Herodotus viewed the Dorian simply as the ordinary uneducated Greek. The supposed Dorians of the Peloponnese spoke Doric, tended to worship the mythological figure Heracles (Hercules to the ROMANS), and divided themselves into three clans, the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi. The Dorians of Asia Minor were more influenced by their Greek neighbors to the north and spoke Aeolic but generally also divided themselves into the three tribes; followed a standardized traditional calendar, with the Hyacinthia and Carneia as the principal festivals; and worshipped the god Apollo as well as Heracles.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Greeks of the Peloponnese after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization slowly redeveloped large-scale construction, probably beginning with sun-dried bricks and wood, later replaced by stone. The oldest temple existing in what is called the Doric style is the massive Temple of Hera at Olympia, or Heraeum, constructed with wood on a limestone foundation in about 600 B.C.E. The wood was later replaced with the stone that we find now. Aside from the hulking size, what distinguishes the Doric style are the temples' Doric pillars (which are different from the later Ionic and Corinthian styles). Each pillar is constructed of a heavy column without a base, which, slightly convex, tapers toward the capital, a square stone sitting atop a tapered disk.

Other Technologies

The Dorians are by tradition associated with the beginning of the Iron Age in Greece and the technology of iron smelting. The development of iron smelting and hard iron weapons associated with the Dorian invaders was attributed by the ancients to the downfall of the Bronze Age civilization of the Mycenaeans or Achaeans—the Greeks of the Trojan War—and to the rise of the Greek Dark Ages. Yet archaeology has shown that the raiders from the north had bronze, not iron weapons. It is more probable that iron working developed in Greece after the loss of the Mycenaean trade network that had supplied tin and copper needed for bronze from afar—the tin from as far away as Cornwall in Britain. The technique for iron working itself probably was introduced from the Near East.

Literature

The Doric dialect is found in the sixth–fifth-century B.C.E. lyric poetry of Pindar and in the third-century B.C.E. pastoral poems of Theocritus and survived in the choral sections of classical Greek tragedy, which are traced to the oldest forms of Greek drama.

The study of the Dorians, as is the case with all the ancestors of the ancient Greeks, is a prime example of how myth, linguistics, and archaeology all play a part in historical studies and how, in attempting to classify peoples, it is important to keep sources of information with their relative strengths and weaknesses in mind.

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Dregovichians (Dregovichi; Dregoviches)

The Dregovicians are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS, living along the Berezina and Pripyat Rivers in present-day southern Belarus probably by the early sixth century C.E. Probably in the eighth century they established a principality centered around Turov and held territory northeastward toward the Dnieper River.

In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples they came under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

With other Slavic tribes in the region—DREVLYANS, KRIVICHIANS, POLOCHANIANS, and RADIMICIANS—the Dregovicians are considered ancestral to modern Belarusians (*see* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY).

Drevlyans (Drevlyane; Drevliane; Drevlians; Drevlane; Derevlians; Derevlianians; Derevlane; Vervians)

The Drevlyans were a tribal confederation of Eastern SLAVS, living to the northwest of Kiev and south of the Pripyat River in present-day northern Ukraine and southern Belarus probably by the early sixth century C.E. Their name means "people of the forest."

In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples the Drevlyans were under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

In 945 a party of Drevylans, angered by the unfair collection of tribute by the Rus prince Igor, killed him. His wife, Olga, who served as regent for their son, Svyatoslav, exacted revenge. According to legend she accepted a marriage proposal from Prince Mal of the Drevlyan. Olga told Mal that she would only go to him if he sent his nobles and lords to accompany her. When the lords arrived, they were offered a steam bath, during which the bathhouse was locked and burned down. Also, according to legend, she demanded three pigeons and three sparrows from each Drevlyan family as a sign of reconciliation. On release the birds returned to Drevlyan houses, identifying them for her soldiers. In any case the Rus were said to have burned Iskorosten to the ground, and Olga reorganized the system of tributes and promoted Christianity among the Drevlyans and other Slavic tribute tribes, for which she was canonized by the Catholic Church.

With other Slavic tribes in the region—DREGOVICIANS, KRIVICHIANS, POLOCHANIANS, and RADIMICHIANS—the Drevlyans are considered ancestral to modern Belarusians (*see* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY).

DREVLYANS

location:
South of Pripyat River in northern Ukraine and southern Belarus

time period:
Sixth to 10th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
East Slavic

Duklianes

The Duklianes were a tribe of Southern SLAVS whose territory was near the abandoned Roman town of Dioclea near modern Montenegro. At the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries C.E. they joined with a tribe to their west, the Travunianie, to form a state called Duklianie, which comprised present-day Montenegro and parts of present-day southern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Duklianie was conquered in turns by the SERBS, the BYZANTINES, the western BULGARS, and the Byzantines again, before it finally achieved independence in the mid-11th century. Much of the region later became the kingdom of Montenegro (*see* MONTENEGRINS; SERBS: NATIONALITY).

Dulebians (Dulebi; Duleby; Dulebs; Doulebes; Doudelebi)

The Dulebians were a tribe of Eastern SLAVS, who lived northeast of the Carpathian Mountains between the Dniester River and Western Bug and Southern Bug Rivers in present-day western Ukraine probably by the early sixth century C.E.

The Dulebians competed with the AVARS in the late sixth to early seventh centuries. A tribal federation formed among them consisted in part of Slavs formerly known as ANTES. Some scholars consider the ULICHIANS a branch tribe of the Dulebians.

In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples the Dulebians fell under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

DULEBIANS

location:
Northeast of Carpathian Mountains in present-day western Ukraine

time period:
Sixth to 10th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
East Slavic

DUMNONII

location:
Southwest England; Brittany in France

time period:
First century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (Celtic)

The Slavic-speaking groups that later became known as PODILIANS, living in the region of Podilia, and the VOLHYNIANS, living in Volhynia, are thought to be partly descended from the Dulebians.

Dumnonii (Dumnoni; Domnainn)

The Dumnonii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the former counties of Cornwall and Devon in present-day southwestern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as BRITONS or CELTS.

The Dumnonii apparently did not resist the ROMANS in the first century C.E. Isca Dumnoniorum on the site of present-day Exeter was a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation.

Dumnonii, known as Domnainn, probably the same people, also lived in Ireland at some point in the centuries B.C.E. Tribal members went to live on the north coast of Brittany in present-day France in the fifth century C.E., in an area that became known as Domnonee. The Dumnonii probably had no connection to the DAMNONII of present-day central Scotland.

By the sixth century Dumnoii descendants were part of a British kingdom in the original homeland known as Dumnonia. Modern-day descendants are referred to as CORNISH.

Durocasses (Durocassi)

The Durocasses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Dreux, west of Paris, in northern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Dreux takes its name from the tribal name.

Durotriges

The Durotriges are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the present-day county of Dorset and southern parts of Somerset and Wiltshire in southern England and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. They are thought to have been a confederation of smaller tribal groups. They resisted the ROMANS, but Vespasian, a general for the emperor Claudius I in the 40s C.E., destroyed 20 of their hill forts and subdued them. Durnovaria, on the site of present-day Dorchester, became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation; Lindinis, on the site of present-day Ilchester, later became the capital of a second Durotrigean *civitas*.

Dutch: nationality (Hollanders; people of the Netherlands)

GEOGRAPHY

The North Sea flanks the Netherlands to the north and west; Germany borders the Netherlands to the east; Belgium lies to the south. The Netherlands is part of the Benelux countries with Belgium and Luxembourg. The mainland has an area of 16,003 square miles. Nearly half of the country's landmass is below sea level, mostly in the west. Canals, rivers, and clay- and peat-soiled lands mark the terrain. Agricultural lowlands are found to the east and south. The foothills of the Ardennes lie in the southern Limburg province, where Vaalserberg (1,053 feet), the highest peak, is found. Dunes make up the northern and southern coastlines. Eroded dunes formed the West Frisian Islands and the tidal sea Waddenzee. Many of the sea arms are being drained and reclaimed, land known as *polders*. The principal rivers include the Rhine and its tributaries (the Waal, the Nederrijn, the Maas, and the Schelde).

INCEPTION AS A NATION

GAULS and GERMANICS, in particular the BATAVI, FRISIANS, and FRANKS, once inhabited the region that became the Netherlands. It was also occu-



This etching from the late 19th century shows a seated Dutchman holding a shovel. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-91345])*



A Dutch boy stands in front of a windmill in this photograph from the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-76697])*

DUTCH: NATIONALITY

nation:
Netherlands (Nederland); the Netherlands; Holland

derivation of names:
Netherlands is derived from *nether*, a Germanic root meaning "low"; Holland is derived from *hol,* a Germanic root meaning "wooded."

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Amsterdam; de facto, The Hague

language:
Official language is Dutch; Frisian is officially spoken in the province of Friesland; Flemish, English, German, and French are also spoken.

religion:
About 34 percent of the population are Catholic; about 27 percent are Protestants; about 34 percent have no religious affiliation; a small percentage practice Islam and Judaism.

earlier inhabitants:
Batavi; Frisians; Gauls (Celts); Romans; Franks

demographics:
About 96 percent of the population are Dutch; ethnic minorities include Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans, Surinamese, and Indonesians.

pied by the ROMANS. During the ninth and 10th centuries C.E. Scandinavian raids within the Netherlands forced unification among local defenses. This led to the gradual formation of powerful Dutch city-states. In 1555 the region including the present-day Netherlands fell under Spanish rule. The large Calvinist population organized revolts against Catholic Spain, and in 1579 the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland, and Groningen banded together to form the Union of Utrecht, declaring their independence in 1581. Intermittent wars with Spain continued until the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648; the Peace of Westphalia officially recognized the independence of the United Provinces and passed the regions of North Brabant, with Breda, and part of Limburg, with Maastricht, to the United Provinces.

The country prospered throughout the 1600s, adding large colonial and trading territories to its control. In the 18th century the United Provinces engaged in a series of wars with Britain and France. The country lost several colonies under the Treaty of Paris in 1783, ending the American Revolution. During the Napoleonic wars (1795–1813) France occupied the entire region; Napoleon established the Kingdom of Holland in 1806. After Napoleon I Bonaparte's defeat France took control of the kingdom until the Congress of Vienna in 1814 reestablished the Netherlands as an independent nation. It consisted of the former United Provinces and present-day Belgium. Belgium seceded in 1830.

After German occupation of the Netherlands during World War II (1940–45) the nation reinstated its former government. Throughout the latter part of the 20th century the Netherlands relinquished and ceded colonies, notably including Netherlands Antilles and Aruba as equal members of the kingdom, hence forming the present-day Netherlands.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The Dutch have long had a reputation for tolerance and for an open society that has attracted freethinkers, humanists, liberals, and those seeking religious freedom. The Dutch writer Desiderius Erasmus was a powerful proponent

Dutch: nationality time line

C.E.

870 Netherlands unites under East Frankish kingdom.

925 Netherlands is part of Holy Roman Empire.

1300–1400 Low Countries (Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg) are united by French dukes of Burgundy.

1477 Low Countries join Hapsburg Empire when Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian I of Hapsburg family.

1516 Charles, king of Low Countries, becomes Charles I, king of Spain.

Hiëronymus Bosch is mentioned as *Insignis pictor* (distinguished painter) in official records at time of his death.

1524–26 Desiderius Erasmus disputes with Martin Luther over extent of Protestant Reformation.

1555 Philip II, son of Charles, controls Low Countries; persecution of Protestants persists.

1566 Dutch begin to rebel; southern Catholic provinces support Spanish rule; northern Protestants revolt.

1568 William I, prince of Orange, revolts against Spanish government.

1579 United Provinces, including Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Groningen, Friesland, and Overijssel, form Union of Utrecht.

1581 Protestant provinces of Low Countries declare independence; independence is not recognized by Spain.

1602 Dutch East India Company is formed.

1624 Dutch West India Company is formed.

1630–54 Dutch control Brazil; acquire Netherlands Antilles and Aruba.

1631 Rembrandt settles in Amsterdam as portrait painter and teacher.

1644 Frans Hals becomes dean of painters' guild.

1648 Spain recognizes Netherlands' independence after years of Spanish-Dutch conflict.

1652–74 Netherlands battles against England in naval wars; Netherlands wins Suriname; England wins New Netherland.

1653 Johannes Vermeer is admitted to painters' guild.

1659 *Systema Satrurnium* by astronomer Christiaan Huygens is published, in which he records discoveries of moon of Saturn and true shape of Saturn's rings.

1677 Philosopher Baruch Spinoza's *Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata,* or *Ethics,* is published posthumously.

1689 William III marries Mary II of England; in what becomes known in England as Glorious Revolution, William deposes James II of England without bloodshed and assumes English

of humanism in the 16th century. In the 17th century Holland's atmosphere of open inquiry induced the French philosopher and mathematician René Descartes and the English philosopher John Locke to live there. The fact that Holland was a republic and had had a long history of participation in governance by the merchant class tended to foster an atmosphere of discourse in which reason and objectivity—essential qualities for successful business endeavor—were highly regarded. Although the Dutch Reformed Church was the state religion, the Dutch government had a policy of de facto toleration of other faiths as long as their practitioners did not attract public notice of their worship—not the degree of religious freedom expected today, but a very liberal policy for the time.

Today the Dutch take great pride in their cultural heritage. Support for the arts is not limited to preserving and appreciating works of the past, however. The government is heavily

	Crown; Louis XIV of France attacks Netherlands in hope of annexing territory, leading to more than 20 years of war.
1701–14	Netherlands continues struggle with France in War of Spanish Succession.
1774	Naturalist Antoni van Leeuwenhoek begins studies of microorganisms with microscopes he has built.
1780	Great Britain starts naval war with Netherlands, motivated by American-Dutch allegiance during American Revolution.
1784	Great Britain defeats Dutch.
1795–1813	During Napoleonic Wars France occupies Netherlands.
1798	Royal Library (Dutch national library) is founded in the Hague.
1806	Batavian Republic becomes Kingdom of Holland.
1810	Napoleon I Bonaparte makes Kingdom of Holland part of France.
1815	Netherlands unites with Belgium and Luxembourg to form independent kingdom.
1830	Belgium establishes independence from Netherlands.
1885	First issue of review *De Nieuwe Gids* (The new guide), created by Willem Kloos and other writers, begins Dutch literary revival.
1886	Painter Vincent van Gogh moves to Paris.
1888	Concertgebouw, concert hall in Amsterdam, is completed, and Concertgebouw orchestra is founded.
1914–18	During World War I Netherlands remains neutral.
1917	Painter Piet Mondrian and other artists found De Stijl art review; Stijl group develops theories of "neoplasticism" involving reduction of paintings to primary colors, noncolors, and straight lines.
1922	Women win right to vote.
1939–45	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Netherlands; Dutch government flees to London.
1945	Netherlands becomes part of United Nations (UN).
1949	Indonesia, former Dutch colony, wins independence.
1957	Netherlands joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).
1962	Indonesia gains control of Netherlands New Guinea.
1975	Suriname, former Dutch colony, becomes independent nation.
1986	Aruba gains independence from Netherlands Antilles; both become equal members of Kingdom of the Netherlands.
1993	Netherlands becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).

involved in subsidizing artists working today in various media. Moreover, the Dutch tradition of free expression lives on in the care with which the government refrains from involving itself directly in control of cultural enterprises.

The Netherlands continued to be a mecca for people seeking freedom of action and expression into the 20th century. Members of the United States counterculture flocked there in the 1960s and 1970s, in large part because of the Netherlands' liberal drug policy. The government effectively decriminalized marijuana use in 1976, and it is available for purchase in small quantities by adults in licensed coffee shops. Meanwhile the country is still among the most tolerant concerning freedom of expression of all kinds and attracts people with radical or progressive politics from all over the world.

The Netherlands, with so much of its land artificially made and maintained with dykes and canals, is very densely populated. For this

reason it has long been necessary for the Dutch to find ways of working together for the mutual benefit of all and to develop social institutions that can minimize tensions among different groups in Dutch society, especially the different religions. One such institutional organization that was important until the 1960s is the *pillar* (group) system. There were three basic *pillars,* Protestant, Roman Catholic, and nonsectarian or public. In education, politics, the communications media, medicine, the trade unions, and other segments of Dutch life each *pillar* had its own institutions; for example, schools belonged to one of the three *pillars*. Most Dutch, then, went to school or hospital, read newspapers, and met in other social organizations with others of their religious or nonsectarian group. With increasing liberalization of religious doctrine after the 1960s the division between religious and public pillars lessened greatly and in many cases these joined, while some institutions ceased to be part of any *pillar.* Thus the *pillars* nowadays have much less significance in the life of individual Dutch.

Further Reading

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E

Eblani (Blanii; Ebdani)

The Eblani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day counties of Dublin and Meath in eastern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. The city of Dublin was formerly known as Eblana.

Eburones (Eburonii; Ebourones; Eberones)

The Eburones are classified as a Celtic tribe, although they probably had GERMANICS among them as well. They lived in Gaul west of the Rhine in present-day northeastern Belgium and southeastern Netherlands. Discussed as CELTS or GAULS, they were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. According to some Roman sources the Eburones had the largest and strongest rebel army in all of Gaul, some 60,000 men. After they had attacked the ROMANS under their leader Ambiorix in 54 B.C.E., they were practically exterminated by troops under Caesar the next year.

Eburovices (Eburovici; Aulerci Eburovices; Eburaici)

The Eburovices are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Evreux in northern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Evreux takes its name from the tribal name.

Eceni *See* ICENI.

Eduens *See* AEDUI.

Eleuteti (Eleutheri)

The Eleuteti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Aveyron River in present-day southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were perhaps a subgroup of the CADURCI.

Elusates

The Elusates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Eauze in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E. Elusa on the site of Eauze became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Eauze takes its name from the tribal name.

Elymi (Elimi)

The Elymi are one of three indigenous populations of Sicily whom the GREEKS encountered as they colonized the island during the Archaic period (starting about 700 B.C.E.). Archaeologists disagree on whether the Elymi are distinct from or closely related to the other two Sicilian peoples, the SICANI and SICULI. The Elymi inhabited the northwestern corner

ELYMI

location:
Northwestern Sicily

time period:
Mid-16th to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Elymian (affiliations unknown)

Elymi time line

B.C.E.

c. 1500	Elymi in Sicily
seventh century	Elymi contacts with Greeks
sixth century	Elymi contacts with Carthaginians
580	Boundary disputes with Greeks
424	Elymi alliance with Athens
397	Elymi attacked by Greeks of Syracuse
307	Greeks sack Segesta.

of Sicily in present-day Italy sometime in the second millenium B.C.E.

ORIGINS

Ancient historians identified the Elymi as descendants of the Trojans of Asia Minor. Modern theories suggest they may be the descendants of LIGURIANS, who crossed the Tyrhennian Sea to Sicily from the Italian Peninsula during the Bronze Age. Others suggest the Elymi ancestors include both indigenous and intruding populations. Archaeological and linguistic evidence remains inconclusive on the origins and identity of these people, who inhabited independent cities.

LANGUAGE

Only minuscule fragments of the Elymi language remain, from a Greek inscription of the fifth century B.C.E., but not enough to determine whether the Elymi were an Indo-European-speaking people or not.

HISTORY

Segesta was the most important Elymi city during historical times. After 700 B.C.E. the Greeks established the colony of Selinus on Sicily's south coast, and the CARTHAGINIANS established Motua in the northwest. From 580 B.C.E. the Elymi at Segesta were engaged in boundary disputes with the Greeks of Selinus. Toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E. the Carthaginians conquered the Elymi city of Erice. In the mid-fifth century B.C.E. the Elymi entered into dealings with Athenians and they formed an alliance with them in 424 B.C.E. during the Greek civil wars.

After the defeat of Athens the Elymi joined into an alliance with the Carthaginians, in which the Carthaginians took over most of the authority. Segesta was besieged in 397 B.C.E. by Dionysius the Elder, the powerful tyrant of the Greek city-state of Syracuse on Sicily, but was finally rescued by a Carthaginian force. Then in 307 B.C.E. the Greek general Agathocles sacked Segesta, killing 10,000 of the Elymi.

After the Punic Wars of the Carthaginians and ROMANS of the third and second centuries B.C.E. the Elymi were swallowed into the expanding territory of Rome and Latinized.

CULTURE

Little is known of Elymi culture other than that they were highly influenced in art and culture by the Greeks and Carthaginians, and later by the Romans.

The location of the island of Sicily in the central Mediterranean has attracted settlement by many different peoples. The most ancient known inhabitants—the Elymi, Sicani, and Siculi, who themselves probably migrated there from elsewhere—were caught up in the wars for their homeland between major Mediterranean powers.

English (Engle; Anglo-Normans; people of England)

ENGLISH

location:
Region of England in Britain

time period:
1066 C.E. to present

ancestry:
Primarily Anglo-Saxon and Norman

language:
English

England is a region in the southern part of the island of Great Britain in the British Isles. Scotland and Wales are the two other regions. The peoples of all three regions—the English, SCOTS, and WELSH—have distinct traditions, as do the peoples of the island of Ireland to the west, the IRISH. The administrative divisions of England—Scotland, Wales, and Northern Island—make up the present-day nation of the United Kingdom, or officially the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (*see* BRITISH: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

The defeat of the ANGLO-SAXONS by the NORMANS in 1066 created the conditions for the emergence of the English in the modern sense of the word. Previously the term English had referred solely to Anglo-Saxons (Angli later transformed to Old English to Engle, which evolved into Engla-land and eventually English). But as the Norman ruling families in Britain, called by modern scholars Anglo-Normans, focused more of their energies on their lands and political ambitions there than in France, a new tradition emerged.

LANGUAGE

The Old English language evolved into the strongly French influenced Middle English, which evolved into modern English.

HISTORY

Norman Consolidation

Armed Anglo-Saxon resistance to the Normans was at first local in response to local issues, such as misrule by officials and Norman landholders. Long accustomed to taking their cue from the Old English Crown, the *thegns* (thanes) lacked a leader to rally around. Only in 1069 did an organized rebellion occur, led by the Northumbrians, who had long resented rule from the south and had previously rebelled in 1065 and 1066 against Harold, the last Anglo-Saxon king of England. With assistance from Scotland and Denmark Northumbrians marched against the castle at Durham, massacring its garrison, then laying siege to York. Soon earls and other local leaders all over the north of England were up in arms. The response of William the Conqueror, king of England, was brutal. Building numerous simple castles of mounded earth and timber, which could be erected within as little as six days, to serve as hubs for lightning raids by his mounted knights, he quickly gained control of the territory and then proceeded with a scorched-earth campaign of destruction so complete, people were reduced to eating cats and dogs, and the area was a useless wasteland for decades thereafter.

William and later Anglo-Norman monarchs also sought to project their power beyond their own borders. Wales, Scotland, and Ireland nevertheless remained largely independent. Scotland was a united kingdom; the various smaller kingdoms of Wales and Ireland over time generated a series of powerful leaders who tried to unite their country under their rule.

Norman Rivals

The Norman cohesion that William had managed to achieve collapsed on his death, as he divided Normandy and England between two of his sons, who soon were at war with one another. Only their younger brother, Henry I, who gained the English throne after his brother was killed while hunting, was able to consolidate his hold on England as his father had. The fact that when his daughter Matilda succeeded him as monarch in 1135 a powerful faction of Anglo-Norman barons immediately revolted against her illustrates the continued precariousness of the Anglo-Norman monarchy. Henry's nephew Stephen of Blois headed the revolt, which in part was driven by mainland politics because Matilda had married Geoffrey of the powerful house of Anjou (whose members were called Angevins) in France, great rivals of the dukes of Normandy. Three years after Stephen seized the throne, he was attacked by Geoffrey, and a long, devastating, and inconclusive civil war ensued, neither side able decisively to defeat the other. Other barons not primarily involved in the Matilda-Stephen rivalry took advantage of the political vacuum caused by Stephen's distraction with the war to plunder weaker lords, and general lawlessness gripped the land. Even after Matilda abandoned her claims to the throne in 1148, Geoffrey, now duke of Normandy, mounted a new invasion led by his son Henry in 1153. When Stephen's son and heir Eustace IV died the same year, Stephen agreed to reunite the Anglo-Norman kingdom by naming

English time line

C.E.	
1066	William the Conqueror becomes king of England.
1069	Northumbrians revolt against Normans.
1153	Anglo-Norman kingdom is reunited when Henry II takes throne.
1215	Magna Carta is implemented.
1258	Parliament meets to draw up a provisional constitution to control king.
1301	Edward I gives his son lordship as first prince of Wales, heir apparent to English throne.
1376	Good Parliament convenes.
1381	Peasants' Revolt
1453	Hundred Years' War ends
1455–85	Wars of the Roses culminate in beginning of Tudor dynasty with Henry Tudor becoming Henry VIII.
1534	Henry VIII issues Act of Supremacy and becomes head of church and state.
1536	Wales is united with England.
c. 1550	Act of Uniformity, imposing First Book of Common Prayer on English worshipers, is opposed in southwestern England by rioting.
1558	Protestant Elizabeth I ascends to power.
1563	Poor Laws are enacted.
1587	Mary, Queen of Scots, is executed.
1588	English navy defeats Spanish Armada.
1603	James VI of Scotland ascends English throne as James I.
1707	England and Scotland are formally united, forming Great Britain.
1801	Ireland is formally united with Great Britain.

Henry as his successor. Stephen died the following year.

Henry II and Thomas Becket

Henry II's reputation has been clouded by the murder, possibly at his command or possibly by mistake, in 1170 of Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury. Becket had been Henry's chancellor, the most powerful commoner in the land, and had applied his considerable talents on Henry's behalf with much success. Thus, when the see of Canterbury became vacant, Henry thought Becket as archbishop would prove a powerful ally in his struggle for dominance with church leaders. Whether because he had a spiritual awakening or because his ambitions now centered on the church, the formerly worldly and irreligious Becket turned against Henry and opposed his plans as vigorously as he had once promoted them. His opposition to Henry's coronation of his son particularly infuriated the king and led to Henry's famous outburst, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four of his barons interpreted him literally and carried out his presumed wishes, by murdering Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. Whether Henry had simply been carried away by rage, never intending his order to be executed, or whether he had feigned rage to cast this very doubt on his intentions and avoid culpability in the affair, has been the subject of speculation for centuries. But the rivalry of Henry and Becket—of a king and a minister of common descent—formed a paradigm of English and later British political life that continued to be a living reality up to the 20th century.

Henry II's later years had been dominated by intrigue surrounding his domains in Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. England and large areas of France (almost half its landmass) remained under the joint rule of Richard and John, but the ambitions of the powerful French monarchy made the situation increasingly untenable under them and succeeding rulers, and by the 13th century the French lands were lost to the English Crown.

Edward I, Wales, and Scotland

In the 13th century Edward I made decisive moves toward the annexation of Wales, seizing control of Welsh territory that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, among the most powerful leaders in Welsh history, had managed to dominate, partly because of the weakness of Henry III. After a massive invasion in 1276 Edward defeated Llywelyn, dismembered his kingdom of Gwynedd, and asserted his lordship over the Marcher lords. In 1301 he vested authority for Wales in his eldest son, beginning the tradition that the heir apparent to the English throne be given the title of prince of Wales.

During the same period Edward attempted to assert his overlordship in Scotland, deposing the reigning king and after an invasion removing the coronation Stone of Scone to England. His initiative would be resisted by Scots for years thereafter. Edward introduced England into the network of international finance by inviting Italian bankers to London. In return for their loans he granted them the revenues from a tax on wool, Britain's principal export at this time, which the Italians collected directly.

Peasants' Revolt

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was the first mass uprising by commoners in English history. Profound socioeconomic shifts caused by the devastation of the bubonic plague, or Black Death, which had ravaged England 30 years before, had increased the power of laborers, who were able to demand higher wages. The immediate cause of the revolt was the imposition of a poll tax on every man in England. Despite its name the revolt was led by small property holders called yeomen, who were becoming an important social force as more and more peasants were able to accumulate wealth. One of the leaders of the revolt was John Ball, an itinerant preacher who was inspired by the ideas of John Wycliffe, a reformist cleric who rejected church hierarchy and insisted that the Bible was the only true religious authority. (The epidemic known as the Black Death had had a disproportionate effect on the clergy. The loss of so many people led to recruitment into the church of men without the traditional education of clerics. In many cases these recruits had differing outlooks on religion and challenged the church's organization and assumptions in parallel with the forces in society at large.) Wycliffe had preached that the pope and higher clergy were no more certain of salvation than the lowliest peasant. Ball took this egalitarianism a step further, comparing the relationship to serfdom.

The effects of societal changes were also felt in Parliament at this time. In the so-called Good Parliament of 1376 the first challenges to royal power from outside the aristocracy occurred as opposition to increasing taxes by Edward III, led not by the barons but the "commons" in Parliament.

End of the Hundred Years War

After decades of conflict the English under Henry V finally achieved a decisive victory over the French at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Henry capitalized on this victory by capturing Rouen in Normandy in 1419 and with it the whole province. His premature death in 1422 meant the end of English ambitions to annex the whole of France, however, as various factions aspired to the English Crown. This distraction of resources for the English allowed the French to regain the territories Henry V had won, and English forces were finally driven out of France in 1453. The Hundred Years' War was over.

Tudor Dynasty

The struggle for power in England erupted into a bloody civil war for 30 years, 1455 to 1485, known as the Wars of the Roses. The conflict was brought to an end by Henry Tudor, who as Henry VII founded the Tudor dynasty.

Henry did much to reorganize the King's Council, appointing new councilors and calling regular meetings. With his support his minister Thomas Cromwell further organized subcommittees and made of the Privy Council an important body similar to the present-day Cabinet. Under Henry and subsequent Tudor monarchs Parliament's role as controlling the power of the purse became entrenched, and Henry regularly called Parliament into session to help enact legislation.

Henry VIII and the Church of England

In 1534 Parliament, under immense political pressure and intimidation, by the Act of Supremacy acknowledged Henry VIII as head of church and state and declared the Catholic religion, with its ritual and teachings, null and void. Henry wanted separation from the Catholic Church because he had failed to obtain papal approval for his desired divorce from his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Meanwhile because of England's Continental trading links Protestant ideas had arrived soon after the German Martin Luther's declaration against the church in 1516, and from 1526 German-printed vernacular versions of the Bible, produced by William Tynedale, were circulating extensively. As a result Henry's withdrawal of England from the Catholic fold met with approval by many (although by no means everyone). His decision to dissolve all monasteries in England led to massive uprisings in 1536 and 1537, in part because of the monasteries' importance in local economies, but also because of their continuing significant spiritual role in people's lives. During the 1550s the Act of Uniformity, which imposed the First Book of Common Prayer on English worshippers, was opposed in southwestern England by rioting.

After centuries of tug-of-war between English monarchs and the landed nobility, under Henry VIII much of governmental power became centralized in the monarchy. Parliament, however, in part made up of members of the nobility, continued to have the power of the purse, that is, control of finances, in that it alone had the right to enact new taxes, and the failure of Tudor monarchs to implement a financial system under which they could raise funds for their wars gave Parliament a certain measure of control over them. Henry's power over Parliament lay not in law but in his political acumen, and Parliaments in ensuing centuries under weaker kings would further curb royal power.

Under the Tudors the power of the English monarchy over Wales and Ireland increased significantly. In 1536 Parliament under Henry's pressure incorporated Wales into England. English law was imposed on Wales and English was made its official language. The two were known thereafter as England. Five years later the same body proclaimed Henry "king of Ireland."

Bloody Mary

After Henry's death and the premature death of his son and successor, Edward VI, Henry's daughter Mary, an avowed Catholic, was aided by anti-Protestant sentiment in her bid for the Crown against Edward's chosen Protestant heir. Mary's repressive regime, during which hundreds of Protestants were burned at the stake, earning her the nickname Bloody Mary, further deepened the divide between Catholics and Protestants, the roots of which lay in her father's forcible establishment of the Church of England. Catholic-Protestant rivalries—and later those between radical Puritans and "High Church" conservatives—fomented tension and violence for years thereafter. Mary further strengthened her reestablishment of the Catholic Church in England by marrying Philip II of Spain, who was in the forefront of the Counter-Reformation, the goal of which was to eradicate Protestantism from Europe.

Elizabeth I

Protestantism Among the first initiatives of Elizabeth I, who gained power after Mary's



This portrait from the 16th century is of Queen Elizabeth I of England. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-272])*

death in 1558, was to restore Protestantism in a form that would not unduly antagonize Catholics. Worship was to be in English rather than Latin, and a modified Book of Common Prayer was put in use. However, some aspects of Catholic worship, such as the use of candles, crucifixes, and clerical robes, were retained. The more extreme Protestants, called Puritans, condemned this system, but their influence was kept at bay throughout Elizabeth's reign as an uneasy accommodation between radicals of both sides was preserved, one however, punctuated from time to time with Catholic conspiracies to depose or assassinate Elizabeth.

Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Counter-Reformation

In 1567 Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been deposed by her own people, sought refuge with Elizabeth. Recognizing the threat that Mary posed, since she was a Catholic who might become a rallying point for Catholics bent on deposing Elizabeth, Elizabeth's ministers immediately imprisoned her. Even so she became the focus of conspiracies that eventually led to her execution in 1587. In reaction the pope called on Philip of Spain to invade England, and accordingly Philip created his Armada, which sailed the next year.

Mary's execution was only the final factor in Philip's decision to invade. Troops from England, Scotland, and Ireland had been fighting Philip's forces in the Netherlands since 1584, aiding the Protestant Dutch who were engaged in a rebellion against Spanish rule. Elizabeth had formed an alliance with the Dutch and had also closed her eyes to the activities of English privateers, notable among them Sir Francis Drake, who for years had been conducting a de facto naval war against the Spaniards in their own waters, raiding their treasure fleets from the Americas. The execution of Mary of Scotland finally prompted Philip to action and in 1588 a massive force of 130 ships, among them some of the largest ships of the day, and 19,000 troops sailed from Lisbon to Calais. Superior seamanship and naval tactics by the English, together with storms, forced the Armada out of British waters, although prevailing winds forced them to take an escape route north around Scotland and down the west coast of Ireland. Many Spanish ships were wrecked on these coasts along the way, and hundreds of Spanish seamen landed and were sheltered by Scots and Irish.

Plantation in Ireland under Elizabeth

Under Elizabeth English involvement in Ireland continued to increase, although slowly at first. Elizabeth's interest in Ireland focused most on the possibility that Catholic Spain and France would use Catholic Ireland as a staging area for invasion and insurgency. Elizabeth's government, having little stomach for conquest of Ireland, tried an approach of moderation, in 1569–70 establishing in Connaught and Munster regional councils (or presidencies) aimed at counterbalancing the power of the chieftains, in order to convince the Irish of the benefits of English rule. Some of these became successful, self-financing bodies that allowed a measure of local self-government to commoners. Yet attempts at colonization fell victim to the ambitions of Elizabethan soldiers such as Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, who modeled themselves on Spanish conquistadors in the New World and employed measures of utmost ruthlessness and brutality to seize lands from the Irish. The help given to Spanish seamen by Irish people apparently bore out Elizabeth's worst fears, especially when Irish chiefs repelled an English army attempting to

slaughter all Spaniards in Ulster. This defeat led to confiscation of lands and "plantation" or colonization in Ulster. In 1590 Elizabeth's lord deputy in Ireland broke up the ruling family in Monaghan, the MacMahons. Further attempts at plantation led to nine years of rebellion, during which much of Ulster was laid waste, and the destruction of cattle and crops caused widespread famine.

Unification of English and Scottish Crowns

The ascension of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I in 1603 can be cited as the beginning of the move toward modern-day Great Britain, part of the United Kingdom. However, England and Scotland retained separate Parliaments under the united Crown. The familiar flag of Great Britain was created at this time by superimposing the red cross of St. George, patron saint of England, upon the X-shaped white cross of St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland.

Great Britain

Increasingly after this period the political history of the English was intertwined with that of the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. Great Britain was created when in 1707 the Scots gave up their separate parliament and sent representatives to the English Parliament. Nearly a century later in 1801 Great Britain and Ireland were formally united, with Irish representation in the British Parliament. The red saltire (X-shaped cross) of St. Patrick was added to the flag of Great Britain. With the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 Ireland with the exception of six Protestant counties in the north was granted independence as the Irish Free State. The northern counties became Northern Ireland, part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the latter consisting of England, Scotland, and Wales. At the end of the 20th century the different nations of the British archipelago, who had maintained remarkably distinct cultures and identities, gained their independence from the United Kingdom and the British Parliament. In 1997 the people of both Wales and Scotland voted to create their own legislative bodies, and in 1999 the Good Friday peace accords ended direct British rule in Northern Ireland.

CULTURE

Government and Society

Anglo-Saxon England was probably the most highly organized state in Europe in the 11th century. The government had evolved beyond the relatively simple Germanic system based on personal loyalties, by which greater lords granted or "loaned" land to lesser lords in return for military service. Alfred the Great in the ninth century had resolved a common problem with this system—the fact that over time for various reasons landholders began to consider their lands their own, not loaned, and resisted making compensation in terms of military service. Alfred's solution was to subject lands themselves to direct royal taxation in both money and service, in effect bypassing the web of aristocratic interrelationships. Great landowners were expected to contribute armed *thegns* (thanes) to the king's military campaigns, the number based on the size of their estates and calculated according to an exact and unambiguous formula. *Thegns* in turn contributed a calculated number of their own retainers. The shire system furnished the means by which the king, through royal officials called shire reeves (later sheriffs), had far more direct control over local lords than Norman dukes had ever achieved.

In contrast Norman dukes assembled armies by means of personal and family loyalties. Moreover Norman lords expected a share in the spoils of war, in the old Germanic way, a practice that had been greatly curtailed in England, for two reasons: The expansionist pressure exerted by kings' rewarding followers new lands gained in wars of conquest could not continue forever on an island with no new lands to conquer. And the continual threat of the VIKINGS, even more dangerous than the Normans, had brought about the emergence of the kings of Wessex as national leaders of all Old English, who joined in a common cause.

Thus William the Conqueror, who had struggled throughout his reign as duke to control his barons in Normandy, now found at his command the methods of Anglo-Saxon kingly control: and the use of writs, courts, and sheriffs became the instruments of dominance for him and for Anglo-Norman kings thereafter, making them the most powerful rulers in Britain.

Merging of Anglo-Saxons and Normans into English Numerically the Normans who took over present-day England in the 11th century were few—between about 10,000 and 20,000, a majority of whom were probably common soldiers—ruling over a country of about 1 million. Several hundred Norman barons replaced around 4,000 Anglo-Saxon earls, but the whole

structure of royal government remained fundamentally Anglo-Saxon for centuries. Elements of the former Anglo-Saxon government that the Normans retained included the king's council, the royal seal and writing office, the shire system and the sheriffs, and the twofold royal revenue system consisting of the produce of royal estates and a direct tax levied by the Crown on the landowning class.

Moreover the Anglo-Saxon and Norman societies were not fundamentally different, both arising from a Germanic substrate. Both were warrior societies moving toward greater stability under the influence of strong leaders. The two had had ties for many years. The mother of King Edward the Confessor was a Norman, and Edward spent years living in Normandy; when he ascended the English throne, he took many Norman friends to his court. And it was characteristic of Normans to adapt quickly and adopt new cultural traits (they had ceased speaking their native Danish a generation after settling in Normandy in northern France). Thus the English culture and language can be thought of as basically Anglo-Saxon with a strong admixture of Norman qualities.

There is conflicting evidence as to how long the Normans had been in England when they merged with the Anglo-Saxons (or Old English, as some scholars call them). Some of the writings of the 12th century speak of "the English" as a single people; others distinguish continuing Norman traits. The Norman aristocracy are known to have lived apart from Anglo-Saxons. It is difficult to tell how many commoners from Normandy, such as merchants, craftsmen, or laborers, followed their lords to England, and to what extent such roles were filled by Anglo-Saxons, making the Norman rulers a small minority in their new land. Some second-generation Normans, it is known, could no longer speak French. It may have been only the highest aristocracy among the Normans, many of whom still had lands and extensive connections in France, who resisted speaking English for centuries.

Sweeping Changes in Anglo-Saxon Society under Normans For the Anglo-Saxon *ceorls* (churls), free small landholders called *villeins* by the Normans, the situation under the Normans may not have changed drastically immediately after the Norman Conquest, although over time they would be subject to the same trends—at a greatly accelerated pace—already under way; that is, losing their lands and becoming tenants cum serfs, called *cottars*. But Anglo-Saxons of a higher station were immediately dispossessed. There were approximately 1,400 officeholders called tenants-in-chief in Anglo-Saxon England; of these only two were still in office by 1086. There were exceptions, especially among English prelates who had recognized William as Edward the Confessor's anointed successor. William confirmed many in their positions, as well as some English earls. Of the several thousand lesser *thegns* (freemen and freewomen) below them, some still held their family lands in 1086 but often owed service to a Norman overlord.

The great castles and churches built in England by the Normans in the 11th and 12th centuries probably served a psychological as well as a practical function, a demonstration of Norman power intended to awe the Anglo-Saxons. The many castles built across England shortly after the conquest as well as much contemporary testimony give evidence of the brute force the Normans used to subdue the Old English. The Anglo-Saxon culture was much older, richer, and more evolved than the Norman, which had only emerged several centuries before under the influence of the FRANKS of present-day France. The heavy-handed use of force as well as cultural "apartheid" may actually be signs of the Normans' sense of cultural inferiority to the Old English, the people who had produced Alfred the Great, the Venerable Bede, and *Beowulf*.

Magna Carta Aside from repeated attempts to regain French territory by successive monarchs, during the medieval period the focus of the English Crown was mostly on domestic matters, most notably the struggle between the monarchy and the barons to delineate their respective powers. An important milestone in this process, although its full implications did not immediately come into play, was the drawing up in 1215 of Magna Carta, the Great Charter between John and his barons, which for the first time set down in written law limits to the powers of the monarchy. Among its provisions it guaranteed the rights of the church, and it included 25 chapters detailing provisions designed to curb the king's exploitation of the tax system and other financial privileges.

During the 13th and 14th centuries considerable constitutional changes were instituted, including the creation of Parliament (derived from the French *parler,* to speak), a body of advisers to the king elected from among the local nobility, at first two knights from each shire. Contemporary compilation of

English law in the 13th century shows that it had become distinctively different from both canon (ecclesiastical) and Roman law. One of the most important concepts recognized by this time was that "the king is under the law because the law makes him king," according to Henry de Bracton in his *Laws and Customs of England,* a crucial turning point away from the situation in England (and Europe in general) for centuries after the demise of the Roman Empire, particularly under the Anglo-Saxons, for whom royal power derived directly from military power.

Excesses and misgovernment by Henry III provoked Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1258 and draw up a provisional constitution to control the king. England was declared to be a "commune" made up of representative institutions. There were to be an elected council, three meetings of Parliament every year, and elected officials. Henry III was compelled to swear to the provisions, but by 1261 he had obtained release from his oath from the pope. Yet an important precedent had been set, and the relationship between Crown and Parliament would be developed for centuries to come.

Poor Laws In Elizabeth's reign the problem of poverty in Britain had become severe. The shrinkage of arable land and shorter growing seasons caused by the Little Ice Age had led to greater importance of fishing and of trade in the overall economy during the 15th century, and this in turn led to a movement of people from the countryside to the cities. Overpopulation was held in check for a time by recurrences of the plague and by wars, and higher wages paid to laborers after the Peasants' Revolt brought about a higher standard of living. Over time, however, this fostered a higher birth and lower death rate, and by the 16th century the population began to grow dramatically. Because of the Little Ice Age economic resources derived from agriculture, still of vital importance to the economy, could not keep pace with the population growth. At the same time many landowners were ejecting tenant farmers from their land in order to raise sheep for the lucrative wool trade. Henry VIII's devaluation of the currency intensified price inflation. Increasing numbers of people were unable to support themselves, and the destitute flocked to the cities in great numbers. Elizabeth's ministers feared the consequences of having large numbers of the poor and desperate concentrated in the cities with no option except to beg, steal, or do worse.

In 1563 the government enacted the first in a series of provisions that came to be called the Poor Laws, for the first time acknowledging that care for the poor was the responsibility not solely of individual benefactors or of church authorities, but of citizens as a whole through the central government. This idea was underscored by the introduction of a poor law tax in 1572. Some of the Poor Laws aimed to curb begging and robbery with harsh penalties; others required local municipalities to provide work and oversee the needs of the poor. In cities "houses of correction" were established in which vagrants, while incarcerated, were given work with the idea that this would "cure" them of their ways so that they could be reintegrated into society.

Dwellings and Architecture

Perhaps the most characteristically "English" architecture, after the English had established an identity out of their varying ancestry and cultural influences, was that of the 18th-century Georgian style, in which, following classical models, architects arrived at a harmonious resolution of opposites. Based on the Roman Palladian style (a perhaps conscious derivation of a nation that was coming to see itself in Roman terms as it embarked on the creation of an even greater empire than that of the ROMANS), Georgian style was used both for domestic architecture, such as Somerset House in London, and for planned sections in cities, such as the Adelphi section of London, the Royal Crescent of Bath, and the Customs House and surrounding buildings in Dublin. It is thus preeminently a social rather than religious style.

Art

As in past ages English visual artists after Anglo-Norman times to the present have received strong influences from Europe. The illuminated manuscript painters of medieval England worked in mainstream European traditions and were also influenced by Celtic styles from Ireland and Scotland. English painters of the 16th and 17th centuries learned Renaissance styles and techniques of portrait painting, together with a humanistic worldview, as well as the baroque style from Flemish painters (*see* FLEMINGS). From the 18th century on English painters began to carve out their own particular styles and became less imitative of foreign models, absorbing influences and making them their own.

Literature

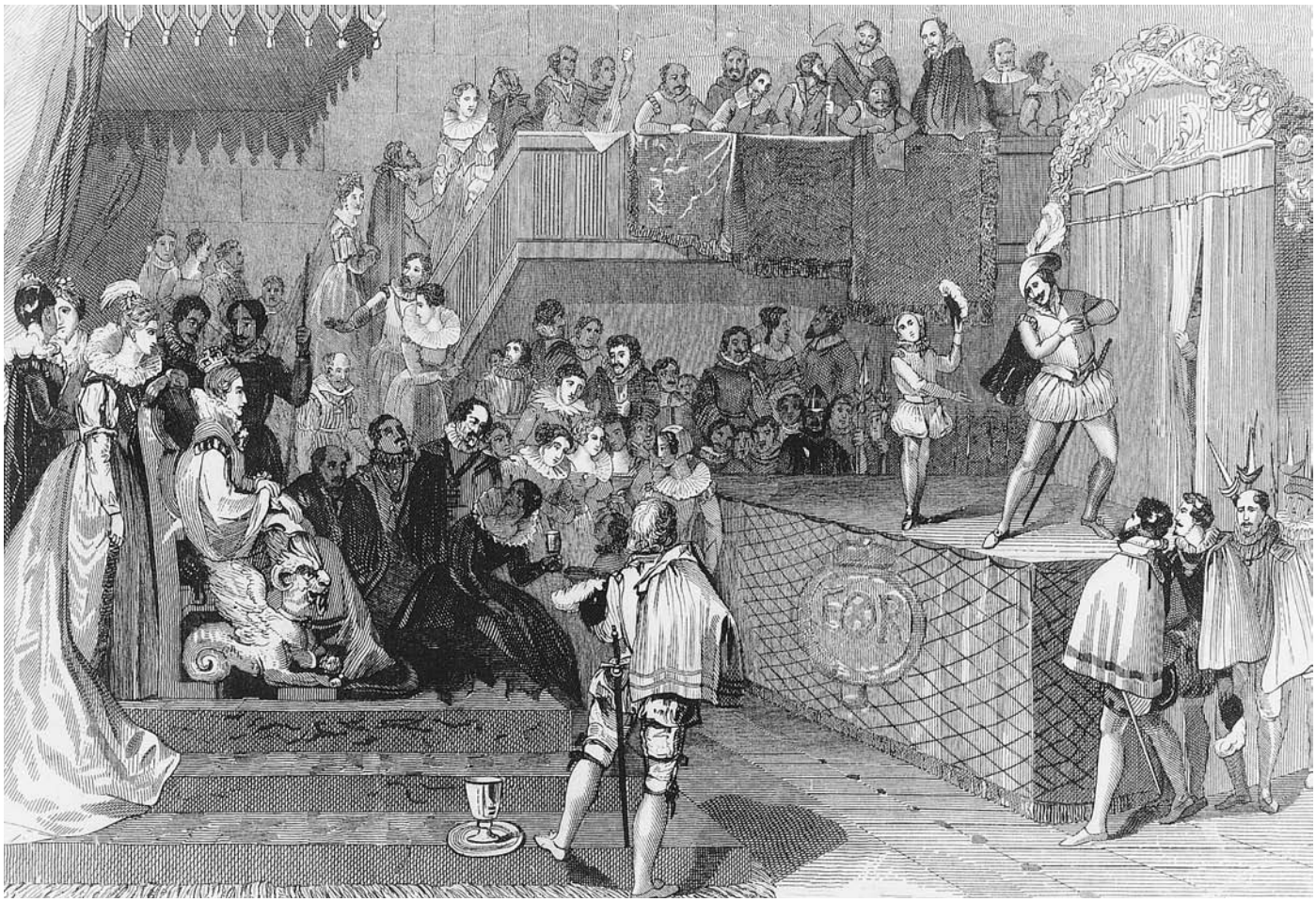
Rise of the English Language Although the English have excelled in all the arts, they have shown a particular genius for literature. The cause of this may in part be the English language with its huge vocabulary gained through its mixed origins in the Germanic Old English and Latin-derived French, thus combining the two main branches of most Western European languages. Modern English further developed, through the melding of Old English and French, and many Old and Middle English dialects, into a common or standard language of commerce, of the law, and of politics as well as of scholarship and literature. English, then, is in part an urban "melting pot" language of great flexibility and range, which readily absorbs new words and elements but also is capable of clarity and conciseness of expression.

The 14th century was a watershed for the English language as for so much else. In part because of the loss of clerks educated in French in 1362 Parliament passed a statute decreeing that all pleas should be heard in English. The new opportunities opening up to the English-speaking lower classes fostered greater pride and confidence than they ever had before, one result of which was the emergence of a vibrant vernacular literature, led by William Langland and by Geoffrey Chaucer, who wrote the *Canterbury Tales* of 1387. During the 14th and 15th centuries, possibly because of the rise of English patriotism during the Hundred Years' War with France, even among the aristocracy English replaced French as the language of daily use.

Robin Hood The dynamic process of sorting out the differing roles and powers in England involving the king, the barons, the minor aristocracy, and the common people is illustrated in the story of Robin Hood. By the 14th century ballads concerning Robin Hood were so common that in the earliest known written reference to Robin by name, found in *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* written by William Langland in 1377, the character of a drunken chaplain laments that he knows the rhymes of Robin Hood better than he knows his prayers. The "King's deer," whose slaying propelled Robin, possibly a member of the minor aristocracy, into a life of outlawry, is a powerful symbol of royal prerogatives, and the outlaw bands that Robin joined and led represented forces in English society at odds with the status quo. The poor for whom Robin provided by stealing from the rich were probably predominantly descended from dispossessed Anglo-Saxons. The many characters in the Robin Hood tales—peasants, yeomen, foresters, craftsmen, friars, the sheriff of Nottingham and kings John and Richard—together with Robin's change in status from nobleman to outlaw give a sense of a society in flux, one also in which people in many stations of society and walks of life mingle. The immense popularity of the Robin Hood ballads and plays in medieval England attests to the importance to English people of Robin's egalitarian creed of "robbing the rich to feed the poor," even at a time when society was highly stratified.

Nature Themes One of the hallmarks of English writers has been their preoccupation with nature—nature in general, but also the particular character of nature in England observed with that almost obsessive absorption shared by people of other island nations, such as Ireland and Japan. No other English writer made the natural world more essential to his created world of characters and narrative than William Shakespeare. Shakespeare used a philosophical system of his time called the doctrine of humors, which gives his plays a sense of universality but also of being set in an organically coherent natural world of their own. In this doctrine the whole of nature was governed by the interactions of essences called "humors" or temperaments, which were influenced by the planets. Each individual was influenced most by one of these temperaments—mercurial, saturnine, jovial (from Jove, or Jupiter)—although subject to the others to a lesser degree as well. Another basic premise of the doctrine of humors was that they connected human beings to nature; the planets affecting the individual could also affect the natural world at large; humanity was a microcosm of the macrocosmic universe. A cardinal point about this doctrine was that health depended upon the maintenance of an equilibrium among all the humors, and that imbalance was what led to illness. Virtually all of Shakespeare's plays begin with a situation of disequilibrium—for instance, as in *Hamlet,* "times are out of joint"—that by the end has been resolved, either in joyful harmony or, a shocking loss, when suddenly all the main actors are killed and we are stunned into silence. Part of the greatness of Shakespeare is the way his plays unfold with the organic motion of natural processes.

The theme of nature as the fount of poetry runs through the work of many English poets,



Shakespeare performs before Queen Elizabeth I and her court. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-116194])*

from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* which opens with an evocation of the springtide as the potent force that sends people on pilgrimage, to later works. English writers over the ages, such as the essayist Izaak Walton of the 17th century and the naturalist Gilbert White of the 18th century, have expressed the English love of the countryside and its pastimes. The 19th-century writers Robert Surtees, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy in their novels on society and human relations have nature as a theme. In Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss* the river Floss is practically one of the characters, providing the livelihood of the miller's family but also, by flooding, generating the novel's dramatic denouement.

War and Adventure Discussion of English letters must include writing on war, with notable examples throughout history, from the 15th-century carol *Deo Gracias Anglia* celebrating Henry V's victory at Agincourt, as does also Shakespeare's play *Henry V,* to "The Charge of the Light Brigade" in 1855 by Alfred Lord Tennyson and Wilfred Owen's poems on World War I. The Arthurian legend, rooted in the Celtic past, formed the basis for many works on war and adventure, such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late 1300s, author unknown) and Sir Thomas Mallory's *La Morte d'Arthur* of the 15th century.

Writings on Society Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and others of his works are 14th-century examples of English writing on society, as is William Langland's *Piers Plowman*. With the influence on English letters of the European intellectual movement called Renaissance humanism in the 16th century, derived from ancient Greek models, most notably Plato, which preferred rational discourse over the medieval reliance on received wisdom, writers began a more incisive observation and discussion of English society and politics than ever before. Chief among these was Sir Thomas More, who in *Utopia* (1516) questions assumptions underlying English society by describing a distant land organized according to rational principles rather than superstition.

Religion

Although Roman Britain had been Christian, with the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, Christianity disappeared in much of what would later be England. At the time Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were emerging in the sixth century, missionaries were sent to England by Pope Gregory the Great. Despite initial successes, the Gregorian mission to the Anglo-Saxons had no lasting impact, however. Rather, the Irish missionary centers of Iona and Lindisfarne in Scotland were the driving force behind the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. By the 680s all of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had been converted, at least nominally, and their kings began to enforce Christianity by law. After the seventh century the Catholic Church in England was vigorous and secure enough to send missionaries to pagans in Germanic Europe.

After the Norman Conquest Norman prelates took control of and reorganized the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Normans were great champions of the church and of religious orthodoxy. Their fervor for Christianity was not without a certain pagan outlook, and they expected their patronage of the church to gain them both spiritual and temporal support for their worldly political aims. This attitude underlay perhaps the darkest chapter in the history of the early medieval church in England: the murder in 1170 of Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, by barons of King Henry II.

In the 14th century almost certainly in part because of the devastation caused by the Black Death (the bubonic plague), which had decimated the clergy as they fulfilled their duty of giving last rites to the dying, new ideas prefiguring Protestantism began to appear among clerics who replaced them. Most prominently among these was John Wycliffe, a reformist cleric who rejected church hierarchy and insisted that the Bible is the only true religious authority.

A century later because of England's Continental trading links Protestant ideas arrived soon after the German Martin Luther's declaration against the church in 1516, and from 1526 German-printed vernacular versions of the Bible, produced by William Tynedale, were circulating extensively. Against this backdrop King Henry VIII withdrew the English Church from allegiance to the pope in Rome, declaring himself head of the church. Monasteries were dissolved and new liturgy was instituted; both initiatives were met at first with violent opposition among the common people. Although many in England had responded favorably to Protestant ideas, Henry's abrupt and forcible imposition of change polarized opinion between Protestants and Catholics; this divide was deepened considerably in the brutally repressive reign of Henry's daughter, Mary I, a Catholic, known as Bloody Mary for her executions of Protestants. This schism has led to violence and war in England and elsewhere in the British Isles up to the present day in the Catholic-Protestant controversies in Northern Ireland, where many English Protestants settled during the forcible "plantations" of the Elizabethan period and later. Ironically later English monarchs, most notably the Stuarts, sought to return England to Catholicism, initiatives that led to the English Civil War and strengthened the English Parliament, which was dominated by Protestants. The polarization led to the rise of extreme Protestant sects, most prominently the Calvinist-influenced Puritanism.

Perhaps in rejection of such extremes and also of sectarian violence, new Protestant sects continued to be born in England in succeeding centuries. In the 1640s there arose the so-called Quakers, or the Society of Friends; they were and are pacifists who reject the need for clergy to intercede with the divine, believing each individual is a potential vessel for God's light. In the 18th century Methodism rejected the Calvinist doctrine of psredestination (that the individual is foreordained by God for salvation or damnation, whatever his or her acts during life). In general the Church of England, or the Anglican Church, the national church of England, beginning with efforts by Elizabeth I, has steered a course between extremes, preserving much Catholic liturgy, while over time responding to new movements such as Methodism as well.

English culture has taken shape around the absorption and reinterpretation of foreign elements—Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Norman French, Italian, German. The following characteristics relate to what it means to be "English": a combination of insularity and cosmopolitanism brought about by the status of the English as islanders whose land at the same time was large enough to support a nation that could rise to world importance; the sense among the English of being at once part of and apart from Europe as a whole; their language, blended of a

Germanic and a Latin tongue, which has allowed them to feel a kinship with the two main poles of European culture; their social egalitarianism, which to this day has not eradicated class consciousness (illustrated, for example, by contradictory attitudes of condemnation and loyalty toward the English royal family); their love of nature, which only deepened as they became the most urbanized people in the world; and their pragmatic, down-to-earth character, which nevertheless has produced art and philosophy of the most high-flown idealism.

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Enotri (Enotrians; Oenotri; Oenotrians)

According to ancient sources, the Enotri occupied territory along rivers in the region of Lucania (modern Basilicata) in present-day southern Italy, as well as a great part of northern Bruttium (modern Calabria and part of Campania), by the eighth century B.C.E. Their homeland was known as Oenotria in ancient times, associated with the mythical king Enotro or Oenotro, who according to legend led his people to the Italian Peninsula from the Greek Peninsula in the second millennium B.C.E. during the Bronze Age. He was supposedly succeeded by Italo, who established law for his people. Their language affiliations are unknown. Many of their neighbors were ITALICS.

The Enotri had a tribal society based on family ties, with an agricultural economy. Known as "growers of the grapevine," they also manufactured artifacts of bronze. At the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E. after the GREEKS had founded colonies on the Ionian Sea and the ETRUSCANS had developed the interior of Campania, the Enotri acted as middlemen between the two peoples and thrived until the fall of the Greek city of Sybaris, a center of trade, and the emergence of the LUCANI in the region.

Some Enotri eventually migrated to Sicily it is believed, intermingling with the local population there, either the SICULI or SICANI, perhaps in the fourth century B.C.E., when the Lucani were thriving, or perhaps after 298 B.C.E., when the Lucani formed an alliance with the ROMANS.

ENOTRI

location:
Basilicata in southern Italy

time period:
Eighth to third century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Unknown

Epidi (Epidii)

The Epidi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain on the Kintyre peninsula in present-day southwestern Scotland and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. They are from Ireland. Other tribal members are thought to have settled in northeastern Ireland, where they mixed with the local population, becoming known as ROBOGDI. The Scottish Epidi were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E.

Equi *See* AEQUI.

Eravisci

The Eravisci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived on the Danube River around present-day Budapest in Hungary. It is possible that they moved into the region from the north, breaking off from other CELTS, in the first century C.E.

Ernaigh (Ernagh; Ernaei; Erdini)

The Ernaigh are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in northwestern Ireland (the present-day countries of Cavan and Leitrim in the Republic of Ireland and the county of Fermanaugh in Northern Ireland) at least by the first century C.E. They are discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Ernici *See* HERNICI.

Eruli *See* HERULI.

ESTHS

location:
Estonia

time period:
Ninth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

Essues

The Essues are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day Argentan region of northwestern France near the OSISMI at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Esths (Estes; Esthonians; Estonians)

The Esths were a Finnic-speaking tribe, living in present-day Estonia. They are classified as Baltic (or Western) Finnics, a subgroup of FINNO-UGRIANS, as distinct from the Volga (or Eastern) Finnics. The Esths are among the ancestors of modern Estonians (*see* ESTONIANS: NATIONALITY). To the south were the LIVS, also Finnic speaking, and the LETTS, a Baltic-speaking people.

ORIGINS

The ancestral Finnics are thought to have reached the Baltic region by 3000 B.C.E. Perhaps as early as the first century C.E. they had formed loosely organized states. The AESTII, a people mentioned by the Roman historian Tacitus in the first century C.E., although probably Baltic speaking, may be the source of their name. Or *Esths* is possibly derived from the Baltic root meaning "Speckled." Another possible source is a Germanic term for "east."

LANGUAGE

The Estonian language is in the Balto-Finnic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family and is closely related to Finnish. It has two main dialects: a northern dialect, used in most of Estonia and the basis of the modern literary language, and a southern dialect spoken south of Tartu. The earliest writings in Estonian date from the 16th century.

Esths time line

C.E.

ninth century	Esths living along coast of Baltic Sea.
1030	Yaroslav I of Rus founds Tartu in eastern Estonia.
1198	First Baltic crusade sanctioned by Pope Innocent III.
1201	City of Riga founded in Latvia by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden.
1202	Bishop Albert establishes military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.
1207–08	Brothers of the Sword defeat Livs in southern Estonia.
1219	King Valdemar II of Denmark defeats Esths in northern Estonia; Danes found Reval (modern Tallinn).

HISTORY

Those Esths living along the coast by the ninth century were at risk from attacks by VIKINGS and other raiders during the early Middle Ages, they too launched maritime raids on other peoples, crossing the Baltic in longboats. Inland Esths felt pressure from the RUS, who expanded from the east. In 1030 Yaroslav I founded Tartu among them southwest of Lake Peipus in eastern Estonia. Yet the Esths generally maintained their independence until soon after the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries.

Father Meinhard arrived in the region in the 1160s, practicing among the LIVS. In 1198 Pope Innocent III sanctioned the first Baltic crusade. Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden of Bremen arrived in 1199 and founded Riga to the south in present-day Latvia in 1201. The next year he founded the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands. The Brothers of the Sword pacified the Livs by 1207, thereby creating a new tax base for the Catholic Church and making soldiers for the conquest of the remaining tribes. Esths as well as Baltic-speaking LETTS moved onto what had been Liv territory. In 1214 the Brothers of the Sword defeated the Letts. The Esths turned to Russia for support against German expansion. Albert joined with Denmark in a final push for domination. The Danes attacked the Esths in the north, and the Germans in the south. By 1219 the mainland Esths had been conquered. Valdemar II of the Danes built Reval castle (at modern Tallinn) on the Gulf of Finland in 1219. The last remaining Esth stronghold, on the island of Saaremaa northwest of Riga in the Baltic Sea, held out for eight more years until 1227.

In 1237 the Brothers of the Sword united with the Teutonic Knights, who held lands among the Balts to the south in present-day northern Poland; they became known as the Livonian Order to Teutonic Knights. In 1282 Riga joined the Hanseatic League of northern Germany, a collection of merchants in the Baltic region, and assumed a central role in east-west trade and control of trade with local tribes.

In 1346 the Danes sold their territorial holdings to the order. The Esths remained under the rule of the knights and the Hanseatic merchants until the order's dissolution in 1561. At that time the nobility of northern Estonia, including Revel, submitted to the protection of the Swedish Crown; Poland retained southern Estonia, including Tartu. By 1645 Sweden ruled all of Estonia. In the 1670–80s Sweden introduced reforms, reducing privileges of the nobili-

ty over the Esths and Livs. In 1721 Sweden ceded Estonia to Russia by the Peace of Nystadt, at which time the Russian emperor Peter the Great restored the former privileges of the nobility. Estonian history henceforth is tied to that of Russia until independence in 1991.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

The Esths consisted of agrarian as well as fishing, hunting, and gathering peoples. The sea and inland waterways as well as the woodlands provided valuable resources. Even before the arrival of outsiders and the establishment of the Hanseatic League the Esths were part of a trade network involving many Baltic peoples.

Many peoples played a part in the history of Estonia. But because the Esths were the dominant ancient tribe in Estonia, their identity evolved into that of the Estonians.

Estonians: nationality (Estes; Esths; people of Estonia)

GEOGRAPHY

Estonia borders Russia to the east and Latvia to the south; the Gulf of Finland forms the coastline in the north and the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga lie to the west. The Gulf of Riga is separated from the Baltic Sea by Saaremaa and Hiiumaa, the two largest islands of the 1,500 that are part of the country. Estonia, along with Lithuania and Latvia, is part of the Baltic states. Estonia's entire area is 17,462 square miles. Plains and some southern hills make up most of Estonia's terrain. Forests cover about 50 percent of the land, and wetlands constitute another 20 percent. Lake Peipus in the east and Võrtsjärv in the south are the two largest lakes. Principal rivers include the Pärnu, the Narva (forming the Russian border), and the Emajõgi.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Starting in the 13th century C.E. the ESTHS and LIVS suffered occupation by invading Danes and Germans. By 1346 Denmark had ceded territories to the Livonian Order of the Teutonic Knights, who possessed the Southern Territories or Livonia. Knights and merchants still occupied the region in the 17th century, when northern Estonia fell under Swedish control, and Poland annexed southern Estonia. Sweden controlled all of Estonia by 1645. The Peace of Nystadt passed Estonia from Swedish hands to Russian in 1721.

During the Russian Revolution of 1917 Estonia declared itself an independent democratic republic. The Treaty of Tartu in 1920 established a peace between the Bolsheviks and Estonia; Estonia was free of Russian rule. By the following year Western powers recognized the new republic.

During World War II (1939–45) Soviet troops occupied Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; Estonia became the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, part of the Soviet Union (USSR). The Soviet Union broke up in 1991, enabling Estonia and the other Baltic states to declare independence. Russia and Estonia continued to dispute over territory, but this conflict was resolved in 1999 in a border treaty, reaffirming the Russian-Estonian frontier.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

A driving force behind the emergence of a modern Estonian cultural identity has been the relations of Estonians to foreign occupying powers. The first of these were Danes, whose state was more politically cohesive than the loose tribal associations of Estonians, and then the Germans, whose Hanseatic League developed trading centers along the Estonian coast. The the Germans, who were more "advanced" than Estonians in terms of trends current in the rest of Europe, dominated the country for centuries. Thus modern Estonians have developed their cultural identity in an atmosphere of struggle to remain independent and distinct.

Estonians have balanced a focus on their native culture, with its Finnic elements, and a desire to be "European" as against domination by Slavic Eastern Europe, particularly Russia. Estonian appreciation of European culture may derive from the country's position on the Baltic Sea, which introduced influences from abroad, giving Estonians the international, cosmopolitan outlook of SCANDINAVIANS and other peoples along the Baltic Sea. After World War II more than half of Estonia's writers went into exile to escape Soviet Russian hegemony, a circumstance that had a profound effect on Estonian cultural identity, perhaps arousing a conviction that under Soviet rule the only way to be Estonian was to live where one could express oneself freely. In Estonia little poetry appeared under Stalin's Socialist Realism, but new poets, adopting Western styles, appeared in the 1960s. Prose writing was equally influenced by movements current in Europe.

Centuries of German dominance have had their impact in Estonia. Early written Estonian is strongly Germanic, and the first known book in Estonian is a translation of the Lutheran catechism (1535). Lutheranism is still the majority

ESTONIANS; NATIONALITY

nation:
Estonia (Eesti); Esthonia; Republic of Estonia (Eesti Vabariik)

derivation of name:
Germanic origin meaning "eastern way"; possibly a Baltic root meaning "speckled" or perhaps from the tribal name Aestii

government:
Parliamentary republic

capital:
Tallinn

language:
Official language is Estonian, a Finnic language; Russian is widely spoken among the other native languages of ethnic minorities such as Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Finnish.

religion:
Christians make up about 46 percent of the population, including Lutherans, Methodists, and Orthodox Christians; about 35 percent are nonreligious; Jews and Muslims also make up a small percentages.

earlier inhabitants:
Esths; Livs

demographics:
About 64 percent of the population are Estonian; Russians constitute about 30 percent of the population; other minorities include Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Finns, and Belarusians.

Estonians: nationality time line

C.E.

1219 Danes occupy North Estonia.

1227 German crusaders from Riga invade Estonia.

1346 Danes sell northern Estonia to German Teutonic Order as result of native rebellions.

1400 Tallinn emerges as important center for commerce and culture.

1535 Lutheran catechism is translated into Estonian.

1558 Sweden seizes northern Estonia.

1629 Sweden controls all of Estonia, expelling Russians.

1686 New Testament is translated into southern Estonian.

1715 New Testament is translated into northern Estonian.

1721 Russia conquers Estonia.

1739 Anton Thor Helle combines two Estonian dialects based on northern Estonian in translation of Bible.

1816 Serfdom is abolished.

1822 Kristjan Jaak Peterson dies at age 21 after having begun Estonian literary tradition through his poems.

1838 Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald founds Estonian Learned Society to collect Estonian narrative folksongs, published as *Kalevipoeg* (Son of Kalev) in 1857–61.

1842 Estonian History Museum is founded in Tallinn.

1843 First Estonian novel, *Luige Laus* by Juhan Sommer, is published.

1870 Poet and playwright Lydia Koidula helps found Vanemuine Theatre in Tartu, beginning tradition of Estonian theatrical art.

1909 National Museum is founded in Tartu.

1918 Estonia proclaims independence from Russia and Germany.
National Library is founded in Tallinn.

1926–33 *Tõde ja õigus* (Truth and justice), five-volume novel by Anton Hansen Tammsaare, is published.

1928 Art Museum of Estonia is founded in Tallinn.

1939–45 During World War II Estonia is incorporated into Soviet Union (USSR), then occupied by Nazi Germany.

1944 Estonia is again annexed by Soviet Union.

1991 Estonia declares independence from Soviet Union.

1994 Estonia joins Partnership for Peace.

2004 Estonia joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU).

religion. Only by the 19th century did Estonians gain a full appreciation of their Finnic heritage, with the publication of the *Kalevipoeg* (1857–61; literally the son of Kalevi [or Kalev], translated as *An Ancient Estonian Tale*) by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, probably inspired by the compilation of Finnish epic poetry in the *Kalevala* (*see* FINNS: NATIONALITY). Like that work the *Kalevipoeg* is partly based on authentic tradition, incorporating hundreds of Estonian legends and folk tales, and in part is a creation of its compiler. It inspired the Romantic nationalistic movement soon to emerge.

An important Estonian literary tradition is lyric poetry. Though this genre includes variants of Finnish epic themes, it is more lyrical than Finnish folk poetry. More than a million pages of folk poems of several ethnic groups are preserved in the national archives at Tartu. As in Finnish folk poetry the standard meter of Estonian poetry is the trochaic four-foot line, with assonance, alliteration, repetition, and parallelism as important organizing principles. Folk songs are central to Estonian self-identity, as seen in the independence movement of the late 1980s, which was known as the Singing Revolution because Estonians gathered in huge song festivals singing previously banned songs.

Estonians benefited from their geographic position as the country became the Soviet Union's commercial outlet to the West. This status gave Estonians the highest per capita income in the Soviet Union, a high level of education, and frequent contact with Western institutions. When Estonians regained independence in 1991, they built quickly on these advantages to institute a free-market economy. The balancing act that the Estonians maintained for centuries between Eastern and Western Europe is greatly advantageous to them, now that Europe has made determined efforts to abandon the power politics of the past, giving small countries their rights to self-determination within the wider European Union.

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Esuvii (Esubii; Sessuvi; Aulerci Sesuvi)

The Esuvii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Sées in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the UNELLI. The BAIOCASSES and VIDUCASSES were possibly subgroups of the Esuvii. The Saii may also have been a subgroup or an alternate name. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar wintered among them in 54 B.C.E. Sagii on the site of Sées became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul.

Etruscans (Etruschi; Rasenna; Tusci; Tyrrhenians)

The Etruscans were a people who spoke an apparently non-Indo-European language living along the west coast of the Italian Peninsula on the coastal plain west of the Apennines in the second and first millennia B.C.E.

ORIGINS

There is a persistent and often-repeated idea that the Etruscans were a people whose society and origins are shrouded in mystery. Their apparently non-Indo-European language is often said to be indecipherable and their elaborate cities of the dead give them an aura of otherworldliness. Their culture was so alien to that of other peoples of Italy, it is claimed, that they must have immigrated there from elsewhere. This idea was long given credence because of the assertion by the fifth-century B.C.E. Greek philosopher Herodotus, that they originated in the country of Lydia in Asia Minor.

An aura of mystery surrounds the Etruscans probably, in large part, because, although they did adopt writing from the GREEKS in about 700 B.C.E., for largely unknown reasons they did not develop a literature, and most of the great number of surviving writings in the Etruscan language are simple memorials to the dead, giving their names, names of relatives, ages at death, and little more. This lack of material, not any inherent opacity of the language, has hampered a full decipherment of their language. As a result, unlike that of the Greeks and ROMANS, Etruscan civilization is a largely silent one, speaking to us primarily through the medium of their rich figural art.

A continuity of cultural development has shown conclusively that the earliest Etruscans were the makers of what is called the Villanova culture (named for one of its sites near modern Bologna), which had been established in the future Etruria (Tuscany) at least by about 1200 B.C.E., and probably long before. It is now recognized that Etruscan culture evolved directly from that of the VILLANOVANS, and that the Etruscans' cities, including Veii, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Cerveteri, were located on the sites of earlier Villanovan villages.

LANGUAGE

Unlike the later arrivals on the Italian Peninsula, the ITALICS, the Etruscans spoke a non-Indo-European language that may have had its origins with the first farmers in their region in the sixth millennium B.C.E. Most of the surviving writings in the Etruscan language are funerary inscriptions. This paucity of examples of their language has prevented its full decipherment.

HISTORY

A Trading Society

By the time Greeks and PHOENICIANS arrived in the western Mediterranean in the eighth century B.C.E., they found a flourishing Etruscan trade network throughout what the Greeks called the Tyrrhenian (Greek for Etruscan) Sea and reaching as far as Sardinia. The Etruscans

ETRUSCANS

location:
Western coastal region of northern Italy

time period:
Second millennium to third century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Etruscan (affiliations unknown)

Etruscans time line

B.C.E.

c. 750	Foundation of loose confederation of Etruscan city-states
eighth century	Etruscans expand trade routes and settlements southward, controlling rich Campanian plain.
mid-sixth century	Persian pressure on Greeks causes waves of refugees to Italy.
540	Etruscans, with Phoenician support, defeat Phocaeans at sea and force abandonment of Alalia in Corsica.
525	Etruscans lead unsuccessful expedition with native mercenaries against Greek city of Cumae.
fifth century	Growing competition exerted on Etruscans by Carthaginians, leading to decline of coastal cities of Etruria.
	Etruscans find trade routes bypassing Greek-held Rhône River, through Alpine passes to Rhine-Moselle region with its high-quality iron ore.
474	Hiero I of Syracuse defeats Etruscan fleet off Cumae.
after 450	Greek and Etruscan trading networks experience growing power of Rome.
end of fifth century	Trade completely disrupted by continual warfare in western Mediterranean.
fourth century	Celtic raids into Italy
390	Celts reach Rome.
third century	Remaining Etruscan cities destroyed or annexed by Rome.

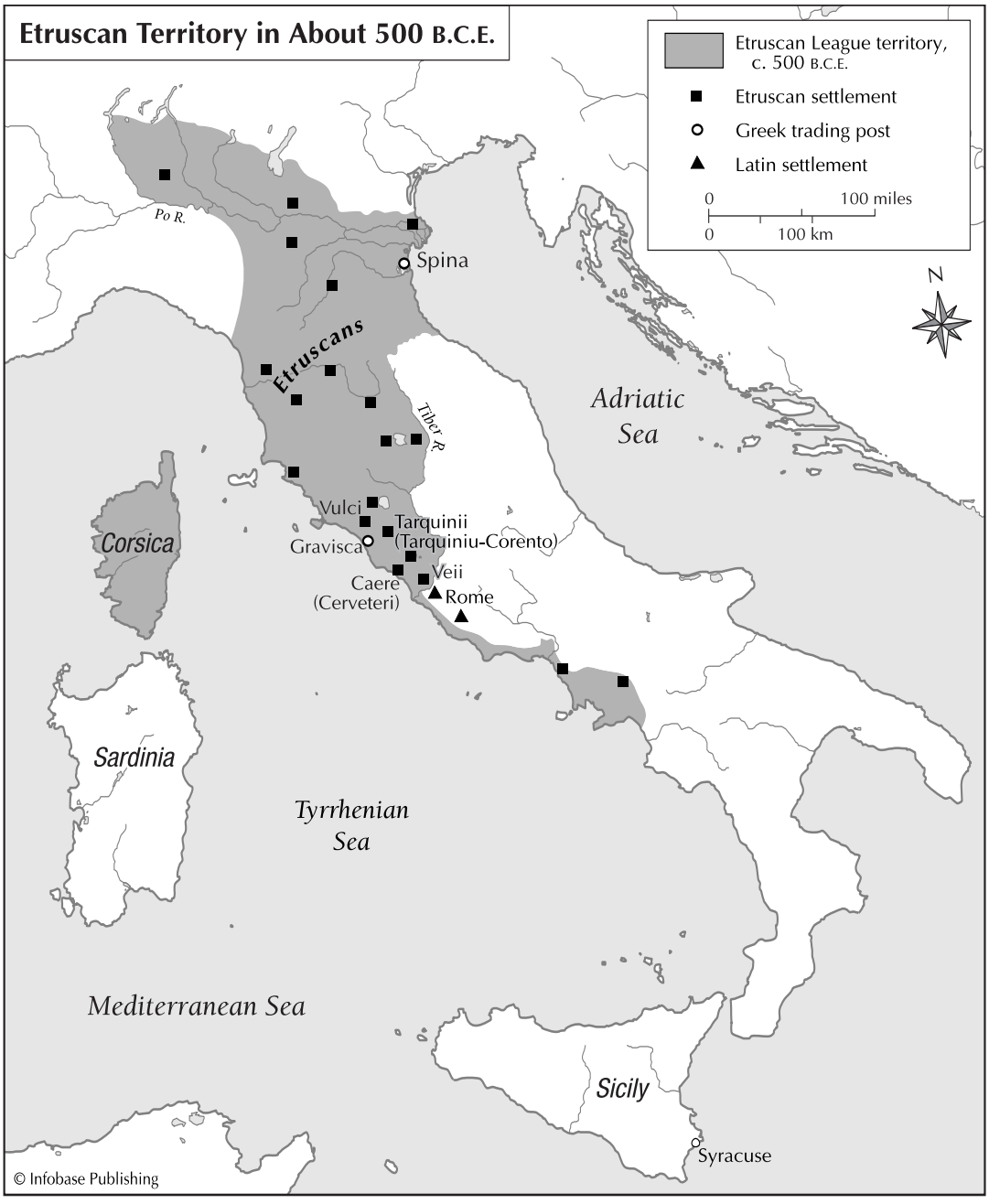


This Etruscan bronze votive figure dates to the fourth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

had formed a loose confederation of states in the area north of Rome by about 750 B.C.E.

Over the course of the eighth century B.C.E. the Etruscans expanded their trade routes and settlements southward, controlling the rich Campanian plain and trading with the Greeks at their emporium of Cumae, established in about 725 B.C.E. The Etruscans built their own trading centers along the coast, such as Pontecagnano. At this time the towns of Latium, among them Rome with its important position on the Tiber, few under Etruscan control and Etruscan influence spread inland, for example, to Umbria, where some evidence for urban settlement has been found. Inscriptions have been found there of the local dialect in Etruscan script (for example, the Iguvine tablets, a set of religious tracks, discovered in 1444 C.E. in the town of Gubbio). The Etruscans established cities on the important hilltop sites in the region.

Greek emigrants began settling in southern Italy in such numbers that it became known as Magna Graecia (Greater Greece). One among many reasons for emigration is provided by the story of an aristocrat named Demaratus, who is recorded as fleeing from tyranny in Corinth in the middle of the sixth century B.C.E. and setting up a business in Etruria. Many immigrated



to areas under Etruscan control. At Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia, a Greek sanctuary was established and offerings to Apollo, Hera, and Demeter survive. One example is an anchor with a dedication to Apollo from one Sostratus, perhaps a merchant captain or sailor. A number of pots found in Etruria are inscribed with the Greek letters *SOS,* very possibly the initials of a wealthy Greek merchant mentioned by Herodotus as trading in the late sixth century B.C.E.

Persian pressure on Greeks in the mid-sixth century B.C.E. propelled waves of refugees to Italy, especially from colonies on Asia Minor; Phocaeans, Greeks from Phocis, were the most numerous. The Phocaeans created a colony at Alalia in western Corsica that was particularly threatening to Etruscan interests. In 540 B.C.E. the Etruscans, with some Phoenician support, defeated the Phocaeans at sea and forced the abandonment of the settlement. The Phocaean Greeks tightened their control over the trade route up the Rhône River in southern France, which they had established to avoid the CARTHAGINIANS (Phoenicians who had established the city of Carthage and made it a springboard for further colonization), in part because of conflict with the Etruscans. But by the fifth century B.C.E. the Etruscans had found trade routes bypassing the Rhône, which led through Alpine passes to the Rhine-Moselle region, where high-quality iron ore was available, such as in the Hunsrück-Eifel region.

The tribes in the Rhine-Moselle region had already begun to develop a warrior society, possibly because of their involvement in providing slaves to the Hallstatt elite to their south in southeastern France and southern Germany for trade with the Greeks. Now with direct contact to the Mediterranean luxury trade, they in their turn became rich. Etruscan influence on the tribes here is shown by their adoption of the Etruscan-style two-wheeled chariot, the numerous Etruscan amphorae found here, and the flowering of the richly inventive La Tène art style.

The Carthaginian Factor

During the same period the Carthaginians had consolidated their position on Sardinia and on the west coast of Sicily and gradually forced the Etruscans off the sea. The Etruscans were now also under pressure from the Greek city-states in Sicily. An expedition against the Greek city of Cumae, led by Etruscans with native mercenaries in about 525 B.C.E., failed, and in 474 B.C.E. Hiero I of Syracuse defeated an Etruscan fleet off Cumae. The Etruscan presence in Campania was eliminated in the fifth century B.C.E. by the SAMNITES, a mountain people who now began raiding into the plains. In the face of this truncation of their trade network the Etruscans focused their energies on the Po River valley and trade routes through the Apennines. Here they founded the precursors of the modern cities of Ravenna, Rimini, and Bologna. One of the most successful trading cities was Spina on the Po delta, built on piles with bridges and canals between the buildings.

Carthaginian dominance in the Tyrrhenian Sea caused the decline of the coastal cities of Etruria. Inland cities, including Clusium, Fiesole, Cortona, Volsinii (Orvieto), and Veii, continued to thrive, however, largely because of their flourishing agriculture, fostered by large irrigation schemes in the fifth century B.C.E. These cities belonged to a religious confederation of 12 city-states that held an annual meeting at a shrine to the goddess Voltumna, but there does not seem to have been any political unity among them—none of them aided Veii when the city was attacked by Rome in the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E.

Decline of the Etruscans

After 450 B.C.E. the Greek and Etruscan trading networks were under increasing stress from the growing power of expansionist Rome until, by the end of the fifth century B.C.E., they had been completely disrupted by continual warfare in the western Mediterranean.

Meanwhile the disruption of trade had a dramatic effect on the Celtic La Tène tribes, which, together with population growth and some internal social instability whose cause can only be guessed at, led to an outburst of mass migrations both toward Greece and into Italy along the routes that had carried the coveted goods of the Mediterranean world. The raids of Celtic tribes on northern Italy and the Po region in the fourth century B.C.E. caused further serious economic losses to the Etruscans. There is some evidence that Celts and Etruscans intermarried, however.

The decline of the Etruscans opened a power vacuum in Italy that was exploited by many different peoples. In the north the CELTS occupying the Po valley raided farther down into the peninsula, easily driving through Etruscan opposition with a momentum that quickly propelled them all the way to the gates of Rome itself in 390 (or 387) B.C.E. The Celts laid waste much of the region around Rome, which held out for seven months until the

Celts moved off. Raiding continued throughout the Italian Peninsula for 60 years. Many different mountain peoples also began to plunder the plains. They may have been driven by population pressures, but many had also acquired military skills from service as mercenaries and so had developed the confidence to attack the wealthy Greek and Etruscan cities of the lowlands. Almost every Greek city of southwest Italy was overrun by the fifth century B.C.E.

The power vacuum caused by Etruscan decline, leading to the disruptions in Italy of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., not only galvanized Rome to expand the military for own self-defense, but also catapulted the city to leadership of the whole of Italy and then beyond. The Etruscan cities of central Italy fell into terminal decline and were eventually defeated and destroyed by Rome in the third century B.C.E.

CULTURE

Economy

Etruscan Wealth through Trade The rise of Etruscan society was fostered by several natural benefits of their territory. It lay along the west coast of the Italian Peninsula on the coastal plain west of the Apennines. This was the best farmland in the region, with fertile volcanic soil and, because it is not in the rain shadow of the mountains, adequate precipitation; between the rivers Tiber and Arno are found some of the richest mineral deposits in the central Mediterranean. The coast is indented and so provides a safe haven for seafarers. From the eighth century B.C.E. Greeks and Phoenicians in particular were trading inland for minerals. As their suppliers the Etruscans grew rich. They also established trade routes north through the Alps to the Celts along the Rhine and Moselle Rivers, trading wine and other goods for iron.

The Etruscan socioeconomy had undergone an important realignment from 1200 B.C.E., with a greater emphasis on stock rearing, particularly of sheep, goats, and pigs, and a rise in population; by 900 B.C.E. settlements had been established on the plateaus of tufa (a soft volcanic rock) common in the region.

Greek Imports The appetite of Etruscan society for Greek pottery was so great that Greek potters, the so-called Perizoma Group of late sixth-century Athens, adapted their wares for the Etruscan market.

Government and Society

Early Etruscans Early Etruscan society appears to have been a tribal one closer to that of the Celts than of contemporary Greeks, for whom the city was the focus of one's identity. This structure is suggested by the Etruscan custom of naming, which was similar to that of the Romans, with an individual's name, called in Latin the *praenomen,* linked with that of his clan or tribe, the *nomen.* (Among Greeks the individual's name was linked with the name of his or her city.) Thus the Etruscans had not as yet developed a truly urban culture, possibly the reason they did not use writing, a primarily urban phenomenon, until late in their history under Greek influence.

Evolution away from Tribal Past Intertribal rivalry changed over time as the Etruscans prospered. War became more serious as the stakes grew higher and as competition for control of trade in the area intensified. This development is seen in the greater fortification of the plateau sites that may have begun as early as 700 B.C.E., built with tufa blocks. (Cerveteri is an example.) The building of massive fortified walls reached its peak in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., when the Etruscan cities were being threatened by both Romans and Celts.

Greek Influences The Etruscans received important influences from the Greeks as soon as large-scale trade with them began. They adopted the Greek alphabet in about 700 B.C.E.; writing seems to have been used as a sign of elite status. Tomb paintings demonstrate Etruscan adoption of the Greek banquet, with the difference that Etruscan wives took part, rather than the *hetairai,* prostitutes, of the Greeks. Another favorite occupation of Etruscan nobles depicted in tomb paintings was hunting.

Military Practices

Warfare between tribes had a large element of ceremony (as may well have been the case with the Celts, too, until they began their migrations). Local chieftains fought one another on horseback as in a joust, backed by lightly armed retainers. Thus war was mostly an individual affair, in which elite warriors fought as much for personal glory as for plunder and gain. It has been suggested that the Roman triumph of republican and imperial times, the highly stylized public celebration given for a victorious general, was adopted from the Etruscans, because it is a somewhat archaic holdover in emphasizing the general's personal achievement, instead of his service to the state, a more characteristic Roman attitude. Some ancient sources mention Etruscan kings, sitting in state, wearing a gold crown and a richly

embroidered tunic, sitting on an ivory throne, and bearing an eagle-shaped scepter. It would be a mistake to think of such trappings and celebrations as primarily intended to assert a leader's authority, as in an urban-based civilization. Rather, in tribal societies, a leader's wealth, derived from victory in war, was a sign of the gods' favor for the tribe as a whole. Tribal leaders acted as intercessors between the gods and their people, and their success in the risky business of war depended on the help of the gods, who tipped the balance in the king's favor (as in Homer, who was writing not about Greeks of later times but of the tribal societies of the remote past). Victory in war probably was seen as foretelling bountiful harvests, health, and general prosperity for the tribe.

Dwellings and Architecture

The typical dwelling of Etruscans was adopted by Romans. The entrance of the one-story house was a narrow vestibule that opened out into the atrium, an open-roofed area with a pool underneath to receive rainwater. An altar to the household gods and the seat of the head of the household (who performed the rituals at the altar on behalf of his family) stood opposite the vestibule, and thus was the first sight to greet the visitor. Beyond the altar was the master bedroom in earlier times; later this became a public room where the master of the house received visitors. Bedrooms lined the sides of the atrium.

Technology and Art

Inspired by Greek pottery and other wares, Etruscans experimented with new material and techniques. In the seventh century they developed *bucchero,* a shiny black pottery, which became highly desired in coastal Gaul (France) and Iberia (Spain). They also invented terra-cotta while attempting to replicate metal relief work in clay. Terra-cotta was used at first for the decoration of temples. The large-scale migration of Greeks to southern Italy stimulated trade, manufacturing, and craft skills in working gold, silver, and ivory.

Other Etruscan art forms include sculpture in clay and metal, and fresco tomb paintings. Etruscans clearly were influenced by Greeks and cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, and their art was extremely influential on that of the Romans.

Religion

Funerary Art The many banqueting scenes in Etruscan funerary painting are thought to have more significance than merely portraying a favorite pastime of the living. They may have been meant to show a ritual, sacramental meal consumed by the living on behalf of the dead, as in many customs that have survived to the present of setting a place at the table for departed ancestors on certain occasions, such as the Catholic holy day All Souls' Day. They perhaps expressed the hope that the departed would indeed join in those feasts in parallel with living relatives. The demons and other symbols of the underworld that begin to appear in paintings in the fourth century B.C.E. lend credence to this hypothesis; however, they may also be signs of social and psychological stressors on the Etruscans as the threat of Roman power loomed large at this time.

Painted Greek pottery became very popular as burial offerings, so much so that some 80 percent of surviving Greek pottery was found in Etruscan tombs. Setting aside such unlikely theories as that Etruscans buried Greek pottery with their dead (instead of gold and silver vessels that they kept for their own use) because it was cheap and abundant, it may have been the mythic themes depicted on the pottery to which Etruscans responded. Pottery showing the exploits of Heracles (Hercules) was very common in tombs; the fact that he was a mortal who became immortal may have offered comfort to mourners. In general the theme of many Greek (and probably also Etruscan) myths involved heroes who through their deeds attained immortality, at least in the form of everlasting fame. (The Greek hero Achilles, who traded glory for length of days, is the exemplar.)

Cities of the Dead Beginning around 500 B.C.E. the citizens of several Etruscan cities ceased to bury their dead in separate tombs, but instead created literal underground cities of the dead, with tombs arranged in streets, each one with a facade in the shape of a house carved in the tufa. Family tombs are surrounded by more modest burial places for what might have been servants or retainers. Such cities are found at Cerveteri and Orvieto. This more egalitarian arrangement probably reflects actual changes in Etruscan society, as urban life featured an increasingly prominent merchant and craftsman class, and the old warrior elite became less completely dominant. But it also gives a heightened sense that for the Etruscans, the world of the living was paralleled by an unseen world of the dead. Was the living world considered to be a mere reflection of this alternate spiritual world? With the lack of an Etruscan literature, such matters may remain the subject of speculation alone.



This bronze statue of an Etruscan warrior dates to about 300 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Role of Augurs The importance for the Etruscans of augurs, priests schooled in divining the will of the gods by reading omens, such as the flight of birds or lightning bolts, suggests that their religion, as did that of the Italic tribes of Italy, grew out of a belief in spirits (called by the Italics *numina*) who dwelled in rivers and trees, groves, fields and buildings. Belief in a multitude of spirits surrounding humankind on every hand, which each person encountered by day or night, waking or sleeping, may have given rise to efforts to contact the spirits both to learn their will and to gain their knowledge of the unseen, including the future. Augurs were consulted for everyday matters as well as at moments of crisis or war.

Augurs made their divinations from within a sacral space, usually on high ground. By about 600 B.C.E. the Etruscans began building temples adjacent to this sacred space (called by Romans the *templum,* the origin of the word *temple*), with very high podia (the bases on which temples were built). Augurs may have stood on the edge of a temple's podium, the better to gain contact with the flying spirits. The Roman temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the Capitoline Hill begun in the late sixth century when an Etruscan "king" still ruled Rome was modeled on Etruscan temples. The Romans used the Etruscan rules of divination, the *disciplina,* which they took care to preserve unaltered.

Etruscan Gods Etruscans of historical times had developed a pantheon of gods, many adopted from other peoples, especially the Greeks. (Two-thirds of the Greek Olympian gods have an Etruscan equivalent.) In many cases they gave Greek or other names to their own deities. They equated the Phoenician goddess Astarte with their own Uni, whose Greek equivalent was Hera and who was the forerunner of the Roman Juno.

The "exotic" culture of the Etruscans, so different from what we think we know about the ancient Mediterranean world, hints at a diversity of that world that scholars and archaeologists have only begun to discover in recent decades. What we thought we knew about the ancient world for centuries derived from a very fragmented and limited source: the ancient texts that survived some 2,000 years of often tumultuous history and dramatic cultural change. Only a small fraction of the written legacy of antiquity has survived. For example, there are only 1,865 Roman manuscripts in existence that date from before Charlemagne (ninth century C.E.) of the FRANKS; the rest of the extant Roman literature consists of what scribes in the ninth century saw fit to copy; a number of the most important works are known from only a single copy. And because the overwhelming majority of the known literature was created by writers who worked within the dominant Greco-Roman culture, the picture that emerges from the texts alone has a considerable degree of uniformity. It is this uniformity which makes the culture of the Etruscans in contrast seem so strange. The field of classical studies in the 20th century opened wide many new doors to knowledge about the ancient world that are creating a new picture of antiquity as a period of sometimes bewildering cultural complexity and diversity, beginning with the archaeological discoveries of civilizations of the MINOANS and MYCENAEANS. Against this new backdrop the uniqueness of Etruscan culture can be seen as typical of the Mediterranean world, in which cultures in contact with Africa, the Near East, and Europe each blended them into a particular amalgam unique to itself.

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F

Faliscans (Falisci; Falerians)

The Faliscans, a tribe of ITALICS, inhabited a horseshoe-shaped territory in northern parts of the region of ancient Latium (part of modern Lazio) between the ROMANS and LATINS in the south and the ETRUSCANS to the northeast. Their culture was highly influenced by their Etruscan neighbors, and their chief city, Falerii (modern Civita Castellana), was part of the 12-city Etruscan League during historical times. Most of our knowledge of the Faliscans is derived from Roman historians of the early republic, who paint a picture of them as a fierce and warlike race. The Faliscans made a number of truces with the Romans but reportedly broke them all.

ORIGINS

Sometime in the eighth century B.C.E. the Faliscan people evolved out of an Iron Age culture archaeologists called Villanovan (*see* VILLANOVANS), which was spread widely over central and north-central Italy. They became influenced by other Italics in the region.

LANGUAGE

The Faliscans spoke an Italic language, similar to the Latin of their Roman neighbors (and perhaps derived from Latin rather than a language that formed parallel to it). In the seventh century B.C.E. they began to write using the Etruscan alphabet.

HISTORY

The Faliscans' territory stretched in a horseshoe, bordered on the west by the Cimini Mountains and the impenetrable Cimina forest. To the southwest were the Sabatine Mountains, and south, the Campanian territories, Rome, and Mt. Siratte. The northern part of the territory was bounded by the Tiber River, which separated the Faliscans from Etruria and the Etruscans. Several important cities, including their capital, Falerii, were located on the Treja River, which ran from south to north through Falerian territory, a tributary of the Tiber, which provided water and transportation.

By 437 B.C.E. in the face of the expansion of Roman ambition the chief city of the Faliscans, Falerii, had joined with the Etruscan League. After the Etruscan city Veii fell to the Romans in 397 B.C.E., the Faliscans reaffirmed their commitment to the Etruscans in 394 B.C.E. Beginning in 357 B.C.E. the frequency of incursions by Romans into Faliscan territory and of Faliscans into Roman territory escalated. The two were at continual war; because neither side won decisively, in 351 B.C.E. they signed a truce.

It was not long before the two sides were fighting again, intermittently. During the Second Samnite War beginning in 326 B.C.E. the Faliscans allied themselves with the Romans against the SAMNITES and their allies, including the Etruscans. In 312 B.C.E., however, the Faliscans sided with the Romans in a decisive battle against the Etruscans at Sutni.

FALISCANS

location:
West-central Italy

time period:
Eighth century to 241 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Faliscan (Italic)

Faliscans time line

B.C.E.

eighth century	Evidence of Faliscan culture, as distinct from Etruscan, appears in small area between southern Etruria and Roman territory in Latium.
seventh century	Faliscans, while speaking an Italic language, adopt Etruscan written alphabet.
437	Falerii, capital of Faliscans, joins Veii and other Etruscan cities in alliance opposing Roman expansion.
394	Faliscans reaffirm alliance with Etruscans after fall of Veii to Romans.
357–351	Incursions of Romans and Faliscans into respective territories leads to heavy fighting.
351	Romans and Faliscans, equally matched militarily, sign truce, followed by long period of intermittent peace and fighting.
312	Faliscans side with Romans against Etruscans.
241	At start of First Punic War between Rome and Carthage Faliscans rebel; Romans overrun Falerii.

They later decided to oppose the Romans. The Romans mounted a huge army and marched on Falerii, where the Faliscans, in light of the Romans' power, sued for peace. The Romans then levied a heavy tribute on them.

In 241 B.C.E. the First Punic War broke out between the two dominant powers of that time in Mediterranean trade, the Romans and CARTHAGINIANS. The Faliscans, possibly angered by the heavy tribute, took the opportunity to rebel against the Romans. This time the Romans defeated the Faliscans in every encounter, finally marching on Falerii, and after six days of siege, they leveled the city that sat on the heights of a cliff. Reports say that 15,000 Falerians were killed. Later Falerii was rebuilt on the plain as a Roman city. Faliscan culture and language were swallowed up by Rome.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

Economy

The Faliscans were an agricultural people who depended heavily on trade.

Government and Society

Faliscan cities were built atop high cliffs that dotted Faliscan territory. Each city was an independent entity, but periodically representatives from each city would gather in Falerii, the chief city of the Faliscans, to make laws.

Art

Faliscan pottery shows Etruscan influence, which in turn was influenced by the GREEKS of the eastern Mediterranean. But it is also distinctive. The pottery is characterized by ornate twisted handles, capped by the heads of animals, with forms and painted decoration extravagantly combined.

Religion

The religion of the Faliscans is known primarily from inscriptions, votive offerings, and writings from classical times. Its importance lies in expressiveness and technical acuity of temple decorations unearthed. The Faliscans' relation to the Romans is reinforced by their worship of Mercury, Minerva, and Apollo, but their highest reverence was reserved for another important Roman deity, Juno Quirites. The first-century B.C.E. Roman poet Virgil describes a sacred grotto in a cave on Mt. Soracte used by the Faliscans for religious rites. At the foot of the mountain was a sacred spring, called Lucus Feroniae, dedicated to Feronia, the protector of the animals, who was worshipped by the Faliscans, as well as by Etruscans, LATINS, and SABINES, demonstrating the cultural overlaps among the early peoples of Italy.

Burial Practices Faliscan burial practices were very similar to those of the Etruscans. Between the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. Faliscan burials were accompanied by displays of opulence. Warriors were buried with their arms, armor, chariots, harnesses, and the trappings of daily life, from shaving equipment to vases for banqueting. Women were buried with their weaving tools.

The Faliscans, being ethnically different from their northern and more widespread neighbors the Etruscans, adopted many of their customs. Both are among the distinctive peoples of the Italian Peninsula whose culture disappeared after their conquest by Rome. Until the advent of modern archaeology many peoples of Italy were known solely through Roman descriptions of them. Roman writings on the people they fought and overcame are not all intrinsically inaccurate but do reflect Roman biases, and as a whole the Roman literature on the peoples of Italy does not fully reflect the cultural variety of the region. (The Roman habit of interpreting foreign gods in terms of their own pantheon is an example of their Romanizing tendencies.) Archaeology has increasingly revealed the rich and varied mosaic that was the cultural landscape of ancient Italy.

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Finno-Ugrians (Finno-Ugrics; Finnics; Finnish; Finns; Finno-Ugric peoples)

The name Finno-Ugrians (or Finno-Ugrics) refers to peoples in north-central and eastern Europe (as well as some groups in Asia) who speak languages of the Finno-Ugrian language family. The term is thus primarily a linguistic designation, and speakers of Finno-Ugric languages have widely diverse ethnic origins and live in scattered enclaves throughout a vast region. They are also sometimes grouped under the name Finnics, with the Ugrians, or Ugrics, omitted, or as FINNS. The name Finns, however, is better used for a specific tribal group or for the Finns of present-day Finland (*see* FINNS: NATIONALITY). Among the Finno-Ugrians are the SAAMI (also known as Lapps or Laplanders) in present-day northern Finland, Sweden, and Norway, and in northwestern Russia and the Khanti (or Ostyaks) in northwestern Siberia. There are also the Baltic Finno-Ugrians (or Balto-Finno-Ugrians or Western Finno-Ugrians), including the ESTHS, INGRIANS, IZHORIANS, KARELIANS, KVENS, LIVS, TORNEDALIANS, and VOTES. The Volga Finno-Ugrians (or Eastern Finno-Ugrians) include the MARI, MERYA, MORDVINS, and MUROMA. The Permic Finno-Ugrians (or Finno-Permians) include the KOMI and UDMURTS. The MESHCHERA are classified by some scholars as Volga Finno-Ugrians and by others as Permics. The MAGYARS, later to be called Hungarians (*see*

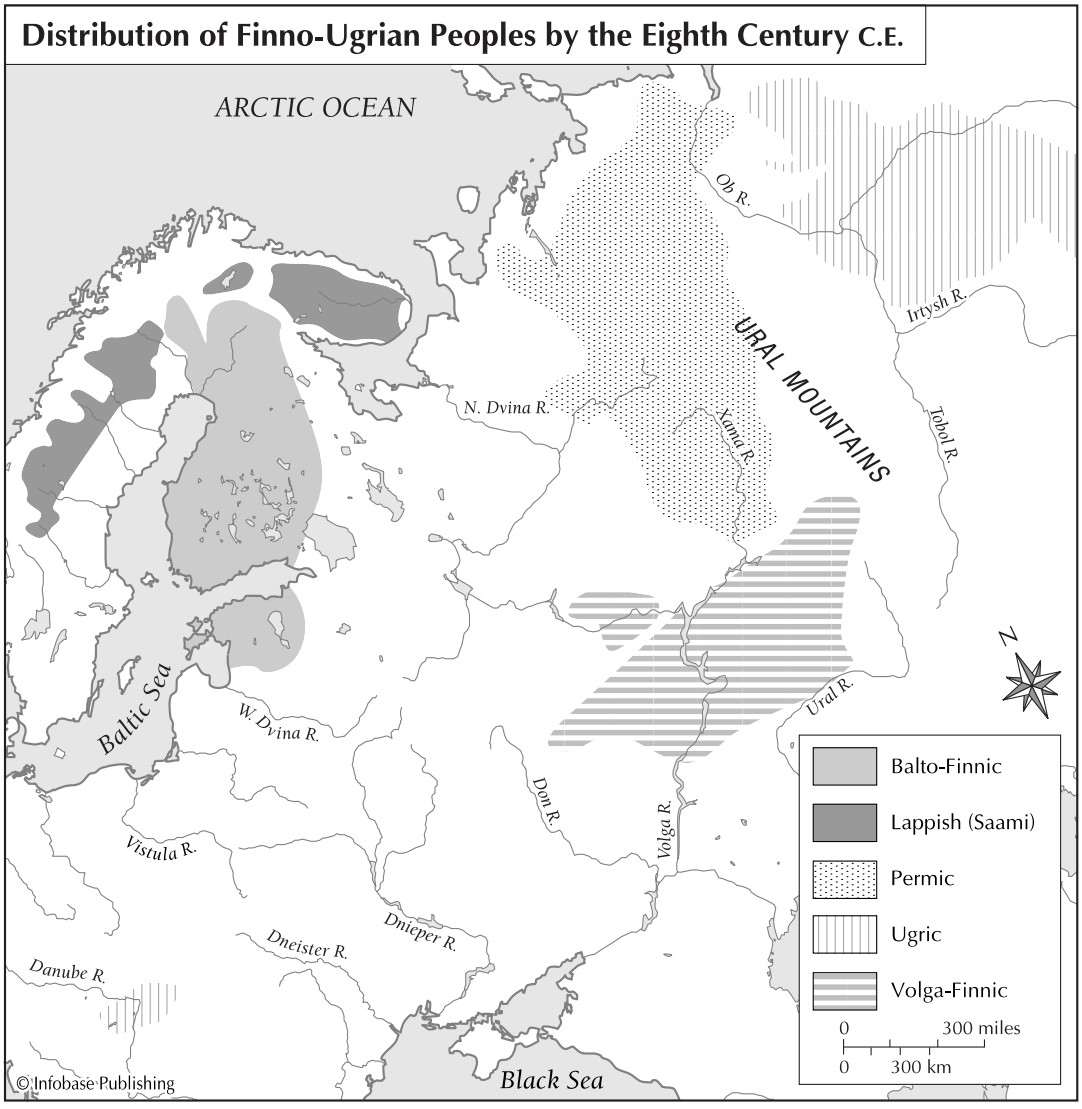
FINNO-UGRIANS

location:
Ural Mountains to the Baltic Sea in eastern and central Europe

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to 14th century C.E.

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Finno-Ugric



Finno-Ugrians time line

B.C.E.

fifth century Herodotus writes about people who may have been Finno-Ugrians.

C.E.

98 Tacitus refers to Fenni.

c. 147 Ptolemy refers to Finnoi.

700 Finno-Ugrians migrate to Karelia.

1202 Germans found city of Riga.

1207 Brothers of the Sword pacify Livs.

1219 Brothers of the Sword pacify Esths.

HUNGARIANS: NATIONALITY), also spoke a Finno-Ugric language.

ORIGINS

As in the case of so many language groups, studies of the Finno-Ugrians have long been entangled in intellectual, ideological, and political struggles, since the late 18th century. On the one hand, the sciences being used to identify and study ethnic and language groups, such as linguistics, ethnology, and archaeology, were still new and developing. On the other, nationalistic movements for independence being born in a number of the countries where Finno-Ugric languages were spoken, such as Hungary, Finland, and Estonia (*see* ESTONIANS: NATIONALITY), strongly influenced ideas about them. Activists in these countries, longing to escape Russian domination, sought to stress their ethnic uniqueness and distinctness from Russia, while some Russian scholars welcomed the contribution of many varied races, including Finno-Ugrians, to the formation of the Russian people, in a sort of "melting pot."

In the 19th and earlier 20th centuries as linguistics developed and became more detailed and complex, its practitioners succumbed to a narrowing of focus and elaborated theories almost devoid of input from archaeology, ethnology, or physical anthropology. Finno-Ugrian specialists studied the evolution of this group without considering the history of neighboring peoples, such as the SLAVS, or other peoples who may have inhabited the woodland zone of western Siberia and eastern Europe, claiming that Finno-Ugrians were the sole, original inhabitants of this region, a notion long since overturned by archaeology.

Finnish researchers sought a Finno-Ugrian culture that was universal among all Finno-Ugrian speakers, from the Saami to Hungarians to Estonians to the Khanti, while ignoring the considerable evidence that Finno-Ugrian and eastern Slavic peoples have long had many elements in common. Instead, they and Estonian scholars looked to peoples to the west in Europe for congeners.

A special problem with understanding Finno-Ugrian ethnogenesis is the fact that Finno-Ugrian languages are spoken by such a bewildering variety of peoples. That a language group can be shared by the Saami, some of whom live to this day a hunter-gatherer lifeway in remote sub-Arctic regions, and Hungarians in the center of temperate eastern Europe, whose culture has long been among the richest and most sophisticated in Europe, is indeed hard to comprehend. A partial solution to this conundrum must be sought in the location of the ancestors of the Finno-Ugrians near the circumpolar region of the great Eurasian continent at what became a crossroads of cultures and influences probably soon after the end of the last Ice Age. From that time until well into the Common Era, a period during which important groups of Finno-Ugrians had moved south to central Eurasia, peoples across the region experienced both evolutionary changes and sometimes tumultuous and sudden shifts of socioeconomic and historical forces brought to bear on them by peoples from east, west, and south—many of them causing population dislocation and dispersal to the regions where Finno-Ugrian languages are spoken today. Perhaps the greater conundrum of the Finno-Ugrians is how they were able to retain their languages through all of these shifts and dislocations.

Place of Origin of Proto-Finno-Ugric

The original Finno-Ugric language developed somewhere in the northern forest belt of western Siberia and northeastern Europe. Anthropological study of skulls found in this region increasingly makes clear that already by the fourth millennium B.C.E. people there were racially mixed, with ancestors from both Europe and Asia. People from southeast and southwest had probably begun to migrate to northern Eurasia as soon as the ice sheets receded, at first seasonally following herds of caribou and reindeer, then sometime after 7000 B.C.E. more permanently as the climate moderated and the forests grew deep. Asians most probably migrated from central Asia via the Ural Mountain region, and Europeans from the Baltic coast. The apparent kinship of the Uralic languages (of which Finno-Ugric is a sub-

group) with the Altaic group from the Altai Mountains in Asia supports this penetration of Asians to the Ural region, as do the Uralic languages spoken east of the Urals in Asia. The different peoples of the northern forest belt probably spoke related languages at least from Mesolithic times (if not even earlier), ranging from those with a more European character (Finnic) in the west to those with a more Asian character (Uralian) in the east. The fact that peoples in what would be the Finno-Ugrian region had from the beginning such a diverse ancestry, the result of part of their homeland's being so near "the top of the world"—the circumpolar region where all the continents of Earth are close—is perhaps a partial explanation of their great diversity in later times.

The Uralic language ancestral to the Finno-Ugric language could have emerged as a result of this meeting and intermingling in the north of peoples from Asia and Europe in the Mesolithic Age or earlier. The original language could have been a lingua franca made up of elements from east and west used when different language speakers met.

There are several possibilities for the origin of the Finno-Ugric language family, no one of which has been proved. One theory that has been favored by scholars holds that the crystallization of proto-Finno-Ugric (the ancestral language of all Finno-Ugric languages) came about with the adoption of farming in the region sometime in the fourth millennium B.C.E., possibly through a mechanism whereby the dialect of the group that first began to practice agriculture was adopted by other groups along with the technological innovation. Since all languages in the wider region were related, the adoption of one of the dialects by speakers of other dialects would not have been difficult. There is a strong possibility that for many peoples the earliest adoption of farming was intertwined with religious belief, as agricultural practices were undertaken more as a form of religious ritual than as a primary subsistence means. If this was true in the northern forest zone, the first people in the region to adopt farming would have enjoyed great prestige, possibly sufficient to influence other groups to adopt their language along with the strange new practice of controlling the growth of crops and the breeding of animals. Whatever the timing and means by which the Finno-Ugric language first emerged, the Finno-Ugric speakers probably are descended from Mesolithic or Neolithic peoples indigenous since the last Ice Age to Russia and western Siberia.

Most anthropologists believe that the country around the Oka, the bend of the Volga, and the Kama (the Oka and the Kama are tributaries of the Volga River) was occupied by Finno-Ugrians before Indo-European-speaking peoples arrived, and that their early home extended from the headwaters of the Dnieper and western Dvina Rivers to the western slope of the Ural Mountains. Today only the Mari and Mordvins remain in this region. If the ancestral Finno-Ugric language emerged as farming was adopted, it may have happened at that location.

This territory differed from the important steppe zone to its south, along which contacts and influences between Europe and the Near and Far East traveled for millennia, in being more forested and therefore more isolated from cultural trends elsewhere. It was probably just one enclave in the vast northern forest zone that existed in the territories of present-day Russia, including Siberia and Finland and extending to the northwest into most of Scandinavia. From about 4500 to 3500 B.C.E. a sub-Neolithic subsistence economy in which foraging remained important continued in this vast region when, to the southwest in the North European Plain, a fully Neolithic way of life had been adopted, and, to the south in the Pontic Steppe, copper working had been adopted from the Balkans and domestication of the horse had been achieved.

In the Baltic region, including Karelia (in northwestern Russia) and Finland, the adoption of pottery making in about the sixth millennium B.C.E. shows contacts with the Finno-Ugrian region. It is in a style called Comb or Combed Ware, from its impressed comblike decorations, which derive from a ceramic tradition of the Upper Volga region, probably via the Lake Ladoga region. It is possible, although there is no direct evidence for it, that the arrival of Combed Ware was accompanied by adoption of a Finno-Ugric language. Some archaeologists have seen this development as eventually leading to the emergence of the Saami. Some have seen affinities of Combed Ware with pottery made throughout the circumpolar region, including the northern forest zone of North America, possibly evidence of the existence of an interconnected cultural province of boreal, nonagricultural peoples encircling the Arctic region.

Role of the Corded Ware Complex in the Spread of Finno-Ugric Languages

In the fourth and third millennia B.C.E. most of the southern part of the northern forest zone

(not including present-day Finland and Scandinavia) had contact with a momentous change emanating from central Europe associated with what is known as the Corded Ware culture, from the cord impressions used to decorate pottery. Corded Ware users, still following a Neolithic lifestyle, were now spreading that lifestyle by engaging in pastoralism (consisting mostly of cattle grazing) and longer-distance trade than had ever been known before. Travel using the innovation (from the Near East) of wheeled carts, and domestication of horses adopted from the Pontic Steppe, gave Corded Ware users contact with different peoples on an unprecedented scale. The impact of this shift on hitherto isolated societies is symbolized by two elements of material culture that were found in burials: a more or less standardized set of drinking vessels, and the substitution of the forester's axes of the past by heavy stone battle-axes. The drinking vessels to hold alcoholic beverages were possibly used in hospitality rituals intended to avert the need to use the battle-axes.

An emerging theory postulates that the proto-Indo-European language ancestral to the Indo-European language family was born out of the nexus of these new wide-ranging contacts in central Europe, perhaps as a lingua franca or trade language to allow communication among strangers, perhaps as they engaged in ritual drinking and feasting. If so, the spread of the Corded Ware cultural complex could have been accompanied by the spread of proto-Indo-European.

From about 3500 B.C.E. the Corded Ware culture was quickly adopted over a wide region, including present-day Russia and southern parts of the northern forest zone, perhaps by about 3000 B.C.E. This cultural dissemination is not thought to have been by force, through invasion or migration of peoples, but rather through the movement of ideas, as people eagerly adopted horse domestication and copper implements on learning about them from far-ranging herders or traders. Perhaps the fact that Finno-Ugric speakers adopted these innovations but not the proto-Indo-European language, for reasons still unknown, is negative evidence that the Corded Ware complex was spread through emulation rather than by force. A Corded Ware way of life may have been adopted in Finno-Ugrian regions by people still living a sub-Neolithic, foraging way of life, for whom the mobility of herding would have come naturally. For the forebears of the reindeer-herding Saami, for example, the shift from following wild herds to capturing and domesticating reindeer may not have been great.

A possible mechanism for the spread of Finno-Ugric beyond its original homeland is the new mobility characteristic of the Corded Ware way of life. Corded Ware arrived in Finland by around 3000–2800 B.C.E. The one-quarter of the Finns' genetic stock that is Siberian may have been contributed by Finno-Ugrians following the mobile Corded Ware way of life. Again the Corded Ware culture seems to have spread not through invasion or large-scale migration, but through the attractiveness of its elements, which were quickly adopted by some groups. (Corded Ware was actually slow to replace Combed Ware in Finland.) The arrival of the Corded Ware way of life in Finland may not have had a major impact on Finnish racial makeup but could have led to a shift there to a new language, in this case Finno-Ugric, as elsewhere in Europe Corded Ware may have been responsible for the spread of Indo-European. Finno-Ugric may have permeated the northern forest zone in the same way. If, on the other hand, a form of Finno-Ugric had already arrived in Finland, the Corded Ware lifestyle could have spurred the development of the Balto-Finnic branch of Finno-Ugric.

The Finns and Saami may have begun diverging into distinct cultures as coastal groups began to adopt a Corded Ware way of life, while those in the interior continued to practice the foraging existence of the past. This divergence would help to explain why the languages of the two groups occupy separate branches of the Finno-Ugric language family.

Bronze Age

The Finno-Ugrian territory remained isolated from trends to their south and west in the Early Bronze Age, from 2500 to about 1800 B.C.E. lacking bronze and maintaining a Corded Ware lifestyle and culture. Bronze making entered the steppe region to the south of the forest zone from the Caucasus Mountain region (with its proximity to the urbanizing Near East) by about 2500 B.C.E., and on from there to the metal-rich Carpathian Mountain region in central Europe. During this period Carpathian bronze industries steadily increased their productivity and technical skill, exporting huge numbers of metal objects to the steppe zone in return for horses. By the end of the third millennium B.C.E. steppe peoples had transferred knowledge of metalworking to people in the copper-rich southern Ural Mountains. From

there knowledge of metalworking and other steppe influences probably filtered through to much of the forest belt, by 1800 B.C.E. giving rise to the Abashevo culture located between the Don and the Volga Rivers, which by now was probably a Finno-Ugrian region. This culture had wealthy elites, who may have gained their wealth through raiding the rich trade routes reaching from the Urals across Abashevo territory to the east-west steppe zone, traversed by a trade network that extended from Carpathian and Caucasus bronze industries to the Pontic Steppe and on to the borders of Mongolia and even northern China. Thus although the Finno-Ugrian region continued to be a relative backwater largely bypassed by the major socioeconomic forces of the time, it was not out of touch entirely.

Burials of the Abashevo culture show the moderate wealth of their elites, and their links with the steppe-dwelling makers of multiple relief band pottery and timber graves who lived in the steppe zone to the south. A burial located in the Tzna basin (the area between the Don and the Oka in central Russia) had grave goods that included bronze daggers and a spearhead, richly decorated bone cheek pieces for horse bridles, and flint arrowheads. Multiple burials were collectively enclosed beneath a mound. The assemblage has many analogies in Don-Volga Abashevo culture sites and in some synchronous sites in the steppe and forest-steppe areas of eastern Russia and the southern Urals.

Meanwhile there is evidence of migration of peoples to the northern forest zone from the Volga-Oka confluence region in south-central Siberian Russia from the third to the second millennium B.C.E.; because their skull types point to an origin north of the Black Sea, it is likely that they spoke an Indo-European language. Place-names that still exist in the Volga-Oka region are of Indo-European origin, in a language possibly related to Scythian (*see* SCYTHIANS); people there, nevertheless, spoke a Finno-Ugrian tongue. Later in the Bronze and Iron Ages peoples of an eastern Mediterranean skull shape also moved north to the Finno-Ugrian region, while migration from beyond the Urals introduced more Asian peoples to the region as well.

Three basic anthropological types are recognized in the Finno-Ugrian region in prehistoric times, identified by analysis of skulls: (1) a transitional group in which Asian (Mongoloid) and European (Europoid) characteristics are commingled, who lived in the Volga-Kama region (with scattered communities in the eastern Baltic along the Gulf of Finland); (2) a clearly European group with northern characteristics to the south and west of the first, from the Baltic coast to the middle Volga: and (3) peoples with eastern Mediterranean traits south of the Volga-Oka region. The first of these is often called the Uralic type; peoples of this type include the Khanty (Ostyaks), Mansi (Voguls), Udmurts, Mari, and isolated groups of the Mordvins and Komi. The Saami are a subtype of this group. The second group, the White Sea–Baltic, includes Estonians and Finns and is found today in speakers of non-Finno-Ugric languages, such as Lithuanians, Poles, and White Russians. A name recently proposed for the third group, which probably is made up of peoples from the Pontic Black Sea region and from the eastern Mediterranean, is Atlanto–Black Sea, as some of its people have traits that seem to derive from the western Atlantic region of Europe, perhaps introduced to the eastern Mediterranean by migrants. The Black Sea component of this group shares features with non–Finno-Ugric speakers, such as Russians and TATARS of the Volga region, as well as peoples from the Balkans such as the BULGARS and the Caucasus. One subtype of this complex is well represented among Hungarians. It is also seen in some Slavic and Germanic speakers.

LANGUAGE

Finno-Ugric languages, along with Ugric (or Ugrian) languages, are part of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family. The Uralic family is considered by some linguists to be part of an even larger group, the Uralic-Altaic language family, named for the European Ural and the Asian Altaic Mountains. Important common linguistic characteristics of the two and a small vocabulary of shared words, including personal pronouns, kinship terms—*mother* and *father,* for example—and names of plants and animals, further support the idea that they share a common ancestor, perhaps originating in the central Asian Altai range. This grouping is not accepted by all linguists, however. The Uralic group is thought to have emerged in the Ural Mountains. The other branch of the Uralic group is Samoyedic, the first Uralic subfamily to separate from Uralic, spoken by the NENETS and various Arctic and sub-Arctic Asian peoples.

The Finno-Ugric subfamily includes the Balto-Finno-Ugric, Permic, Saami, and Volgaic groupings. The Ugric subfamily includes the Hungarian language of the Magyars. The linguistic and cultural similarities among the

various Finno-Ugric peoples suggest that one great tribe splintered into various smaller groups, who then migrated to different areas. Although Finno-Ugric peoples may have started with the same language base, there are only a few tribes who are linguistically compatible enough for communication.

The original homeland of the Finno-Ugric languages is believed by some linguists to have been the region extending from the headwaters of the Dnieper and the western Dvina to the western slope of the Ural Mountains, about 5,000 years ago. There is evidence that before the immigration of Slavic-speaking tribes in their present territory in central and eastern Europe in about the sixth century C.E. Finno-Ugrians inhabited the whole territory from the Urals to the Baltic Sea.

Most linguists believe that unlike most of the languages spoken in Europe, Uralic languages are not part of the Indo-European family of languages. Some researchers now believe, however, in an alternative theory, that early Finno-Ugric was one of the two elements that blended to form basic Indo-European. They maintain that some among them mingled with Caucasic-speaking peoples (*see* CAUCASIANS) to produce Indo-European.

Evidence is wanting, however, as to direct contact between Caucasian peoples and Finno-Ugrians, and such a connection is unlikely because the two did not inhabit neighboring territories; rather, the vast steppe region lay between the two. (There is much evidence of relations between Caucasians and steppe peoples in the late Neolithic, the period when Proto-Indo-European most likely emerged.) If the complex Caucasian societies on the periphery of the urban Near East had had substantial contacts with Finno-Ugrians, a more likely outcome would have been the absorption of the latter into the more advanced Caucasian culture and even the disappearance of their language.

It is difficult to see how the language of such remote, isolated, and primitive societies as lived in the Finno-Ugrian homeland could have had the very large impact over a wide region of more developed societies to the south and west where the Indo-European language is known to have been influential. The most common way primitive societies historically have been able to impose their culture and language on more advanced ones is through large population movements, displacing indigenous languages in other territories either by forcible invasion or (as in the case of the Slavs in the mid-first millennium C.E.) by exploitation of a power vacuum left by the collapse or migration of a previous warrior elite society. However, there is no trace of evidence of such a scenario for Finno-Ugrians, either in the most likely time frame for the emergence of Indo-European—that is, the fourth to the third millennia B.C.E.—or at any other time. On the other hand, another possible mechanism for language spread in the relevant period is clear in the archaeological record: the rapid spread over the territories concerned of the distinctly new and different cultural complex called Corded Ware. This eventuality, which has been characterized as among the most momentous that occurred in prehistoric Europe, furnishes a more likely mechanism for widespread language change.

Variations of Finno-Ugric are the official languages in Finland, Estonia, and Hungary. Pockets of Finno-Ugric speech are found elsewhere in European and Asian Russia.

HISTORY

Ancient Accounts

In the fifth century B.C.E. the Greek historian Herodotus wrote of peoples presumed to be Finno-Ugrians as "long possessed of the soil." Some of the tribes described by him have been claimed as Finno-Ugrian, mostly based on their probable location to the far northeast of the Greek world. Herodotus mentions the Issedones and Arimaspians and says that beyond these lived the Hyperboreans, who worshipped Apollo. (He distinguishes the Hyperboreans from the others as being peaceful.) His authority for this information, however, is a very uncertain one. He learned of this region from a tale concerning one Aristeus of Proconnessus (an island in the Propontis), who may have lived in the sixth or seventh century B.C.E. It was said that Aristeus died suddenly one day, but when his relatives came to take his body for burial it had disappeared. Seven years later Aristeus came back to his city and told of having been possessed by Apollo; in this possession he traveled to lands approaching the territory of the Hyperboreans, finally coming to these Apollo-worshippers themselves. Confusingly, Herodotus later qualifies this by saying Aristeus had learned about the Hyperboreans from the Issedones. In the end, Herodotus says, no one knows for sure about these lands, and he was unable to interview anyone who had actually been there.

Some details of Aristeus's account are plausible and may well have derived from travelers' and traders' tales, for Proconnessus, in the approaches to the Black Sea, was a natural stopping point for ships. He describes a lofty chain of mountains where gold, guarded by griffins, is to be found. These could well be the mineral-rich Urals, and the abundant gold from burials by Scythians at this time could have come from there. There is a curious lapse in Aristeus's story, however, for nowhere does he mention the other principal feature of the Finno-Ugrian homeland besides the Urals: the mighty Volga. Surely any traveler who had actually been to the region would have remarked on this great river. It seems likely that the travelers and traders passing through Proconnessus from whom the Greek Aristeus could have derived information mostly traversed the Black Sea and, Greek-like, did not stray far from their ships, let alone journey across the steppes to the far north.

Aristeus says that the Issedones were being expelled from their territory by the Arimaspians, the Scythians from theirs by the Issedones, and that the CIMMERIANS, who live on the southern sea (i.e., the Black Sea), abandoned their territory under pressure from the Scythians. This movement of peoples, too, is plausible, for it accords with the ripple affect that for millennia fanned out across the steppe region as disturbance among peoples in one region affected their neighbors. As mentioned above, both possible Scythian place-names and skull types found in the Volga-Oka region have affinities with the area north of the Black Sea.

Early Contacts and Migrations

The Finno-Ugrians extended at one point in their history from the Gulf of Livonia to the Ural Mountains, and from the Arctic coastline to the Black Sea. By the fourth century B.C.E. the Finno-Ugrians were in contact with the Scythians, who lived west of the Don, and with the SARMATIANS, who occupied the plains to the east of it.

In the late centuries B.C.E. the Finno-Ugrians migrated westward to the east shore of the Baltic Sea, where they occupied the country north of the Western Dvina and the northern half of Courland, territory that included most of present-day Latvia and Estonia. Later some of them crossed the Gulf of Finland and settled near present-day Turku (Abo) and in the Kokemaki and Kyrö valleys of present-day Finland. The Finno-Ugrians absorbed the indigenous Iron Age population.

The Roman historian Tacitus wrote about people under the name Fenni as early as 98 C.E. His description of them as having no horses, houses, or weapons and dressing in skins fits the Saami of the time rather than people in southern Finland. On the other hand, Tacitus wrote that the Fenni had no religion, an assertion that was certainly not true of the Saami, then or at any other time. His description may have reflected Roman prejudice against barbarians living far from Rome on the edge of the world. For ROMANS such people were closer to animals than to civilized man. In *Geographia,* a work written in 127–147 C.E., Ptolemy used the name Finnoi.

Later Contacts and Migrations

In the first century C.E. the HUNS entered the Volga country and remained along its lower and middle course, having an impact on some of the Finno-Ugric groups. In the fifth century the BULGARS, who had settled on the Lower Volga and Kama, had contacts with and influence on the Komi, Mari, Mordvins, Udmurts, and the Finno-Ugric-speaking Magyars.

In about 700 the Finno-Ugrians reached the present-day region of Karelia in northwestern Russia.

From the eighth century VIKINGS from Sweden made strikes by sea eastward into Finno-Ugrian territory, primarily using the river systems. In the ninth century the Slavs also expanded from settlements in the Ukraine northeast up tributaries of the Dnieper River into Finno-Ugric lands.

The ancient territory of the AVARS in the Lower Danube region and the Carpathian basin was occupied at the end of the ninth century by the Magyars or Hungarians. The Magyars were politically organized by an aristocracy of TURKICS. Arab geographers of the medieval period distinguish two Magyar groups, one of which remained in the Ural Mountains, where the Vogul still live today, while the other emigrated first to "Levedia" north of the Sea of Azov and later to "Atelkuzu," the plain surrounded by the Lower Dnieper, the Carpathians, the Seret, the Danube delta, and the Black Sea. At this time the same Arab geographers (and also Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus of the 10th century) speak of the "Majghari" as Turks, no doubt because both groups of these Finno-Ugrians had been organized by Bulgars: those of the Urals by the Bulgars of Kama, those of Atelkuzu by the Onoghundur or Onogur, who in the ninth century occupied the southeastern region of the

Carpathians. The name Hungarians, to denote the Magyars, may have originated from these Onogur, who mingled with them in the second half of the ninth century. Other sources link these Finno-Ugrian Magyars with another Turkic tribe, the Kabars, who are associated with the KHAZARS and who are believed to have given the Magyars their royal family, the Arpads. The presence of an Onogur or Kabar Turkic aristocracy among the Magyars would explain the protocol of the BYZANTINES by which, in the exchange of ambassadors under Constantine VII, Magyar chiefs were always referred to as "Princes of the Turks."

In the 10th century some Finno-Ugrians occupied, with the Khazars, the shores of the Sea of Azov and of the Caspian Sea.

By the 12th century the Baltic-speaking LETTS had reached the region known as Livonia (part of present-day Latvia and Estonia) and absorbed some of the more southerly Finno-Ugrians or pushed them northward.

In the late 12th and early 13th centuries German military and religious orders launched crusades to the Baltic region. In 1202 the invaders founded the city of Riga on the Gulf of Riga in Latvia, and the next year they established the Brothers of the Sword to Christianize the peoples. The Livs were the first to be pacified, in 1207. In 1214 the Letts fell, after which the Esths turned to Russia for support against German expansion. The Esths themselves were vanquished in 1219. In 1237 the Brothers of the Sword united with the Teutonic Knights, becoming known as the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights. During the next century some Finno-Ugrians, migrating northward, reached Sweden. Kingdoms and nations would form over the next centuries.

Meanwhile the Saami continued to live a nomadic lifestyle in extreme northern Scandinavia, Finland, and western Russia.

CULTURE

Economy

Economic subsistence among Finno-Ugrians has followed the same developmental trends as among other Europeans but in a later time frame because of their location in the far north. Skilled in hunting and fishing, they followed a foraging way of life for millennia after agriculture had been adopted in the rest of Europe. An important feature in some areas was stream and river fishing, in which great seasonal runs of species such as salmon fostered a sedentary existence in which people lived in large villages focused on the prolific source of food. Elsewhere, such as in Karelia and Finland, sealing played the same role.

Later as Finno-Ugrians moved into new territories, considerable regional differences in economy developed. The pastoral economy typical of the Corded Ware culture that entered Finno-Ugric areas from about 3500 B.C.E. caused the people in forest steppe regions south of the northern zone to take up cattle rearing. This activity has long been important to Estonians south of Finland, and Udmurts and Cheremis in the southeast. In northern lands among the Finns, Karelians, and Komi, hunting to supply furs for trading to both western and southeastern Europe maintained its importance into the modern era, long after they had adopted agriculture. The amber trade generated foreign goods and wealth for coastal Finno-Ugrians from the Bronze Age until well into the Common Era. The fur and amber trade in Finland expanded greatly as traders from Sweden and Denmark pioneered trade routes southward through the Russian interior, first to Baghdad in present-day Iraq and then to the Byzantine Empire in the eastern Mediterranean region. During this period people in Finland began to bury their deceased in graveyards with abundant grave goods. Finnish culture spread inland to Tavastia and Ostrobothnia, through trade and settlement. Estonians, too, benefited from the trade networks fostered by the Vikings, and in the medieval period by the German Hanseatic League.

Fishing continued to be a mainstay; in the medieval period the periodical fasting from meat required by the Christian Church across Europe increased the importance of the cod and herring fisheries. It is thought that ancestral Finno-Ugrians from central Russia took knowledge of cereal agriculture northwestward with them to Karelia and Finland. In the early centuries C.E. Baltic Finno-Ugrians (Western Finno-Ugrians) became active in the east-west trade. Early extensive trade relations lasted until the decline of the Roman Empire and the wide-ranging migrations of the Germanics.

Government and Society

The great difference of Finno-Ugric languages from the Indo-European ones that predominate in Europe, as well as the location of most Finno-Ugric speakers in territories on the periphery of that continent, have isolated them to some extent from social and cultural trends elsewhere. Their political organization remained tribal until well into the Middle

Ages. As a result, Finno-Ugric speakers were dominated by outside powers—principally Sweden and Russia, but also Germany—in the early medieval period before they had a chance to form states of their own. Christianity, in the Middle Ages a civilizing force, was introduced late and by force as part of political annexation. Finno-Ugrians in areas under Russian rule remained almost totally separated from the outside world. In the southern parts of Karelia and Ingria the Karelian, Vote, and Ingrian populations were bound to the land as serfs of Russian-speaking masters. The cultural isolation of the Ingrians and Votes was exacerbated by their living in an area that was a mosaic of peoples speaking different languages. The Estonians were also bound to the land as serfs but in a feudal system handed down from the period of German rule and harsher than that of the Russians. Educational opportunities and the right to travel were for most speakers of these languages almost nonexistent until the 19th century and then only in restricted circumstances.

Art

Finno-Ugrians in the forest steppe zone were greatly influenced by Scythian steppe art. This spread toward the forest region of the Upper Volga, influencing the Finno-Ugrian Ananino culture near Kazan (c. 600–200 B.C.E.). A rich burial ground discovered there has yielded, in addition to the bronze spiked axes and daggers commonly found, some objects with animal motifs in which the animals' bodies are curled up; these have Scythian affinities, though executed here in a somewhat simplified form. The Scythian animal style was only partially adopted at Ananino, and the decoration continued to be based on geometric patterns. But depictions of animals have been common among a number of Finno-Ugric peoples to the present. Among Saami in coastal areas the most prevalent images were of the reindeer, small mammals, or fish; in the deep forest the most popular image was the elk. On the other hand, the geometric style continues among Udmurt women, who are renowned for their weaving and embroidery, with geometrical ornamentation using the traditional Udmurtian colors of red, black, and white.

Music

The Mari have two musical instruments unique to their culture. One is a many-stringed zither called the *kusle,* the other a *shyuvr* bagpipe. Their musical traditions include song lyrics that mention the Volga and reflect a love of nature, especially of the forest and the rainbow.

The Udmurts had no written language but a strong oral tradition that has saved many myths, legends, and fairy tales. Much of Udmurtian folklore, history, and daily life is preserved in song, and the Udmurts are known for their singing ability.

Literature

The Kalevala Speakers of Finno-Ugric languages in the northeast Baltic region share a distinct poetic tradition with common themes, motifs, and forms, called the Finnish oral tradition or Kalevala-meter poetry, after the most famous work of the tradition, the *Kalevala.* Many examples of this tradition have been recorded in writing in five of the seven closely related Finno-Ugric languages in the region: Finnish, Karelian, Estonian, Ingrian, and Vote. The similarities of these works suggest that the tradition dates to a time before these languages differentiated from a common ancestor, probably the Finno-Ugrian dialect taken to the region in prehistoric times. There is no clear agreement among students of this poetry as to when and where this happened. The consensus of opinion among them points to an area on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland at least 2,500 years ago. On the other hand, it is possible that the Finno-Ugric ancestor of these languages arrived in the region—or began to filter in—much earlier, by about 3000–2800 B.C.E., so that the Kalevala tradition could be much older. Poetry in this style continued to be composed well into the Common Era, used to promote Christianity and even for political propaganda.

Poetry of the Kalevala tradition has lines in tetrameter consisting of two metrical feet each beginning with a strong or stressed syllable followed by two feet each beginning with an unstressed or weak syllable; a caesura (pause) is placed in the middle of the line between the second and third feet, that is, after the "strong" feet and before the "weak" ones. Alliteration is important in this poetry, abetted by the fact that Finno-Ugric languages have relatively few consonants—Finnish has only 13.

The *Kalevala* was first compiled in literary form by the Finn Elias Lönnrot. In 1827 he traveled from western Finland as far as eastern Karelia collecting folk songs, which he published the next year in Helsinki under the title *Kantele* (Harp). Common themes running through many of these songs gave him the idea

of uniting them into larger units. His first such compilation consisted of tales about the hero Lemminkäinen. In subsequent years as a result of further researches in Karelia, Lönnrot compiled songs into an epic cycle usually referred to as the *Old Kalevala.* In 1849 he published a greatly expanded version comprising 22,795 lines and 50 songs. When referring to the Finnish epic, commentators mean this *New Kalevala;* the *Old Kalevala* is primarily of historical interest.

The *Kalevala*'s form is entirely Lönnrot's invention. The main material of the work consists of about 30 different epic songs, tales of adventure and great deeds, each of them in numerous variants. In addition, he used lyric songs, charms (incantations), wedding songs, laments, and proverbs. About one-fifth of the whole epic is made up of charms, such as one used to cure Väinämöinen's knee wound and another chanted by a female character to drive oxen.

Religion

Finno-Ugrian peoples of the northern forest zone had an animistic religion in which all things, especially animals and plants, were imbued with spirit. Animals—especially waterfowl—were deified. The Mordvins of the Volga region preserve this animistic religion; they have rituals of Sun worship, called Shkay. The Moon, trees, water, thunder, and frost are still considered integral to religious belief. The pagan religion of the Veps celebrated animals, such as the bear and the pike (fish).

Ancestor Worship Some Finno-Ugric peoples have beliefs that may have originated in ancestor worship. Many Mordvins still believe that dead family members return briefly on the 40th day after death. Some venerated their dead by representing them as polycephalic (multiple-headed) and holding communal banquets in their honor. There was a belief that after death one's spirit is turned into trees. Women were absorbed into fir, pine, and aspen; men turned into oak, maple, and ash.

Many omens were observed during Votic funerals. If the horse pulling the casket started walking with his left leg, the next person to die would be a woman. Living men never put their left sock or shoe on first, as that sequence was reserved for when dressing the dead for burial. The condition of the body in the coffin was a sign of how soon the next death could be expected. A stiff body meant it would be a while until the next burial unless the sleigh or horse cart toppled over upon returning from the graveyard, in which case another death was predicted to follow soon. A copper coin thrown into the grave would help the dead person gain a better place in the next world. There was also a custom not to remove anything from cemeteries; even the berries growing there belonged either to the dead or to the god's birds.

At home the places that the dead body had touched were washed with soap and a rag, which was subsequently destroyed. All objects that had touched the corpse were thrown into a fire or into water. Yet there were good omens associated with having a corpse in the house. Anyone who had a cyst on the arm or leg had only to touch the same spot on a dead body, after which he or she could hope to recover.

Many Finno-Ugrians had or have spoken charms for healing. Omens govern much of their behavior, such as in the building of their homes. These are signs of a belief in an unseen spirit world that surrounds and influences all human actions and must be taken into account during all activities.

Shamanism It is believed that before Finno-Ugrians spread to other regions from their northern homeland, they practiced shamanism, depending on a priestlike man or woman of special powers that allowed him or her to communicate with the spirit world. Shamanism has occurred throughout the circumpolar region, including Siberia and North America. The shaman uses special techniques to transcend the limits of time-bound, space-bound mortality and enter the spirit world through a soul flight. Shamans used deprivation of food, sleep, shelter, and companionship, and sometimes intoxicants, drugs or drink, to attain a trance state. The shamans' visions transport them into the surrounding invisible world of the dead, and they speak their language. Through this they master the natural living world.

The famous Paleolithic painting in the cave at Lascaux, France, showing a recumbent human figure, it has been argued, is a depiction of a shaman in a trance, possible evidence of the great antiquity of such practices and their relation to a tundra existence lived by peoples all over ice-free Europe during the last Ice Age, which continued afterward in the circumpolar region. The shaman, while in a trance, is thought to have died temporarily. During the absence of its spirit the shaman's abandoned body must be protected by members of the tribe so that the soul will have a living form to reenter. Many feats of endurance of cold and pain that have been reported from Siberia and

elsewhere in the circumpolar region are thought to be related to such techniques of ecstasy.

The Saami still have shamans among them. The shaman mediates between humans and the spirit world. In times of trouble people turn to this central figure in the society. To connect with the other worlds, he enters a trance through what is commonly referred to as *joika,* a type of singing without words that attempts to capture the essence of nature. The term *joika* actually applies to only one of several modes of singing; the other modes, *lavlu/laavloe/vuelie,* have words and narratives. Drums accompany the singing and chanting, as do the bullroarer and the flute. Through the music a soul travels with the help of protective spirits, typically a totemistic animal. Men's rites focus on the hunt and control of wind and weather; women's rites center on home and family. The Veps had a type of shaman called a *noid,* who bore a staff made of alder to preside over weddings and other rites.

The geographical location of Finno-Ugrians in the far north both brought into being their unique blend of European and Asian genetic and cultural traits and, for those who remained there, engendered an isolation that protected their culture from usurpation by more dominant peoples with more advanced societies. Even most of those tribes who moved southward to the Volga region and westward to Baltic lands occupied peripheral areas, the forest steppe of central Eurasia and, in the case of the Saami, the boreal forests of northern Scandinavia. Even after Volga Finno-Ugrians were taken over by Russia, they shared in the great insularity and isolation from the outside world of that nation. Unlike other tribal peoples such as the CELTS and GERMANICS, who were utterly transformed by contact with Greco-Roman civilization, Finno-Ugrians preserve to a remarkable degree a tribal, pre-Christian outlook that once was common over the entire European continent.

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Finns (Fenni)

The name Finns, originally Fenni, as used by the ROMANS, is used variously. It is sometimes applied to all Finnic-speaking peoples, a branch of the language family of Finno-Ugrics (*see* FINNO-UGRIANS). As such it is sometimes used for particular groupings of Finnic-speaking peoples, such as the Baltic Finnics or Finns (or Eastern Finnics), that is, all the Finnic-speaking people living near the Baltic Sea in present-day Finland, Russia, and Estonia, sometimes called Western Finnics; and the Volga Finnics or Finns, that is, all the Finnic-speaking people living along the Volga River in Russia or its tributaries, sometimes called Eastern Finnics. The name Finns also appears as part of the name of those Finnic-speaking peoples—the Ingrian Finns—who migrated from present-day Finland and settled in the region of Ingria in present-day

FINNS

location:
Southern and western parts of Finland near Kokemaeki and Kymi Rivers

time period:
First century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

Finns time line

C.E.	
first century	Finnic-speaking peoples have separated into various tribal groups.
mid-ninth century	Rus have contacts with Finns.
late ninth century	Rus rule southern part of Karelia.
10th century	Eastern Orthodox Christianity introduced.
mid-12th century	Swedes invade Finland.
1230s	Catholic missionaries reach Finns.
13th century	Swedes and Russians wage war over Finland.
1323	Russian-Swedish border divides Karelian territory.
1617	Treaty of Stolbovo between Sweden and Russia
mid-17th century	Swedes suppress Finnish revolt.
1721	Treaty of Nystad (Uusikaupunki); Sweden cedes Karelia to Russia.

northwestern Russia and maintained a political identity and cultural tradition apart from that of other Finnic peoples there (*see* INGRIANS). Similarly the ESTHS of present-day Estonia are sometimes called the Estonian Finns, and the LIVS, the Livonian Finns. The name Finns is of course also applied to the peoples who have lived or live in the territory comprising what is now the modern nation of Finland, including ancient tribal people, as well as those of the historic region or modern nation of Finland (*see* FINNS: NATIONALITY).

Among the tribal peoples who settled Finland, classified by dialectal differences as well as by geography, are the Suomalaiset (Suomaläiset; Suomea) in the southwest, the Tavasts (Tavastians; Hämäläiset; Hame; Hemes; Iames) in the interior southern and western lake district, and the KARELIANS (Carelians; Karjalaiset) to the north and east, also including lands in the region of Karelia, now a republic in the Russian Federation. Other Finnic tribes are a mixture of these main groups. The Savolaiset, or people of Savolax, are a linguistic mixture of Tavasts and Karelians. The Kainulaiset or KVENS on the Gulf of Bothnia in present-day Finland and Sweden, as well as in present-day Norway to the north, can be considered a subgroup of the Karelians.

The Suomalaiset, in addition to being known as southwestern Finns because they inhabited southwestern Finland (Varsinais-Suomi, now the province of Turku ja Pori), are sometimes called the Finns proper because they were the first Finnish people known to the neighboring Swedes. The Finnish name for Finland, Suomi, is derived from their tribal name. The Tavasts are thought to be the first Finnic people to reach Finland from Estonia, but this idea has not been proved archaeologically.

The SAAMI (Lapps; Laplanders) of Lapland (consisting of Finland, the Scandinavian peninsula of Sweden and Norway, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia) are also a Finnic-speaking people but are culturally and to some extent physically distinct from the Finns of Finland. It is uncertain whether or not they were indigenous inhabitants of Lapland who had lived in their homeland for millennia, possibly from as early as 9000–8000 B.C.E., adopting the Finnic language in the first millennium B.C.E. Some anthropologists have seen affinities in the physical type of some among the Saami with Asian peoples in the eastern Ural Mountain region where European and Asian peoples had probably been meeting and mingling since the end of the last Ice Age. Similarities between Finno-Ugric languages and those of the Asian Uralic language group may document such interactions. Some Saami ancestors may have thus migrated to Finland. Although in Finland they are generally discussed as separate from other Finnic peoples, in Norway because of their Finnic language they are sometimes called Finns.

ORIGINS

The first people to inhabit Finland were Neolithic peoples (of the Kiukainen culture), who are assumed to have settled there after the northward retreat of the glaciers. A Karelian folk epic, the *Kalevala,* tells of a mythical land, Pohjola, against which the Kalevala people, identified with the Finns, struggled and triumphed.

Finnics are thought to have departed their ancestral homeland in the Volga River basin and eventually reached the north coast of the Gulf of Finland. Theories vary widely as to the time of this event; the earliest is generally given as 3500 B.C.E. At some point too, Finnic peoples crossed to Finland and displaced or absorbed pre-Finnic peoples. It is thought that at least some among the Finnic peoples of the Baltic area were organized in loosely federated small states by the first century C.E. By the ninth century the Karelians settled the shores of the White Sea, the northern extent of their territory.

Other peoples intermingled with the Finns over the centuries, especially GERMANICS. From the first through the fourth century C.E., an apparently thriving seafaring culture spread throughout the region from as far west as the Jutland Peninsula (present-day Denmark), including the Elbe and Vistula estuaries. During this period people in Finland began to bury deceased in graveyards with abundant grave goods. The culture spread inland to Tavastia and Ostrobothnia through trade and settlement.

LANGUAGE

The Finns' language is in the Balto-Finnic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family and is closely related to Estonian. Dialects vary considerably; some of them have elements of both Estonian and Germanic.

HISTORY

From the ninth century the ancient Finns, loosely organized into states, were contending with coastal raids by VIKINGS. The Finns themselves tended to colonize inland, following

rivers, although they too carried out raids beyond Finland's shores. The Kainulaiset became known as raiders in the Middle Ages. The RUS ruled the southern part of Karelia from the late ninth century. In the next century the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church extended its influence to Finnic peoples of Novgorod (*see* RUS), Karelia, and Tavastia. In the mid-12th century the Swedes invaded Finland. In the 1230s the Catholic Church, in conjunction with the Germanic military and religious order Brothers of the Sword, active to the south among the Balts in present-day Latvia, established a presence in Tavestia.

For much of the century Sweden and Russia fought a border dispute over Finnish lands, with Karelia as the battlefield. In 1323 the Russian-Swedish border divided the Karelian territory, but continuing conflict became part of state policy on both sides. Centuries later, in 1617, the Peace Treaty of Stolbovo finally produced relative stability in Karelia but also the migration of many Karelian peoples to Russia to escape feudal taxes and the Lutheranism of the Swedes. Russia supported the emigration from Swedish lands and freed the Karelians temporarily from taxes.

Åland, an archipelago and now a province of Finland, was known to have been colonized by Germanics out of Sweden, who traded with peoples inhabiting Finland's coast in the Gulf of Bothnia and Gulf of Finland from Ostrobothnia in the north to Hanko in the south. The Swedes also made inroads on the mainland. A revolt by the Tavasts was suppressed in the mid-17th century by the Swedish noble Birger Jarl, who encouraged crusades against the pagan Finns and colonization of Finnish lands along the Gulf of Finland as far west as Vipiurii (Viborg) in Russia (formerly part of Finland). He also captured Karelia.

In 1721 by the Peace of Nystad, Sweden ceded Karelia (and Estonia) to Russia and, after defeat in a war in 1808–09, the rest of Finland.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

The livelihood of the Finns varied significantly depending on geography: The southwestern Suomalaiset were more likely to be agrarian, and the inland Tavasts and Karelians more likely to subsist on hunting. Fish from oceans, lakes, and rivers were also a valued resource. Finns living near the coast or up accessible rivers were more like to engage in trading. Evidence of Arabic silver coins in Finland indicates that the Finns, as did the Vikings, prospered from Eastern trade.

The ancient Finns were actually a number of different tribal groups, about which little is known. In the Middle Ages they coalesced into a people with a distinct identity, eventually becoming a modern nation.

Finns: nationality (Finnish; people of Finland)

GEOGRAPHY

Finland is bordered by Norway to the north, Sweden to the northwest, and Russia to the east. The Gulf of Bothnia makes up the western boundary and the Gulf of Finland is along the south coast. Åland, situated in the Baltic Sea, is an archipelago of about 6,500 islands belonging to Finland. Finland's total area is 130,559 square miles, which includes more than 60,000 lakes, the largest of which are Saimaa, Inarijärvi, and Päijänne. Many canals and rivers (principally the Kemijoki and the Oulujoki) connect the lakes and rivers within Finland's vast interior plateau. The landscape is mostly forests and woodland; only about 10 percent of the land (mostly along the coast) is used for agriculture. Northern Finland is known as Lapland (Saamiland), part of it is north of the Arctic Circle. Its terrain is marked by barren hills and some mountains. Finland's highest peak, Haltiatunturi (4,357 feet), is located near the Norwegian border.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Christian crusaders traversed present-day Finland in the 12th century, attempting to convert tribal FINNS. By the 1170s Sweden had invaded and settled the land. In the early 13th century the pope reaffirmed Swedish holdings in Finland, especially the eastern and northern territories. Birger Jarl of Sweden centralized Finland when forming Tavastia in 1249 as a defense against invading Russia. After Russian attacks a treaty of 1323 divided Karelia between Sweden and Novgorod.

Finland, a suzerainty of Sweden, was united with Norway, Denmark, and Sweden under the Union of Kalmar in 1397. It became a duchy of Sweden after a war with Russia in 1555–57. For the next quarter of a century Finland was one of the battlegrounds in the

FINNS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Finland (Suomi, Suomen Tasavalta); Republic of Finland (Suomen Tasavalta)

derivation of name:
Fennland, possibly a Germanic root meaning "wanderers"; Suomie, possibly from the Baltic root meaning "land"

government:
Republic

capital:
Helsinki

language:
Finnish and Swedish are the official languages; Saami, a Finnic dialect, and Russian are also spoken.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland; small percentages are Orthodox Christians or atheists.

earlier inhabitants:
Tribal Finns (Suomalaiset; Tavasts; Karelians; Kanulaiset; etc.); Saami

demographics:
More than 90 percent of the population are Finnish; about 6 percent are Swedish; ethnic minorities include Saami, Russians, Rroma, and Tatars.

Finns: nationality time line

C.E.

1150 Swedish crusaders invade southwestern Finland.

1238–49 Birger Jarl, earl of Sweden, leads second Crusade into province of Tavastia.

1293 Third crusade into eastern Finland divides Catholic west from Orthodox east.

1323 Finnish territory is divided between Sweden and Novgorod.

1397 Queen Margaret I unites Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, known as Union of Kalmar, under one monarch.

1523 Gustav I Vasa is king of Sweden, terminating Kalmar Union.

1548 Bishop of Åbo (Turku) Michael Agricola publishes New Testament in Finnish, which establishes Åbo dialect as basis of written Finnish.

1617 Peace of Stolbova designates Sweden supreme ruler of Baltic Sea, controls Gulf of Finland.

1640 Academy of Åbo is founded; in 1827 it is moved to Helsinki, becoming University of Helsinki; its library serves as national library.

1700–21 During Great Northern War Russia gains power in Finland.

1721 Russia wins southeastern Finland from Sweden under Treaty of Nystad (Uusikaupunki).

1808–09 In Finnish War Russia, supported by Napoleon I Bonaparte, defeats Sweden; Finland becomes autonomous grand duchy of Russia.

1812 Helsinki becomes capital of Finland.

1835 Elias Lönnrot publishes *Kalevala,* collection of folk songs and sayings of ancient Finland; he expands it in 1849.

1848 Johan Ludvig Runeberg writes poem "Vårt Land" in Swedish (known as "Maame" in Finnish); later, to music of Fredrik Pacius, it becomes national anthem of Finland.

1870 First Finnish novel, *Seitsemän veljestä* (Seven brothers) by Aleksis Stenvall (Aleksis Kivi), is published.

1872 Kaarlo Bergbom founds Finnish National Theater.

conflict between Sweden and Russia. The Peace of Stolbova in 1617 ended war with Russia and extended Finnish boundaries eastward into Ingria. Throughout the 18th century conflict with Russia resulted in a loss of Finnish territory, notably during the Great Northern War (1700–21) when Russia acquired the province of Vyborg.

Russia, under a treaty with Napoleon I Bonaparte, attacked Finland, declaring it a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809. By the Peace of Hamina Sweden officially gave Finland and Åland (archipelago) to Russia. In 1811 Finland regained the Karelian region and the province of Vyborg, territory previously ceded to Russia. Finland's capital was moved from Turku to Helsinki the next year.

During the Russian Revolution of 1917 a newly elected parliament proclaimed Finland an independent republic. By an armistice of 1944 signed between Russia and Finland, Finland ceded the Petsamo region and leased the Porkkala Peninsula, which it did not reclaim until 1995.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

A driving force behind the emergence of a modern Finnish cultural identity has been the relations of Finns—those peoples descended from tribal FINNO-UGRIANS—to foreign occupying powers. The first of these was Sweden. Swedes and Finns have had close relations at least since the Swedish VIKINGS began trading Finnish products—importantly furs—southward through Russian territory in the sixth century C.E. Swedes, more "advanced" than Finns in terms of trends in western Europe, have usually dominated the latter, actually annexing Finnish territory in the 12th century. Thus modern Finns have developed their cultural identity in an atmosphere of struggle to remain independent and distinct.

In 1640 Sweden established the Turku (or Åbo) Academy in Finland with the purpose of

1882	Martin Wegelius founds Helsinki Music Institute (now Sibelius Academy); Robert Kajanus founds Helsinki Orchestra Society (now Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra).
1899	Russian Czar Nicholas II implements February Manifesto, opposing Finnish constitution.
	Jean Sibelius composes symphony *Finlandia,* inspired by nature and Finnish folktales; it is later banned by czarist authorities for its pro-Finnish themes.
1906	Finland declares national parliament; women are granted right to vote.
1917	During Russian Revolution Finland declares its independence.
1918	Civil war breaks out between Bolsheviks of southern Finland or Red Guards, and right-wing government of western Finland or White Guards; White Guards, supported by German troops, prevail.
1919	Finland becomes republic.
1920	Finland and Soviet Union (USSR) sign Peace of Tartu; Finland gains Petsamo area. Finland joins League of Nations.
1932	Finland and Soviet Union sign nonaggression pact.
1939	World War II begins; Winter War begins when Soviet Red Army invades Finland.
	Novelist and short story writer Frans Eemil Sillanpää wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1940	Winter War ends; under Peace of Moscow Finland cedes southeastern provinces to Soviet Union.
1944	As a result of Finnish and Soviet Union conflict along southern border agreement is signed in Moscow, restoring frontier of 1940; Soviet Union annexes Petsamo area.
1944–45	War begins in Lapland; Finland and Soviet Union sign Friendship Treaty.
1955	Finland joins United Nations (UN) and Nordic Council.
1992	Soviet Union nullifies Friendship Treaty.
1993	National Museum of Finland is founded in Helsinki; Finnish National Opera House, home of Finnish National Opera and Finnish National Ballet, is inaugurated in Helsinki.
1995	Finland joins European Union (EU).
2000	New constitution is adopted.

drawing Finns into mainstream European culture. The assumption by the Swedish government that acquainting Finns with advanced cultural trends from wider Europe, filtered to them through a Swedish lens, would attach Finland even more closely to the Swedish Crown proved unfounded, as the intellectual tools Finns gained in the academy actually helped them promote a sense of cultural identity distinct from that of Swedes. Prior to this time most educated Finns spoke Swedish, which was the language of government and culture. But with the founding of the academy translations of important documents, such as law codes, into Finnish began. A rudimentary Latin-Swedish-Finnish dictionary was published in 1678. At the same time Finnish material, such as descriptions of ancient Finnish religion, began to be translated into Latin, making them available to scholars in other countries. One work included a Finnish folk song about the bear that became the first specimen of Finnish folk poetry known abroad. These efforts were the forerunners of the compilation in the 19th century by Elias Lönnrot of oral Finnish epic poetry into the *Kalevala.*

Russia's annexation of Finland from Sweden in 1809 at first opened the way to a resurgence of Finnish culture and language. The high point of this was the compilation of the *Kalevala,* whose great international literary importance has made Finnish oral poetic tradition central to Finnish cultural identity. The relative isolation of the Finnic peoples, living "on top of the world" in the arctic circumpolar region, has been partly responsible for the preservation of their oral poetry. Peasants would sing this poetry to the accompaniment of the *kantele,* an instrument similar to a zither. The *Kalevala* was hailed as Finland's national epic almost as soon as it appeared in 1835.

Later in the 19th century, however, Russia undertook efforts at "Russifying" Finland and imposing the Russian language. Finnish

resistance marshalled international aid because of the fame of the *Kalevala*. The Finnish Pavilion at the Paris World's Fair in 1900 assembled all the forces of the arts into a joint manifestation of Finland's cultural identity, and the intelligentsia of Western Europe protested against Russian oppression.

The state of Finland established in 1917 did not comprise all Finnic speakers; a number of them living in Sweden and Norway and speaking what are usually considered dialects of the standard Finnish spoken in Finland—the TORNEDALIANS and KVENS—believe that their languages are different enough from standard Finnish to be considered official minority languages and in recent decades have been campaigning to have them recognized as such. The Tornedalians have published much of their literature, including teaching materials for schools, fiction, newspaper articles, and translation of parts of the Bible, in what they call Meänkieli (our language) in order to underscore its relationship with Tornedalian identity.

As is the case with many speakers of minority languages in Nordic countries, language has become a central component in the cultural identity of Finnic speakers outside Finland, aided by the fact that Finnish is not a Nordic or even an Indo-European language. There are many speakers of Finnish in Sweden (as well as Swedish speakers in Finland), the result of age-old movements back and forth, especially between northern Sweden and Finland, and they have become increasingly language conscious. There are a number of groups who moved from what is now Finland to Sweden. They include Middle Sweden's "Forest Finns," who have lived in Stockholm since the late Middle Ages, and the so-called Sweden Finns (or Swedish Finns), who moved to Sweden in the 20th century. All have lived under heavy pressure to assimilate, which has made preserving their language and culture difficult.

Finnish in Sweden has traditionally been stigmatized, its speakers assumed to be of low status. This attitude has gradually changed as many Sweden Finns learned to speak Swedish without an accent; in addition, they differ little in appearance from Swedes. Sweden Finns now can be found at every level of society, not just in blue-collar work. They have been able to preserve their own language because of the bilingualism movement in Sweden, which aims to give schoolchildren classes in both their native language (home language classes) and Swedish.

Traditional folk music sung and danced to the *kantele* continues to be popular in Finland. *Pelimannimusiikki* is a style of dance music. A school of Finnish symphonic music developed in the latter 19th century, its basic language and structure derived from German music, its thematic material from Finnish folk songs. The most celebrated exponent of this school was Jan Sibelius, whose stirring and majestic tone poem *Finlandia* is one of the most admired and beloved works of the international symphonic repertoire.

Finns continue to be fascinated by the shamanistic spiritual tradition of their ancestors. Shamanistic elements have long played an important role in poetry and song; a significant portion of the *Kalevala* consists of "charms"—incantations intended to gain aid for the singer from the spirit world. Many modern Finnish musicians derive inspiration from shamanistic drumming tradition, and other artists, playwrights, filmmakers, visual artists, use shamanic themes. The shaman as the seeker, who will go to great lengths and brave dangers to discover truth unmediated by language or other cultural filters, is an attractive figure to many modern Finns.

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Fir Manach *See* MONAIG.

Flemings (Flemish; people of Flanders)

The Flemings are a Germanic-speaking people who inhabit primarily northern and western

Belgium; the nation is divided along ethnolinguistic lines. The French-speaking WALLOONS live to their south and east in Belgium. The Flemings make up about two-thirds of Belgium's population (*see* BELGIANS: NATIONALITY). Flemings are also found in northern France. The term Flemings, or Flemish (from the Middle Dutch Vlaminc akin to Middle Dutch Vlandes for Flanders, possibly meaning lowland or flooded land), has also been used for inhabitants of varying ethnicity from the historic region of Flanders.

ORIGINS

Present-day Belgium was originally inhabited by GAULS, among them the BELGAE. In the first century B.C.E. the ROMANS occupied the region. Over the next centuries the Romanized Celtic peoples competed with the GERMANICS, such as SAXONS and FRISIANS, who migrated into Roman Gaul from across the Rhine. In the third century the FRANKS, a loosely organized assortment of war bands and traders east of the Rhine border who had been trading with the Romans probably since the first century C.E., began to impinge on the area west of the Rhine in Belgium. The Romans enlisted some of them for protection. The Franks were successful as Roman allies, receiving grants of territory in the region in recompense. Frankish settlements in southern Belgium were situated around the town of Tournai. (Archaeology has found evidence of Franks living alongside Roman villas, in all probability to act as guards.) After the collapse of Roman power in Gaul, the Franks came together under the rule of Childeric I, whose son Clovis I extended Frankish rule over much of today's France and Belgium in the sixth century. Both Germanic and Celtic influence continued in Belgium, leading to the formation of the groups defined as Flemings and Walloons.

LANGUAGE

Peoples who settled the north in present-day Netherlands and Belgium were largely Germanic speaking; those who settled to the south in Belgium and present-day France adopted the language of the Romanized Gauls, which evolved into Walloon, related to French. The Germanic language spoken by the Flemings is the same, except for dialectal variations, as Netherlandic (or Dutch), spoken by the people of the Netherlands. The written versions of Flemish and Netherlandic are also the same. Many of Belgium's citizens are bilingual or trilingual, speaking Flemish in addition to French and/or Walloon.

HISTORY

Flanders

The name Flanders, from the same root word as the names Flemings and Flemish, was originally applied to a historic principality, which comprised the present-day provinces of East and West Flanders in Belgium, the southern portion of Zeeland Province in the Netherlands, and the Nord Département in France. It is also used for the Flemish-speaking region of Belgium—the provinces of Antwerpen, East Flanders, West Flanders, and northern Brabant—also sometimes called the Flemish Region. This region is bordered on the west by the North Sea and France, on the north and east by the Netherlands, and on the south by the region of Wallonia.

In about 862 Baldwin I, son-in-law of the Carolingian Frankish emperor Charles the Bald (later Charles II, Holy Roman Emperor), became the first count of Flanders. The counts of Flanders effectively united the various Germanic-speaking and Romance-speaking peoples under their rule. Because of its North Sea coast Flanders was at risk from attacks by VIKINGS in the ninth and 10th centuries, but Frankish-based armies managed to repel incursions, unlike in the region of Normandy to the south, where Vikings became known as NORMANS. By the 10th century Flanders became a center of the wool and silk industries. By the 11th century Flanders, because of its commercial success, had risen to a prominent position in western European affairs. By

FLEMINGS

location:
Northern and western Belgium; northern France

time period:
Third century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Mostly Germanic

language:
Flemish (Germanic)

Flemings time line

C.E.

third–fourth century	Franks arrive in Belgium.
862	Baldwin I becomes count of Flanders.
10th century	Wool and silk industries developed in Flanders.
13th century	Flemish cloth industry foremost in Europe
1584	Part of Flanders incorporated into Spanish Netherlands.
1668	France annexes portion of Flanders.
1795–1814	Flanders incorporated into French Empire.
1830	Belgium revolts gain independence.
1898	Flemish becomes second official language of Belgium.
1993	Constitutional revision makes Belgium federalist state with separate autonomous regions of Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

the 13th century the Flemish cloth industry was the foremost in Europe.

Various European powers, including France, the Holy Roman Empire, Burgundy, Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands, played a part in the history of the region over the subsequent centuries, with shifting sovereignty and borders and various military occupations. Part of it was incorporated into the Spanish Netherlands in 1584, after other territory had been given to France. Louis XIV of France annexed other portions in 1668. The original Flanders disappeared as a political entity during the French Revolution and Napoleonic period, 1795–1814, when incorporated into the French Empire. The modern nations of the region took a form close to their present shape in the 19th century, after Belgium's revolt from the Netherlands in 1830 and its recognition as an independent kingdom in 1831 and 1839 treaties. The title *Count of Flanders* is still used for princes of the Belgian royal family.

Flemish Movement

On becoming citizens of Belgium, the Flemings, although greater in number, had less political power than did the Walloons. In the 19th century a Flemish movement seeking political equality as well as preservation of language and culture arose. From the 1830s the Flemish scholar and poet Jan Frans Willems helped revive the Flemish literary language. Guido Gezelle, a Roman Catholic priest and poet, also championed the Flemish cause in *Rijmsnoer* (Necklace of rhymes; 1897) and other works. By the end of the century government and courts in Flemish areas utilized Flemish in official proceedings. In 1898 Flemish was made Belgium's second official language. In the 1930s Flemish became the language of instruction at the University of Ghent and in all primary and secondary schools located in Flemish areas. In 1932 the military established a Flemish military academy and separate Flemish units. With inequality between Belgium's Flemish and Walloons a continuing issue, in 1993 a constitutional revision made Belgium a federalist state with three separate and autonomous regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. All public signs and government publications in Flanders are in Flemish. The nation's capital was given official bilingual status.

CULTURE

Economy

The textiles industry, foremost in Europe by the 13th century, has been central to the economy of the Flemings. Some among them became renowned as intricate weavers of exquisite tapestries and found work internationally, for instance, at Beauvais in northern France starting in the 17th century. The location of Flanders also made it central to European trade. Bruges connected to North Sea towns by canals, Antwerp on the Schelde, and Ghent at the confluence of the Schelde and Leie Rivers (as well as several canals) all became important trade centers.

Government and Society

Although historic Flanders as of the 12th century had a centralized judicial system, many of its towns operated with a considerable measure of independence, granted numerous privileges and liberties by sovereign or feudal overlords.

Art

The Flemish tradition in art, in combination with the Dutch tradition, is one of the strongest in all of Europe; many of its masters, especially in the 15th–17th centuries, became renowned throughout Europe. Among some of the most notable are Hubert van Eyck and his brother, Jan van Eyck, of the 15th century, founders of the Flemish school of painting; Rogier van der Weyden of the 15th century; Pieter Bruegel of the 16th century and his sons and grandsons; Peter Paul Rubens of the 16th–17th century; and Sir Anthony van Dyck of the 17th century. The greatest patron of Flemish art was the Catholic Church.

Jan van Eyck was the first painter in Europe to fully exploit the possibilities of the new medium of oil paint; for a time he was even credited with its invention. With it he was able to capture the visible world in greater detail and more vivid color than had ever been seen before. Jan and his brother Hugo used their mastery of this medium to create a distinctive Flemish school of painting (also called the Northern Renaissance), characterized by acute observation of nature, the use of symbolism in no way at odds with the great realism of their paintings, depiction of spatial depth and landscape backgrounds, and delicate precision of brushwork.

The paintings of peasant life by Pieter Breughel and others of his family have a lusty and rugged humor; in "The Peasant Dance" heavy-footed men and women tread out a ponderous but energetic dance to the music of a piper whose cheeks balloon out in his efforts to make his instrument heard above the uproar of a table of drunks just behind him.

Rogier van der Weyden was the most renowned painter of his time and was patronized by various European courts. His work was known for its realistic clarity and strong colors.

Peter Paul Rubens, although born in Germany, spent most of his life in Antwerp. Called by 19th-century French painter Eugène Delacroix the Homer of painting, he specialized in cycles of paintings on narratives of epic proportions, including a life of Achilles. Other cycles are scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* and stories from the Old Testament. Rubens also made two large series of paintings to glorify rulers: the Marie de' Médicis cycle in Paris, and the Apotheosis of James I for the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace in London. Rather than focusing on psychological depth, he chose to depict extreme, climactic moments using a brushwork technique supercharged with energy.

Sir Anthony van Dyke, a pupil of Rubens, painted with an Apollonian elegance and restraint in strong contrast with Rubens's Dionysian exuberance. His style appealed greatly to the British, and he became court painter to King Charles I in 1632 (his name anglicized to Sir Anthony). His portrait of Charles and others of his court helped to create the atmosphere they sought of refinement and of royal power so absolute it needed no outward trapping of crown, ermine, and orb. Charles is shown in plain though rich hunting dress, just dismounted from his horse. Van Dyke has been credited with helping to create for the British aristocracy their own image of themselves.

Religion

The majority of Flemings are Roman Catholic, as are the Walloons.

Although modern Flanders no longer has the political, economic, and cultural clout of the historic Flanders, the modern Flemish movement has ensured a continuation of the Flemish identity.

Further Reading

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Franks (Franci; Franchi; Ripuarian Franks; Salian Franks; Franci ripuarii; Franci salii)

FRANKS

location:
Western Europe

time period:
Third to 10th century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

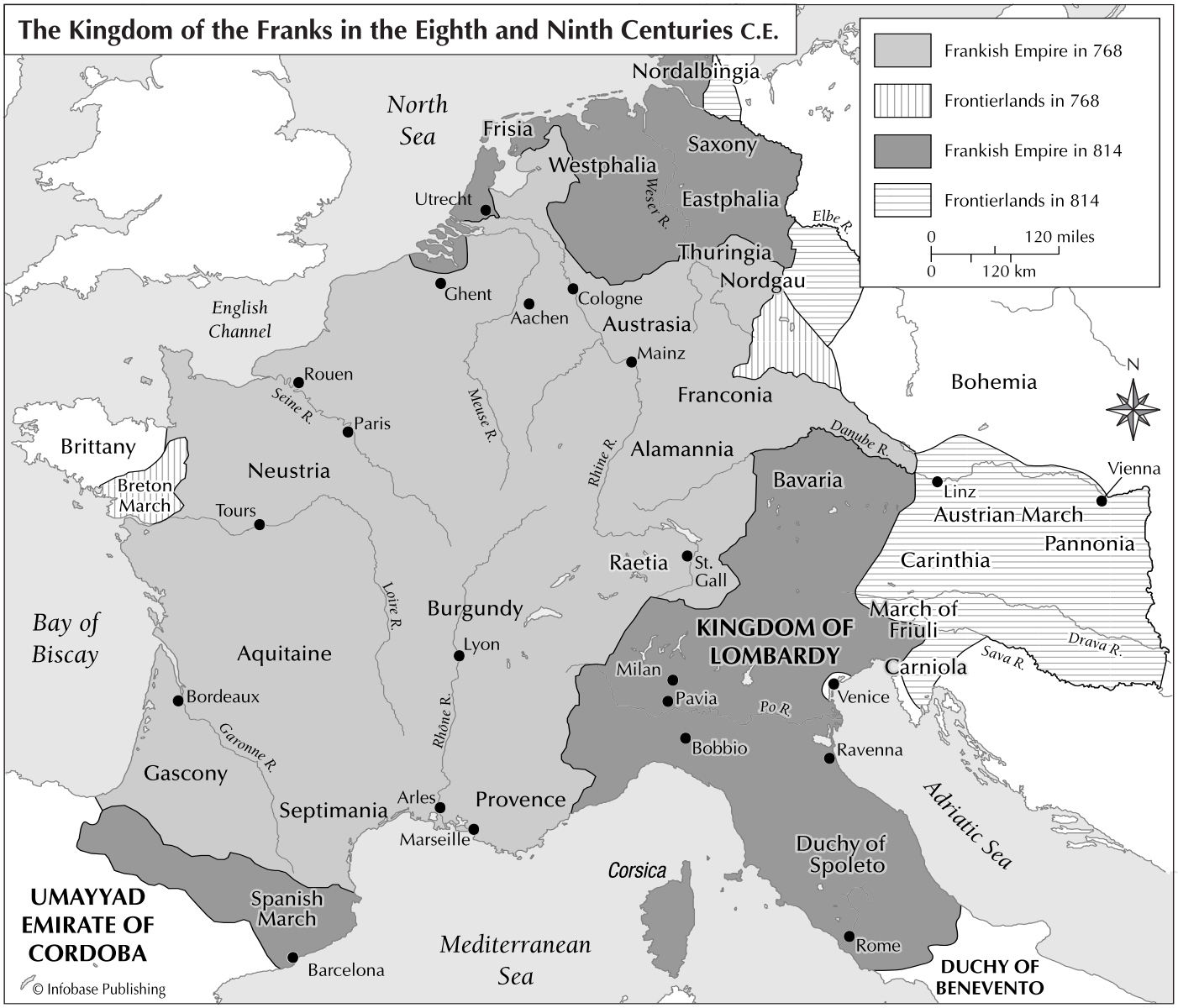
The Franks emerged from the early centuries C.E. as the most powerful and influential of the Germanics. They created a medieval empire, founded in 800 C.E. and extending throughout much of western Europe—including present-day France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany west of the Elbe, Austria, Switzerland, and northern and central Italy—and they laid the political foundation for what evolved into the modern-day nations of France and Germany.

ORIGINS

Gregory of Tours, a sixth-century Frankish prelate and a bishop at Tours in present-day France, wrote in *Historia Francorum,* a history of the Merovingian kingdom, that the Franks originally lived in the Roman province of Pannonia (modern Hungary and surrounding areas), but the accuracy of this assertion is uncertain. Pannonia is where the confederacy of Goths emerged, and Franks may have wanted to identify themselves with Gothic greatness by claiming the same origins. Modern scholars believe

Franks time line

C.E.	
mid-third century	Franks living as two distinct groups, Ripuarian Franks and Salian Franks, along the Rhine River
486	Franks under Clovis I defeat last Roman commander in Gaul.
496	Clovis I defeats Alamanni.
507	Clovis I defeats Visigoths.
531	Chlotar I defeats Thuringi.
534	Chlotar I defeats Burgundii.
732	Charles Martel drives Moors from Europe.
751	Pépin III deposes Childeric III, last Merovingian ruler.
773–774	Charlemagne defeats kingdom of Lombardy in Italy; crowned king of Lombards.
800	Charlemagne crowned emperor of the West.
804	Charlemagne defeats mainland Saxons.
805	Charlemagne defeats Avars.
843	Frankish empire partitioned among Louis I's sons by Treaty of Verdun.
870	Boundaries of Frankish kingdoms further defined by Treaty of Mersen.



that those peoples who were known to history as the Franks were originally a loose coalition of war bands from the Rhine region, whose members were from a number of tribes, including the AMSIVARII, BRUCTERI, CHAMAVI, CHATTUARI, SALII, TUBANTI, USIPETES, and other small groups.

The Franks are first mentioned in sources after 250 C.E. and probably came to the notice of the ROMANS in the third century C.E. as signs of the weakening Roman grip on the Rhine border tempted war bands to try forays into imperial territory. The name Franks means "free," or possibly "brave" or "hardy." The tribes' central political cohesiveness seems to have been rather less than that of the ALAMANNI until later, and they had a much closer relationship with Romans as well: Frankish groups settled under Roman authority west of the lower Rhine in the late third century. Franks were also sea raiders on the rich North Sea coastal trade, and they possibly contributed to a disruption of this trade serious enough to become a factor in the systems crisis fueling the mass migrations of the time. Some among them are known to have traveled through Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula into North Africa in 257–258 C.E. The Salii, and other Germanic peoples living near them along the Lower Rhine, became known as the Salian (salty) Franks. Others along the middle course of the Rhine became known in the eighth century as the Ripuarian (river) Franks. Other Frankish settlements were located in the Meuse and Moselle valleys and in southern Belgium, centered in the Roman town of Tournai. Later Frankish groups settled the area around Rheims.

HISTORY

Early Contacts with Romans

The peoples who became known as Franks lived close to the Roman imperial border on the Rhine. Such close proximity meant they were heavily influenced by Rome, at first largely peacefully—there is no mention in sources of friction with tribes in their area until the third century. Probably they traded with Romans, because they were in the frontier zone east of the Rhine where market economies were beginning to emerge in the first and second centuries. Their elites were probably enlisted as clients of Rome through rich gifts symbolic of alliance with Rome, similar to the medals given to Native American tribal leaders by European authorities in the colonial period. Centuries later Childeric I, father of Clovis, was buried with a type of brooch worn by Roman officers, which indicates that Franks still treasured emblems of their allegiance to Rome. Many Franks probably joined the Roman military. By the mid-third century C.E., however, possibly because of Rome's increasing state of beleaguerment due to Germanic incursions, Franks seem to have engaged in sporadic raids and uprisings. In retaliation they were brutally crushed by the Romans, their leaders thrown to wild animals in the circus.

In 358 the ROMANS under the emperor Julian defeated the Salian Franks, granting them more land in the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as *foederati* (federates) status. The Ripuarian Franks soon afterward spread westward from the Rhine toward the Moselle River in present-day northeastern France. The Salians encroached on the traditional territory of the THURINGI along the lower Rhine.

This treatment pacified the Salian Franks, who remained largely loyal to Rome for more than a century. Indeed, the Franks' sense of their own Frankish identity, as opposed to their tribal identities as Bructeri, Chamavi, Salii, or the like, became closely intertwined with their sense of being staunch defenders of Rome.

Many Franks served as generals in the Roman army. During the fourth century Frankish commanders dominated leadership of the Roman army of the West, becoming increasingly independent of imperial authority and engaging in the game that was being played by Roman generals throughout the West of involving themselves in politics, either by making and breaking emperors or in declaring themselves emperor. One such was Claudius Silvanus, overall commander in Gaul in the mid-fourth century, who after declaring himself emperor was murdered by his own troops in 356. Some commanders even served as Roman consuls and had close relationships with members of the Romano-Gallic senatorial aristocracy. A young rhetorician in the imperial capital in Milan, the future Saint Augustine, wrote the official oration of congratulation and praise on the consulship of one Bauto, a pagan Frank from across the Rhine. In 406 the Franks, as allies of the Romans, battled the incursions of other Germanic peoples, such as the VANDALS, into Gaul. On the other hand the Salian chieftain, Chlodio, led uprisings against Rome in 428 and in the 450s, all of which were crushed. It illustrates how fragmented the Franks were at this time that in 451 other Frankish warriors from among the Salians and Ripuarians helped the Romans battle the HUNS, while some Ripuarians supported Hunnic forces. With Roman power in Gaul weakening in the ensuing years the Franks expanded southward into Gaul and attacked Gallo-Roman settlements.

During the fifth century the "tribal swarm" of Franks (as they have been called) became dominated by one lineage of leaders from among the Salians, related to Chlodio, whose son may have been that Merovich whose name would be given to the Merovingian dynasty. The dominant leader of this kindred group was Childeric I, the last Frankish commander who fully considered himself an "imperial German" in the service of Rome. He fought under Roman command against the VISIGOTHS in 463 and 469.

By this time "Roman" authority in Gaul chiefly consisted of the power wielded by a variety of army commanders, both Germanic and Roman. In 461 the Roman general Aegidius, under whom Childeric had fought the Visigoths, severed relations with imperial authorities in Rome, who were in increasing disarray, because he opposed the current administration; henceforth he relied solely on his army to maintain his authority. His son, Syagrius, assumed his position on his death; Gregory of Tours later reported that Syagrius had been elected *rex Romanorum,* "king of the Romans," in no sense a Roman office, but rather a Germanic understanding of what a powerful Roman general was. Childeric, too, had some kind of a disagreement, the details of which are not known, and withdrew from Gaul to Frankish territory. The royal splendor of his tomb, which contained a signet ring with the inscription *Childirici regis* "of King Childeric," shows he had suffered no loss of power, and



This is a 16th-century representation of Clovis I, king of the Franks. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ61-1435])*

some historians have argued that he received direct subsidies from the BYZANTINES in Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The difference between the nature of Childeric's political power and that of Aegidius, therefore, was not great, and Roman society was becoming increasingly indistinguishable from Germanic society. Childeric maintained friendly relations with the Visigoths—his sister was married to one of their kings—with Aegidius and Syagrius and, although he was pagan, with Gallo-Roman bishops.

Clovis I

In 482 Childeric's son, Clovis I (see sidebar), succeeded him as leader of the Salian Franks and maintained his father's policy of supporting the remains of Roman authority in Gaul until the death of the powerful Visigothic king Euric two years later. Clovis's first step on the way to challenging the Visigoths occurred in 486, when he defeated Syagrius near his stronghold of Soissons; later he murdered him while he was in captivity. This feat can be described as replacing a Germanized Roman *rex* by a Romanized barbarian one. Clovis took over the whole governing apparatus of the kingdom of Soissons, including what remained of the Roman provincial bureaucracy there. The Gallo-Roman senatorial aristocracy seems to have accepted his takeover as legitimate.

Clovis established as his domain most of northern Gaul, along the way subduing other power blocs held by Celtic and Germanic leaders in a series of wars whose details are not known with certainty. He may have fought BURGUNDII, Thuringi, and various tribes of GAULS. In 496 or 497 Clovis defeated the Alamanni at Tolbiacum (modern Zülpich, Germany), attaching their kingdom to his own. About this time Clovis converted to Christianity.

In 507 Clovis established his court at Paris. That same year he defeated the Visigoths at Vouillé, northwest of present-day Poitiers. Before his death he united the Salian and Ripuarian factions and founded the Merovingian (from the sea) dynasty. His kingdom eventually included most of Gaul north to south from the North Sea to the Pyrenees and east to west from the Atlantic Ocean to the Main River. Upon his death his kingdom was divided among his four sons.

The Expanding Merovingian Empire

The Merovingian dynasty took its name from a Frankish leader called Merovich (sometimes Latinized as Meroveus or Merovius), who may have been an important leader in the mid-fifth

Clovis I: Unifier of the Franks

Clovis (or Chlodwig), born in about 466 C.E., was the first Frankish ruler of the Merovingian dynasty. His father, Childeric I, was king of the Salian Franks and fought under Roman command against the Visigoths. To the Romans, as attested in a letter to him from the Gallo-Roman bishop of Rheims, Clovis was administrator of the military sector called Belgica Secunda. The bishop of Rheims advised him to maintain the ways of his forefathers, remain pure and honest, and always honor his bishops. He did this as long as it was politically sound to do so. When in 485 the death of the powerful Visigothic king Euric created a power vacuum in Gaul, Clovis made his move to expand his power.

Clovis defeated Syagrius of northern Gaul (the last Roman governor of Gaul) and conquered the Alamanni. According to legend while in battle against the Alamanni he had a spiritual revelation and was assisted in battle by the Christian God. His pious Christian wife, Clotilda, niece of Gundobad of the Burgundii, supposedly helped direct him toward Christianity. At some point during this time on Christmas Day of the year 496, 497, or possibly even 506, Clovis was baptized as a Roman Catholic along with some 3,000 of his soldiers. His decision to be baptized was almost certainly strongly influenced by his pending showdown with the Visigoths; on becoming Roman Catholic rather than Arian Christian as were the Visigoths, he won the immediate support of Roman bishops in the Visigoths' territory, an invaluable political advantage. By 507 he had defeated the Visigoths, killing Alaric II.

Clovis's kingdom was the basis of the state that evolved into the French monarchy. On his death in 511 his empire was divided among his four sons, Theodoric I, Clodomir, Childebert I, and Clotaire I.

century, or alternatively a legendary, possibly semidivine tribal ancestor. In 531 Chlotar I, one son of Clovis, defeated the Thuringi at the Battle of Scheidungen and married their princess, Radegunda. The Franks and the SAXONS divided the Thuringian homeland. In 534 Chlotar gained control of the kingdom of the Burgundii.

The practice of partitioning and repartitioning Frankish kingdoms among surviving sons, which hindered efforts at unification, led to shifting boundaries of kingdoms, duchies, and counties. Under the Merovingians the main kingdoms were Neustria in the west, Austrasia in the east, and Burgundy in the south (*see* BURGUNDIANS); warfare among the kingdoms was common. Chlotar II again established rule over all the Frankish holdings in 613. Upon his death, however, the empire was again fragmented.

Dagobert I was the most powerful and successful Merovingian monarch. Succeeding to the throne of Austrasia, he was able to annex both the regions of Bourgogne and Acquitaine during his short reign. Devoutly religious, he had the Saint Denis Basilica in Paris built.

The Carolingians

The Franks utilized what was known as the office of *major domus,* mayor of the palace, in their kingdoms. In Austrasia one family, the Carolingians, whose name is taken from the most powerful of them, the eighth- and ninth-century Emperor Charlemagne, filled the position for more than a century and in many cases were more powerful than the kings. In 687 Pépin II defeated the armies of Neustria and Burgundy, setting himself up as the *major domus* of a united Frankish kingdom.

Pépin's illegitimate son, Charles Martel, whose surname, meaning "the hammer," referred to his military success, further extended Carologinian power with campaigns against Chilperic II of Neustria, whom he later propped up to legitimize his own hold on power. Because of repeated incursions by the MOORS northward from the Iberian Peninsula Charles Martel mobilized an army. In 732 he defeated the Moors in a battle at a location between Poitiers and Tours, ending the Moorish threat to lands north of the Pyrenees. He also campaigned in Burgundy and against the FRISIANS and SAXONS. In 751 his son, Pépin III (Pépin the Short), deposed Childeric III, the last of the Merovingians. He also campaigned against the LOMBARDS on behalf of Pope Zacharias and Pope Stephen II. The anointing of Pépin legitimized the monarchy of an elected king rather than one by descent.

Charlemagne

During the reign from 768 to 814 of Charlemagne (see sidebar), the son of Pépin III, the Frankish Empire reached its greatest extent. As had his father, Charlemagne sought legitimacy from the papacy; in 773–774 he defeated the Lombards, who were attempting to annex papal lands. With the blessing of Pope Adrian I he assumed the iron crown of the Lombard kings of Italy. In 778 he invaded Muslim Spain, eventually capturing Barcelona from the Moors and establishing control over territory beyond the Pyrenees.

From 772 until 804 Charlemagne waged brutal campaigns against the Saxons of Saxony, again with the church's blessing because the Saxons were pagans. His actions against the Saxons took the form of forced conversions, wholesale massacres, and transportation of thousands of Saxons to the interior of the Frankish kingdom. Charlemagne effectively

Charlemagne: "King Father of Europe"

Charlemagne (or Carolus Magnus in Latin, which translates as Charles the Great) built a powerful European kingdom. He was born in 742 C.E., the eldest son of Pépin III the Short and grandson of Charles Martel. As a child, along with his brother Carloman, he accompanied his father not only on battlefields but also in political and religious events that prepared him as eventual heir to the throne. On Pépin's death in 768, his kingdom was divided between his two sons. When Carloman died in 771, Charlemagne became king of all the Franks and, after assuring the pope of continued support, began a campaign of conquest that created the Frankish Empire, uniting much of western and central Europe under one sovereign. Soon thereafter he was anointed emperor of the West, a position that evolved to Holy Roman Emperor.

Charlemagne was more than a brilliant political leader and strategist. He was a reformist who built on the existing system of seignorialism, in which kings gave tracts of land to nobles in exchange for support. He also appointed counts (the head of a district called a county) and margraves (the count of a border province). To gain the support of tribal leaders, he granted lands known as fiefs. He codified and compiled tribal laws and integrated them in his legislative system. He standardized weights and measures and circulated the *denarius,* the first silver coin since the late Roman Empire (which featured his portrait). He established religious schools and libraries and encouraged the development of a handwriting style known as Carolingian minuscule, from which the modern printed alphabet evolved. Cultural developments during his reign are known as the Cologinian Renaissance. A poet of his court dubbed him *rex pater Europae,* "king father of Europe." He in fact became the ideal of a Christian monarch for centuries.

After Charlemagne's death his son, Louis I the Pious, succeeded him. Frankish territories were eventually divided up among Charlemage's grandsons, Charles II, Lothair I, and Louis II.

crushed the AVARS, who controlled much of central Europe at the time, from the Elbe to the Dnieper. He destroyed the "Avar Ring"—their military fortifications—in 791 and defeated their armies in 805. He also defeated various Slavic peoples, including the CARANTANIANS and SLOVENES. To protect the borders of the conquered territory, Charlemagne established marks, or marches, frontier borders defended by Frankish armies.

In the meantime Charlemagne involved himself in Roman church politics, traveling to Rome in 800 to aid the beleaguered Pope Leo III. This time he used his political rather than military strength to insist that Leo be given a trial in court in which to answer charges of misconduct made by his enemies. After Leo was cleared of wrongdoing, he crowned Charlemagne emperor on Christmas Day, 800. This event was later claimed as the birth of the Holy Roman Empire, a political concept that, assuming different forms over time, continued to have at least a notional reality for more than a thousand years. Recognition of the Western Roman Empire's legitimacy by the Byzantines was long in coming. Only through a combination of force and diplomacy was Charlemagne able to persuade Michael I, the Byzantine emperor, to acknowledge him as emperor of the West in 812. Pope Leo's successor, Stephen IV, crowned Charlemagne's son, Louis I, thus establishing the papal claim to the right to consecrate the emperor.

Charlemagne's ambition was to create a rebirth of Roman civilization, and he threw his energies into making his court at Aachen a center of culture and learning. In this endeavor he enlisted the aid of the Anglo-Saxon cleric and scholar Alcuin, who had been educated by a disciple of the Venerable Bede. The curriculum developed at Aachen formed the basis of education for medieval western Europe for centuries.

Charlemagne's empire stretched from an area in northern Spain, over the Pyrenees and almost all of present-day France (excluding Brittany, which was never conquered by the Franks) eastward to most of present-day Germany, including northern Italy and today's Austria. Later in the Middle Ages it furnished the ideal from which European monarchs derived inspiration; it developed a semimythical aura, and writers modeled King Arthur's court on Charlemagne's. The modern concept of a unified Europe owes much more to Charlemagne's empire than to the Roman Empire—unsurprisingly, since for the first time in history, under Charlemagne, the political, economic, and cultural center of Europe had decisively shifted north of the Alps, with the Mediterranean world forever having lost its primacy.

The empire remained united under Charlemagne's son, Louis, but on his death was divided among his three sons under the Treaty of Verdun of 843 into regions that prefigured modern-day Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy. Louis II received the eastern portion (later Germany); Charles II became king of the western portion (later France); Lothair I received the central portion (Low Countries, Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, Provence, and most of Italy) and retained the imperial title. The Frankish realm was reorganized again in 870 by the Treaty of Mersen.

In partitioning the realm among sons, the Carolingians followed the example of the Merovingians—indeed, it was only because Charlemagne's brother, Carloman, retired to a monastery and soon died that Charlemagne had his chance to unify the Frankish territories. This practice was rooted in the Germanic past, in the days when the political basis of society was that unstable entity the tribe; when ethnogenesis, the formation of new tribes, was constant; when tribal leaders and the mass of free warriors engaged in a continual contest for dominance; when new leaders could emerge at any time through success in war, splitting away to form their own tribes; and when overall war leaders, elected only in times of emergency, were the exception rather than the rule. But the circumstances in the early Middle Ages—the devastating inroads on the economy of central and western Europe made by VIKINGS, SLAVS, MAGYARS, and others—also kept the socioeconomy localized and gave rise to the feudal system, with much of the defense against raiders devolving on local lords. This situation made partitioning large territories into smaller kingdoms a practical necessity for centuries.

Viking Raids and the Establishment of Normandy

The last years of Charlemagne's reign saw the beginnings of contacts with Vikings from Denmark and Norway in the forms of both trading in silver from the Abbasid Empire in present-day Iraq and raiding, from about 799. Charlemagne began construction of a fleet to counter these raiders, but his successors overlooked the threat and so were unprepared for the much larger-scale onslaught of raiding by the middle of the next century, possibly caused

by the interruption of the silver trade that followed on political turmoil among the Abbasids.

By about 900 these Vikings had secured a permanent foothold on Frankish soil in the valley of the Lower Seine River and their raids had almost crippled the Frankish economy and fabric of society. In 911 the Frankish king Charles III made the Treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte with a Norwegian named Rollo, who had emerged as a significant personality among the Vikings, ceding him the land around the mouth of the Seine and what is now the city of Rouen. From this foothold Rollo and his successors established the Duchy of Normandy and eventually were known as NORMANS.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

Agriculture, the basis of the economy in Frankish lands, continued to follow the late Roman model. Most land was held by a few extremely wealthy individuals; the vast majority of the population, slave or free, barely eked out a subsistence existence and were subject to famine. Overtaxation in the last years of the empire had forced abandonment of much land when farmers were unable to raise enough produce to pay taxes. There was a serious shortage of agricultural labor. At the same time Roman devices such as the mechanical harvester used in Gaul in Pliny's time (first century C.E.) and water mills, which made farming less labor intensive, were no longer used and iron tools were extremely scarce.

Cereal production ceased to depend on wheat, dominant in Roman times, in favor of the hardier darker grains, such as barley. Wine cultivation actually increased, in part because it was essential for religious ritual; moreover, the enthusiasm of the Frankish aristocracy for wine led them to revive the ancient Roman practice of diverting increasingly more land from subsistence farming to viniculture.

Government and Society

Franks and Romans The Franks' relationship with the Romans was among the earliest and closest of all Germanic groups. The nature of the takeover by the Franks of Roman Gaul illustrates the extreme oversimplification of the picture of the Roman Empire's crumbling before barbarian hordes, for after the third century Frankish groups were invited by Romans to settle near large villa estates for the Romans' protection. Archaeology reveals a continuity of settlement in many such cases, with a gradual disappearance of Roman elements, probably brought about as the villa economy died away. Frankish features replaced them as more and more members of formerly mobile, roving Frankish war bands were attracted to settle near the old Roman centers. By medieval times many of these settlements had evolved into villages centered around churches.

Frankish leaders especially embraced Roman culture to a great degree, moving in the highest and most cultivated of Roman circles and receiving extensive education, which allowed them to converse with ease with the likes of Bishop Ambrose of Milan and with men of letters. Their paganism did not constitute a barrier, since many in the Romano-Gallic senatorial aristocracy, nominally Christian, preserved a pagan outlook themselves.

According to historical sources the Franks had taken over much of the Rhineland, the Meuse and Moselle valleys, and large areas of Belgium by the middle of the fifth century. Little archaeological evidence of a Frankish presence by this date has been found, however. The reason may be that the Frankish "takeover" at first took place under the guise of the Roman reorganization of the border defenses, in which native militias under their own commanders were given most of the responsibility for their own areas. As Roman central authority began to wither away, such militias, in Frankish areas composed mostly of their own warrior bands or *comitati,* increasingly went their own way, becoming autonomous polities. The point at which their military control ceased to represent the empire and became a straightforward takeover may be indistinguishable. By the second half of the fifth century clearly Frankish cemeteries were being established, with pagan Germanic grave goods marking a break from late Roman culture. These probably indicate that newcomers from the un-Romanized Frankish homelands east of the Rhine were joining their brethren in Gaul. This process seems to have been slow, spreading out from enclaves already established.

Royal Burials The strongest archaeological evidence for the society of the Franks is derived from their royal and elite graves. The first royal Frankish grave found was also the earliest, that of Childeric, the father of Clovis, which was found at Tournai in 1653. Childeric's tomb contained grave goods of great splendor: a treasury of gold, silver, and garnet, including a brocaded cloak sewn with 300 gold bees, and a

kind of brooch worn by late Roman officers. In all it attests to Frankish dominance and power and to the continuing allure of Rome.

With Clovis's conversion to Christianity, Frankish kings were buried in or near churches, but for centuries they and other aristocrats followed the pagan practice of burial with weapons and rich grave goods in a decidedly non-Christian manner. A six-year-old boy, for example, buried under the site of the later cathedral at Cologne, had the full panoply of a Frankish warrior in miniature. Some nobles were buried in nonecclesiastic cemeteries.

Lex Salica (Salic Law) The *lex salica,* or customary law of the Salian Franks, was first compiled under Clovis sometime between 508 and 511; aside from the law of the Visigoths, it was the earliest written Germanic law code. Entitled the *Pactus legis Salicae,* it had influence throughout the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties and continued to be important to the Holy Roman Empire. Although it had its roots in Germanic customary law, it was strongly influenced by Roman legal and political ideas. Its prologue tells that it was first decreed by four military commanders to deal with feuding among the Franks that was disrupting society. The territories these four were said to control seem to correspond with Roman military sectors; their authority to issue a law code probably derived from their status as Roman officers, not Germanic chieftains. The Salic Law code was thus thoroughly imbued with a Roman outlook. The very idea of a top-down law code made static by being written was foreign to the much more fluid Germanic concept of folkright, consisting as it did of tradition that, however ancient, was always interpreted in the present moment by councils of freemen.

Office of Major Domus The office of *major domus* (chief man of the hall), or mayor of the Palace, among the Franks had its roots in both their loose early organization and late adoption of kingship; it also reflected the fact that until the migration period kingship was known among Germanic peoples only in the form of the *thiudans,* a sacred king who was not necessarily a war or political leader. Absolute rule by a single individual, such as was wielded by Roman emperors, seems to have sat uneasily on the Germanic mind, more accustomed to councils of leaders and assemblies of free warriors. The idea that a king ruled with the assistance and support of his nobles was more natural. As a result even after Clovis welded the Franks into a united kingdom, the office of mayor continued to be powerful.

A corollary to the king's need for supporters was that in principle at least they had the right to decide on the king's fitness for office. Doubt is cast on the strength of this principle in practice, however, by the fact that for all of Charles Martel's clear primacy and great successes as war leader, he was unable to attain to the kingship, and only after his son, Pépin, gained the support of the papacy was he able to depose the last Merovingian king and win the Crown. But the strong influence of powerful nobles on the monarchy, together with the ancient Germanic tradition of electing war leaders, continued after the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire in the hereditary office of elector, held by certain German princes who elected the king of Germany (who then would be crowned emperor by the pope). Until the 12th century, however, the electors simply confirmed the hereditary succession.

Military Practices

Charles Martel's victory over the Moors was the debut of feudal cavalry, revolutionizing warfare in Europe. His troops probably rode Percherons, among the largest of horse breeds. Martel pioneered the practice of providing horses to his troops, as well as estates for their support, which they retained as long as they served him. As the system of mounted troops supplied by kings with lands for their support was adopted elsewhere in Europe in reaction to the mobility of the mounted Muslims and Magyars, and of the Vikings in their ships, the feudal system arose.

Religion

Clovis's conversion to Christianity is shrouded in obscurity. It is not certain what religious beliefs he held beforehand. Gregory of Tours writes that previously he worshipped the Roman gods Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury; given the extent to which Franks had been Romanized, this is possibly true. He may also have worshipped Celtic gods as well as Germanic ones such as Woden or Odin; his second son was named after the god Ingvi-Frey. Clovis's family had a sort of tutelary deity, part man, part sea beast, and part bull, who may have been conflated with the legendary founder of his line, Merovich, eponymous ancestor of the Merovingians. It is even possible that he had begun to practice Arian Christianity for political reasons.

As to his concept of Christianity, Clovis probably saw Christ in much the same terms as his Germanic ancestors saw Woden—a powerful, victory-conferring deity. There is a strong parallel in the story of his conversion with that of the emperor Constantine two hundred years earlier. At a difficult juncture in his campaign against the Alamanni, he vowed to be baptized in return for victory. The baptism of a reported 3,000 of his warriors underscores the military nature of the conversion.

Furthermore, at this time profession of Christianity, whether Arian or Roman, had a strong political component. Indeed, one of the main reasons for its importance derived from its adoption as the official religion of the Roman Empire. By this time the office of bishop had become highly important politically. Bishops were usually drawn from among the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, and they administered what remained of the Roman public sphere (much reduced from having been starved of revenue by the wealthy senatorial class), the affairs of the *civitates*—the cities and their environs. By becoming Roman Catholic, Clovis gained the support of the bishops and their aristocratic Gallo-Roman constituents. His Franks, too, could now enter a closer relationship with the rest of Gallo-Roman society, which would lead in time to a true fusion of the two peoples to a degree Germanics had not experienced.

Saint Martin of Tours, whose homeland in the fourth century was Pannonia (named by Gregory of Tours as the original homeland of the Franks themselves, possibly no more than a legend), was the chief religious patron of the Franks.

Of all the Germanic peoples impinging on the Roman Empire during the early centuries C.E., trying in their different ways to come to terms with Rome—either through simple pillaging and looting or taking part in the glory and tradition of the Roman military or of Roman culture—as tribes or confederacies becoming Rome's allies—the Franks had the most enduring success in incorporating Roman values into their society without losing their own identity as Germanics. They succeeded in achieving a true fusion of Roman and Germanic elements. Furthermore, it was the Franks under Clovis and afterward who moved the western European political and cultural center of gravity for the first time in history north of the Alps.

From the partitions of the Frankish Empire emerged the kingdom of the West Franks, which became France, and the kingdom of the East Franks, which became Germany. Both France and the region of Franconia in Germany derived their name from the Franks.

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French: nationality (people of France)

GEOGRAPHY

France has an area of 547,026 square miles. Belgium and Luxembourg border France to the northeast; Germany, Italy, and Switzerland lie to the east; Spain and Andorra are to the southwest. The English Channel is to the northwest, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the North Sea to the north, and the Mediterranean Sea to the southeast. France's topography includes rolling plains, uplands, and high mountains. About two-thirds of France reaches an elevation less than 820 feet above sea level. Mountains—the

FRENCH: NATIONALITY

nation:
France; French Republic (République française)

derivation of name:
Meaning "land of the Franks" or "land of free men."

government:
Presidential republic

capital:
Paris

language:
Principal language is French; Alsatian, Flemish, Breton, Basque, Catalan, and Corsican are also spoken.

religion:
More than 80 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; Muslims make up 5 percent; 2 percent are Protestant, and about 1 percent are Jewish; 10 percent of the population claim no religious affiliation.

earlier inhabitants:
Gauls (Celts); Romans; Bretons; Visigoths; Burgundii; Franks; Normans

demographics:
Majority of the population are French with mixed Celtic, Latin, and Germanic ancestry; a smaller percentage are Slavic and Nordic; minorities include Jews, Basque, North and West African, Caribbean, and Indochinese.

French: nationality time line

C.E.

751 Pépin the Short becomes first Frankish king of Carolingian dynasty.

771 Charlemagne expands empire from Pyrenees to Elbe River.

843 Treaty of Verdun divides kingdom held by Louis I among his three sons, Charlemagne's grandsons.

911 Normandy is founded.

1066 Normans conquer England; duchy of Normandy is united with England.

1206 Capetian dynasty dominates Europe; Philip II rules Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Auvergne, and Brittany.

1309–77 Avignon is seat of Papacy.

1328 Valois dynasty replaces Capetians.

1337–1453 France defeats England in Hundred Years' War.

1420 Treaty of Troyes recognizes claim by Henry V of England to French throne.

1429 Joan of Arc leads French force in relief of Orléans under siege by the English.

1461 Louis XI becomes king; Valois-Burgundian alliance collapses.

1481 Provence and Var become part of French kingdom.

1532 Brittany falls under Valois control.

1532–34 *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua,* satirical novels by François Rabelais, are published.

c. 1553 Pierre de Ronsard and six other poets form group known as Pléaide (name taken from third-century B.C.E. Alexandrian group known as Pleiad), to encourage writing in French.

1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ends war with Spain; France gains Calais and three bishoprics in Lorraine.

1572 Protestant leaders are killed in Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day.

1595 First complete edition of Michel Eyquem de Montaigne's *Essais* (*Essays*) is published three years after his death.

1598 Henry IV issues the Edict of Nantes, granting considerable freedom to French Protestants.

1618–48 Thirty Years' War involves German Protestant princes with France, Sweden, England, and Denmark against Hapsburgs and Catholic princes of Holy Roman Empire. Peace of Westphalia recognizes French acquisitions in Alsace, Artois, Picardy, Lorraine, and Roussillon.

1637 *Discours de la méthode* by René Descartes is published, considered foundation of modern philosophical method.

Le Cid, play by Pierre Corneille, wins acclaim in Paris.

1648 Fronde rebellion erupts in Paris.

1658 Molière's theater company gains patronage of duc d'Orléans.

1667 *Andromaque,* play by Jean Racine, is performed at Hôtel de Bourgogne, rival theater company to that of Molière.

1668–94 Satirical *Fables* by Jean de la Fontaine is published.

1672–78 Louis XIV attacks Netherlands.

1678 Marie-Madeleine de La Fayette's *La Princesse de Clèves,* considered first French psychological novel, is published.

1685 Louis XIV revokes Edict of Nantes.

1701–14 In War of the Spanish Succession France becomes involved in dynastic struggle for throne of Spain; in 1714 Treaty of Utrecht recognizes Philip V as heir to Spanish throne.

1733–35 After War of Polish Succession France acquires provinces of Bar and Lorraine.

1734 Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (Philosophical letters; also known as *Letters Concerning the English Nation*), are banned in France.

1740 Naturalist George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon is appointed *intendant* (keeper) at Jardin du Roi (King's Garden) in Paris.

1747 Denis Diderot becomes editor of *Encyclopédie,* published in 28 volumes in 1751–72.

1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ends War of Austrian Succession.

1756–63 In Seven Years' War France and England struggle for overseas empire.

1789 Storming of Bastille begins French Revolution.

Traité élémentaire de chimie (Treatise on chemical elements) by chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier is published.

1792 National Convention votes to abolish monarchy and establish republic.

1793 Louis XVI is executed. Louvre opens as public museum in Paris.

1795 New constitution, which establishes two-chambered legislature, is introduced.

Bibliothèque du Roi (Royal Library) and Bibliothèque de France (Library of France) merge as Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library).

1799 Napoleon Bonaparte forms Consulate.

1804 Napoleon I declares himself emperor, establishing First Empire.

Jacques-Louis David is appointed court painter by Napoleon.

1809 *Philosophie zoologique* (Zoological philosophy) by naturalist Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Antoine de Monet de Lamarck is published.

1814 Pierre Guérin becomes professor at École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) in Paris; he later teaches painting to Eugène Delacroix and Théodore Géricault.

1815 Napoleon is defeated at Battle of Waterloo.

1830 After Revolution of 1830 new regime, July Monarchy, takes power.

Louis-Hector Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (Fantastic Symphony) is performed in Paris.

1831 *Le rouge et le noir* (*The Red and the Black*), novel by Stendhal, is published.

1841 Writer Victor Hugo is elected to Académie française.

1842 First novels of Honoré de Balzac's 47-volume series, *La Comédie humaine* (*The Human Comedy*), are published.

1848 July Monarchy is overthrown; new republic is declared; Parisian workers revolt in June Days of 1848.

1852 Louis Napoleon declares himself Napoleon III.

1857 Charles-Pierre Baudelaire's book of verse, *Fleurs du mal* (*Flowers of Evil*), is published and is condemned for obscenity and blasphemy; Gustave Flaubert's novel *Madame Bovary* is also condemned.

1870–71 Prussia and France dispute over Spanish throne in Franco-Prussian War with Germany victorious; new provisional government establishes Third Republic.

1871 Commune of Paris is formed.

1873 Arthur Rimbaud's poem *Une Saison en Enfer* (*A Season in Hell*) helps define Symbolist movement.

1874–86 Eight impressionist exhibitions occur, showing works of such painters as Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Paul Cézanne, and Edgar Degas.

1875 New constitution is enacted under Third Republic.

1877 Auguste Rodin exhibits his sculpture at Paris Salon.

(continues)

French: nationality time line *(continued)*

1888–95	Chemist and microbiologist Louis Pasteur is director of Institut Pasteur in Paris where he conducts studies, leading to germ theory of disease, process of pasteurization, and vaccines for several diseases, including rabies.
1889	Eiffel Tower is completed in Paris.
1891	Post-impressionist painter Paul Gauguin sets up studio in Tahiti.
1894	Claude Debussy bases symphony on Stéphanie Mallarmé's 1876 poem "L'Après-midi d'un faune" ("The Afternoon of a Fawn").
1896	Composer Gabriel-Urbain Fauré becomes professor at Paris Conservatoire de Musique (Paris Conservatory of Music); Maurice Ravel later becomes one of his students.
1898	Writer Émile Zola writes letter in defense of Alfred Dreyfus, Jewish army officer later proven to be falsely accused of treason by anti-Semitic elements in military.
1901	Poet René François Armand (pseudonym, Sully Prudhomme) wins Nobel Prize for literature.
1904	Entente Cordiale is negotiated between France and Britain.
	Painter Toulouse-Lautrec dies at age 37; poet Frédéric Mistral wins Nobel Prize for literature.
1913–12	Marcel Proust's 16-volume series of novels, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of Things Past* or *In Search of Lost Time*), with exhaustive psychological analysis of characters, is published.
1914	Germany invades France, beginning World War; it lasts until 1918.
1915	Novelist Romain Rolland wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1917	Poet and playwright Guillaume Apollinaire coins term surrealism; in 1924 poet, essayist, and critic André Breton writes *Manifeste du surréalisme* (Manifesto of surrealism).
1919	By Treaty of Versailles France regains Alsace-Lorraine territory.
1921	Poet and novelist Jacques Anatole Thibault (pseudonym, Anatole France) wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1925	Locarno Pact of 1925 reaffirms France-German border.
1927	Philosopher Henri Bergson wins Nobel Prize in literature.

Pyrenees, Jura, and Vosge—mostly run along the interior borders of France. The highest point is Mont Blanc in the Alps at 15,781 feet near the Italian border. The Massif Central and Auvergne Mountains are located in the southeast-central region. The major rivers of France include the Loire, Garonne, Seine, and Rhône.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The FRANKS occupied lands once the homeland of the GAULS and occupied by the ROMANS. In the late eighth century C.E. Charlemagne of the Franks, united "Francia," which eventually extended from the Pyrenees in present-day northern Spain and southern France to the Elbe River in present-day Germany. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 divided the Carolingian Empire among the sons of Louis I: Lothair I received the central kingdom, Louis II received the territory east of the Rhine, and Charles II won the western kingdom, the territory known today as modern France.

By 1206 the Capetian dynasty had expanded the French domain over Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Auvergne, and Brittany. During the reign of Louis IX (1226–70) France secured Guyenne and Normandy and annexed Provence and Var. The Thirty Years' War was resolved in 1648 under the Peace of Westphalia. This treaty and the Treaty of the Pyrenees with Spain granted France Alsace, Artois, Picardy, Lorraine, and Roussillon. In the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, France gained the eastern province of Franche-Comté. An earlier treaty confirmed acquisition of Alsace and Strasbourg.

After the French Revolution (1789–99) France's government dealt with transitional leadership. It experienced five republics, empires (such as the consulates of Napoleon I Bonaparte and Napoleon III), and a succession of regimes, including the Bourbon family and July Monarchy. The Third Republic in 1875

1935	Popular Front is established when Communist Party allies with Socialists and Radicals.
1937–39	Films by Jean Renoir (Pierre-Auguste Renoir's son), *La Grande Illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*), *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*), and *La Règle du jeu* (*Rules of the Game*), influence generation of filmmakers.
1937	Novelist Roger Martin Du Gard wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1939–45	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies northern France.
1946	Cannes Film Festival is founded.
1946–58	Fourth Republic is established.
1947	Novelist André Paul Guillaume Gide wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1951	Magazine *Cahiers du cinéma* (Notes on the cinema) is first published, promoting *auteur* (author) theory of filmmaking and *nouvelle vague* (New Wave) in film; François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, and others who write for it later become successful directors.
1952	Novelist François Mauriac wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1957	France joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).
1958	New constitution establishes Fifth Republic; Charles de Gaulle becomes president.
1960	Poet Alexis Léger (pseudonym, Saint-John Perse) wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1962	France grants independence to Algeria.
1964	Novelist Jean-Paul Sartre wins but refuses Nobel Prize in literature.
1974	Novelist Albert Camus wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1981	Socialist François Mitterrand is elected president.
1985	Novelist Claude Simon wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1993	France becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).
1994	Channel Tunnel between France and United Kingdom is officially opened.

established the system of republican democracy that prevails today.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

As in many cultures, but perhaps to a more marked degree than in some, the native language is a primary distinguishing feature of French cultural identity. If French culture and society in the early Middle Ages achieved the most complete fusion between Romano-Celtic and Germanic elements of any European country, the French language allowed this fusion, as its precursor, the Latin-derived *lingua vulgaris*, was adopted first by the Celtic Gauls after the Roman conquest of Gaul, then by the Germanic Franks, who ruled much of France after the fall of the Roman Empire. The shared language helped to create a French culture that embraced elements of three different ancient peoples, CELTS, Romans, and GERMANICS (including the VISIGOTHS, BURGUNDII, and NORMANS. At the same time the dominance of Paris in French culture and society caused the French spoken in the Parisian region to become dominant in France as a whole, replacing, for example, the *langue d'oc*, the Provençal language spoken in Provence and most of the south of France well into the Middle Ages. The importance of language to the French, both in terms of literature and learning and as a centralizing factor in French society, is underscored by the foundation in the 17th century of L'Académie Française (the French Academy) for the specific purpose of standardizing French usage.

The town-versus-country and capital-versus-provinces split had been foreshadowed in Roman Gaul. The great similarity of the *lingua vulgaris* to the native language of the Gauls greatly facilitated its adoption, as nobles especially evolved a Gallo-Roman culture; however, it was mostly Gauls in towns and cities who spoke it, and for centuries people in the countryside retained their native language. This situation was mirrored in the early modern era as



In this 1833 painting Joan of Arc rides triumphantly through a town. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-72045])*

BASQUES, BRETONS, and CATALANIANS experienced increasing pressure to adopt French.

The fusion between Gallic and Roman culture was succeeded by the adoption of Gallo-Roman culture by the Franks, which took place earlier and was more complete than was the case for any other Germanic tribe. This meant both that a distinct national character—a sense of "Frenchness"—emerged earlier in France than elsewhere after the fall of the Roman Empire, and that France became more advanced politically. By the reign of Charlemagne France had an empire that in scope approached that of the Romans. Charlemagne saw to it that his court became a center of learning, and scholars from all over Europe traveled there. Thus France

enjoyed a sort of cultural and political head start over the rest of Europe that continued for centuries. Although Charlemagne's empire included much of present-day Germany, he had acquired most of this territory by conquest of the still largely divided Germanic peoples there, and the cultural center of gravity of the Carolingians remained present-day France, with Paris as major city and later capital.

Even today there is a noticeable focus on Frenchness among the French. At the same time, a self-conscious preoccupation with culture in all its forms—dress, manners, and style, as well as with high art and philosophy—is a defining trait. If the French have a particular sense of style, of being au courant or chic as opposed to the gaucherie of Germans or British, it may be the result of the long centuries, from the Middle Ages to well into the 19th century, during which France was the most admired and imitated European country in terms of manners, dress, and cuisine as well as in high culture and learning.

Modern French identity—at least as seen by many French—exists amid an emphatic challenge from external "others," the non-French nations, partners and enemies, against whom the French assert their distinct existence. Part of this tendency is a reaction to France's loss of international political power in the 20th century and the shrinkage of its cultural hegemony, as English has replaced French as the most important international language.

Much of French culture is not primarily individualistic or mystic—Jean-Jacques Rousseau notwithstanding—but rather social in nature. Some of its best expression has occurred in the midst of social groups in which ideas flow freely. This trend has been seen repeatedly throughout history—the courts of Charlemagne, Francis I, and Louis XIV; the salons of the 17th and 18th centuries; schools of thinkers such as the 18th-century philosophes who brought forth the French Enlightenment and the existentialists and deconstructionists of the 20th century; and artistic groups such as the impressionists, cubists, and dadaists.



This painting shows a sullen Emperor Napoleon I of France in 1814. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-116232])*



This painting from 1699 shows Louis XIV of France. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ61-182])*

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FRENTANI

location:
Abruzzia and Campania in south-central Italy

time period:
Sixth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic or possibly Illyrian

language:
Oscan (Italic)

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Frentani

The Frentani are generally classified among the ITALICS, although they may have originally been Illyrian speaking. They lived in the region of present-day Molise in present-day southeastern Italy, perhaps after breaking off from ILLYRIANS of the Balkan Peninsula and migrating to the east coast of the Italian Peninsula before the sixth century B.C.E. and the Roman period. They eventually spread inland to the region that the ROMANS called Samnium (modern Abruzzi and part of Campania) and were eventual allies of the SAMNITES living to their east. The Frentani spoke Oscan, an Italic language, in the historic period.

According to the Roman historian Livy of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. the Frentani capital, Frentrum, was captured by the Romans in 305 or 304 B.C.E. during the Second Samnite War of 322–304 B.C.E. That another Frentani city, Larinum, became Romanized by 200 B.C.E. is indicated by coins found there, originally in Oscan, then in Latin. Some among the Frentani joined an alliance against Rome in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

FRISIANS

location:
Northern Netherlands; northwestern Germany

time period:
Fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Frisian (Germanic)

Frisians (Frisii)

The Frisians are a people who live for the most part between the Lower Rhine and the Ems River along the North Sea coast in present-day northern Netherlands and northwestern Germany and on the adjacent Frisian Islands. Friesland (or Vriesland) is currently a province in the northern Netherlands. The region of East Friesland (Ostfriesland), now part of the state of Lower Saxony in Germany, includes the East Frisian Islands (*see* DUTCH: NATIONALITY; GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

The Frisians were originally a tribal people of GERMANICS in the region, referred to as the Frisii by the ROMANS. Their name is possibly from the Germanic Freisias related to Indo-European root *prei-,* "to love" (which also led to the name of the Germanic goddess of love, Freya, suggesting Frisians worshipped her). As a coastal people, they took part in wide-ranging trading networks from very early times, and their culture received influences from other parts of the Atlantic trade zone, which stretched from the western Mediterranean and Iberian Peninsula along coastal present-day France and the Atlantic coasts of the British Isles to their northern neighbors on the Jutland Peninsula. The land of the Frisians was part of the Atlantic megalith building zone, and from around 3500 B.C.E. dolmens, assemblages of huge boulders propped up against one another, began to be built, simultaneously with the introduction of farming. Such structures, which were built in areas where incoming farmers met dense populations of Mesolithic peoples exploiting the rich marine resources along the coasts, are thought to have been built in communal rituals aimed at reconciling and uniting groups practicing very different lifeways. The Frisians of the Iron Age were less warlike than the inland SAXONS, and their energies were directed far more toward trade and fishing. However, the Frisians were known as sea raiders, as well.

LANGUAGE

Frisian is part of the West Germanic language group. It is a Low German language closely related to English. It has survived among inhabitants of the Dutch province of Friesland and in parts of northwestern Germany.

HISTORY

The Roman incursions into northwestern Europe had a profound effect on all of the Germanic tribes there, including the Frisians. Their military operations in the region, culminating in the establishment of the Rhine frontier, and their development of large-scale trading enterprises transformed societies here. In 476 C.E. the Romans established treaty relations with the Frisians as a means of stabilizing the frontier, and a kingdom of Frisia was eventually established. The Roman historian Tacitus of the first–second century in his *Germania* mentioned the Frisians as among the tribes he grouped together as the INGVAEONES. Trade with Romans, notably in the slaves so

necessary to the Roman economy, fostered the beginnings of a true market economy among Frisians, and trading towns grew. For a period after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century the homeland of the Frisians was occupied by the ANGLES, JUTES, and Saxons. Some Frisians invaded and settled in the British Isles along with the other northwestern Germanic tribes; the Angles, Jutes, Saxons, and Frisians became known collectively as ANGLO-SAXONS. After this migration the Frisians who remained in their homeland continued to have close relations with their relatives across the North Sea, particularly in East Anglia.

Frisians in the Middle Ages

The Carolingian FRANKS under Charlemagne conquered Frisia in 785. Before the conquest many pagan Frisians fled to what is today north Friesland—formerly the territory of the Angles who had migrated to Britain—and remained unconverted. They engaged in trade with East Anglia in England, especially with the trading town of Ipswich, among the largest towns in Anglo-Saxon England. Numerous pottery finds that have been made in Ipswich date to the seventh and eighth centuries, bearing impressed pagan motifs, even though East Anglia was officially Christian. Thus Ipswich was supplying pagan wares to the Frisians and may itself have been a pocket of paganism in Christian East Anglia. In general Frisians and East Anglians, some of the latter perhaps of Frisian descent, must have engaged for centuries in cross-cultural contacts that may never be known in detail. (The Frisian language is closer to English than to Dutch.) The Anglo-Saxon Saint Willibrord, aided by Saint Boniface, was apostle to the Frisians in the eighth century and with the backing of the Frankish king Pippin II established a bishopric at Utrecht.

During and after the Middle Ages the territory of Friesland passed into and out of the control of a number of northern kingdoms and states, including those of the counts of Holland and the duchies of Burgundy and of Saxony. Throughout this time, however, the Frisians stubbornly maintained their autonomy as a people and retained their own unique language. At the end of the 15th century Friesland was given to the duchy of Saxony by the Holy Roman Emperor. Because the duke of Saxony was unable to establish his authority over Friesland, it reverted to the empire, and the Hapsburg emperor Charles V reduced the province by force in 1523. Later in the 16th century Frisians took part in Dutch resistance against the Spanish Hapsburg regime (which was using the Netherlands as a staging area for war against England). Friesland joined the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1748.

Frisians time line

C.E.	
476	Frisian treaty with Rome
fifth–sixth centuries	Frisia occupied by Angles, Jutes, and Saxons; some Frisians migrate to Britain.
785	Frisians conquered by Franks under Charlemagne.
eighth century	Anglo-Saxon St. Willibrord works to convert Frisians.
1454	East Friesland becomes part of Holy Roman Empire.
16th century	Frisians take part in Dutch resistance against Spanish Hapsburg regime.
1523	Hapsburg emperor Charles V reduces Friesland by force after Frisians resist rule of duke of Saxony.
1579	Friesland becomes part of Union of Utrecht (later the Dutch Republic).
1748	Friesland joins United Provinces of the Netherlands.

Enduring Identity

Modern Friesland is an important dairy and cattle-rearing region. The marshlands of the past have been transformed with canals and artificial lakes.

Part of the old Frisian territory is in present-day Germany, but the people there still speak the Low German Frisian language and maintain ties with Frisians in the Netherlands. There are also descendants of Frisians living on the coast of the Jutland Peninsula and nearby islands.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

During the Middle Ages cattle and sheep rearing were the most important means of support, supplemented by fishing, trading, and shipping. A cattle breed, the Frisian, still exists. A wool industry emerged through the manufacture of a coarse woolen cloth with a shaggy nap on one side, traded in large quantities to the ENGLISH, who called it *frieze*. Because relatively little land was safe from flooding, imports of grain were important.

Government and Society: *Lex Frisionum*

The customary laws of the Frisians were written in 790 as the *Lex Frisionum* under the auspices of Charlemagne, who was compiling such bodies of law from the peoples he conquered in order to take local law into account in his effort

FRIULIANS

location:
Northeastern Italy

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Friulian (Rhaeto-Romanic)

at promulgating a consistent law code for his empire. In common with other Germanic law codes that of the Frisians was based on a system of monetary fines to be paid for transgressions, which gave rise to the concept of *wergild,* "man price," the amount of a fine based on status.

During the Middle Ages Frisians were able to resist incorporation in the feudal and manorial systems that dominated much of Europe, possibly because the challenges of farming their region made the land unattractive to lords who were seeking agricultural wealth. Frisian farmers retained the status of free peasants largely governing themselves according to the principle of *folkright,* the collective will of the people as embodied in rules and laws that had been established over time, interpreted by local assemblies.

Dwellings and Architecture

Because their low-lying homeland was subject to frequent flooding, the Frisians constructed *terpen,* earthen mounds, on which to build their homes. *Terpen* functioned as small villages, and some of the larger of them had their own churches. Typically a *terp* with a church would have some 100 inhabitants—12 farms and four houses of craftsmen. *Terps* without churches would have had little more than three farms.

Of the many small Germanic tribes who have appeared in history the Frisians have been among the most tenacious in maintaining their identity as a distinct people. Their language has played a large part in this, but their territory, for so long marginal, as much sea as land, which required tenacity of its inhabitants but also spared them from encroachment, must also have fostered their stout autonomy and stubborn maintenance of their own folkright.

Friulians

The Friulians are people of modern-day Italy, most of whom live in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region in the northeast, centered around the city of Udine. They are classified on the basis of their shared language known as Friulian, a Rhaeto-Romanic dialect of the Romance branch of Italic languages, probably related to Ladin, also spoken in Italy (*see* LADINS), and Romansch, spoken in Switzerland. There are presently about 700,000 Italians who speak Friulian, recognized as an official language by the Italian government since 1937.

CELTS, among them the RAETI, occupied the region as early as the second century B.C.E., whence the name for the language, but because numerous other peoples lived there over the centuries, among them the ETRUSCANS, ILLYRIANS, ROMANS, and GERMANICS, determining ancestry is hard. Although Friulian is classified with Ladin and Romansch, it is closer to Italian.

See also ITALIANS: NATIONALITY.

G

Gaballi (Gabali; Gaballes; Gabeli)

The Gaballi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Javois in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the ARVERNI.

Gaels *See* CELTS; IRISH; SCOTS.

Gaesati (Gaesatae)

The Gaesati are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the Alps and Rhône valley and joined other CELTS, the BOII and INSUBRES, against the ROMANS in 225 B.C.E. Known as fearless fighters, they were hired by other tribes to fight as mercenaries.

Gagauz (Gagauzs; Gagauzi; Gagauzians)

The Gagauz are a Turkic-speaking people, living in the region known as Gagauzia in southern Moldova. They are thought to be descended from peoples known as TORKS—TURKICS considered part of the Oguz Turkic branch—who settled in central Europe in the 11th century C.E.

In 1994 the Gagauz were granted limited autonomy, with the right to secede in the event Moldova merged with Romania. Living on the Bugeac plain, they are primarily agricultural and among the few Christian Turkic groups.

See also MOLDOVANS: NATIONALITY.

Galatians *See* GALATOI.

Galatoi (Galatai; Galatae; Galatians; Galats)

In the fourth century B.C.E. a number of allied tribes of CELTS first settled in the Danube Basin and displaced ILLYRIANS and other peoples of the region. According to ancient Greek sources at the start of the third century B.C.E. some tribes pushed farther southward in the ancient regions of Thrace and Macedon on the Balkan Peninsula. Bolgius was one of their leaders. By 279 B.C.E. the Galatoi had migrated deep into Greece, probably as far as Delphi, under leaders, perhaps legendary, by the names of Brennus and Achichorios. They eventually were repelled.

After the invasion into Greece had failed, varying tribes or factions settled in different areas. Some became mercenaries for the MACEDONIANS; others under Achichorios founded the kingdom of Tylis in Thrace among the SCYTHIANS; still others settled on the site of present-day Belgrade, Yugoslavia. There they were known as SCORDISCI, one of the powerful groups in the region; those small numbers who managed to stay in Greece—and any others who migrated there over the centuries—adopted the Greek language and were called Gallograeci ("Gallic Greeks") by Greek-speaking inhabitants. Some tribes among the Celts—the TECTOSAGES, TOLISTOBOGII, and TROCMI, origi-

GAGAUZ

location:
Southern Moldova

time period:
11th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Turkic

GALATOI

location:
Southern France; Danube River; Balkan Peninsula; Greece; Turkey

time period:
Fourth century B.C.E. to fourth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

nally from southern France, under Leonorios and Lutorios—were invited by Greeks living in northern Phrygia in Asia Minor in present-day Turkey to relocate there as allies and mercenaries. After traveling there, however, the Galatoi tribes remained independent and created their own kingdom, Galatia, its inhabitants referred to as Galatians in many texts. (These were the Galatians reportedly addressed by St. Paul in his "Letter to Galatians.")

In about 230 B.C.E. the Galatians were defeated by Attalus I of Pergamum, a Greek kingdom in western Asia Minor, who, however, failed to dislodge them. The ROMANS defeated them again in 189 B.C.E., but Galatia did not become a client kingdom of Rome until 64 B.C.E. and part of the empire until 25 B.C.E. The Galatians retained their Celtic identity at least until the fourth century C.E.

Galicians (Gallaecians; people of Galicia)

The name Galicians refers to people living in the region and ancient kingdom of Galicia, or Gallaecia, situated in present-day northwestern Spain. It is an autonomous region, which includes the provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra. An independent kingdom under the SUEBI in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E., it was later under the rule of the VISIGOTHS. The MOORS invaded in the eighth century, but a kingdom, Asturias, founded by the Pelayo, a Visigoth, held out against them. In the ninth century Galicia became part of the kingdom of León, which evolved into that of León and Castile (*see* SPANISH: NATIONALITY). Another historic region known as Galicia (also Galicja or Galitsiya), formerly ruled by Poland and Austria, is situated north of the Carpathian Mountains in present-day Ukraine.

Gallaeci

The Gallaeci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day northwestern Spain. Their name indicates that they were CELTS, although they lived far from the region in north-central Spain designated as Celtiberia proper (**see** CELTIBERIANS). They resisted the ROMANS along with the ASTURES and CANTABRI but were finally defeated in 19 B.C.E. The region of Gallaecia consisting of the present-day Spanish provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra took its name from the tribe. It was an independent kingdom under the Germanic SUEBI in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E.

Gallaecians *See* GALICIANS.

Galli

The Galli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived south of the Pyrenees in present-day northern Spain; they thus can be discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. Their territory was occupied by the ROMANS by 19 B.C.E. The name Gallia is also the Latin form for the region known as Gaul, whose tribes are considered GAULS.

Gangani (Ganagani; Siol Gangain)

The Gangani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain on the Lleyn Peninsula in present-day northwestern Wales at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH. A group of the same name, known in Gaelic as Siol Gangain, lived in the present-day county of Clare and the southern part of the county of Galway in western Ireland.

Garites

The Garites are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Gariés in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Garumni

The Garumni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the upper Garonne River in present-day southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Gauls (Galli; Galatoi; Keltoi; Celtae; Gallic Celts)

The Gauls are a subgroup of Celtic-speaking peoples or CELTS. Numerous Gaulish (Gallic) tribes lived in a region known as Gaul, as defined by the ROMANS. (The Latin version is Gallia; the French is Gaule.) The Gauls were the Celts with whom the ROMANS had the most contact over the centuries: those who lived in present-day France, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, western Germany, and northern Italy. Mainland peoples not discussed as Gauls are the Celtic tribes living on the Iberian Peninsula (the Celtiberians) and those living in other regions of central and eastern Europe as well as Asia Minor. Celtic peoples on the British Isles are discussed as BRITONS, IRISH, and SCOTS.

ORIGINS

The Gauls—and the other various Celtic-speaking peoples—were the descendants of the tribes of the Bell Beaker and other Bronze Age cultures and before that of the peoples of the Neolithic cultures that developed after the introduction of farming practices to Europe. The Hallstatt culture and the La Tène art style became important developments for those peoples who are grouped together as Celts.

LANGUAGE

The Gauls spoke dialects of Gaulish (Gallic), one of the branches of Continental Celtic (the others are Lepontic and Celto-Iberian). The other Celtic language family is known as Insular Celtic, dialects spoken on the British Isles. Gaulish is known primarily from references to tribes, places, and individuals in the writings of the ancient GREEKS and Romans. Only a few inscriptions have been found. The great majority of evidence for Continental Celtic consists of the names of persons, tribes, and places recorded by Greek and Latin writers. Only in Gaul and in northern Italy are inscriptions found, and their interpretation is in most cases doubtful. The longest inscription is the Coligny calendar, preserved on two bronze tablets found in 1897 at Bourg in eastern France, a lunar calendar.

Continental Celtic seems to have been very similar to Latin, so much so that when sending confidential messages during wartime Roman officers would write in Greek so that if their letters fell into the hands of Gallic warriors, they would be illegible. The similarity between Latin and Continental Celtic may have contributed to the latter's disappearance, because it would have been so easy for Gauls to learn Latin and to use it when writing. Latin may even have served as a lingua franca among different Gallic tribes in territories far apart whose regional dialects made it hard to understand one another. Latin was in all probability the language of the marketplace, law, government, and the wealthy, while Gaulish continued to be spoken only in backward rural areas.

The Coligny calendar is a lunar calendar with months of 29 days; the lunar time reckoning of the Gauls is mentioned by Julius Caesar in his writings. Given the nature of the evidence, knowledge of these languages is confined largely to the sound system and a small part of the vocabulary, and no certain conclusions can be reached as to their historical development or the differences between them.

HISTORY

Gallic Incursions into Italy

Although the Roman historian Livy of the first-centuries B.C.E. and C.E. reported a migration that occurred as early as 600 B.C.E. is suspect, there is evidence of some movement of prehistoric Hallstatt groups—peoples ancestral to the Celts—through Alpine passes to the Lombard lake district in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.; typical Hallstatt burials have been found there. But the main thrust southward was at the end of the fifth century B.C.E. as successive waves of Celts arrived, each bypassing the territories of their brethren to move ever farther south. Tribes named in accounts include the INSUBRES, who conquered the territory around Milan; the CENOMANI, who entered Brescia and Verona; the LEPONTI around Lake Maggiore, and the LIBICI and SALUVII. The BOII and LINGONES passed on, moving south of the Po. Among the last to arrive, the SENONES went to Umbria and the Adriatic coastal zone.

Whole families accompanied this movement and settled to farm the rich Po valley; the second-century B.C.E. Greek historian Polybius, who lived in Rome, describes fertile fields growing wheat, barley, millet, and vines, through which pigs roamed. Large numbers of small cemeteries from this time document a population scattered thinly across the countryside. There continued to be warrior burials as

GAULS

location:
Present-day France and parts of Belgium and Netherlands; western Germany; northern Italy; Switzerland

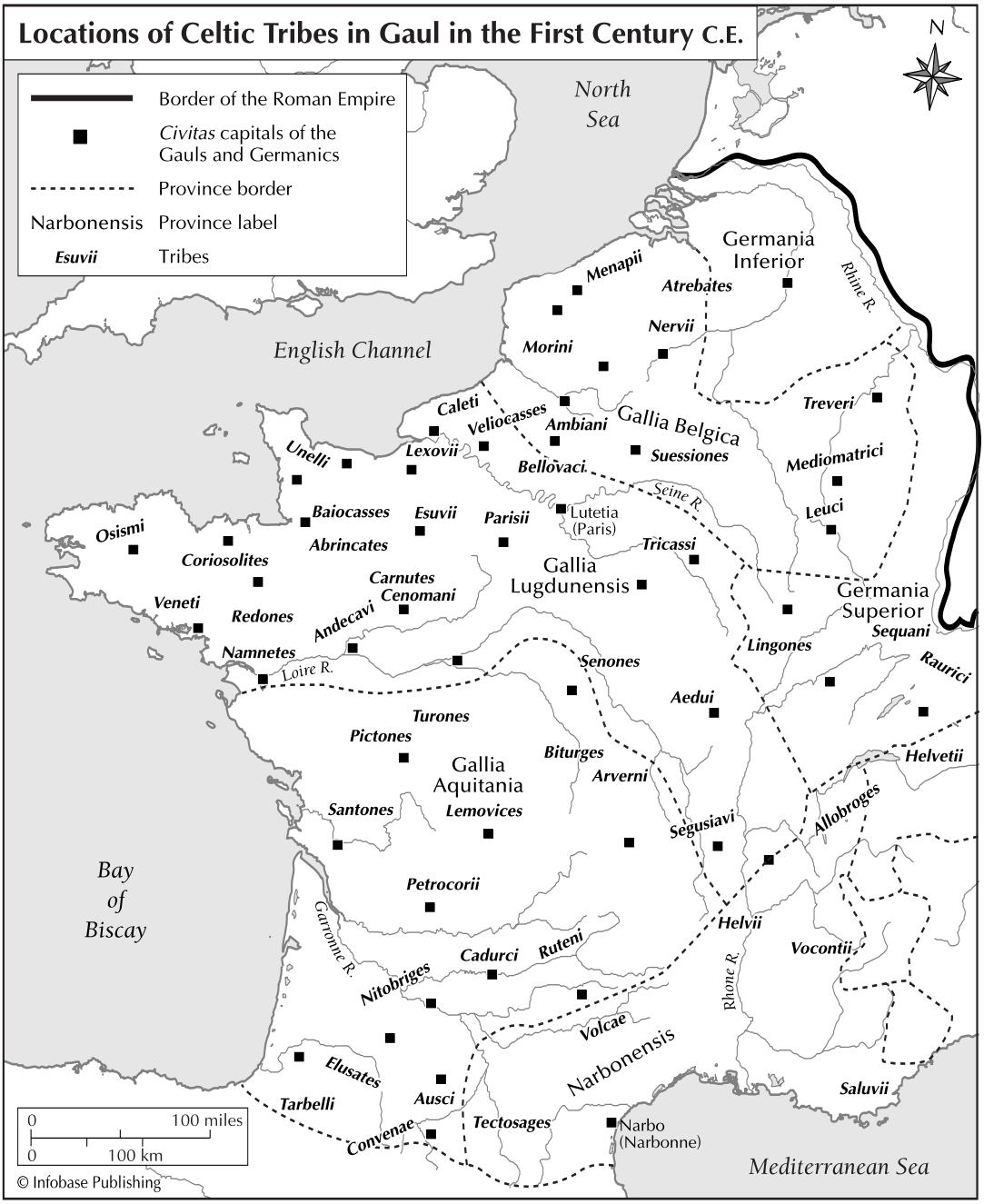
time period:
Fifth century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (a branch of Continental Celtic)

Gauls time line

B.C.E.	
late fifth–early fourth century	Celtic tribes cross Alps into northern Italy and occupy territory.
c. 390	Celtic tribes attack Rome.
332–331	Treaty between Romans and Senones
third century	Roman conquest of Gallia Cisalpina in northern Italy
118	Founding of Roman colony of Narbo Martius in Gaul Transalpina
58–50	Julius Caesar leads Romans in Gallic Wars; in 52 he suppresses revolt led by Vercingetorix of Arverni.
49	Caesar confers Roman citizenship on pacified inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina.
27	Romans reorganize Gaul.
C.E.	
260	Peoples in Gaul, Spain, and Britain form independent Gallic empire.
273	Roman emperor Aurelian reclaims Gaul for Rome.
fifth century	Germanic tribes occupy much of Gaul.
486	Clovis I of Franks captures last Roman outposts in Gaul.





Gauls living in southern France crafted this statue of a male warrior in the late first century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

in the homeland, in some cases the accoutrements including Etruscan body armor, an innovation, as Celts typically fought naked.

For a time the Apennine Mountains served as a barrier to further movement. Meanwhile to the south of the Apennines the Romans were engaged in acquiring the territories of the ETRUSCANS. No sooner had their annexation been completed, however, than Gallic war bands appeared, having burst through the Appenine barrier. These tribesmen are thought to have originated in the Rhine-Moselle region in present-day eastern France and western Germany. They overran the former Etruscan cities with an impetus that quickly moved them all the way to the gates of Rome itself in 390 (or 387) B.C.E.

The Gauls laid waste much of the region around Rome, which held out for seven months until the Gauls moved off. Raiding continued throughout the Italian Peninsula for 60 years, during which many Gauls became employed as mercenaries for various local tyrants. By the 330s B.C.E. the raids had largely ceased; in 332–331 B.C.E. the Romans concluded a treaty with the Senones.

During the third century B.C.E. the Romans regained territory to the north all the way to

the Po River valley. A description by Polybius of a major battle during these campaigns, at Telamon in 225 B.C.E., gives a sense of the primal clash of cultures represented by the two sides. Part of the shock cast by the Gallic warriors resulted from their fighting without armor and entirely naked, as though they were invulnerable, in one account appearing to be "insane gods." The Gauls also showed a keen appreciation of the psychology of fear in their use of sound—innumerable horns, called carnexes, fashioned with fierce animal heads at their mouths, and trumpets accompanied the roars of the warriors—and in their theatrical threatening gestures. Had the Romans been able to understand the Gauls' language, no doubt they would have been further impressed by the imprecations hurled at them by the poets who always accompanied Gallic warriors to battle, improvising satiric verses to discomfit and confuse the enemy. The Gauls fought with improvisatory flamboyance—war to them was as much an art as anything else. The Roman fighting spirit, on the other hand, depended upon organization, discipline, training, and esprit de corps.

In the end, however, Roman discipline won out and large territories settled by the Gauls were annexed. The Gauls were not all ousted from these territories. One tribe, the Boii, returned north through the Alps and settled finally in Bohemia in the present-day Czech Republic, which takes its name from them.

Impetus for the Roman Conquest of Gaul

The early successes of the Gauls in Italy and the terror felt by the populace of Rome on beholding the Gaulish warriors at their gates are part of the impetus for the Roman conquest of Gallic France: The need to extend the Pax Romana as far as possible into barbarian territories so as to prevent another such invasion. Other developments in Italy were also involved in the Roman drive for empire to the west and north. The Roman social hierarchy maintained itself through military adventures. The almost constant warfare over time depopulated the Italian countryside as small farmers and laborers were drafted into the army; even those whose service had ended often moved to the cities, disinclined to resume a rural existence. As a result land was increasingly in the hands of large estate holders, who depended on slave labor. Land was a major focus of investment among the aristocracy, who poured the spoils of their wars into developing their estates until much of Italy became planted as vineyards. The amount of wine produced was far more than the domestic market could absorb, so that Roman wine merchants looked to the Gauls, whose passion for wine was legendary. As a result the constant need for new military horizons, the growing population of increasingly restive war veterans in Italy who wanted land on which to settle, and the need of merchants for stable markets in barbarian regions all created incentives for Roman expeditions in several directions, including toward the coastal strip of present-day southern France.

Early Roman Gaul

The Romans originally defined Gaul as consisting of two main divisions: Gallia Cisalpina, "Gaul this side of the Alps" (in present-day northern Italy), and Gallia Transalpina, "Gaul across the Alps."

Gallia Cisalpina, or Cisalpine Gaul, in present-day northern Italy, was also called Gallia Citerior, or Near or Hither Gaul, to distinguish it from Gallia Ulterior, or Far or Farther Gaul. During the third century B.C.E. the Romans wrested control of Gallia Cisalpina from the Gallic tribesmen who had earlier invaded the northern area of the Italian Peninsula. The Romans established colonies in the various Gallic towns. In the first century B.C.E. the region was subdivided into Gallia Cispadana ("Gaul this side of the Padana, or Po River") and Gallia Transpadana ("Gaul across the Po River").

Gallia Transalpina, or Transalpine Gaul, was defined as practically all of France and Belgium and parts of the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland. (It later became known as Gallia Celtica, Gallia Proper, or Gaule.)

The First Roman Colony

By 121 B.C.E. Rome ruled the southern part of Transalpine Gaul. Originally called Provincia Romana (from which is derived the modern name Provence), it comprised a strip some 100 miles wide from the eastern Pyrenees on the present Spanish-French border northeastward along the northern Mediterranean and up the Rhône valley nearly to Lyon. The importance of this region to the Romans was twofold. It furnished the main route of their armies to Iberia (present-day Spain), which during the second century B.C.E. was a major focus of Roman ambitions because of its wealth of gold, silver, and agricultural products. It also became an increasingly important market both for Roman

wine and for manufactured products such as pottery. The Romans founded what is thought to be its first colony of Narbo Martius (present-day Narbonne) in southern France on the coast in 118 B.C.E. This region would later become known as Gallia Narbonensis.

Germanic Invasion

After 120 B.C.E. an alliance with the AEDUI against the ALLOBROGES and the ARVERNI gave the Romans control of the Rhône River valley. The Gallic tribes in the rest of Transalpine Gaul—that is, the territory from the Rhine River and the Alps westward to the Atlantic Ocean—now faced the threats of the GERMANS pressing from the east westward toward and across the Rhine, and of the Romans from the south. The Germanic CIMBRI invaded Bohemia, the land of the Boii, and Noricum, a Celtic kingdom in the eastern Alps (not thought of as part of Gaul), and in 118 B.C.E. defeated a Roman army sent to Noricum. Joined by another Germanic tribe, the TEUTONES, the Cimbri continued their raids, pushing into Italy, where they were defeated by the Roman armies in 102 and 101 B.C.E.

The Campaigns of Julius Caesar

The Roman general Julius Caesar conquered Transalpine Gaul and eventually pushed on to the British Isles, where he spent two seasons campaigning against the Britons. In his political efforts to gain permission from the Roman senate to lead an army into Gaul Caesar was helped by the abiding trauma in the Roman psyche caused by the Gallic invasions of the fourth century B.C.E. The Romans perceived the continuing Gallic threat and growing Germanic threat and voted Caesar all the powers he needed to carry out his campaigns in what became known as the Gallic Wars.

The migration of the Celtic HELVETII westward into the territory of the Arverni from Switzerland prompted Caesar's first military campaigns northward in 58 B.C.E. He drove them back to their homeland. Some Celtic tribes, such as the Aedui, appealed for his help in defeating the attacking SEQUANI and their allies, the Germanic SUEBI under Ariovistus.

Instead of helping the Aedui, Caesar kept his legions in Gaul, campaigning against the tribes of northern Gaul—whom he called the BELGAE—in 57 B.C.E. The next year he moved against the tribes in Armorica (modern Brittany in western France) and Aquitania in southwestern France, securing the region in 55 B.C.E. Caesar led his troops across the Rhine in that year and for 18 days made war on the Germanic SUGAMBRI, TENCTERI, and USIPETES. He then led two legions across the English Channel and landed at Dover, but high tides and storms as well as raiding Britons forced him back to the mainland, where he suppressed a revolt of the Belgae. In 54 B.C.E. he mounted a second assault on the British Isles with five legions and advanced as far as the Thames. Another Gallic revolt forced his return to Gaul. In 53 B.C.E. he battled tribes living near the Rhine, including the MENAPII and NERVII. In 52 B.C.E. he suppressed a Gallic revolt of the Arverni and allied tribes led by Vercingetorix (see sidebar, p. 291). Gaul was pacified by the end of 50 B.C.E. In 49 B.C.E. Caesar conferred Roman citizenship on the inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina.

Caesar's campaigns devastated Gallic society; he treated rebellion and resistance with extreme ruthlessness. The elders of one tribe, the VENETI, were all executed and the rest of the population sold into slavery. His soldiers decimated an army of Nervii reported to number 60,000 men in Belgica, leaving only some 500 alive; their Council of 600 was reduced to three. Caesar did show leniency toward the surviving women, children, and elders, who had fled to the forests, allowing them to return to their settlements and giving orders to neighboring tribes to leave them in peace. After vanquishing the ADUATUCI in an assault that reportedly killed 4,000, Caesar sold what is estimated at 53,000 survivors into slavery. He encouraged the wholesale slaughter by his soldiers of the CARNUTES because they had killed the Roman traders living with them; of a supposed 40,000 men, women, and children, only 800 survived. No doubt as a result of those losses there was little Gallic resistance for many years.

Later Years

Emperor Tiberius was obliged to suppress a rebellion of the nobles in 21 C.E., but the assimilation of the Gallic aristocracy was secured when the emperor Claudius I made them eligible for seats in the Roman senate and appointed them to governing posts in Gaul. The first Gauls to serve in the Roman senate were from the Aedui tribe.

Over the next two centuries there were a number of revolts in Gaul. Because of increasing Germanic incursions, the Romans had limes—a type of fortification—built from the Middle Rhine to the Upper Danube. Germanic invaders breached this line during the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius in 161–180 C.E.

Some of the Roman legions stationed along the Rhine revolted after 192 C.E. Further instability was caused by an economic recession, which raised prices in the region. In 260 peoples in Gaul, Spain, and Britain became part of an independent Gallic empire, governed by Marcus Cassianius Latinius Postumus from Trier (or Trèves, named after the TREVERI) on the Moselle River in present-day Germany. In 273 Emperor Aurelian reclaimed Gaul for Rome. Yet Germanic tribes remained a threat, reaching as far as Spain. Emperor Diocletian, who ruled in 284–305, and his successors attempted to reorganize the administration and revitalize the defense of Gaul, but in the fourth century more and more Germanic tribes were making inroads. By the fifth century the VISIGOTHS ruled Aquitania, the FRANKS ruled Belgica, and the BURGUNDII ruled the Rhine region. By the early sixth century the Romans had no presence in Gaul. In 486 the Frankish king Clovis I captured the last Roman outposts in Gaul.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

The Gauls were as powerfully affected by trade with the Romans as their Celtic ancestors, the Hallstatt and La Tène tribes, had been by trade with the Greeks and Etruscans in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. The Roman trade was on a much larger scale numerically than that of the Greeks and Etruscans had been. Fleets of merchant ships sailed up river routes deep into the interior of Gaul and along the Atlantic seaways to Brittany and southern Britain during the first century B.C.E. At such ports as Tolosa (Toulouse) and Chalon-sur-Saône wine was decanted from amphorae into barrels or skins for safe transport farther inland; enormous numbers of discarded and smashed amphorae were dumped into rivers. Roman merchants took up residence in Gallic *oppida* (towns). The Aude-Garonne River route was important because it led to the Atlantic sea routes.

After the Roman conquest trading routes by sea with their inherent dangers fell into disuse, replaced by the well-maintained roads of the Romans. Trading patterns changed markedly at this time.

Government and Society

Gaul Reorganized Caesar wrote a detailed account of the country and its inhabitants, distinguishing regions according to their native inhabitants, whom he classified north to south as Belgae, CELTAE (or Galli), and AQUITANI. Emperor Augustus reorganized Gaul on the basis of his classifications, establishing new provinces in 27 B.C.E.: Narbonensis (or Gallia Narbonensis, the "old province") in the south, under the direct rule of the Roman senate; Aquitania (Gallia Aquitania), extending from the Pyrenees to the Loire; Lugdunensis (or Gallia Celtica), a central region mainly between the Loire and the Seine; and Belgica (or Gallia Belgica) in the northeast. Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica were referred to collectively as Tres Gallia (Three Gauls) or Gallia Comata, (long-haired Gaul) and were administered from Lugdunum (now Lyon), the capital of Lugdunensis.

There were numerous tribes in the region, Germanic in addition to Celtic (or tribes of an ethnic mix). Some of the Celtic peoples in this region have been mentioned. The Romans founded colonies (*coloniae*) of Roman citizens.

Vercingetorix: Visionary of a United Gaul

Vercingetorix, an Arverni nobleman, is the most famous of all the Gauls. His name in Gaulish means "overking" (*ver-rix*) of "warriors" (*cingetos*). His name has also been transcribed from Gaulish as Fearcuincedorigh. Vercingetorix's name indicates he led warriors of many different tribes in battle—as many as 30, including Arverni neighbors in the Loire country and from other parts of Gaul as well. In this way he was able to counter Julius Caesar's strategy of divide and conquer the tribes. His uncle, worried about Roman retribution, expelled him from the Arverni town of Gergovia on the Gergovie plateau, but Vercingetorix raised support from other young warriors and returned, proclaiming himself chief of his tribe.

By 53 B.C.E. the Roman legions had pacified Gaul except for scattered resistance. The first action in the general Gallic revolt was small, the killing of several Roman merchants at Cenabum (modern Orléans) in 53 B.C.E. Vercingetorix, who used cavalry as well as foot soldiers, led raids in Provincia Romana in southern France late that year. To prevent the Romans from living off the land, Vercingetorix had Gallic towns and fields burned. He also was masterful in using natural fortifications to defend against pursuing armies. Caesar's forces drove the Gauls out of the province, then crossed the Cévennes in January 52 B.C.E. and attacked Arverni towns. They laid siege to Gergovia on the plateau of Gergovie. The powerful Aedui had at first refrained from supporting the revolt of the Arverni, their traditional enemies, but joined in time to force abandonment of the siege.

A Roman victory on the Vingeanne River forced the rebels to retreat northward to Alesia, a town of the Mandubii, to the northwest of present-day Dijon. Caesar mounted a siege. After the failure of a Gallic relief force to break through Caesar's doughnut-shaped fortification—an outer defensive perimeter of 14 miles to defend against Gallic reinforcements and an inner wall of 11 miles protecting siege weapons to attack Alesia—the rebels, although outnumbering the Romans six to one, suffered staggering losses and surrendered in October 52 B.C.E.

After being held as a prisoner in the Tullianum at Rome for five years, Vercingetorix, the Gallic freedom fighter who had had a vision of a united Gaul, was publicly beheaded in 46 B.C.E. as a part of Caesar's victory celebrations.



Gauls living in northern France crafted this bronze plaque in the first century C.E. *(Drawing by Patty Erway)*

These were organized into *civitates* (singular, *civitas*), self-governed regions based largely on tribal territories. Each *civitas* had a capital, often at the location of a Gallic *oppidum* (town), although new towns were sometimes established.

As trade with the Romans increased, even before the Roman conquest of Gaul changes were occurring in Gallic society. The importance of kingship decreased in favor of municipal authority. Gallic tribes formed senates in Roman style. Magistrates of the tribal *oppida* wielded ever more power; according to Caesar among the Aedui the chief magistrate, Vergobretos, ruled for years although his was an annual appointment; he was prevented from founding a dynasty by rules that prohibited any member of his family from taking office during his lifetime and prevented him from leading Celtic-style raids abroad by the requirement that he not leave tribal territory while he held office. It is possible that these political innovations had been fostered by the Romans, for it was in their interest that the Gauls settle down and find gratification in wealth from trade rather than in proving their warrior prowess in raids.

Dwellings and Architecture

In common with the rest of Celtic Europe the Gauls began to establish large defended settlements called *oppida* (singular, *oppidum*)—the word Caesar used—during the mid-second century B.C.E. Much larger than the hill forts of the past *oppida* had orderly street grids. Many of the houses in Gaul were rectangular, as opposed to the circular dwellings, roundhouses, found on the British Isles.

Military Practices

The importance of the *oppida* in Gallic society actually aided Caesar in his conquest, for laying siege to such defended strongholds was a particular strength of the Roman armies, and once these centers of tribal power were taken, further resistance became minimal. This situation stands in sharp contrast to that of the Germanic tribes that the Romans would face in later years, whose settlements were thinly dispersed, and whose armies retreated into the forests. And the martial energies of the Gauls, which earlier in their history more than matched that of the Germans, had all been subsumed into peaceful pursuits.

Other Technologies

The Gauls produced a wide range of crafts, including pottery, glass beads, and bracelets and other iron work, produced in industrial-scale quantities. Coins were minted as well.

Religion

In general the Gauls shared many gods and religious practices with Celts in other regions of the Celtic world, such as the British Isles. The fact that the Druids oversaw judicial matters as well as religious underscores how little separation there was between sacred and secular life among Celts. Part of their influence over political affairs lay in their role as prophets and seers.

The primary source of information for the Celtic gods of Gaul is the passage in Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (*The Gallic War*) in which he lists five of them and their functions: Mercury, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Minerva. Yet he uses the names of equivalent Roman gods rather then Gallic native names. Mercury is the most important Gallic god according to Caesar, his interpretation verified by the great number of images and inscriptions relating to Mercury. He is the inventor of the arts and the patron of travelers and of merchants; Jupiter rules the realm of the gods; Mars directs war; Apollo repels disease; and Minerva oversees handicrafts. It is possible that in addition to these gods the Gauls had particular local gods, although various deity names might be alternate names of principal deities. In this regard the Gallic god Taranis, a thunder god, has been associated with Jupiter; Teutates, with Mars and Mercury both; Belatucadrus, with Mars; Grannos with Apollo; and Sul with Minerva.

Many Gallic monuments show a pairing of male deity and female consort, possibly symbolic of the coupling of the protector god of the tribe or nation with the fertility mother goddess. It is difficult to distinguish between individual goddesses and mother goddesses, Matres or Matronae, who figure so prominently in Celtic iconography; they are symbolic of fertility and the seasonal cycle of nature. The Mothers usually appear as a triad (and sometimes pentad) of seated and smiling young women, wearing long robes and holding baskets of fruit on their laps, but there are many variations on this theme. At Arles in Provence near Marseilles (formerly Massalia) a large Roman cemetery, called Alyscamps, contains tombstones with reliefs of the Matres. A festival still held in the spring at Arles, possibly inspired by an earlier festival in honor of the Matres, is called The three Maries of the Sea, in which statues of the Virgin Mary, Mary

Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene are carried out to sea in a boat to bless the waters for the start of the navigational season.

Literature

The greatest of all Roman poets, Virgil of the first century B.C.E., whose family were farmers, may well have been of Gallic descent; his work owes little to Celtic literary tradition, however, being fully informed by Greco-Roman models and traditions. Possibly a trace of Gallic culture may be detected in his *Georgics,* a poetic treatise on farming that shows a keen appreciation of the natural world and of the farmer's joy in the bounty of the harvest. His earlier *Eclogues,* on the other hand, a set of pastoral poems, are firmly in the Greek tradition. Other "Roman" writers born in the territory of Gallia Cisalpina include the poets Gaius Valerius Catullus, also of the first century B.C.E.; the historian Livy of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.; and the statesmen and writers Pliny the Elder of the first century C.E. and Pliny the Younger of the first–second century C.E. It is not known whether their ancestry was Gallic, however. These writers, as Virgil did, worked in the classical Roman literary tradition.

Although the Romans had won political control over Gaul, following their usual procedure, they did not try to impose Roman culture; rather a new Gallo-Roman culture developed on its own, more through Gallic emulation of the Romans than by imposition. A strong Roman influence on the Gallic tribes, brought about by trade, had long predated the conquest. The Romans strengthened this influence by building towns and roads throughout Gaul, financed by taxing the old Gallic landowning class. The Gallic *oppida* with their municipal authorities were well on the way to becoming true urban centers by the end of the Roman period. The villa system became an important component of the economy and society of Gaul and in some regions laid the groundwork for the feudal estates of the Middle Ages. A landed aristocracy grew up, part Gallic, part Roman, employing the laborers who made up the principal part of the population. At the same time the Romans promoted the development of a middle class of merchants, tradesmen, and government bureaucrats. Moreover, as mentioned, Roman religion became intertwined with Celtic religion as different Celtic gods were identified with gods of the Roman pantheon. Gallo-Roman religious centers in some cases later became the loci of Christian churches. For example, the town of Lugdunum, present-day Lyon, which took its name from the Celtic god Lugh, became the first Christian center in Gaul in the second century C.E. Arles, the site of a large Celtic cemetery, was another. Both towns had bishoprics by the second and the third centuries C.E., respectively. The Latin language survived in Gaul by evolving into French. Perhaps the most important contribution of the Gauls to the preservation of Roman culture was the survival among them of the Latin language as it evolved into French.

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Geiduni

The Geiduni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul, their location unknown, at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. They were a subgroup or allies of the Nervii.

Gepids (Gepidae; Gepidi)

The Gepids are a tribe of Germanics living at varying times in parts of present-day Poland, Romania, and Hungary. Their history was especially tied to that of the Goths and Huns and, as was the case with other Germanics of the early centuries C.E., to that of the Romans.

ORIGINS

The Gepids may have been among those Germanic tribes who in the first century C.E. migrated south and eastward out of Scandinavia. The sixth-century historian Jordanes reported that when the Goths departed

GEPIDS

location:
Baltic coast of Poland; Carpathian Mountains in Romania; Danube River in Romania; Tisza River in Hungary; around Belgrade in Serbia

time period:
First to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Gepids time line

C.E.

first century	Gepids migrate from southern Scandinavia and settle along Lower Vistula River in Poland.
c. 268	Gepids allied with Goths and other tribes in attack on Romans.
third century	Gepids settle in Carpathian region east of Tisza River.
fourth century	Gepids settle along Danube River.
451	After defeat by Huns Gepids join them in invasion of Gaul.
455	Gepids and other Germanics defeat Huns in Roman province of Pannonia; granted new territory there by Romans.
471	Gepids gain territory in Serbia and Montenegro.
488	Ostrogoths defeat Gepids.
567	Lombards, with complicity of Avars and Byzantines, defeat Gepids.

Scandinavia in the first century C.E. and headed for Poland, one of three ships was delayed, and those in the other two ships dubbed them *gepanta* for "loiterers" or "sluggards." The story may be apocryphal because an ancestral relationship between the Goths and Gepids has never been proved. Moreover, scholars date the arrival of Germanic peoples in the region to as early as the sixth to fourth century B.C.E. In any case it has been theorized that in the first century C.E. the Gepids settled on the island of Spesis at the mouth of the Vistula River before migrating southward. Archaeological evidence confirms that Germanics lived in the region of present-day Gdansk by the mid-second century C.E. The Germanic groups who would form the Gothic confederacy migrated to the Black Sea region sometime after that, at which time the Gepids, if they had not been before, became a distinct group.

LANGUAGE

The Gepids spoke an East Germanic dialect.

HISTORY

The story of Jordanes about the "sluggish" Gepids may have been invented to explain the name given them by their rivals, the Goths, who began contesting with the Gepids for dominance as soon as the former had established themselves in the Black Sea region. *Gepanta* could have been an insult hurled at the Gepids by Gothic warriors. The tribal grouping that became known as the Gepids may have emerged for the express purpose of opposing the Goths. They could have been a splinter group of warriors resisting the dominance of the Gothic ruling class. Later for a time they would be absorbed—although without losing their identity—into the Gothic coalition in a process similar to that which occurred among many Germanic peoples. Other such confederations included the ALAMANNI and MARCOMANNI.

In about 260 the Gepids caused the westward migration of their neighbors in present-day Poland, the BURGUNDII. The Gepids' activities were part of an intense series of attacks by many other tribes that were occurring all along the Roman Rhine-Danube frontier, both against other Germanic tribes and against the Roman Empire. In 268 (or 290) the Gepids were part of a coalition organized by Goths to exact revenge on the Romans under Emperor Claudius II for an earlier defeat. Probably during that period the Gepids settled east of the Tisza River, the eastern boundary of the Roman province of Dacia (roughly modern Romania). Some sources indicate that during the reign of Probus in 272–282 the Gepids were settled by the Romans as *coloni* (colonists) along both the Rhine in Germany and the Danube. It is known that by the fourth century some Gepids held territory as far south as the Danube River.

The Hunnic Period

The Huns, nomadic steppe people out of Asia, invaded Gepid territory in the 370s; along with the OSTROGOTHS—a branch of Goths living to their east and north—the Gepids fell under Hunnic suzerainty. Of all the Germanic peoples the Gepids became the favored allies of the Huns, and their chieftain Ardaric was a principal adviser of Attila, a position that seems to have caused resentment among members of the Ostrogothic aristocracy. In 451 Ardaric led Gepid warriors in support of Attila against the Romans under Flavius Aetius at the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields south of modern Châlons-sur-Marne in present-day France. After Attila's death in 453, however, Ardaric led a coalition of Germanic tribes, including Ostrogoths, HERULI, RUGII, SCIRI, and SUEBI, against Attila's sons. In 455 they defeated the Huns in the Battle of Nedao, probably along a tributary of the Sava River in the Roman province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary). For the Gepids' central part in the destruction of the Hunnic Empire the Romans granted them all of present-day Hungary east of the Danube as a new homeland. From there in 471 they spread southward into present-day Serbia and

Montenegro, capturing Sirmium (modern Mitrovica).

Rivals of the Ostrogoths

In the ensuing years the Gepids and Ostrogoths became caught up in a power struggle, with the more powerful Ostrogoths under Theodoric generally prevailing. In 488 the Gepids attempted to block the Ostrogoths' route southward in their invasion of Italy. Some of the most desperate fighting took place at the Ulca River near Cybalae. The Gepids, whose rear wagons were full of recently harvested grain, made a stand along the river, whose muddy bottom made fording while fighting virtually impossible. The Ostrogoths were close to starvation and pressed on. Finally when Theodoric found a ford of solid ground, he personally led his men across and through the Gepid ranks to the loaded wagons. Theodoric's forces went on to defeat the Gepids at Sirmium near present-day Seremska on the Sava River. After the Ostrogoths had moved on through, however, the Gepids recaptured the region, including Singiduum (modern Belgrade). They again made Sirmium their capital. Some among the Gepids, however, accompanied the Ostrogoths into Italy.

During Theodoric's reign over the Western Roman Empire the Gepids remained a constant threat, and he sent armies against them. But his main forces were preoccupied with the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire, who also held territory in the Balkans, and, as a result of being part of a double threat to the Ostrogoths, the Gepids endured.

The Gepids who had accompanied the Ostrogoths to Italy became important defenders of Ostrogothic interests; from 523 to 526 under Theodoric's orders they manned the Gallic frontier.

Rivals of the Lombards

The arrival of the LOMBARDS in the region led to the eventual downfall of the Gepids. In 547 the Byzantine emperor Justinian I granted the Lombards permission to settle in the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum (roughly modern eastern Austria) as *foederati* (federates, or auxiliary troops). At first the Gepids managed to use diplomacy to stay at peace with them, and a number of royal intermarriages took place. Through 567 there were a series of five wars between the two peoples. The Byzantines and Lombards were united against the Gepids, who encouraged raids by surviving Huns and SLAVS along the Danube against their enemies. The Byzantines in turn encouraged attacks on the Gepids by the AVARS, now situated to the east of Gepid holdings. In 567 the Lombards under Alboin defeated the Gepids under Kunimund in a battle somewhere between the Danube and the Tisza, after which the Avars under Baian swept into Pannonia.

Alboin later founded the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy. Legend has it that the daughter of Kunimund, Rosamund, was forced to marry Alboin and drink from the skull of her slain father. In revenge she arranged the murder of Alboin by Himalchus, who aspired to the throne. But in 573 Rosamund and Himalchus were themselves poisoned for their act.

In the ensuing years the Gepids ultimately lost their political identity; the survivors were absorbed into the Lombard or Avar population.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

The Gepids are hard to distinguish culturally from the Goths, in particular the Ostrogoths, with whom much of their history was intertwined. It was mostly their elites who observed the distinction, based on rivalries between Gepid and Gothic noble families. These rivalries were greatly exacerbated during the Hunnic period; the favoritism the Huns showed toward the Gepid aristocracy caused bitter enmity toward them among the leading Ostrogothic families. Even after the Gepids under Ardaric began leading the fight against the Huns, the Ostrogoths for a time resisted joining them, so deep was their mistrust.

Some idea of Gepid art can be formed from a richly furnished Gepid burial of the mid-fifth century found at Apahida in present-day Romania. It included lavishly decorated horse gear, bridle and saddle decorated with roundels and eagle motifs.

Many Gepid artifacts have been found in Italy. The eagle motif was used for buckles by them and by Ostrogoths. The evolution of fibula styles shows the interplay between Gepid and Ostrogothic artisans.

In the fifth or sixth century the Gepids adopted Arian Christianity from the Goths.

The Gepids, as had many of the Germanics of the early centuries C.E., had a history of tribal movement and shifting alliances. They can be considered the right hand of the Huns as well as their ultimate nemesis.

GERMANICS

location:
Greater Europe

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

FURTHER READING

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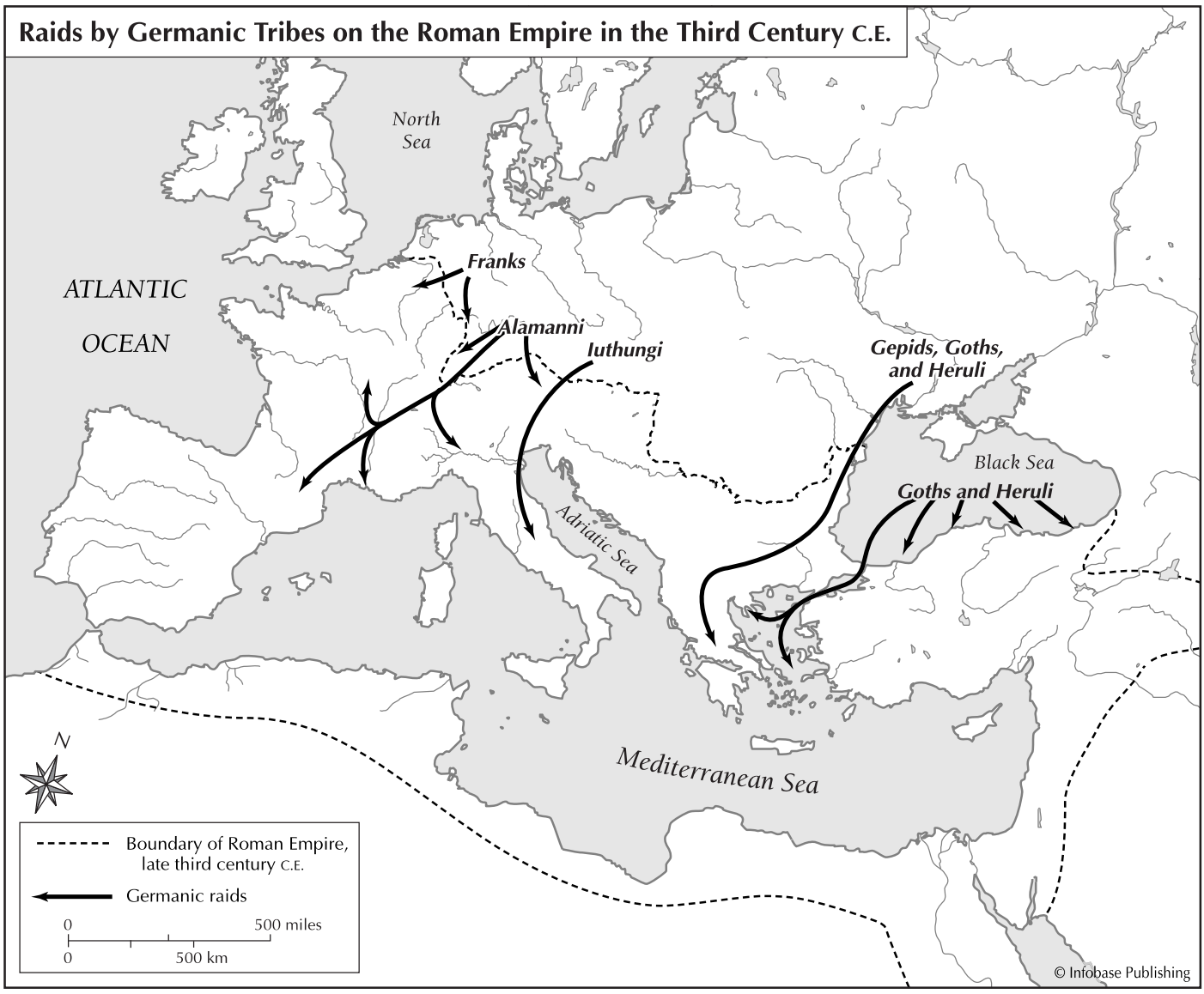
Germanics (Germans; Teutons; Germanic peoples)

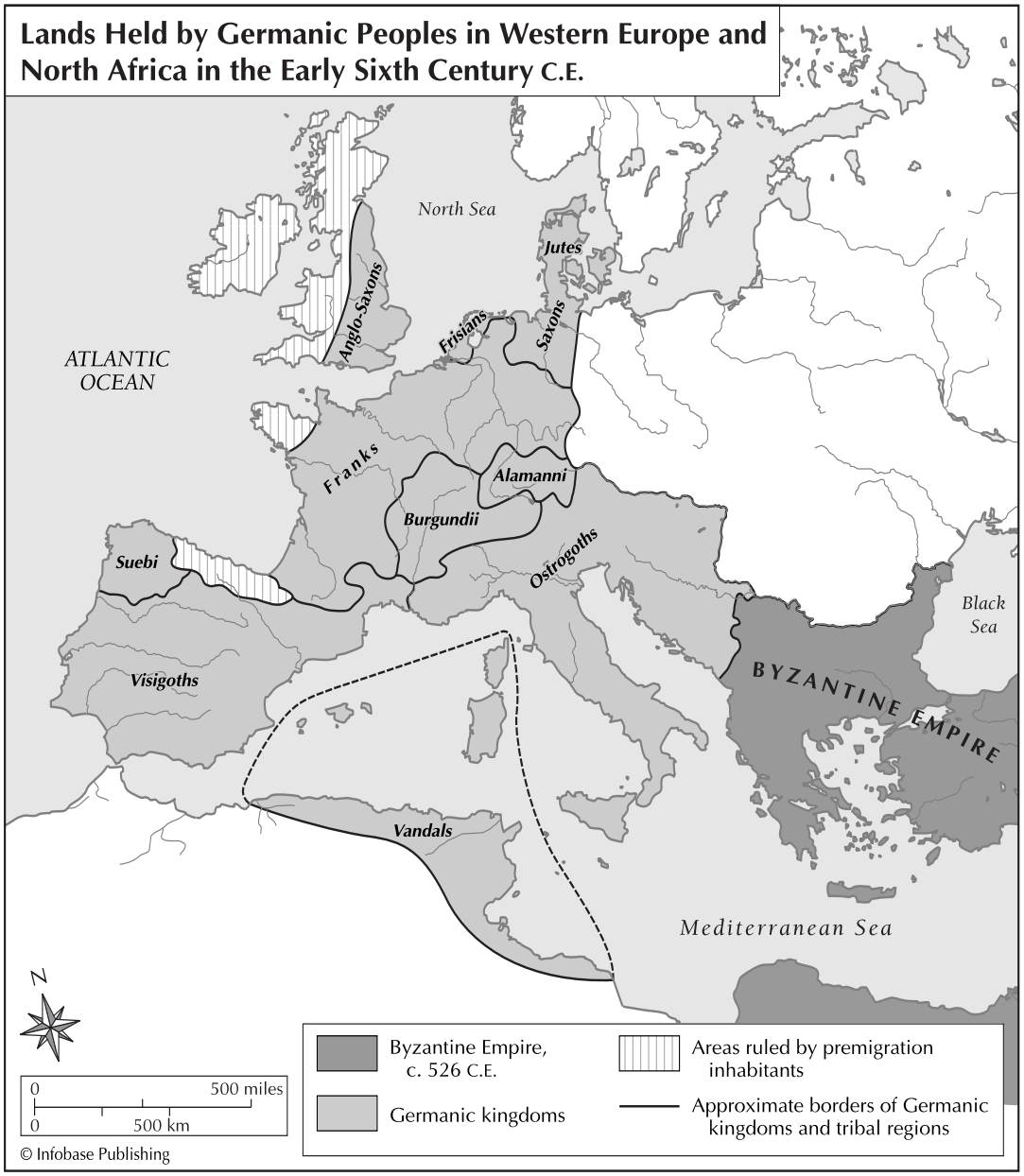
The name Germanics, synonymous with ancient Germans or Teutons in other texts, applies to all those ancient European peoples speaking a Germanic language throughout history, known by a variety of names. Some among the Germanic peoples—the FRANKS and groups they absorbed such as the ALAMANNI—were critical in the founding of the nation of Germany (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY), but Germanic peoples also played a role in the history of every part of Europe: the ANGLO-SAXONS in Britain; the VIKINGS in Scandinavia; the NORMANS, BURGUNDII, and Franks in France; the RUS in Russia and Ukraine; the VANDALS and VISIGOTHS in Spain; and the OSTROGOTHS and LOMBARDS in Italy, to name the most obvious examples. Many more German tribes were spread throughout the Continent.

The Latin *germanus,* "brotherly" or "of pure descent," is derived from the root *germen,* for "bud" or "shoot." Strabo believed that the name related to people east of Rhine as being genuine, that is, originals or progenitors of the Celts. The alternate name Deutsch or Dutch is derived from the proto-Germanic *theudisko-z* "of the people" (*theudâ* is "people" or "nation").

ORIGINS

Society in the northernmost regions of Europe—the north European plain and present-day Denmark and southern Sweden, which





in the Iron Age would be the homeland of the Germanic peoples—was remarkably stable from the Neolithic Age when farming began in 4500 B.C.E. until the early centuries C.E. It consisted largely of a village economy lacking much social differentiation until about the latter second millennium B.C.E., when warrior elites began to emerge. They experienced the series of climatic and socioeconomic changes that moved through Europe after the end the last Ice Age later than peoples farther south and east. Both the lag time in climate change in their region and their distance from the Near Eastern "cradle of civilization" meant that innovations such as farming and metalworking would occur centuries later among them than in other regions. Bronze metallurgy, for example, had become important in present-day northern Germany only after about 2000 B.C.E.; during the ensuing centuries the Unetice culture of northern Germany began to bury massive hoards of bronze objects.

Typically when the northerners finally adopted such innovations, they did so more quickly than did people farther south. The Neolithic Corded Ware culture lasted among people in Denmark well into the second millennium B.C.E. and bronze making became important there only by about 1800 B.C.E., but by 1300 B.C.E. they had developed a distinctive style of bronze working and were using chariots. In a few centuries they had changed from a

Germanics time line

B.C.E.

113	Roman army meets Germanic warriors from a confederacy of tribes from Jutland led by Cimbri and Teutones, near present-day Vienna, Austria, in Celtic kingdom of Noricum and is annihilated by them; Germanics continue west into Gaul and then south onto Iberian Peninsula.
102 and 101	Gaius Marius defeats Teutones at present-day Aix-en-Provence in southeastern France, and Cimbri near Vercellae (modern Vercelli) in northwestern Italy.
71	Ariovistus, leader of Suebi, with his warriors crosses Rhine into Gaul, defeating Celtic Aedui and overrunning a large territory.
59	Julius Caesar, after defeating Celtic Helvetii, drives back Suebi, then begins conquest of whole of Gaul, including Germanic tribes in Low Countries.
55	Caesar crosses Rhine over bridge near present-day Cologne.
12–7	Under orders from Emperor Augustus annual campaigns establish Roman control over the area east of Rhine to Elbe.

C.E.

4–5	Augustus again sponsors annual campaigns east of Rhine.
9	Arminius, leader of Cherusci, annihilates three Roman legions at Teutoburger Wald (Teutoburg Forest).
10–16	Romans attempt to regain lost territory; Emperor Tiberius, deciding that region is ungovernable, withdraws legions to Rhine.
162	Chatti attempt to migrate south into Roman territory.
167	Massive movement of Marcomanni, Quadi, and Iazyges begins; they reach head of Adriatic Sea.
166–180	Marcomannic Wars; Romans reestablish Middle Danube frontier.
213	Tribal confederacy called Alamanni driven out of Upper Germany by Emperor Caracalla.
238	Confederacy of tribes called Goths begin raids in Lower Danube region.
250	Group of war bands east of the Rhine, called collectively Franks, first mentioned in sources.
251	King Cniva of Goths leads his warriors to great victory over Roman army at Abrittus, where they kill Roman emperor Decius.
257	Goths invade Greece.
260	Alamannic incursions help bring about abandonment of Roman frontier system along the Rhine and Danube Rivers.
275	Alamanni, Goths, and Vandals overrun part of Roman province of Dacia, defeating Sarmatians.
290	Goths separate into two groups that later evolve into Ostrogoths and Visigoths.
332	Goths sign formal treaty with Romans under which they agree to stay out of Greece.
370s	Steppe nomads known as Huns invade territory of Ostrogoths and Visigoths, overrunning them; Fritigern, Visigothic leader, adopts Arian Christianity.
376	Large numbers of Goths plead with Roman authorities for permission to cross Danube in order to escape Huns.
378	Because of desperate conditions in Visigoths' new lands in Balkans they break out and under Fritigern confront a Roman army at Adrianople, which they crush, killing Emperor Valens.
400	Anglo-Saxon settler groups begin migrating to Gaul and Britain, in small groups with no overall cohesiveness.
406–407	Vandals, Suebi, Burgundii, and Alans cross frozen Rhine.
410	Visigoths under Alaric take city of Rome.

relatively simple, Neolithic subsistence society that had lasted for millennia to one engaged in sophisticated technology, in long-distance trade in prestige materials, with the social stratification that usually accompanies such trade. In all, this process had taken twice as

416	Visigoths given territory in Aquitaine in Gaul and soon expand into northern Spain.
420s	Vandals, repelled from Gaul by Visigoths, move into Spain, attacking settlements.
428	Vandals cross to Africa.
440	Vandals mount an invasion of Sicily.
451	Visigoths form the core of army in battle that halts Hunnic invasion of Gaul; King Theodoric I is killed.
455	Vandal forces again ravage Spain and Italy and sack city of Rome.
mid-fifth century	Frankish groups control much of Rhineland, Belgian plain, and Meuse and Moselle regions.
476	Roman Empire in the West officially dissolved when boy-emperor Romulus deposed by Odoacer, commander of German mercenaries in Italy.
488	Ostrogoths enter Italy, defeat and slay Odoacer, and set up Ostrogothic kingdom.
507	Defeat of the Visigothic army by King Clovis I of Franks; Visigoths lose control of territories north of the Pyrenees; Toledo becomes their capital.
sixth century	Clovis establishes Merovingian dynasty.
533	Byzantines topple Vandal regime.
552	Byzantines gain control of Italy from Ostrogoths.
568	Lombards enter Italy, taking control of most of territory north of Po River.
580s	Lombards resist Byzantine-Frankish alliance.
sixth–seventh century	Anglo-Saxons begin to establish kingdoms in southeastern Britain, thereafter expanding northward and westward.
605	Byzantines cede Lombards large territory in northern part of Italian Peninsula.
eighth century	Frankish war leader Charles Martel wins victories against Moors invading from Spain, making him secular leader of Christendom in West.
751	Charles Martel's son, Pippin, deposes Childeric III, last Merovingian king, establishing Carolingian dynasty.
772–804	Frankish king Charlemagne wages brutal campaigns against Saxons of Saxony.
773	Charlemagne defeats Lombards and, with blessing of Pope Adrian I, assumes iron crown of Lombard kings of Italy.
778	Charlemagne invades Muslim Spain, eventually capturing Barcelona and establishing control over territory beyond Pyrenees.
800	Pope Leo III crowns Charlemagne emperor of Rome, event later claimed as birth of Holy Roman Empire
840	On Louis I's death empire is divided among his three sons, Charlemagne's grandsons; under Treaty of Verdun in 843 regions are created prefiguring modern-day Germany, France, Netherlands, and Italy.
late eighth–10th centuries	Era of great Viking raids, last period of Germanic expansion
899	Death of Arnulf, last Carolingian Frank to hold imperial title
c. 900	Vikings secure permanent foothold on Frankish soil in Lower Seine region.
911	Frankish king Charles III the Simple makes treaty Norwegian Viking Rollo, ceding him land around the mouth of Seine and city of Rouen, which become the nucleus of Normandy.
962	Otto I of Germany crowned emperor by Pope John XII.

long in regions farther south. After a short Bronze Age, moreover, iron making quickly overtook bronze making and had a more profound effect on society, because iron was much more abundant and had more practical uses. It quickly contributed to population growth,

because iron implements greatly facilitated agriculture, both land clearance and plowing. And the impact of the ROMANS in the first centuries C.E. on societies still changing and adjusting to the growing importance of war and ever greater social stratification was significant, greatly increasing the pace of change among Germanic peoples. Such relatively rapid socioeconomic changes could have contributed to social and psychological stress that the people of the north experienced in ways that can only be guessed. It is even possible that these changes fostered a deep sense of instability, leading to the fatalism that is such a feature of early Germanic literature and mythology.

LANGUAGE

The assumption that all Germanic languages have a common ancestor is based on the finding that the further back in time they are traced the more closely they resemble one another. Linguists postulate that a proto-Germanic language had become distinct from other Indo-European languages sometime before 500 B.C.E. Archaeological evidence of the isolation of peoples in ancestral Germanic lands from those elsewhere in Europe suggests that proto-Germanic could have emerged as early as the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age.

Three Germanic language groups had emerged by the fourth century C.E.: East Germanic, North Germanic, and West Germanic. The East Germanic group included such now-dead languages as Burgundian, Gothic, and Vandalic and is now itself extinct.

The North Germanic languages, all descended from Old Norse, include Danish, Faeroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish. They are spoken by about 20 million people, chiefly in Denmark, the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.

The West Germanic languages are English, Frisian, Dutch, Afrikaans, German, and Yiddish and are spoken as a primary language by about 450 million people throughout the world. West Germanic languages that died out included Old Franconian, Old High German, and Old English (or Anglo-Saxon), from which Dutch, German, and English, respectively, developed.

At least by the seventh century C.E., when written records of Germanic languages first appeared, all of them demonstrated a fundamental sound shift—a change or difference in consonants used in words that otherwise are similar to words in other Indo-European languages. Grimm's Law, named after its discoverer, Jakob Grimm, postulates that in Germanic languages the sounds *p, d, t,* and *k* at some point changed from their usage in other ancient Indo-European languages such as Latin, Classical Greek, and Sanskrit—becoming *f, t, th,* and *h,* as in Latin *pater,* becoming the English *father* and German *vater;* Latin *dent,* English *tooth;* and Latin *cornu,* English *horn.*

Grimm's Law further recognizes that sometime during the eighth century a second shift occurred in dialects of High German, so called because its speakers lived in the up-river regions, the uplands near the headwaters of the important German rivers such as the Rhine and Elbe. In them, as compared to Low German dialects downriver, *d* became *t,* and *t* became *ss* or *z,* as in the German *Brot,* compared to the English *bread,* and Dutch *brood;* German *Fuss,* but English *foot,* and Dutch *voet;* and German *zehn,* but English *ten,* and Dutch *tien.*

HISTORY

Studying the Germanics

As in the case of the CELTS the sources available for creating a picture of the Germanics vary greatly in viewpoint and in application. Linguistics, for example, can demonstrate social cohesion, because language is its very basis. Too often, however, language has been taken to mark ethnicity, whereas history has shown repeatedly that it often does not. The widespread adoption of Latin throughout the Roman Empire by peoples of many different ethnicities and the transformation of Norse-speaking Vikings in a single generation into French-speaking Normans (later into English speakers) are just two examples.

Archaeology can likewise show cultural connections and, through skeletal and now sometimes deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) analysis, genealogical ones as well. But the archaeological brush is not nearly fine enough to delineate the picture of how in detail people actually lived their lives, the multifarious complexities and contingencies of personal and social histories. For that we must rely on the precious but potentially misleading written reports of contemporary witnesses; in the case of the Germanics such witnesses are mostly Roman. Contemporary reports are so seductive because it is natural simply to accept and believe the word of others, especially the written word. It is the first step on the road to wisdom—albeit a melancholy one—to understand the caveats we must place upon the validity of knowledge transmitted to us through the

spoken or written word, to recognize the limits of human objectivity.

For this reason when making use of Roman sources it is crucial to understand the mental and philosophical framework with which the Romans viewed the "barbarians" to their north—Celts, Germanics, SLAVS, FINNO-UGRIANS, BALTS, and others. In the first place their framework was basically the same as that of the GREEKS in judging all peoples as belonging somewhere on a continuum from high to low, the highest state of humanity that of "civilization"—the social and cultural world of the typical Mediterranean city state or polis. Each degree of societal differentiation from this ideal represented a falling away in the direction of barbarity and ultimately toward the state of brute beasts. This differentiation had a spatial aspect: the farther away from Rome a people or society were, the more "barbaric." Such thinking is strikingly illustrated in the writings of the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second century C.E. After describing peoples of increasing remoteness and decreasing civilization, he writes of the most remote of all: the Fenni, living on the edge of the known world, who have no horses, arms, or dwellings; dress in skins; and have no religion. Beyond them are no more humans but rather creatures called the Hellusii and Oxiones with the bodies and limbs of animals.

Thus, for Romans, the peoples beyond the Celts, who were in the process of being brought up to a state of civilization, had as much or more in common with animals than with Romans themselves. Romans assumed that because these peoples had no written laws, their society must be run according to senseless customs and they must succumb to every conceivable vice.

The second salient characteristic of Roman writers and philosophers was their passion for order, organization, and classification. Although they considered the prime characteristic of northerners to be barbarity, they eagerly seized on those differences among them that could be discerned for purposes of classification. It may well be that the work of organizing the threatening foreigners into comprehensible groups and tribes with known leaders, customs, and places of origin was important to the Romans psychologically.

Archaeological study during the 20th century to some extent confirmed the Romans' first insight, much modified from its pejorative terms, that the peoples beyond the pale of the Roman Empire indeed had much in common. In economy, material culture, and apparent social organization the Germanic peoples show little sign of differentiation into the manifold tribal groupings mentioned by Romans; indeed they are hard to differentiate from Celts. It is apparent that of the Germanic peoples the Romans knew little and understood less.

This fact should be particularly underscored in the case of the Germanic peoples because the Roman viewpoint has had amazing longevity, considering its limitations, continuing to influence historians, especially in the English-speaking world, to the present. In Germany the 19th-century romantic fascination with ethnicity led to philosophical speculations about the unconscious wellsprings of race wisdom that impel each people toward its ultimate destiny, that of the Germanics prefigured in the supposed communal societies of their tribal past and the Germanics' quasi-religious devotion to freedom. Such ideas informed the efforts of ideologues of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party in the 1930s to legitimize the Third Reich as descending from the tribal society described in Tacitus's *Germania.* The disasters inflicted on the world by this regime confirmed many in the rest of Europe and in America in the belief that modern German "frightfulness," as it has been called in Britain, is the same quality witnessed by the ancient Romans, an inborn aspect of Germanics as characteristic as the qualities claimed for them by the Nazis.

In light of insights from modern archaeology and ethnology, such a belief has to be rejected as without foundation. Moreover the qualities of the Germanics, whatever they may have been, have no more relevance to modern Germany than to other nations—such as Britain and France—that emerged as states under Germanic leadership and many of whose people have considerable Germanic ancestry.

Germanics and Romans: Initial Contacts

The long isolation of the Germanic peoples came to a dramatic end with the extension of the Roman Empire northward into Gaul (roughly present-day France and Belgium) and Britain in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Both Roman military activity along the Rhine—first incursions into German territory to the east and then the establishment of the Rhine frontier—and Roman trading activities had as profound an effect on Germanic peoples as the Greeks and ETRUSCANS had had on the Celts of central and western Europe during the mid-first millennium B.C.E.

The first contact between the Roman and Germanic peoples was a disastrous one from a Roman perspective. In 113 B.C.E. somewhere south of present-day Vienna, Austria, in the Celtic kingdom of Noricum a Roman army met a horde of Germanic warriors, a confederacy of tribes from the Jutland Peninsula (comprising present-day Denmark and the German state of Schleswig-Holstein), led by two groups labeled by Romans the CIMBRI and TEUTONES, and was annihilated by them.

It is an indication of how chary we must be in accepting the Romans' names for barbarians that the second–first-century B.C.E. Greek philosopher Poseidonius classified them as Celts. Indeed the term *barbarian* itself had no ethnic meaning; it was a legal or political category referring to all people who lived outside the Roman Empire. But the Greek geographer Strabo in interpreting Poseidonius's work identified these warriors as Germanics from across the Rhine. They differed from the Celts of the left bank, he wrote, only in that they were wilder and taller, and had yellower hair. The Romans who lived in Gaul, he says, called them Germani because they wanted to indicate that they were the true Celts, *Germani* meaning in their language "genuine" in the sense of original. The Romans, then, considered them the "germ," or the progenitors of the Celts. Only because they were said to have originated in Jutland can we identify them as Germanic.

The Romans, in fact, did not distinguish the peoples living on the north European Plain—who probably spoke Germanic languages—from Celtic speakers in central temperate Europe east of the Rhine and Finnic speakers in the northeast. To the Romans the languages of all the barbarians were more like animal cries than human speech. All were labeled collectively, Germani.

The Cimbri, Teutones, and the others had left Jutland in 120 B.C.E. for reasons not known with certainty (according to one theory, their coastal lands had been flooded). Overpopulation, such as that which probably had caused the Celtic migrations less than 300 years earlier, is a strong likelihood. They had moved first through present-day Moravia and Hungary to the Middle Danube where they had attacked the Celtic SCORDISCI. In 113 B.C.E. they moved from there westward to Noricum, but, after destroying the Roman army, leaving Italy defenseless before them, for unknown reasons they continued westward into Gaul (roughly modern France and Gaul) and then southward into present-day Spain. In subsequent years they conducted raids into Gallia Transalpina, again inflicting disastrous defeats on Roman armies sent against them in 109, 107, and 105 B.C.E.

Germanic Threat against Rome Leads to Militarization and Empire

The presence of these terrible warriors on the threshold of present-day Italy naturally revived memories of the Celtic incursions of the past, and Roman citizens voted to give military commanders anything they needed to meet the threat. So deep was Roman fear of the northern barbarians that Roman society embarked on a process of greater militarization than ever before, and when in the next century Julius Caesar became determined to conquer Gaul, he had only to play on this fear to have his way. In the immediate term the Roman consul Gaius Marius completely reformed the Roman military, transforming it from a loose militia into a highly disciplined professional army manned by landless citizens, including the growing urban proletariat. He defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (modern Aix-en-Provence) in southeastern France in 102 B.C.E., and the Cimbri near Vercellae (modern Vercelli) in northwestern Italy in 101 B.C.E.

Forty years later Germanic tribes east of the Rhine were again, as a result of some internal disequilibrium whose cause can only be guessed, threatening peoples to their south and west. In 71 B.C.E. Ariovistus, leader of the SUEBI, with his warriors crossed the Rhine into Gaul, defeating the Celtic AEDUI and overrunning a large territory in Gaul. Rome's first response was to negotiate with Ariovistus, making him an ally in 60 B.C.E. to secure Roman trade routes through Gaul. However, Caesar, in part to further his personal political ambitions, in 59 B.C.E. argued in the senate that Rome could not afford to have Germanics so close to Italy, with only Celtic tribes holding them off. Rome must take control of Celtic Gaul or be overrun by Germanics. He was given a five-year command, which was afterward extended, in Cisalpine Gaul. After defeating the Celtic HELVETII the next year, he turned to the Suebi and drove them back as well, before turning his attention to subduing the whole of Gaul. He focused much of his effort on the tribes in the northern periphery from Brittany to the Rhine, among them Germanic tribes in the Low Countries. He was so successful that in 55 B.C.E. he crossed the Rhine over a bridge he had had constructed near present-day Cologne and the next year crossed the English Channel, engaging in promising but inconclusive attacks

on British tribes before returning to Gaul. Both excursions were probably more symbolic than practical, intended to impress the northerners with Roman might.

The Rhine and the Elbe as the Bounds of Empire

To the Romans with their penchant for neat classification the Rhine served as an ethnic divide between Germanics and Celts. However, in Caesar's time the peoples on both sides of the Rhine were ethnically mixed and probably had interacted for centuries through trade, intermarriage, and tribal movements. When after 55 B.C.E. the Romans engaged in establishing and maintaining the imperial frontier along the Rhine, they produced the very situation they had earlier thought to exist. Now when Germanic tribes from the north reached the Rhine frontier, unable to go any farther, they displaced more mixed peoples along the east bank, forcing them to cross into Roman Gaul. In this way the territory east of the Rhine became more Germanic than ever before.

After the political chaos and civil war in Rome that followed Caesar's assassination had been stemmed in 27 B.C.E., and the new order established by Augustus had taken hold a decade later, the emperor decided that the empire's frontier should be pushed beyond the Rhine farther east to the Elbe.

Rome's military capabilities had found an ideal object in Gaul, with its permanent *oppida* (towns) ripe for picking and its population that had begun to reject the old warrior ideal of the past; the Germanics were a far different matter. Among them the warrior ideal was still at its height; they had no permanent centers whose capture would critically disrupt their society and economy, and they had the still-vast forests where they could hide if necessary.

Even so, annual campaigns from 12 to 7 B.C.E. and in 4 to 5 C.E. had established Roman control over the area sufficient to allow armies to be withdrawn to quell a rebellion elsewhere in the empire. Soon afterward in an event of great significance for the future Arminius (see sidebar), a member of the German elite who had served as a cavalry officer in the Roman army, was elected war leader of a confederacy of Germanic tribes. His experience in the Roman military may well have helped him to victory; in 9 C.E. he annihilated three Roman legions in the depths of the Teutoburger Wald (Teutoburg Forest) near present-day Warstein in north-central Germany. Roman campaigns from 10 to 16 C.E. were unsuccessful in regaining the lost territory; afterward Emperor Tiberius, deciding that the region was ungovernable, withdrew his armies to the Rhine.

The success of the Germanics in forcing the withdrawal of the Romans, by whom they had earlier been suppressed, suggests both that they had learned how to fight the Romans more successfully and that their military organization was becoming more effective, probably through imitating to some degree the top-down Roman style of discipline, instead of relying solely on the élan and ferocity of the mass of individual German warriors. The subsequent career of Arminius seems to bear out this inference. Although he had been elected by his tribe, the CHERUSCI, as war leader, he tried to retain this office permanently and even make himself king. This ambition violated Germanic tradition, however. The older generation resisted him, led by his father-in-law and uncle; conflict broke out and, according to Tacitus, he was undone by the treachery of his family.

Arminius: "Liberator of Germania"

Born in about 18 B.C.E., Arminius (also known as Armin or Hermann or Herman Siegfried) was the son of Sigimer, a Cherusci tribal leader. He may have been educated in Rome or he may have learned Latin in army camps. In any case he is known to have served in the Roman army from 1 to 6 B.C.E. somewhere in the Roman Empire. Because of his service he was granted Roman citizenship.

On returning home, probably after the death of his father, he witnessed the oppression of his people by the occupying Roman forces under Publius Quinctilius Varus. Arminius, now acting as a Drighten (warlord), led a rebellion against Rome. His followers, warriors of the Cherusci as well as neighboring Marci and Chauci tribes, annihilated three Roman legions over the course of three days in 9 C.E. at Teutoburger Wald (known in English as Teutoburg Forest). Varus, disgraced by the defeat, committed suicide.

Arminius also repelled a Roman force under Germanicus Caesar in 16 C.E. and defeated the Marcomanni, a Germanic tribe led by Marobodus in 17 C.E. Arminius, who dreamed of uniting the German tribes against Rome, was betrayed in 19 C.E. and killed by tribal members, including a nephew, who established a Cherusci kingdom under Roman protection.

Arminius's wife was Thusnelda. According to some sources she was the daughter of the rival pro-Roman Cherusci leader Segestes, who handed her over to Germanicus Caesar. Segestes later had to flee his tribesmen, taking refuge among the Romans. Thusnelda supposedly delivered Arminius's baby, Thumelicus, in captivity. Thumelicus grew up to be a gladiator in Rome.

Because Arminius's victory forced the Roman frontier back from the Elbe River to the Rhine, thus effectively countering Roman expansion, he has been referred to as the "liberator of Germania." He also has been associated with the Siegfried of early medieval German mythology, a folk hero in several Germanic epics, who slays the dragon Fafnir.

Effects of Roman Trade on Germanic Tribes: Frontier Zone East of the Rhine

Instead of attempting to annex Germanic territory, the Romans now turned to other means of coexisting with the tribes beyond the Rhine. As they had earlier with the Celts, they began extensive trading with Germanics along the Rhine, particularly in slaves and in leather goods, often opening relations by offering their elites luxury goods and coinage. This process soon awakened in some German aristocrats fervent aspirations to become Roman, a status that could be achieved vicariously by "fostering" their sons in the emperor's household. Many a German youth in this way became more "Roman" in manners than the Romans themselves. Many Germanics joined the Roman army, a means that promoted Romanization in German society. Members of certain tribes, such as the HERMUNDURI, were allowed to cross the Rhine on trading trips, during which they moved freely without being guarded says Tacitus.

Yet Roman ways were not universally accepted by Germanics; the Suebi, for example, were known for their abhorrence of wine, one of the principal Roman exports, believing that it made men effeminate and weak. Cultural influences between Romans and Germanics did not run only one way. Many Roman traders traveled into German territory and lived there so long that they forgot their own country, according to a contemporary report by Germanics at the court of the MARCOMANNI in 18 C.E.

Indirect Roman Influences on Germanics in the Interior: Rich Burial and Warrior Zones

Farther into Germanic territory Roman influence was less direct. Instead of large supplies of coins, which were affecting the economy of the frontier zone in a fundamental way by bringing about a market economy, smaller amounts of luxury goods reached members of the nobility alone. This in turn fueled a more archaic gift-exchange or prestige-goods economy strongly reminiscent of that practiced by Celtic West Hallstatt chiefs in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., and by aristocrats in eastern Britain and Belgica in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., judging by the rich burials that have been found there.

Farther east still the traditional warrior societies maintained their way of life relatively unchanged. The main effect of the Roman Empire on them probably derived from their participation in the greatly increased slave trade; it may well have been they who in their raids and small-scale wars procured slaves to trade to middlemen in the rich burial zone to the west. Some burials in this area contain gold or silver fibulae, in all probability payments for slaves. Although the taking of slaves had long been a feature of Germanic warfare, the Roman slave trade may have been an incentive for significantly more raiding than had occurred in the past.

This process seems to have increased the social instability inherent in warrior societies. By the second century C.E. this instability coupled with population growth may have contributed to the migrations that began to pressure the tribes along the Rhine frontier. The tribal groupings called by Romans the Burgundii and Vandals apparently were from the warrior zone deep in the Germanic interior.

Reawakening of Germanic Unrest in the Second Century C.E.

The first evidence that the equilibrium that had held for a century and a half was beginning to disintegrate occurred in 162 C.E., when the CHATTI, a frontier tribe, attempted to migrate south into Roman territory. Their migration had probably been set in motion by events in the interior, a supposition strengthened by the fact that a few years later the Marcomanni centered on the Main River, moved southward and crossed the Danube into transdanubian Hungary. The Marcomanni had been within the zone of rich burials, whose wealth, long eyed with envy by tribes in the warrior zone, may finally have proved their undoing. In 167 C.E. an even more massive movement of Marcomanni, QUADI, and IAZYGES (a Sarmatian people) began. They reached the head of the Adriatic Sea and laid siege to Acquileia.

The Marcomannic Wars and the Emergence of Aggressive Tribal Confederacies

From 166 to 180 C.E. the Romans responded to these pressures in a series of what have been called the Marcomannic Wars, although the Quadi and SARMATIANS were also major players in them. At the end of these conflicts the Romans had reestablished the Middle Danube frontier for the time being.

Probably in reaction to the Marcomannic Wars and conflicts along the Rhine frontier, many among the Germanic tribes underwent a sociopolitical transformation. By the next century a new phenomenon had appeared among the Germanics: large, aggressive confederacies of tribes led by permanent war-leaders-cum-

kings. The first of these mentioned in historical sources were the Alamanni, driven out of Upper Germany by the Roman emperor Caracalla in 213 C.E. The name Alamanni meant "all men" or "everyone," a characterization that indicates that Germanic society was transcending the simple tribalism of the past. Their territory lay between the Upper Elbe and the Rhine, formerly the land of the Suebi and SEMNONES. The Alamannic confederacy had staying power, and 20 years later they again broke through the Rhine border and wreaked havoc in the frontier provinces. Their incursions led to the abandonment of the Roman frontier system along the Rhine and Danube Rivers in 260 C.E.

The Franks east of the Rhine were another such tribal grouping, first mentioned in sources after 250 C.E., which probably emerged early in the third century C.E., as signs of the weakening Roman grip on the Rhine border tempted war bands to try forays into imperial territory. Their central political cohesiveness seems to have been rather less than that of the Alamanni until later, and they had a much closer relationship with Romans as well—Frankish groups were settled under Roman authority west of the Lower Rhine in the late third century. Franks were also sea raiders on the rich North Sea coastal trade, and their disruption of this trade perhaps was a factor in the systems crisis fueling the mass migrations of the time. A series of Frankish graves between the Rhine and the Seine in Gaul dating to the late fourth century were richly furnished with fine weaponry and other elite goods, many of them produced east of the Rhine. These included female burials, a sign that kin groups were part of this trans-Rhenish settlement of Germanic Franks. Frankish warriors may have been marshaled to protect Roman estates in the region from their fellow Germanics, as evidenced by a Germanic settlement that has been found in the Meuse River valley close to a Roman villa; many other such sites have been found.

Tensions in the interior of Germania affected Germanic tribes in the east as well, and in the second century C.E. war bands from there, among them members of the tribe called the Gutones, moved to their east into the Black Sea coastal region, where they met and mingled with nomadic steppe peoples and populations gathered around the Greek and Roman cities along the Black Sea. German war bands entered into alliances with the various groups, who became increasingly unified under the command of a single overall war leader or king. The king became the focus of a system or network of personal loyalties that fanned out from him to greater, then lesser chieftains on down to individual free warriors. The peoples of this confederacy were called by the Romans the GOTHS, a name possibly derived from Gutones, perhaps an ancestral tribe. The great heterogeneity of the members of this congeries of war bands, tribes, and other groupings required that all accept a single leader whose significance transcended ethnicity. In this the king of the Goths was to some extent a barbarian version of the emperor of Rome. (A legend of the Goths maintained that they began their migrations southward after a group of foreign nobles reached Goth territory from the far south and either took control of or influenced the leaders of the tribe—possibly a folk memory of the emergence of this rank of king so foreign to Germanics—and it is possible that the Goths adopted kingship on the advice of expatriate Romans.)

The Goths first made themselves known to the Romans in 238 C.E. and thereafter, carrying out raids in the Lower Danube region. In 251 C.E. the Gothic king Cniva led his warriors to a great victory over a Roman army at Abrittus in the Balkans, where they killed the Roman emperor, Decius. His successor was forced to pay them huge sums in bribes. Later they moved into Asia Minor, attacking coastal cities from fleets, and invaded Greece in 257 C.E. After they were forced out of Greece, their invasions ceased, probably because the Romans began trying to negotiate with them, a process that culminated in a formal treaty in 332 C.E. Among its provisions the Goths were to receive annual payments; in return they would supply men for the Roman military and promised to stay out of Greece.

Germanics as Tribal Federates and Soldiers of Rome

From the third century C.E. the Romans increasingly dealt with Germanic tribes as they did the Goths, making them *foederati* (federates) and recruiting many of them into the Roman army. By the late fourth century Germanics constituted most of the Roman military. Such service provided an outlet for their warlike ardor, gave them wealth and status among their own people, and opened to them a new world: the world of Greco-Roman civilization. It has to be remembered that for many Germanics, the Roman Empire was not simply a treasure house to be looted and brought down but a longed-for state of society.

Eventually the Roman military included so many Germanics that the word *barbarus* became a synonym for "soldier"; the imperial military budget was called the *ficus barbarus,* and a colloquial expression for enlisting in the army was "going off with the barbarians."

The mobile army created by the emperor Constantine was largely manned by barbarians, mostly Germanics, and their service was not limited to the rank and file. Not surprisingly members of the tribal confederacies, with their greater organization than that of the more primitive Germanic tribes, tended to rise to positions of command. Members of the Alamanni in the first half of the fourth century and later Franks and others attained high-ranking positions. The Frank Silvanus was high military commander of Gaul in the 350s. He, as did many Roman generals of the period, proclaimed himself emperor, only to be murdered by his own soldiers.

Visigoths and Ostrogoths Succumb to the Huns

The federate status accorded the Goths of the Lower Danube region created an uneasy equilibrium in their relations with the empire. By now they were known as Visigoths—as distinct from the Goths in the East, called Ostrogoths—and had achieved internally a fair degree of societal stability until the sudden and violent arrival in the 370s of steppe nomads known to the Greco-Roman world as HUNS. What the Germanics earlier had done to the nearly civilized Celts, the Huns now did to the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, themselves some way along the road to being Romanized, overrunning them with devastating speed and subjecting them to harsh domination. In 376 large numbers of Goths requested from Roman authorities permission to cross the Danube in order to escape the Huns. The northern Balkans, where they were allowed to settle, were a far cry from the productive lands near the Black Sea they had left. Conditions in the Balkans were so desperate that after two years the Visigoths had a violent confrontation with a Roman army at Adrianople, whom they crushed, killing the emperor Valens.

Fritigern, a Visigothic leader at this time, adopted Christianity, possibly a political move to gain support from the Romans; Christianity was then the official religion of the Roman Empire. As it turned out, the religious doctrine that he accepted, Arian Christianity, still being debated by church leaders at this time, ultimately was decreed a heresy. The Arian faith of the Visigoths would later stand in the way of their rapprochement with Romans in Gaul and Spain when they migrated there in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The City of Rome Falls to the Visigoths

A treaty in 382, under which they were given lands within the Roman Empire itself, did little to alleviate the plight of the Visigoths, since the new territory likewise proved inadequate, and they began to raid northern Italy under their leader Alaric. Alaric achieved a victory that, symbolically at least, forecast doom for the Roman Empire when he took control of the city of Rome itself in 410. The great Christian leader St. Jerome reportedly wept in his cell in Bethlehem when he heard the news. As it happened, little was changed by Alaric's feat; he was more interested in the wealth of Africa and immediately began preparations to mount an invasion there. In the midst of these he suddenly died. His successor Ataulf, through diplomacy, gained Roman permission to march into Gaul and establish control over a viable territory in Aquitaine, from which the Visigoths soon expanded into northern Spain. The fact that they were still willing to abide by a treaty with Rome, after what must have seemed to them repeated betrayals by Roman authorities in failing for so long to provide for their welfare, may attest to the continuing allure of Rome for Germanic peoples of that time.

Migrations of North Sea Coast Germanics

Germanic peoples living along the North Sea coast—FRISIANS of the present-day northern Netherlands and Germany, SAXONS of the Lower Elbe and Weser region, the ANGLES of Schleswig, and the JUTES of present-day Denmark—were variously affected by the nearby Roman presence. The Frisians were closest to the imperial frontier and accordingly entered into direct trade with Romans, developing a market economy, while the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes were in the rich burial zone farther east; their elites, who may have acted as middlemen in the slave trade between Romans and tribes of inner Germania, were buried in richly furnished graves. Warriors from among all these tribes had probably raided ships plying the lucrative trade route along the coast from the first years of the Roman Empire in the north and in Gaul itself and Britain. Only by about 400 did settler groups begin migrating to Gaul and Britain, possibly because rising sea levels

were making areas of their homelands uninhabitable at the same time as their populations were increasing; for many years they did so only in a piecemeal fashion, in small groups with no overall cohesiveness. They differed in this from groups such as the Alemanni and Visigoths. Centralization of power occurred only after enough of them had arrived in the new lands to form groups large enough to spark resistance to their infiltrations by people in Gaul and Britain, necessitating a tighter military organization. The name most mentioned in contemporary writings is that of the Saxons, but this may indicate only that all people from this general area were given the name, because of the uncertain ethnography of Romans. The large-scale abandonment of cemeteries in some areas in the mid-fifth century and the beginning of others elsewhere around 500 indicate important movements and realignments of populations.

Peoples from this region who migrated to Britain, usually called collectively Anglo-Saxons, began to establish kingdoms in southeastern Britain by the sixth century and thereafter expanded northward and westward. In the same period the continental Saxons established kingdoms, which lasted some two hundred years, until they were subjugated by the Frankish king Charlemagne in the late eighth century. Charlemagne also conquered the Frisians.

Germanic Tribes Breach the Rhine Frontier

The rise of Visigothic power coincided with the collapse of Roman authority in Gaul in the middle of the fifth century. The final period of dissolution of Roman power there began in the winter of 406–407, when warriors of the Vandals, Suebi, Burgundii, and the Sarmatian ALANS crossed the frozen Rhine looking for lands to settle and wealth to plunder.

The Visigoths forced the Vandals and Alans out of Gaul, but the Burgundii, under their strong king, seized a large area of eastern Gaul and later attempted to expand into Belgica. They too were contained by Roman military leaders (who by this time constituted the only meaningful Roman authority left in Gaul) and suffered diminution of their power through a devastating defeat by Huns; they were accorded federate status in 443 and fought against the Huns in 451. But the shocks of the fifth century in Gaul itself—the attempted assumption of control of the empire by Constantius, a usurper from Britain, who tried to make his capital at Arles, as well as campaigns in Italy by the Huns and others—strained Roman power in Gaul to the breaking point in succeeding decades.

The Alamanni, who had settled in the Black Forest and Upper Danube region in the fourth century and soon began exerting pressure on eastern Gaul and the Upper Rhine, were also part of the great invasion of 406–407. They were repelled from Gaul by the Franks and moved into the northern Alps and Bavaria. In the sixth century their territory was absorbed into the empire of the Frankish king Charles Martel.

Collapse of the Western Roman Empire

Pressures from without joined with a sharply contracting economy within to bring about the collapse of the Western Empire. The West suffered from a trade imbalance with the Eastern Empire to the point that in some districts a money economy was abandoned for a barter system. The villa system had long been in decline, with falling productivity, and the taxes needed to fund the military, on which Roman society depended more with every passing year, bled the economy dry.

Ordinary citizens bore the brunt of the tax burden, while great landowners of senatorial rank, because of their imperial connections and private military means, found ways of avoiding paying taxes. Such individuals had little allegiance to the empire; for them being Roman meant cultivating an elite cultural tradition and preserving the privileges of their class. Such senators were perfectly willing to have barbarian soldiers and kings protect their privileges. Thus a Gallo-Roman at the Burgundii court in the mid-fifth century mocked a holy man there who had long been predicting the ruin of the empire by asking why his predictions had not come true. Of the great shocks and momentous events of the time, even the dissolution of Roman authority in Gaul, the wealthy senator, who had not been personally affected, remained sublimely ignorant.

In 476 the Roman Empire in the West was officially dissolved when the boy-emperor Romulus was deposed by Odoacer, commander of German mercenaries in Italy. The BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire would henceforth carry on the Roman tradition.

Vandals in Spain and Africa

In the meantime, expelled from Gaul, the Vandals and Alans moved into Spain and engaged in the long spree of brigandage that caused the name Vandal to become a byword

for destructiveness. Having run through the available wealth in Spain, the Vandals crossed to Africa in 428 and by 440 were in such complete control there that they were able to mount an invasion of Sicily. Rome's only option was to offer them the status of federates, which caused them to withdraw to Africa. Their rule there was truly worthy of barbarians, as we think of the term, and mainly consisted of ruthless plundering and confiscation of Roman lands. In 455 Vandal forces again ravaged Spain and Italy and sacked the city of Rome. Such devastation of lands and peoples could not continue forever, and in 533 the BYZANTINES were able to topple the improvident Vandal regime in a few months.

Visigoths in Gaul and Spain

Little is known about the history of the long reign of the Visigoths' first king in Aquitaine, Theodoric I. This very fact may be a testimony to the stability he achieved, "history," as recorded, so often consisting of violent events. The main such event of his reign was the participation of the Visigoths in 451 in the battle that halted the Hunnic advance in Gaul. The Visigoths formed the core of the army that faced the Huns, and Theodoric lost his life in the conflict.

After Theodoric's death the Visigoths experienced increasing pressure from the Franks, and the center of their power began to shift southward into Spain. As the result of a defeat by Franks in 507 the Visigoths lost control of their territories north of the Pyrenees and Toledo became their capital. Soon afterward they controlled most of the Iberian Peninsula, and the kingdom they established there survived until the Arab invasion of 711. Visigothic Spain was notable for its unification of Germanic and Roman elements and in terms of material culture was hardly "Gothic" or Germanic at all. The vitality of the intellectual life there is attested by the career of the scholar Isidore of Seville of the sixth–seventh century, who preserved a remarkably Roman outlook for his time.

Ostrogoths in Italy

The Ostrogoths, who had taken northern Italy from Odoaocer in 488, achieved a considerable degree of fusion between Germanic and Roman cultural and political traditions, mostly because of the breadth of vision of their king, Theodoric, the greatest Germanic ruler in the West, who preserved Roman administrative organization and appointed Romans to high posts in his court, at the same time employing Germanic traditions for his military. However, after his death in 526 the Ostrogothic hold in Italy weakened and they were unable to withstand Byzantine efforts to annex the former heart of the Roman Empire in the West. By 552 the Byzantines had gained control of Italy; shortly thereafter they lost much of their territory to the Germanic Lombards.

Franks after the Demise of the Roman Empire

By the middle of the fifth century according to historical sources Frankish groups had gained control of much of the Rhineland, the Belgian plain, and the Meuse and Moselle regions. Yet large numbers of cemeteries with clearly Frankish grave goods date only from later in the century, when Frankish power had finally been centralized under the leadership of King Clovis I and expanded until it reached from the Rhine to the Loire. Clovis campaigned against the THURINGI and Alamanni east of the Rhine and the Burgundii in eastern Gaul; he defeated the Visigoths in 507. The Franks controlled Gaul and part of Germany for centuries thereafter.

Clovis, who founded the Merovingian dynasty, made his capital at Paris, and his conquests in Gaul delineated in large part what would become the kingdom of France. His marriage to the Burgundian princess Clothilde, who was an orthodox Roman Catholic, not an Arian, immediately won him the support of the Catholic Church in Gaul, and that of the bishops in Visigothic territory helped him greatly. He united all of the various Frankish groups under him, partly by assassinating their leaders. His heirs extended their power into part of Italy and claimed suzerainty over southeastern England.

The nature of the takeover by the Franks of Roman Gaul illustrates how oversimplified is the picture of the Roman Empire's crumbling before barbarian hordes, for, as noted, after the third century Frankish groups were invited by Romans to settle near large villa estates for the latter's protection. Archaeology reveals a continuity of settlement in many such cases, with a rather gradual disappearance of Roman elements, probably the result of the fading of the villa economy, in favor of Frankish elements as more and more members of formerly mobile roving Frankish war bands were attracted to settle near the old Roman centers. By medieval times many of these settlements had evolved into villages centered on churches.

Lombards in Italy

The final invasion of Roman Italy by Germanics, which swept away almost all vestiges of imperial Rome, was carried out in the sixth century by Lombards. Living along the Middle and Lower Elbe, the Lombards arrived late in the migration process; in 547 they moved southward to Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary) southwest of Noricum. Later in the sixth century they were forced out of Pannonia by the AVARS to their east, a nomadic people who with Slavic tribes were ravaging Greece and the Balkans. The Lombards had served in Roman military forces as mercenaries, and this experience had taught them how to deploy their military power more effectively. When they entered Italy in 568, they swiftly took control of most of the territory north of the Po River and were able to resist a Byzantine-Frankish alliance in the 580s. In 605 the Byzantines ceded them a large territory in the northern part of the peninsula; much of the south was dominated by semi-independent duchies; the Byzantines had preserved for the Roman Empire only Rome and Ravenna, with a precariously held corridor connecting them, and coastal enclaves.

Unlike the Goths the Lombards, perhaps unimpressed by the battered cities that were all that now remained of Rome's former glory, made no attempt to become Romanized or to enlist Romans in their polity. Their elite warriors took over lands and estates from their Roman owners and engaged in the "vandalism" bemoaned by Pope Gregory the Great, who called them "unspeakable" for burning churches. (That the cities had become largely depopulated by now had as much to do with the collapse of the Roman economic system as the actions of the Lombards.)

The Carolingians

Frankish dominance in northern France and Germany reached its zenith under the Carolingians, named for Carolus Magnus or Charlemagne. They gained power from the Merovingians, who had failed to provide vigorous leaders for decades, in the seventh century, first as court bureaucrats administering the royal estates. Their first great leader was Charles Martel (Charles the Hammer), whose victories against the Arab Muslims invading from Spain in the eighth century made him the secular leader of Christendom in the West. He pushed the Arabs back over the Pyrenees into Spain. However, he was unable in law or Frankish custom to claim the title of king. In 751 his son, Pépin III, by cooperating with St. Boniface in his sweeping reforms of the Frankish church and by courting Pope Zacharias, gained the latter's approval for deposing Childeric III, the last Merovingian king. In this he maintained the Frankish tradition, begun by Clovis, of seeking church sanction for political aims; whether or not this was cynical manipulation, it gained for the Carolingians a mantle of legitimacy of a kind that would retain vital importance in all Germanic kingdoms for centuries to come. Both Pippin and his son, Charlemagne, received the title of *patrician of the Romans,* showing the continuing importance of the idea of the Roman Empire, long after the reality had crumbled to nothing.

As had his father, Charlemagne sought legitimacy from the papacy in 773 by defeating the Lombards who were attempting to annex papal lands. With the blessing of Pope Adrian I he assumed the iron crown of the Lombard kings of Italy. In 778 he invaded Muslim Spain and eventually captured Barcelona and established control over territory beyond the Pyrenees.

From 772 until 804 Charlemagne waged brutal campaigns against the Saxons of Saxony, again with the church's blessing because the Saxons were pagans. His conversion of the Saxons took the form of force, wholesale massacres, and transportation of thousands of Saxons to the interior of the Frankish kingdom.

Charlemagne involved himself in Roman church politics, traveling to Rome in 800 to aid the beleaguered Pope Leo III. This time he used his political rather than military strength to insist that Leo be given a trial in court in which to answer charges of misconduct made by his enemies. After Leo was cleared of wrongdoing, he crowned Charlemagne emperor, on Christmas Day 800, the event that was later claimed as the birth of the Holy Roman Empire, a political concept that, assuming different forms over time, had at least a notional reality for more than a thousand years. Recognition of Charlemagne's imperial legitimacy by the Byzantines was long in coming. Only through a combination of force and diplomacy was Charlemagne able to persuade Michael I, the Byzantine emperor, to acknowledge him as emperor of the West in 812. Leo's successor, Stephen IV, crowned Charlemagne's son, Louis I (Louis the Pious), thus establishing

the papal claim to the right to consecrate the emperor.

Charlemagne's ambition was to bring about a rebirth of Roman civilization, and he threw his energies into making his court at Aachen a center of culture and learning. In this endeavor he enlisted the aid of the English cleric and scholar Alcuin, who had been educated by a disciple of the Venerable Bede. The curriculum developed at Aachen formed the basis of education for medieval Western Europe for centuries.

The empire remained united under Louis I but on his death was divided among his three sons under the Treaty of Verdun into regions that prefigured modern-day Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy. Louis II (Louis the German) received the eastern portion (later Germany); Charles II (Charles the Bald) became king of the western portion (later France); Lothair I received the central portion (Low Countries, Lorraine, Alsace, Burgundy, Provence, and most of Italy) and retained the imperial title.

Last of the Germanic Invasions: The Viking Age

During the period of Roman hegemony in northern Europe, southern Sweden with its large Baltic islands received influences only from the Eastern Roman Empire, mostly in the form of gold that was being paid as subsidies to barbarians along its borders. This stream of gold flowed north through gift-exchange networks, finally being traded to people in Sweden in exchange for iron and finely wrought metalwork, among many other trade goods. Previously people here may have acted as middlemen in the slave trade with Romans in the West. The wealth that entered the region fostered the development of large trading towns, powerful ruling dynasties, among the earliest that of the SVEAR. These dynasties, who had virtually no knowledge of the Greco-Roman world (and who were little known to that world as well), began to emerge as early as the middle of the first millennium C.E. Free of direct Roman influence, societies here developed toward greater organization and centralization of power independently for their own reasons.

As with other Germanic peoples, among the Vikings there were competing and opposing tendencies toward consolidation of power in the hands of a few and the continuing freedom of action of individual warriors. Perhaps because of their northerly position population pressures did not arise among SCANDINAVIANS until the second half of the first millennium C.E. The beginning of a long warming trend called the Medieval Warm Period at about that time may have added overpopulation to societal stressors. Moreover in the late eighth and early ninth centuries Scandinavians experienced for the first time the direct influence of a first-class power in the form of the Frankish Carolingian Empire. In all probability these broad trends, set alight by specific events that may never be known in detail, fueled the great Viking raids of the late eighth to the 10th centuries, the last period of Germanic expansion.

The ships of the Vikings (a contemporary term for *pirate*) gave their raiding a scope beyond the dreams of earlier barbarian groups. From Spain, Gaul, Ireland, and Britain in the west to Slavic and Finnic lands in the east, no land with a coastline escaped Viking attention. They reached even unto Byzantium. Viking groups, called by contemporaries in what is now Russia the RUS, established a trading network from northern Slavic and Finnic lands to the Byzantine Empire, which laid the foundations for the Russian state. When the Viking Norse began voyages of migration, their reach was more fantastic still, to the far northern island groups of the North Atlantic, Iceland, Greenland off North America, and finally (as has been firmly established by archaeology) to the North American mainland in Newfoundland.

The Normans

The last years of Charlemagne's reign saw the beginnings of contacts with Norsemen from Denmark and Norway. By the late eighth century Norse silver traders had established posts in Frisia near the borders of the empire, dealing in silver from the Abbasid Empire in present-day Iraq. As so often among the Norse trading activities went hand in hand with raiding, and as early as 799 small numbers of Norse Vikings were taking advantage of the rich trade routes along the North Sea coast. Charlemagne began construction of a fleet to counter these raiders, but his successors neglected this work and so were unprepared for the much larger-scale onslaught of raiding that began by the middle of the next century, possibly caused by the interruption of the silver trade that followed political turmoil among the Abbasids.

By about 900 these Vikings had secured a permanent foothold on Frankish soil in the valley of the Lower Seine River and their raids had almost crippled the Frankish economy and fab-

ric of society. In 911 the Frankish king Charles III the Simple made the Treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte with a Norwegian named Rollo, who had emerged as a significant personality among the Vikings, ceding him the land around the mouth of the Seine and what is now the city of Rouen. From this foothold Rollo and his successors established the duchy of Normandy. Normans then expanded their power far beyond Normandy, conquering Anglo-Saxon England and other parts of the British Isles, as well as Italy and Sicily.

The Holy Roman Empire

The division of the Carolingian Empire among the sons of Louis I in no way eclipsed the importance of the Roman Empire as a concept. Indeed its Carolingian proponents claimed that the supposed official end of the Roman Empire in 476 was merely a suspension. For centuries thereafter many Roman institutions, especially the church, endured under Germanic kings, and Romans played important roles in government and politics. The Roman church in the person of the pope had anointed a Roman emperor; therefore, there must be an empire. Arnulf was the last Carolingian to hold the imperial title (he died in 899), but a number of claimants to the empire in Italy and France kept the idea alive until 962, when Otto I of Germany (see sidebar) was crowned emperor by Pope John XII. Otto had partly reunified the Carolingian Empire by putting Italy, Burgundy, and Lotharingia under his rule. The term *Holy Roman Empire* only came into use some centuries after Otto's reign. From this time German kings took the title of king of Rome, in this asserting their right to the imperial throne and implying that they were in effect emperors-designate until they should be crowned by the pope, an expectation that was not always realized.

The creation (or re-creation) of the Holy Roman Empire took place in the context of a convergence of forces that tended to cause central authority on the Roman model to fly apart. Among these were the devastating inroads on the economy of central and western Europe made by the Vikings, Slavs, and MAGYARS, forcing the socioeconomy to remain localized, based on the manorial system, itself based on the relationship between tenant farmers and landowners. Feudalism, the political-military version of the manorial system, was also based on personal face-to-face relations between a vassal and overlord and tended to militate against the more abstract concept of a divinely appointed emperor. The increasing importance and power of local lords in their duchies made even kingship tenuous and dependent upon the personal abilities of kings, who resorted to iron-fisted tactics to control their vassals. For all their dreams of restoring the empire, Germanic rulers of the early Middle Ages had not yet found a way to contain the instability inherent in societies in which the warrior was the ideal.

Into Modern Times

A century after the Carolingian Empire was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons into kingdoms that would form the basis of Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy, the German kingdom emerged as the greatest power in the west of Europe under Otto I. His father Henry I, duke of Saxony, although designated as overall ruler of the duchies of Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria, called collectively East Francia, had had to resort to political maneuvering to gain the recognition of the other German dukes. The practice in which German dukes and princes elected the king had begun after the last Carolingian ruler of East Francia, Louis III the Child, died in 911. Conrad I, duke of Franconia, who was elected, eventually designated his own successor in Henry. But because of this usurpation of the dukes' right to elect the king, Henry had to grant them important concessions to gain their support.

Otto I: First Holy Roman Emperor

Otto, born in 912 C.E., succeeded his father, German king Henry I, in 936. In the process begun by Henry, Otto sought to expand and unite Germany through limiting the power of the nobility and seeking alliances with foreign rulers and church prelates. In 939 he suppressed a revolt involving his brother Henry and granted duchies to faithful followers. He warred against, then reached an agreement with King Louis IV of France. In 951 Otto aided Adelaide, the widowed queen of Lombardy, by defeating Berengar II; he then married her, assuming the title "king of the Lombards." In 953 he defeated a ducal rebellion led by his son, Ludolf, and in 955, the Magyars at Lechfeld. Part of Otto's policy—known as the "Ottonian church system of the Reich"—was nurturing his relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. He was aided in his efforts by his brother, Saint Bruno, his chief adviser, archbishop of Cologne, and duke of Lotharingia (modern Lorraine).

In 962 Pope John XII crowned Otto as Roman emperor, a rank similar to that of "emperor of the West" first held by Charlemagne of the Franks. Pope John, threatened by Otto's growing power, negotiated with his enemies, and Otto deposed him in favor of Leo VIII. Otto, referred to as Otto the Great, died in 973. His reign, during which German culture flourished, is known as the Ottonian Renaissance. The political entity that some centuries later became known as the Holy Roman Empire endured until 1806.

These concessions, including Crown lands and the right to appoint bishops in their own territories, in later German history would form the basis for strong resistance by dukes to royal power. By the end of his reign Henry had rescinded these concessions and had become undisputed ruler in Germany as a result of his success in thwarting the double threat of the Magyars in the east and the Danes in the north. The German dukes and others, including the king of Bohemia, joined Henry to form a united front against the invaders.

But Henry's reign prefigured much of subsequent German history, which would be characterized by a violent oscillation between periods of consolidation of central royal or imperial power and periods of fragmentation of that power into the hands of German dukes and other lesser princes. This process may have had its roots in the ancient Germanic practice of electing overall leaders only temporarily in times of unrest, most recently reflected in the Frankish kingdom, with the unification achieved by rulers such as Clovis and Charlemagne followed by partition of the realm among sons, and the importance of the king's supporting nobles. These oscillations prevented the establishment in Germany of the kind of highly developed central monarchical power that came to the fore in France and England. In the near term Otto was able to build upon his father's work to cement further the unity of the German kingdom, taking advantage of conflicts in France to establish his power over Lotharingia (later Lorraine) and partly reunifying the Carolingian Empire by drawing Italy and Burgundy under his rule. In 962 he was crowned Carolingian emperor by the pope. Otto's crowning would later be claimed as the birth of the Holy Roman Empire and the title of the rulers would become "Holy Roman Emperor." His success solidified the German state as a concept and a reality for several centuries, but it was not to last, and in many periods of German history political power lay with small temporal and ecclesiastical principalities, some of whose rulers or bishops served as imperial electors (whose identity shifted over time), and free cities. Emperors often used the latter as counterweights to the power of the dukes. Germany's flourishing trade centers joined into leagues, such as the Hanseatic and Swabian Leagues, for mutual support.

In the 16th century the writings and reforms of Martin Luther began a wholesale attack on the spiritual supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. The rise of Protestantism further fragmented Germany, as many powerful German princes became Protestant in spite of the opposition of the emperor, and the divide between them and Catholic polities deepened. Competition between Catholic and Protestant principalities led to the Thirty Years' War in which other European powers—Sweden and France on the one hand, and Spain on the other—pursued their own agendas in aiding the Protestant and Catholic sides. Spain wished the Holy Roman Empire (now held by the Hapsburg dynasty and firmly entrenched in Catholic Austria as well as Spain) to maintain its power to further the Counter-Reformation, while France's Cardinal Richelieu was concerned to limit Hapsburg power in Germany to afford more international scope for France. Thus he financed the military efforts of Sweden, champion of Lutheranism. The war was fought on German soil, causing widespread devastation and loss of population. Under the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the war, effective rule by the Holy Roman Emperor over the German states was ended, and the states were confirmed in their sovereignty, some of them being named as electors. The recognition of the independence of the German states, which included Bavaria, the Rhenish Palatinate, and Brandenburg (and the Netherlands), laid the legal foundations of the modern European state system. Provisions of the treaty that sought to limit further religious wars were largely successful.

For some two centuries after the Peace of Westphalia the prospect of a centralized German state seemed unlikely. The political organization of Germany consisted of a loose confederation of bishoprics and principalities of various sizes under the no more than notional rule of the Holy Roman Emperor.

CULTURE

Economy

The Rise of Pastoralism and the Warrior Ideal in the Corded Ware Culture Evidence of the earliest beginnings of the cattle-rearing lifeways of the Germanic peoples may perhaps be seen in the elaborate cattle burials of the Globular Amphora culture between the Elbe and the Vistula Rivers in central Europe between about 4000 to 3000 B.C.E. This culture shows little sign of social stratification or gender difference in its burials, and the joint burials of humans and their animals—in some cases cattle were buried alone—may indicate a

view of the cattle less as possessions to be kept simply for their food value than as beings to be honored almost as much as humans. In many early societies the dead were buried so as to join their ancestors (who were later to evolve into gods), a means of communion and communication with them to gain their aid in the affairs of this world.

The view of cattle as a form of wealth began to emerge after 3000 B.C.E. Centuries of forest clearance in the forested region just south of the north European plain, which made possible the herding of cattle over longer distances than ever before, coincided with the arrival of ox-drawn wheeled vehicles and the light plow from the Near East and, from the steppe region north of the Black Sea, of the domesticated horse. These powerful innovations may have been borne into the ancient tell regions of the Balkans and north into eastern Hungary in about 3500 by the Pit Grave, also called Kurgan people, from the round mounds or *kurgans* with which they covered their graves; these contained the first elite burials known in Europe. On the other hand there is evidence that people from the Balkans and the Hungarian plain were changing their way of life from the sedentarism of the past, centered on the tells, to a more mobile one that put them in contact with the Kurgan people to their east, from whom they learned of the innovations. In any case there is no evidence of an invasion of Hungary and the Balkans by Kurgan people as once was thought. Kurgan men were buried with an assortment of goods, sometimes including wagon wheels and even whole wagons, pairs of cattle, and pottery in shapes influenced by silver wine-drinking vessels from Anatolia in Asia Minor. The impact of the Kurgan culture—or more important, the technological advances they were associated with—spread through central Europe, far beyond their actual territory. The Globular Amphora culture which, as in the case of cultures in the Balkans and Hungary, had been spreading eastward as new lands suitable for grazing were carved out, seems to have come in contact with the Kurgan people, judging by their adoption of a twisted-cord ornamentation for their pottery (which probably symbolized the horse, mastered by humans with ropes), although they did not adopt the kurgan grave.

The full implications of these developments—larger scale of cultivation made possible by the plow and the greater mobility made possible by wheeled vehicles, horses, and an increasingly open landscape, which allowed people, most of them men, an unprecedented diversity of contacts—did not emerge for some 500 years, but at the end of that time their arrival was sudden and swift.

The new ideology born around 3000 B.C.E., made possible by the pastoral lifestyle and symbolized by a characteristic assortment of grave goods, has been called the Corded Ware culture, from the full flowering of the twisted-cord ornamentation of pottery first used in central Europe centuries earlier. More important, instead of communal graves and, in some regions, the large megalithic graves or grave mounds typical in the past, Corded Ware men were buried individually under conspicuous mounds like those of the Kurgan culture. The finely made stone battle-axes that replaced the forester's axes of the past, and the set of drinking vessels, including goblets shaped like the silver wine cups used in the Aegean area, tell of the advent of a much different world. Greater mobility and contact with strangers made necessary the battle-axes for protection or aggression and the drinking implements for forging bonds both within the group and without. Men of the Globular Amphora culture and others in central-north Europe, venturing ever farther afield as the landscape opened, slowly loosening their ties to the tribal centers with their communal rites celebrating allegiance to place, seem to have gained an ever greater sense of individuality (also distinction from women). That it was a hard-won individuality, with dangers faced and overcome, was cause for celebration with funeral rites and burial of the implements symbolic of a warrior's courage and prowess, and of his bonds with his fellows.

The new emphasis on individuality seems to have been accompanied by a greater importance of personal possessions, as the basis of the economy shifted from the land, probably held in common by the whole community, to cattle. In the past cattle too had probably been communal possessions, but the new mobility may have altered this system. This cultural pattern may have emerged first in Jutland, where the earliest finds were made (although this concept is not universally accepted); its adherents at first lived among the indigenous megalith-building Funnel-Necked Beaker culture, which gradually gave way before the new ideology. Another view has this new culture emanating from the east as another impulse from the steppe cultures, whether introduced by invaders or simply adopted as a lifestyle for which inhabitants of formerly forested regions were now ready.

Whether spread as a movement of peoples or of ideas, the Corded Ware complex may

have been accompanied by the proto-Indo-European language that is ancestral to most modern European languages. However, the one-to-one equation of a specific language with a discrete people or culture group, carried along with them as they migrated, may be too simple, given the very different ways in which people in different areas reacted to and/or adopted elements of the Corded Ware complex. One theory is that proto-Indo-European emerged as a kind of "trade language" or lingua franca necessitated by the new wider range of contacts of groups.

Corded Ware spread very quickly through central Germany and the north European plain, to the Rhineland and on to Switzerland, north over much of southern Scandinavia, and eastward through the Baltic regions toward Moscow, resulting in a new cultural uniformity over a vast region. The very speed with which cultures over such a wide area adopted the Corded Ware lifestyle makes pinpointing its place of origin difficult, given the uncertainties of dating. Evidence of violence attests to the disruptions that accompanied this transformation in some places. Especially in the north and north coastal regions there is evidence that the Corded Ware lifestyle was adopted by foraging groups who until now had led a Mesolithic way of life. This lifestyle would have particularly fitted them for the even greater mobility now made possible by the horse and the ox-drawn wagon.

The Corded Ware culture had several distinct variants; they were located in its west-central, eastern, and northern areas, showing that even though its basic characteristics had quickly been adopted over a wide region, local cultures remained quite isolated from one another. It may have been during and after the Corded Ware period that Indo-European slowly diverged into Celtic languages in the west-central area, Baltic and precursors to the later Slavic languages in the northeast, and Germanic languages in the north.

It is important not to exaggerate the degree of change Corded Ware represented. The contrast the Corded Ware culture made with previous cultures is its most notable characteristic, and when the Corded War users are compared to the complex societies on the periphery of the urban Near East world system their distinctness from their predecessors appears less striking. All were rustic societies with little more than subsistence economies. Even the Corded Ware graves, stressing individuality as they do, still were located in communal burial grounds, indicating a continued strong sense of place and community, and women and children were buried in them as well as men. Differentiation in burial rites, although present, was not great between old and young and between the sexes. Even the stone battle-axes may have been used more as symbols than as actual implements. In Jutland many Corded Ware graves are located near the passage graves and dolmens of the earlier Funnel-Necked Beaker culture.

Widening Trade Contacts and Warrior Elites

Only with the advent of the Bronze Age Bell Beaker culture around 2800 B.C.E. did true warrior elites arise. The characteristic bell-shaped beakers buried with their owners' remains, finery, and weapons seem to have emerged as a local variant of Corded Ware in the Lower Rhine delta, spreading from there by Atlantic seaways along northwestern coastal Europe to Britain and to southern Iberia and Sicily. Whether this means the whole Beaker ideology began there or was introduced there from elsewhere, possibly Iberia, adopting and spreading the beaker style throughout the Atlantic zone, is still unresolved.

People in Denmark adopted the typical Beaker dagger long before metallurgy had arrived there by making highly skilled imitations in flint. The Beaker warrior lifestyle there and in the North European plain was more like a continuation of the Corded Ware culture, since these regions were still beyond the reach of the trade networks that were spreading copper, gold, and then bronze with other elite goods through the Atlantic trade zones.

By the Late Bronze Age the isolation of these regions had ended and gold and bronze entered central and north Germany from the Carpathian Mountains and Ireland in large amounts, probably fueling gift-exchange networks and fostering social differentiation through both greater possession of gold by elites and their use of the metal to exhibit status. The Unetice culture, characterized by the great skill and sophistication of its metalwork, began at this time in central Germany.

Around 1800 B.C.E. goods from the burgeoning Carpathian metal industry reached Scandinavia, in exchange for amber and probably other perishable materials lost to the archaeological record. Social differentiation now became more marked as elite items such as finely crafted swords, spearheads and, at least by 1300, chariots were possessed by powerful local chiefs. In northwestern Germany

and in Jutland tumulus graves were first built at this time, probably under the influence of the west-central European Tumulus culture (located in what would later be Celtic lands), which was now competing with the Carpathian bronze makers for trade with the north. Through this region of Germany passed amber from Jutland to be traded both south and west. Amber from here has been found in Greece in an early royal grave of the MYCENAEANS. Local bronze industries flourished, developing distinctive styles and techniques. The greatly increased trade of the Bronze Age fostered the evolution of canoes for coastal and river travel into vessels worthy to be called ships. But trade links with the Mediterranean remained too rare and sporadic for much influence from there such as would be felt in the north in the Iron Age.

Economic Revolutions of the Urnfield Period In the latter Bronze Age after 1300 B.C.E. societies in northern Germany and Jutland experienced many of the same dramatic changes in what would later be Celtic lands. What has been called the Industrial Revolution of the Late Bronze Age, with an explosion of bronze working in both quality and quantity, also took place in the north. The change to cremation and burial of ashes in urns did as well, although varied in the north by putting cremated remains in grave pits large enough for an inhumation, in boat-shaped stone settings, or under small or large mounds, some with stone corbel-vaulted chambers reminiscent of the megalithic tombs of Neolithic times. A few of these were richly furnished with grave goods. The Neolithic assortment of grains began to be supplemented by rye and millet, more easily grown in adverse climatic circumstances than other crops, and oil-bearing plants such as flax. Field systems were much more extensive than earlier, and cattle raising had grown to large proportions. The building of fortifications on hilltops or stockades on lower ground became more common. Weaponry of all kinds was abundant, with a continuing proliferation of types—the sword had now come into prominence, as also the bow—and forms attesting to a Bronze Age arms race to maintain weapon superiority. The greater amount of amber found in the Mediterranean from this time indicates that long-distance trade had become more regular.

Iron Age In the Iron Age the Germanic culture contemporary with the Celtic Hallstatt and later La Tène cultures—and in some ways virtually indistinguishable from them—has been called by archaeologists the Jastorfkultur (Jastorf culture). As with many of their Celtic neighbors, the socioeconomy of Jastorf societies emphasized cattle rearing. An important distinction of the Germanic peoples from the Celts was a greater mastery of ironworking. They differed from the Celts in preserving the simpler village socioeconomy of the past while the Celts were engaged in building hill forts (distinguished from the small hilltop fortifications of Germanic peoples by being, in effect, large, organized farming plantations) and later the townlike *oppida,* with all the greater social stratification and more complex organization of people and resources this implied. In contrast throughout the first millennium B.C.E. until its very end the Germanic peoples remained isolated from the often-disruptive effects of the consumer markets and luxury trade that had come into being farther south as a result of contact with the Greco-Roman world.

Trade with Romans After the Roman wars of conquest were largely over and the empire's borders had become relatively fixed, the Romans turned to trade with barbarians outside the empire to supply the large number of slaves needed to maintain the Roman economy. Probably as a result of trade in slaves and also in iron and leather a prestige-goods economy began to flourish in Denmark and the northern European plain, as attested by rich burials from the first century C.E. Archaeologists have distinguished concentric zones of differing burial types, affected by their distance from the Roman frontier. Most of Denmark and the northern European plain lay within the zone of rich burials where those who prospered by trade with the Romans lived. Beyond this to the north in Sweden, east along the Baltic coast, and in eastern Germanic lands was a zone of warrior burials that contained fewer prestige items. The warriors of this zone may have provided captive slaves to the "middlemen" along the frontier with Rome. The presence of such wealth there as well as the smaller amounts of gold and silver that the warrior societies of the hinterlands were able to obtain must have provided a continual irritant and incentive for raiding.

A profound influence on Germanic society were Roman coins, at first desired most for their metal and design (most coveted were coins bearing the image of a two-horse chariot). By the second century C.E. Germanics along the Rhine preferred silver to gold coins,

evidence that coinage was being used in a true market economy, rather than in gift exchanges or barter. Evidence of greatly increased production of trade goods in this region, especially along the North Sea coast in the Netherlands and Denmark, and the emergence of locally specialized production of goods such as leather, fine metalwork, iron, and glass attest to the sea change that took place in the economy of the Germanic tribes here.

While tribes such as the Hermunduri were allowed to trade west of the Rhine, Roman traders penetrated deep into the German hinterland. A Roman aristocrat in the reign of Nero explored Germany and the Baltic region in search of beasts for the Roman Circus. While there he acquired large amounts of amber at trading ports that he called *commercia*.

Farming Animal husbandry was the dominant form of agriculture practiced by Germanic peoples, with cattle the primary animals, used for meat, milk, and pulling of plows and wagons. Germanics also kept pigs, sheep, and goats. Horses were relatively rare. All of the Germanic breeds had long been reared in isolation from breeds in other regions, with the result that they were very small; cattle were often barely a meter high at the shoulder, and horses only a meter and a half.

As was the case with the Celts, Germanic peoples did little hunting for food, and fishing played a minor role in subsistence. Barley was the most important grain crop, used for making beer as well as food. Einkorn and emmer wheat, grains of the earliest Neolithic Age, continued in use, joined by oats, millet, and rye. Flax was grown for its oil and its fibers, used to make linen. Beans and peas were grown, and wild plants included celery, spinach, lettuce, radishes, and brassicas. Woad provided a blue dye. Germanics were on the whole successful farmers but were not immune from famine caused by occasional poor growing seasons or unusually severe winters, especially in eastern regions.

The Manorial System In the early Middle Ages the main source of wealth for the German-descended nobility throughout Europe was agriculture. Taxation of free peasants in return for protection in time of war took the form of both forced labor and agricultural produce; both were due to the lord from hereditary serfs. Some of the serfs were descended from free peasants who, in times of bad harvests, had been unable to pay taxes and were reduced to servitude. Subjection of peasants to serfdom took place at a great rate in the 11th century as the nobility sought to increase their wealth, taxing peasants beyond their ability to pay. At the same time a process of expansion of available agricultural land was occurring; the forced labor of peasants on this enterprise also forced many into serfdom as their own farms suffered. In some cases the serfs themselves initiated land clearance to pay their rents. Fields carved out of the forest were more fertile than those that had long been under cultivation; they were filled with decomposed organic matter and fertilized by the ash from fires used to clear away the tops of felled trees.

Improvements in agricultural techniques, such as the use of horses for plowing, the use of iron tools, and the rotation of crops, generated increased harvests in the 11th century, leading to rapid population growth. By the 12th century overpopulation began to be a problem.

Serfs were inherited by each new lord of a manor and had few legal rights. A lord's demands on his serfs were based on his own discretion and could vary greatly from region to region, even from one manor to another. Rent on lands used by peasants was paid in kind—agricultural produce—or in money, and a direct tax was collected for military protection by the lord and his knights. The lord's economic control extended to every aspect of the life of his subjects, including free peasants. They had to pay for the use of the mill, press, forge, and washhouse on the manor. They were unable to bake their bread except in the lord's ovens. He could sell products such as wine at the best price before serfs could sell theirs. He received a percentage on sales at fairs and markets in his territory. He could also set up tollbooths and charge for use of roads in his manor. When serfs married outside the manor, they had to pay a tax. They also paid a tax on funerals. The lord also exercised justice. He imposed fines for petty crimes and disobedience; for serious crimes he could expel the serf from the manor, punish him physically, or even have him executed.

Government and Society

Differing Cultural Groupings Material evidence gathered by archaeologists suggests that the peoples in Germanic lands were divided into four broad groups sharing somewhat distinct cultural affinities. These were the Elbe Germanic tribes who lived between the Elbe and Oder Rivers; the Rhine-Weser Germanics, who were closer to Celtic Gaul and probably

were of mixed Germanic and Celtic descent; Germanic tribes along the North Sea coast; and the groups in Denmark and Scandinavia.

End of the First Millennium B.C.E. The picture Julius Caesar gives of Germanic society before they had had much Roman contact is in agreement with the archaeological record in showing a society with a relatively limited degree of social stratification. He writes that land was held by each tribe and allotted in turn to individual clans or kinship groups in a yearly redistribution system expressly aimed at preventing wealth from accumulating in any one clan. That agriculture had not developed much beyond a subsistence level is indicated by the subsistence village-based economy uncovered by archaeologists. The means of status lay not in economic activity but in warfare (which remained, however, on the level of raiding). Power lay with a warrior elite who gained status through success in raiding by which they obtained booty to distribute to their retainers. Excavations of villages show a great variety in the number of cattle different individuals owned (based on the number of stalls in houses); this could range from 10 or 12 cattle to more than 30. The better-endowed households gained their wealth not through careful husbandry (which was on a primitive level among Germanics at this time) but through cattle raids. Individual warriors could rise to prominence through acts of bravery and success in raiding, both of which attracted followers. Successful warriors who became chiefs would periodically sit in tribal councils to determine and announce raiding forays, and young untried warriors would proclaim there and then their willingness to take part. The only compulsion to fight was the fear of shame and derision from their fellow tribesmen should they fail to honor their vow to join in the raid.

Social Strata Germanic peoples kept slaves, usually prisoners of war, who lived in their own houses and worked as farmers but were required to provide certain amounts of foodstuffs, cattle, and textiles to their masters, making them more like serfs than Roman slaves.

German society was highly patriarchal; fathers had absolute authority over the family, which could include more than one wife.

Clan and Tribe Individual households consisting of single families were integrated into a larger unit called the Sippe, or clan. The patriarchal aspect of society was modified somewhat in the case of the clan in that it was bilateral, including families of matrilineal as well as patrilineal descent. Clans probably consisted of no more than about 50 households. Each clan preserved within itself what was known as the "peace" under which violence between members constituted a crime for which no compensation or atonement could be made. Incest was taboo within the clan and certain property rights were observed. With regard to the world outside the clan, clan members were bound to support each other when any was the victim of violence and to fight on each other's behalf when a blood feud had been declared.

The clan unit was essentially unstable because breaches of the peace, the basic defining principle of the clan, or failure to honor the obligation of mutual help could lead to a clan's being split between the nearest kin of both violator and victim. And because clan membership was bilateral, marriages could lead to the absorption of smaller clans into larger ones. Tribes were essentially groupings of clans, bound by shared histories, traditions, and institutions. As such commonalities inevitably changed through time, so did tribes, splitting apart, expanding and absorbing new groups, or being themselves absorbed into larger groups. It has been said that the tribe was more process than stable structure; ethnogenesis, the birth of new tribal groupings, was constant. And under the contingencies of historical forces at certain times the process of ethnogenesis was accelerated. Clearly one such time was the migration period, when Germanic tribes were being impacted by powerful forces, among them overpopulation, the Romans, and migrating groups from the east, such as the Huns.

The Germanic tribe, more than any other aspect of Germanic culture, has been viewed uncritically through the filter of Greek and Roman ideas. Both Greeks and Romans themselves had tribal identities that, much modified over time, were continuously remembered through most of the Greco-Roman era. However, Greek and Roman tribes had long left behind the sort of dynamic ethnogenesis the Germanics were undergoing and were far more stable units than the Germanic tribes. This system probably accounts for the fact that few of the tribes mentioned by Romans can be discerned in the archaeological record, because they had only a fleeting existence.

Most Greek and Roman tribal groups preserved the tradition that the founder of each tribe was one of the gods—Zeus, Poseidon, Mars, or another. Tacitus wrote that the

Germanic peoples believed they were descended from the god Tuisto, through his son, Mannus, a concept that Tacitus, as a Roman, must have found familiar. Because of his relatively limited contact with Germanics, he may have been recording the tradition of a single tribe, or of the tribes of a single region, rather than of all Germanic peoples. It is highly unlikely that at this time speakers of Germanic languages considered themselves a whole, distinct people with a common ancestor. But Tacitus's information has been interpreted by some modern scholars to mean that Germanic peoples had a concept of a shared biological, genealogical origin peculiar to them and that their belief in this common ancestor was the same as modern ideas of ethnic or racial purity of blood that informed the eugenics movement of the 20th century.

Ethnology has shown that virtually all tribal peoples, all over the world and in all times, have believed that tribal identity was based on kinship and a common, often divine ancestor. Such beliefs are no more particular to Germanics than to any other group. And it is entirely anachronistic to ascribe the concept of "purity of blood"—or of race—that was partly although mistakenly based on the discoveries of genetic science—to Germanics, particularly since their tribes were based at least as much on shared cultural traditions as on kinship. In fact the very idea that tribal members shared a divine common ancestry located in the distant past probably tended to downplay actual family relationships in the present as an important factor of tribal identity.

Even language may not have been decisive in establishing tribal identity. More important were clothing and hairstyles, ornamentation, types of weapon, religious cult, and a shared oral history. These factors also distinguished social standing within the tribe.

The Tribal Peace As in the case of the clan the tribe preserved within itself the "peace" that made cooperative efforts possible. The English word *friend* is very close to the modern German for peace: Frieden. Tribal members were, in effect, friends observing a mutual peace. It is interesting that Tacitus mentions a Germanic goddess called Nerthus under whose aegis, from time to time, a universal peace was declared and observed with joyous rituals. Tacitus also calls Nerthus "Mother Earth"; it is possible, given the emphasis on peace within the tribe, that a goddess such as Nerthus was claimed by Germanic tribes of prehistoric times as founding ancestress, perhaps alongside a god such as Tuisto, who, as did the Celtic god of the tribe, Teutates, wedded the goddess of Earth to ensure the land's fertility. (Among Celts an important triad of deities were Teyrnon, "Divine Lord"; his consort, Modron, the Mother Goddess; and their son, Maponus, whose name is similar to that of Mannus.) In this as in many other matters the distance of Germanic peoples from Celtic ones seems based more on the contingencies of these peoples' histories than on anything more fundamental.

The peace of the tribe, unlike that of the clan, did not consist of an absolute prohibition against violence between tribal members, but rather an attempt to control violence. Revenge and feud were the norm in clan interrelations, but tribal law set rules for the ways feuds were to be carried out and limited such violence to certain times and places. Intertribal violence was forbidden during religious festivals, tribal assemblies, and tribal military actions. The punishment for violating these proscriptions could be severe: either execution or banishment from the tribe, which rendered the outlaw liable to be killed by any tribal member without fear of revenge.

The tribal council of all free warriors, called the Thing, would meet from time to time to reinforce tribal solidarity, deal with serious lawbreakers, and determine the time and place for raids. It was here that young, untested warriors would announce their desire to go to war with the tribe. Such councils varied widely in their organization across Germanic territory and over time; in general, as noted elsewhere, such councils became more and more dominated by elites.

Types of Kingship As in the case of the Irish and probably other Celtic peoples, some premigration Germanic tribes had a type of sacred king called the *thiudans,* dedicated to the god Tiwaz as the Celtic kings were dedicated to Teutates. He was the symbol and protector of social stability, the intercessor for the people with the gods in matters such as the fertility of the land and the safety of the tribe. Such a king seems to have been chosen from among that clan or family with whom tribal traditions were most closely associated. Again his role varied: in some tribes mostly religious, in others military. Often he would preside at tribal councils as the one above all divisions and narrow loyalties to whom all could appeal for fair judgment.

Early Germanic peoples probably also shared with Celtic peoples the custom of hav-

ing several grades of kingship—in addition to the tribal *thiudans* there could be provincial and high kings. Before the emergence of the Merovingian dynasty, the Franks seem to have had a number of tribal kings. Early Latin documents among the Anglo-Saxons mention offices of unknown standing, such as *subreguli, principes,* or *duces regii,* which may be tribal kings or, alternately, war leaders. (Tacitus calls the war leader *dux,* or *duke.*) Some Anglo-Saxon kings claimed the rank of *bretwealda,* or "ruler of Britain," which, as among Irish kings claiming to be *ardri* or overking, was probably more a reflection of desire than of reality. Bede mentions that the Saxons on the mainland elected overall war leaders or high kings only in times of emergency. The failure of Arminius of the Cherusci to claim permanent rule over his people after he had succeeded in driving the Romans back over the Rhine is an example. As mentioned, permanent war leaders or overall kings only began to emerge among Germanic groups such as the Goths during the period of migration and conflict with the Roman Empire.

From about 350 C.E. the Gothic bishop Ulfilas and others under his leadership translated the Bible into the Gothic language. The Gothic words used for political and military institutions in this translation provide an invaluable means of understanding Germanic political life. The translation shows that the word *thiudans* had become disconnected from any political meaning for the Goths themselves. *Thiudans* was used instead to denote the Roman emperor, but more important the deity of the Gospels: the Lord God the Father and Christ, King of the Jews. Thereafter throughout the Germanic world *thiudans* was used primarily in this way (with the exception that in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* the mythical hero-king is celebrated as *theoden,* lord). For worldly kings biblical Gothic uses a Celtic term: *reiks* (compare the Irish *ri*). Theodoric the Great was called a *thiuda-reiks,* denoting his exceptional status.

The Comitatus Another form of tribal grouping independent of clan or tribal structure was the warrior band, called the *comitatus* by Tacitus and *Gefolgschaft* by modern German scholars. These were warrior societies formed around the nucleus of a successful war leader, one whose good fortune in war signaled the favor of the gods and whose skills promised his followers much glory and plunder. Such war bands, though they might participate in tribal wars, fought for the good of the whole people, stood outside tribal military lines of command, and frequently went out on raids purely for their own benefit. These bands were a highly destabilizing influence on the already unstable tribal structure and would cause the disintegration of tribes as bands that had grown too powerful would leave to form their own tribes.

In fact the ethos and outlook of the *comitatus* came increasingly to the fore during the migration period as war began to dominate some Germanic tribes almost wholly. The concept of society as wholly focused on a permanent war leader informed the large tribal confederacies such as the Alamanni and the Goths. Such confederacies were in effect *comitati,* or war bands writ large. In the case of the Franks war bands maintained their independence until Clovis was able to unite all of them under his rule.

Feasting As did Celts, Germanics used feasting and drinking bouts to strengthen tribal bonds, and this practice, again as among the Celts, was a double-edged sword, for feasts were just as likely to end in violence as in harmony. Many a blood feud must have begun in one of these heroic feasts. But they provided a forum within which the deeds of warriors were celebrated by bards called skalds, and a chieftain's generosity in giving bounteous food and drink was an important way of attracting his followers' loyalty. It would have been at the feast after battle that a chieftain would reward his bravest warriors with rich gifts from among the spoils. The Anglo-Saxon poem "The Wanderer" gives a sense of how central feasting was to the lives of Germanics, as the poet laments his exile from the feasting hall of his lord as his greatest loss when leaving his homeland and tribe. The afterlife of warriors in the god Odin's hall, Valhalla, represented the ideal.

Legal System Violence and wealth—whether obtained in war, by trading, or through agriculture—were fundamental to the system of "governance" obtaining among all barbarian tribes, the Germanic tribes included. The basic purpose of the legal system, the law codes and the status of individuals before the law, was to mediate conflict among tribal members and determine the punishment of wrongdoers, consisting of either payment as compensation by the wrongdoer to the victim or the declaration of blood feud against the wrongdoer so that the victim's clan members could legally lay hands on him to obtain justice or even kill him. So fundamental was wealth to barbarian society

that each individual had his or her "man price": the worth of his oath in a court of law and the amount of compensation due him or his kin by a wrongdoer. The man prices among a number of tribes are known in monetary terms, mostly because the law codes were written only after these societies had adopted coinage. Earlier the man price had probably consisted of so many cattle or such a weight in gold. Man prices known from early sources included 200 *solidi* for a free Frank and 200 shillings for a free Anglo-Saxon. (The man price for women was always considerably less.) The man price was also, of course, highly stratified; an aristocrat's worth before the court—his oath as well as the indemnity owed him or his kin by a wrongdoer—was three or more times higher than that of a commoner.

The guilt or innocence of an accused malefactor was determined in assemblies of various kinds on the clan or tribal level, later in courts. Fundamental to this determination was the belief that the divine, pagan or later Christian, played a direct role in the unfolding of the truth. Therefore every act during a trial was scrutinized with the greatest care for clues to the divine will. The burden of proof was on the accused, and his manner in declaring his guilt or innocence carried great weight. If his statement was clear and given with assurance and no slips of the tongue, coughing, or hesitation, his statement was assumed to be true. His rank and reputation were taken into account as well. If he was a commoner and his accuser a noble, he was almost certain to be found guilty.

In a case in which accuser and defendant were of equal rank and the statements of both were equally persuasive, so that the court was unable to decide the truth, the trial by ordeal was invoked. There were many forms, depending on the severity of the crime, some of them horrific, including having the accused hold his hand in a fire, carry a piece of red-hot iron, or pick up a stone from the bottom of a steaming cauldron. Burns that healed cleanly in a few days were taken as a sign of innocence. In a trial by water the bound defendant was thrown into a lake or stream; if he floated, it was assumed that he was being rejected by the pure nature of water and hence was guilty. Trial by combat could directly involve accuser and accused, or one or both could choose a substitute.

Era of Germanic Raids and Migrations: Second Century C.E. and Later Although premigration Germanic society was continually changing—tribes forming, breaking up, re-forming; tribes absorbing and being absorbed by other tribes—the level of instability and violence continued to be moderate enough to maintain an equilibrium, with economic activity sufficiently undisrupted to keep everything going. This state of affairs had lasted for centuries. During the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. neighboring Celtic and Slavic societies (those who had remained relatively uninfluenced by the Greco-Roman world) were maintaining a similar equilibrium in roughly the same way. Contact with Rome would cause increasing unrest.

At the time of the Germanic raids while the main basis for the economy was farming and trade was becoming increasingly important, most tribes had a political organization in which warfare now played a more central role. Power was more concentrated in the hands of a few as the successful leaders of *comitati* attracted more and more followers. A crucial difference from Germanic society, as Caesar had observed it a century and a half earlier, appears in the account of the Roman historian Tacitus: Land now was distributed according to social status, and the clan or kinship group decreased in importance as allegiance to war leaders grew. Formerly elected in times of emergency, some war leaders now held permanent power. Yet because of this very fact the tendency was for the most powerful to want to hold on to power by minimizing warfare and establishing means of achieving social stability. A dual system of councils of the elite and general assemblies of ordinary warriors had evolved, the latter unable to initiate action without the acquiescence of the elite council. The constant threat to this social order was the continuing autonomy of all members of the warrior class; any warrior of whatever status was free to attract followers and go on raids without seeking the council's consent.

Tacitus wrote of the Germanics in 109 C.E. that they were impatient with peace, needing war in order to win fame. The spoils of war were desired as much or more as proofs of warrior prowess and bravery as for material gain. Warriors played no role at all in the agricultural basis of the economy, and their constant need and drive for prestige and honor created perpetual social instability. Tacitus noted that young warriors would even leave their tribes to seek out others engaged in war.

Feudal System Feudalism had grown out of measures taken by European rulers in the ninth and 10th centuries to defend themselves against Vikings and Arabs; the dynastic wars of

the descendants of the Franks also served as a catalyst. It had evolved from the network of personal loyalties fanning out from a single overall war leader that Germanic groups such as the Goths had developed in Roman times. The lightning-swift and unpredictable attacks of the Viking raiders in their longships forced the development of armies of heavily armed warriors mounted on horseback, combining strength and maneuverability. Kings also embarked on extensive programs of building defensive fortifications. All of this came at a high cost, for armor and weapons, horses bred to carry the extra weight, and time for lengthy training of both horses and men. Rulers would grant lands to their soldiers to maintain them and provide for their expensive accoutrements. At first these grants of land were only for the duration of the soldier's service, but increasingly it became more common, as retinues of soldiers became permanent fixtures in society, for the lord or king to grant his soldiers permanent and hereditary ownership. The essence of feudalism was the reciprocal relationship between men of greater and lesser power, with the greater granting lands, called fiefs, and the lesser, called vassals, promising service or fealty in return. In reality relations between lords and vassals were not always so simple and straightforward, and vassals did not always accept that the grant of a fief obligated them as much as their lord demanded. These matters were often the cause of bitter dispute. Feudalism did not emerge all at once in a fully mature form but slowly as lords and vassals engaged in a tug-of-war for power.

Folkright As their societies evolved in their new lands, Germanic peoples experienced a fundamental shift from the more egalitarian tribal past. Despite the advantages of the nobility the free commoners in the homelands had enjoyed many personal rights. The free status of the commoner, marked by his right to bear arms, to attend and air grievances at local courts, and, in the case of the Anglo-Saxons in England, for example, his payment of dues directly to the king, showed that the relationship between king and commoner bypassed coercive power wielded by local lords. The rights of free commoners (whose agricultural labors formed the economic basis of society) were expressed in practice through the concept of folkright. Folkright consisted of the collective will of the people as embodied in rules and laws that had been established over time, whether written or not. Local assemblies of commoners decided matters in accordance with folkright. The older laws of real property, succession, and contracts were mainly regulated by folkright; the law had to be declared and applied by the people themselves in their communities.

A counterprinciple to folkright, which became more important over time, was that of privilege, which could override folkright at any time by special enactments or grants of the king or overlord. Now that kings or overlords held their position permanently and were gaining ever more power, royal privilege was increasingly invoked so that it began to outweigh folkright as the most dominant legal principle. The king exercised his privilege to interrupt or set aside the older rules pertaining to the succession of kinsmen in land ownership in order to grant lands to his warriors. He could also grant the right to levy fines, further enriching his retainers. The system of privileged land tenure that was created would ultimately lead to the rise of the feudal system. The increasing power of local lords was at the expense of the commoners; those who lost their land became tenants, and the greater militarization of society placed an increasingly heavy tax burden on their tenants and on free commoners forced to pay tolls and other levies. Over time nominally free tenants became unfree serfs, and many were forced into serfdom—in Anglo-Saxon England the very word *churl,* derived from *ceorl,* which originally denoted an honorable position in society, became a pejorative term.

Military Practices

Weapons During the Roman period until about the fifth century C.E. many large, probably votive deposits of weapons in bogs were made in Germanic areas; in at least one case the weaponry of 60 warriors was thrown into a bog at one time, perhaps in thanks to the gods for a victory. The deposits give a detailed picture of Germanic armaments. Swords were gaining favor by the fourth century C.E. Although some German smiths were making steel swords of the highest quality in Europe these were too few to be carried by any but elites. Common warriors had recourse to Roman swords, no doubt either captured in battle or put into circulation in Germanic territories by Germanic individuals who were or had been Roman soldiers. The bow and arrows were increasingly important, but the javelin and the throwing ax continued in use. Body armor was extremely

rare among the Germanics, and even war leaders wore only helmets; most warriors had no more protection than their ancestors had had for centuries.

Tactics Cavalry grew in importance among Germanics during this period, especially among those who had had contact with the Sarmatians, Avars, and Huns. The cavalry of the Visigoths was decisive in their victory at Adrianople, but infantry remained the basis of Germanic fighting forces. Tactics were rudimentary, mostly consisting of the surprise attack from cover. Germanics generally avoided attacking or laying siege to walled cities or strongholds; the techniques of siegecraft, which had been taking to a high stage of development by Romans and Greeks, were beyond the abilities of the relatively undisciplined Germanic forces of this time, which relied for their effectiveness on warriors' rousing themselves to a high pitch of excitement. They lacked the patient, cold-blooded resolution needed to mount and maintain a siege that could last days or weeks.

The Vikings in the eighth and ninth centuries continued to practice this form of warfare at a time when the fighting forces of Germanic groups such as the Franks and Anglo-Saxons had evolved from motley congeries of individual war bands into true armies owing allegiance to a single great war leader or king. Some Viking warriors would transform themselves into "berserks" devoted to the god Odin, in which state they believed they would have superhuman strength and protection in battle, somehow working themselves into a frenzy or trance state in which they could feel no pain. Their ferocity and resolution may have stemmed from their belief that on dying a heroic death they would be transported in the arms of warrior maidens, the Valkyries, to Valhalla, the realm of the gods.

Germanization of the Roman Military The long struggle of the Roman military with the Germanic tribes began and ended with fundamental changes in the Roman way of war, in both cases making it resemble the Germanic. When Romans first met Germanic warriors in battle and were sorely bested by them, they embarked on the development of professional standing armies, whereas before their armies had been manned by citizen soldiers, militia-fashion, who after the war ended went home to their farms. The standing army was the civilized equivalent of the Germanic warrior society, in which the first duty of virtually every man was to be a fighter. (The American founding father James Madison believed firmly that standing armies spelled the death of republics, and the demise of the Roman Republic only a century after the military reforms of Gaius Marius may have furnished Madison a prime example.)

From about the fourth century B.C.E. first the Roman Republic and then the Empire achieved and maintained success by constantly expanding; when this process was halted by the Germanics in the first decades C.E. Romans switched to the defensive and established a garrison system along their borders. Over the next two centuries the Roman army steadily became less "Roman" in the makeup of its soldiers, as Germanics joined in great numbers, although preserving Roman methods of warfare. When the migration period began, however, severe defeats of Roman armies by Germanics generated another Roman reorganization. The Battle of Adrianople, in which the emperor Valens was killed and his army annihilated by the Visigothic cavalry, caused strategists to decide that the Roman army, long primarily an infantry force, should focus more on cavalry. Mobile cavalry forces that could rush to a point of penetration and stop the enemy advance were established at key garrisons along the empire's borders. In addition to these the border fortifications were manned by native militias under their own commanders. In basic organization, values, tactics, and weaponry, the "Roman" army had become largely Germanic. Eventually localities with strong, well-led tribal militias, such as those held by the Franks, had become virtually autonomous polities within what was left of the empire.

Evolution of the Knight and Castle Cavalry continued to grow in importance in the early Middle Ages. The evolution of heavily armed bands of mounted warriors in northern Europe is thought in part to have been a response to Viking raids. Vikings made superb use of the mobility their ships gave them, mounting surprise attacks on towns on the coasts and along rivers. Cavalry was the earthbound response to them. As economies contracted under the relentless plundering of the Vikings, the center of socioeconomic life moved from towns and cities to the manors and holdings of local lords, replacing the fortified town with the castle seated in the midst of the lord's lands, where his tenants could flee for safety in time of war, and from which his mounted warriors could emerge to send the raiders to flight. This

change would lead to the development of the feudal system.

Later the Normans, former Vikings themselves, enthusiastically adopted the knight and castle system for their conquests. Their way of taking hold of a territory was quickly to erect there a scattering of simple timber and earth fortifications of a type called the motte and bailey castle, from which their knights could carry out mopping up raids in the surrounding countryside. When they had gained control of a region, they would build much more substantial stone fortifications to consolidate that control.

Dwellings and Architecture

Well into the first millennium C.E. the dwellings of Germanic peoples remained essentially unchanged from the longhouses of the first farmers in northern Europe, some 4,000 years earlier. Longhouses had pitched roofs, in some regions supported by a single row of posts running down the center of the building and wall posts, in others by rows on each side of the roof's apex, creating three interior aisles. A common feature was a central cross-passage dividing the house into two unequal partitions, with the smaller being the dwelling for people with a central hearth, and the larger the dwelling for cattle, often with individual stalls. The larger houses could have accommodated between 10 and 20 cattle.

Clothing

Textiles from the Bronze Age, preserved in Danish coffins made of hollowed-out tree trunks set under stone cairns, demonstrate that although clothing was sometimes decorated with embroidery, the cloth itself was mostly monochrome in color, in contrast with cloth used in the contemporary Aegean, where frescoes show people wearing clothing in bright colors. The difference hints at the impact that trade with the Mediterranean, when it reached northern areas several millennia later, would have on Germanic peoples, with their somewhat dour and simple culture.

The so-called bog corpses buried in bogs in the Weser-Ems region, Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland, and the Danish isles provide a very detailed picture of Iron Age clothing, preserved as it was in the anaerobic conditions of the bog. Women wore a long, sleeveless garment fastened at the shoulders with fibulae or brooches, the lower part often pleated and secured with a belt. Under this they wore undergarments, blouse, and a neckerchief. Men wore trousers of varying lengths, from knee length to full length, sometimes with attached feet. Over these they wore a belted smock and a woolen cloak, often decorated and fastened at the shoulder with a fibula. Shoes and caps were of leather.

Other Technologies

From the beginnings of bronze metallurgy in Germanic lands around 2000 B.C.E. Germanic smiths particularly excelled in the new craft, and metalworking quickly became an important part of Germanic society, as attested by the enormous hoards of bronze artifacts of the Unetice culture in central Germany. The presence of both copper and tin in Unetice areas facilitated bronze production compared to that elsewhere in Europe, where both ores were rare; even more rare was the presence of both in the same region.

Bronze made certain individuals here rich as social stratification appeared for the first time in Germanic lands. These elite individuals were interred in great burial mounds with substantial timber burial chambers and rich grave goods no doubt acquired through trading in bronze. However, these were not primarily traders; many of these tumuli contained bronze-working equipment, suggesting that at this time metallurgy was considered an esoteric and even semimagical skill, as smiths turned rough ore into smooth, shining, and beautifully decorated objects. Their manipulation of the mysteries of nature may have surrounded metalsmiths and their work with an aura of awe in the eyes of their fellows, giving them power and authority beyond what we accord craftsmen today.

Unetice designs soon spread elsewhere in Germany and to Poland. In succeeding centuries fine Germanic metalwork, especially weapons—axes, swords, and spear shafts—traveled across the North European Plain and into southern Scandinavia in gift-exchange networks, reaching the hands of local chiefs over a wide area. People in Denmark in their turn took up bronze making, becoming highly proficient.

In some areas, where axes had previously been the weapon of choice, swords developed with broad blades for slashing; elsewhere daggers lengthened into dirks and then rapier-shaped swords for thrusting. Jewelry was fashioned in elaborate bronze pendants; long, spiral bracelets; and a new form of wheel-headed pin that perhaps evoked that ultimate status symbol: the chariot.

Iron Age Ironworking began to spread into Germanic lands during the first millennium



Germanic peoples of Scandinavia cast this bronze helmet plate in the sixth or seventh century C.E. *(Drawing by Patt: Erway)*



Germanic peoples wore medallions like this in the sixth century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

B.C.E. Iron was abundant here, and the great forests provided wood for charcoal. As they had with bronze, Germanic peoples became highly proficient in making and working iron. Almost every village had its smelting furnace, usually of earth, and the method used in many places grew to be highly sophisticated, although time-consuming, involving up to eight separate steps. Several of these steps required careful control of temperature. The small amount of iron produced nevertheless was of very high quality. Some smiths were able to rework iron into high-quality steel and make sword blades with a core of softer steel for flexibility and harder steel on the exterior to keep a sharp edge, far finer weapons than those used in the Roman army at the time.

Such weapons were far from common, however, and the amount of iron produced in German lands remained low well into the Middle Ages. Most warriors carried only iron arrow points, a short, single-edged sword called a *scramasax* (the derivation of the name Saxon), and a shield with a central iron boss.

As in the Bronze Age smithcraft had an otherworldly aura and smiths had their own god, among Saxons called Wayland. Saxons in England gave the name Wayland's Smithy to a Neolithic long barrow grave in present-day Oxfordshire. Legend had it that if a traveler whose horse had lost a shoe left the animal at Wayland's Smithy together with a small silver coin, he would find the horse reshod the next morning.

Art

Swedish Rock Art A distinctive art form in southern Sweden in the Bronze Age was the carving of figures and symbols on rock faces. This practice, although hard to date, seems to have begun before 1300 B.C.E.; other examples found are later than 600 B.C.E. Some are found in conjunction with cemeteries. The range of motifs is limited; the single most common are images of ships (found not only near the coast but far inland as well). Animals such as cattle and deer are common; many carvings seem to depict scenes of everyday life, such as plowing. Humans appear much less frequently and are often shown in what appear to be ritual activities such as dancing with arms upraised. Some carry trumpets called *lures,* others axes; one example shows two men in a ship facing one another with axes raised; they, as are all men depicted in this art, are phallic. Women and children are seldom shown.

One remarkable example, carved on slabs lining a tomb chamber in Bredarör, Sweden, seems to depict a funeral procession, with mourners accompanied by *lure* blowers and drummers, and a chariot. Other figures are ships, animals, battle-axes, four-arm crosses in circles, and wavy lines.

Metalwork during and after the Roman Period The great quantities of silver and gold coins that flowed from the Roman Empire into Germanic territories, together with the desire of elites there to flaunt their new wealth, fostered great advances in metalworking techniques. Filigree ornamentation, enamel inlays, and encrustation of semiprecious stones, especially garnet, made for metalware of greater delicacy and complexity than ever achieved before. From the third to the fifth century C.E. the fundamental principle driving goldsmiths was the achievement of a polychrome style, with translucent colored materials—enamel and gems—to contrast with metals. The Goths are thought to have begun experimentation with polychrome goldwork under the influence of steppe peoples, carrying the technique west with them. Parallels are known from Iran and southern Russia, but the style reached a pinnacle among craftsmen on the Middle and Lower Danube in present-day Romania early in the fifth century.

Literature

Writing played no role in Germanic culture until about the second century C.E., when a system of signs, called runes, was developed. Runes had at first mostly specialized uses, appearing mostly on weapons and ornaments, and were only a step away from functioning as ornamentation or ritual. The earliest rune s represented whole words or names; those engraved on weapons, especially swords, which Germanic warriors often named, may have been intended to express the weapon's power or marshal the aid of the gods to make its action more effective. Others seem to have been devotions to deities or curses against enemies. Runes may have been used in divination, to discover the will of the gods.

The earliest runic alphabet—called *futhark,* for its first two characters—had 24 signs, four of which resemble Latin letters; nine others resemble letters of north Italic scripts used in north Alpine regions until about the first century C.E. Its origin is uncertain, and other influences may have played a role in its development. It may have been developed from

the Etruscan alphabet of northern Italy. For centuries runic inscriptions were only brief and sketchy. Only later in the migration period, especially in western Baltic regions, were they used in full texts.

In the third century C.E. the Bible was translated into the Gothic language by Bishop Ulfilas. From about the seventh century C.E. Anglo-Saxon scholastic monasteries were beginning to produce a literature of note. The first great Anglo-Saxon writer was the Venerable Bede, whose greatest work was the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation.*

An important historical source is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* a chronological account of events in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England, which began in the reign of King Alfred of Wessex and continued to be compiled until the 12th century. Alfred himself was a fine writer and scholar. Called "the presiding genius" of Old English prose, he ordered translation of or himself translated many Latin works into Old English and in general did much to foster learning. Although the Anglo-Saxons were the first Germanic people to commit their poetry to writing, beginning in the seventh century with a work known as *Widsithis* (The far journey), only one full-length heroic epic survives in Old English: the eighth-century *Beowulf.*

Religion

Sources Once again aspects of early Germanic religion that have been gleaned from ancient written sources since the 19th century have created the impression that more is known—and more certainly known—than is actually the case. As with the Celts, Romans reported on Germanic religious practices. In an interesting parallel with the Irish scholar monks who, living on the far fringes of the Celtic world, wrote about Irish-Celtic mythology from a Christian perspective long after paganism had ceased among them, other important sources on Germanic religion are writings from the far periphery of the Germanic world, namely, Christianized Iceland, by Snorri Sturluson and others. Snorri Sturluson, an Icelandic historian, poet, and politician who lived some 200 years after Christianity was introduced to Iceland, in his *Prose Edda,* also called the *Snorra Edda,* wrote an account of the creation of the world, pagan poetry, and stories about the gods. His writings were seized on by 19th-century German scholars, notably the Grimm brothers, in the name of seeking the ancient spiritual roots of the Germanics, even as Irish and Welsh scholars were seeking theirs by studying early medieval writings.

Evolution in Germanic Religious Belief Archaeology has considerably modified the picture of religious belief given by Snorri, perhaps, most important, in providing evidence of much earlier practices and deities that by the early centuries C.E. had largely been overlain by a stratum of later belief, only here and there showing through, as rock outcrops of ancient times, with their fossils of sea creatures, here and there show through the soil of today even far inland.

The goddess Nerthus, mentioned by Tacitus as an important deity, seems by the time of Snorri to have metamorphosed into a god named Njordar (perhaps originally her twin brother). Odin is thought by some scholars to have begun as a god of shamans of far northern Scandinavia but by historic times had become preeminently the god of kings and kingly power with little in terms of a popular cult of ordinary folk, judging by the few place-names or cult places clearly linked with him.

Religion among Germanic peoples was evolving as their societies were evolving with ever greater speed during the first centuries C.E., and it is not surprising to find disagreements among the various sources whose reports are from different centuries.

The Vanir or Wans The two groups of Germanic gods mentioned in sources, the Vanir or Wans and the Aesir, show this evolution clearly. The Vanir, the older of the two and agrarian in nature, supposedly had been usurped of much of their power by the newer and more warlike Aesir. Nerthus was one of the older Wannic deities, described by Tacitus in 98 C.E. as "Mother Earth." He tells us that she was worshipped by the tribes of northern Germany and southern Jutland, whom he identifies as the INGVAEONES. He claims that a sacred grove and a carriage covered with a vestment were dedicated to her and that slaves who participated in rituals honoring her at a secret lake were drowned; wherever her carriage traveled, peace and tranquility reigned and people celebrated. This description is consistent with archaeological finds, as in the many votive offerings and also sacrificial victims deposited in bogs and watery sites during the Iron Age in Denmark and northern Germany. At the cult place of Uppsala in Sweden sacrifices were put into the well that stood before a great evergreen, and those that sank were known to have

been accepted and to indicate that the prayers given with them would be answered.

The goddess's sacred car has even older antecedents in elaborately wrought cult wagons of the Bronze Age. Frey, one of the Vanir mentioned in later sources, was the foremost of the fertility gods and was associated with the horse. The so-called Sun Chariot found in Trundholm, Denmark, dating from the Bronze Age, had a finely wrought model horse on wheels in front of a wagon with a large disk, thought to represent the Sun, being pulled across the sky. Horses were commonly used as Sun symbols in many cultures, and Frey's association with fertility may have been involved with his capacity as a Sun god.

On the other hand there are indications that overland ship processions may have been important among Germanics. Tacitus mentions that the Suebi worshipped the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose most important rite in her native land was being carried in procession in a ship. Tacitus may have heard of such an observance among Germanics and imposed his own understanding upon it, assuming the Germanics were honoring Isis. A German account of 1133 C.E. tells of a ship procession overland from Aachen to Maastricht and beyond, the ship greeted in each town with joyous shouts and dancing far into the night, possibly a celebration called forth by dim folk memory of the Peace of Nerthus. The account mentions the repugnance with which church authorities viewed this custom, denouncing it as heathenish and sinful. The elegant ship found buried in Oseberg, so clearly unfit for extended voyaging, could have been used in such processions, and Snorri says of the ship of the goddess Freyja that it could travel on both land and water.

Tacitus also tells us that the amber-gathering Germanics on the east coast of the Baltic worshipped "the mother of the gods," whose emblem was the wild boar, an image of which was worn by her folk. The boar was the sacred animal of Frey's sister Freyja. This goddess was associated with peace, too, since the boar amulet supposedly brought its wearer peace of mind and protection even among enemies.

The Aesir According to legend many of the Aesir were descended from Odin, the leader of the gods. He was known as the battle god, the god of royal power, the god of knowledge, the god of poetry, the god of seafarers, and the god of the slain. His many attributes suggest that he had absorbed a number of other deities along with their functions, even as Gothic war leaders-cum-kings gained the allegiance of peoples of many different ethnicities. He created the first man and woman, Ask and Embla, from tree trunks. His home was known as Valhalla. Odin's quest for knowledge was motivated by the need to collect intelligence to prepare for the doomsday battle that had been foretold, called Ragnarok. He could interrogate the dead and had two ravens, named Huginn, "thought," and Munnin, "memory," which flew all over the world daily. Odin's qualities of ruthlessness and cunning and his drive to obtain strategic knowledge were qualities that would benefit both warriors and merchants, making him a god for his times. Thor, another one of the Aesir, born of Odin and the goddess of the Earth, was the protector of the gods and of humans, charged with defending the world against giants. Known for his strength and his fighting prowess, he carried a hammer. The god of rain and thunder, he was also associated with farming. The Vikings sacrificed to Odin in time of war, Thor in times of famine or plague, and Frey before wedding celebrations and possibly at funerals. Several royal dynasties in Sweden and Norway claimed Frey as their founding ancestor.

Viking religion held that slain warriors were carried to the realm of the gods. In Valhalla they would then fight battles during the day and feast at night on boar meat and mead, an alcoholic drink made from honey, in preparation for the battle of Ragnarok. Those warriors who did not die in battle supposedly rotted in the cold north.

The cosmology of the Norse described by Snorri may have been common to other Germanic peoples, although his perspective as one living in a country that had been Christian for two centuries must be remembered. Snorri describes how the brothers Odin and Vilji og Ve made the world out of the body of a giant called Ymir. Ymir's skull, held by four dwarfs standing at the poles of the compass, west, east, north and south, was the sky, and inside it were the Sun and the Moon. The Earth was flat and surrounded by sea. In the middle of the Earth was Midgardur, inhabited by men. Around Midgardur stood a great wall for protection against the giants, which lived along the coasts.

Above the Earth but rooted there was a gigantic ash tree, called Askur Yggdrasils, its crown reaching above the sky. The tree's three roots each stood in a well. One well, called Mimisbrunnur, was located in Joetunheimar, or the giants' world. Another, called Hvergelmir,

was in Niflheimar, a very cold world far up in the north. The third well, called Urdarbrunnur, was in Asgardur, in heaven, the home of the Aesir. From Asgardur a bridge, called Bifrost, reached down to Midgardur on earth. The bridge, usually invisible to humans, from time to time appears as the rainbow. Far in the south was a very hot world, called Muspell.

Conversion to Christianity The Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, and Lombards were converted to Christianity of the Arian creed rather than to orthodox Catholicism and were soon seen as heretics. The one great written remnant of the Gothic language is a translation of portions of the Bible made by Ulfilas, the missionary who converted them.

The Franks, under the leadership of their king, Clovis, converted to Roman Catholicism in the sixth century, to some degree for the purpose of winning support from the Gallo-Roman aristocracy. Several centuries later Frankish missionaries and warriors led by Charlemagne undertook the conversion of their northern Saxon neighbors by armed force, in a series of campaigns whose purpose was the incorporation of Saxon lands into the Frankish empire. Christianity seems to have been important to many Germanics, especially of the ruling class, because it represented the sacred aspect of the Roman Empire. For centuries after the fall of Rome Germanic kings sought the favor of popes in the hope of being crowned Emperor of Rome. The fact that the "Roman Empire," whatever that may have meant by the time of the Middle Ages, was called the Holy Roman Empire gives a sense of how closely intertwined was the concept of Christ's kingdom with that of a secular but divinely inspired empire of the faithful, the mandate of whose emperor transcended those of the kings of the various nation-states warring and jostling among themselves for power.

The fourth-century Gothic Bible shows that the concept of the *thiudans* or sacred king still existed at that time, although among secular rulers applied only to the Roman emperor. A century later Theodoric the Great of the Ostrogoths was called *thiuda-reiks*. It is likely that in the sixth century the readiness of Clovis's people to follow him in converting to Catholicism arose in part from the ancient Germanic custom of looking to the sacred king for spiritual leadership. The charisma of Clovis's Merovingian dynasty was such that long after real power in Francia had passed to Charles Martel and his descendants, only the pope in Rome (formerly the seat of the Roman *thiudans,* the emperor) had the spiritual authority to anoint one of the latter as king, to transfer God's grace from one family to another. Thus in concept at least the heritage of later Holy Roman Emperors, who conceived of themselves as descending from Charlemagne, stretched back almost without interruption to the sacred kings of the Germanics.



Martin Luther burns the papal edict in Wittenberg in 1517 in this 19th-century painting. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-125570])*

Martin Luther: Founder of Protestantism

Martin Luther, born at Eisleben in the region of Saxony, Germany, in 1483, was the son of a copper miner, Hans Luther. At the age of 17 Martin enrolled at the University of Erfurt, with the intention of pursuing law. Yet in the summer of 1505 he abandoned his studies, sold his books, and entered an Augustinian monastery; he was eventually ordained as a priest. He was selected to teach philosophy at the University of Wittenberg, a new university staffed by monks. In 1509 he received his bachelor's degree in theology, and in 1512 his doctorate, whereupon he was granted the chair of biblical theology at Wittenberg, which he held until his death.

In the course of his studies Luther began questioning the practices of the Catholic Church, in particular the selling of indulgences. On October 31, 1517, he posted his Ninety-five Theses (possibly on the door of Castle Church in Wittenberg, as tradition maintains). The emperor, Charles V, condemned him when he refused to recant before the Diet of Worms in April 1521. A friend, Frederick of Saxony, kept him in hiding at his castle, where Luther worked on his writings.

Luther maintained that God interacts with Christians through the law, such as the Ten Commandments, as well as the Gospel, the message concerning Christ, the kingdom of God, and salvation. He also maintained that all Christians are born both sinners and saints and can only be salvaged by the grace of God, not by their actions. Accordingly he believed God cannot be understood through philosophy but only can manifest himself. Luther challenged the pope's political authority as the final interpreter of the Scripture. His theology, however, was misinterpreted by the peasants during the Peasants' War against the nobility in 1524–26, which he strongly opposed, causing him loss of support.

Luther's reforms were the basis of what is known as the Protestant Reformation and the Protestant sect known as Lutheranism. As an active priest and teacher he translated the New Testament into German and published many works to support his theology, including *On Christian Liberty, The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, On the Bondage of the Will,* and *Small Catechims.*

Luther's marriage to Katharina von Bora, a former nun, initiated the tradition of clerical marriage. His hymns inspired congregational singing. Late in life he wrote controversial polemics against Jews, the papacy, and Anabaptists (who believed baptism should only be administered to believers and not to infants). He died at Eisleben in 1546.



Portrait shows Martin Luther *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-106323])*

Protestant Reformation and the Holy Roman Empire The presence in German lands of the Holy Roman Empire gave added impetus to the 16th-century Protestant reform movement there. Its secularizing aspect, the determination to loosen the grip of the church on affairs of state, was apparent in the ambition of German princes, especially in the north, to gain independence from the empire. In Germany many of the same trends fueling desires for reform existed as in other countries—growing discontent with church corruption and with theologically based strictures on financial and economic activity, and the humanist movement, among others. When Martin Luther (see sidebar), who had begun the Reformation with his highly publicized denunciations of the Catholic Church and his posting of the Ninety-five Theses in 1517, was excommunicated and declared an outlaw—the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V thundering against him—the powerful elector of Saxony, Frederick III, took Luther into his protection. The incredible speed with which the Reformation spread through central and northern Germany was in large part driven by the eagerness of German princes to be free of the empire.

The violence that for centuries would attend the Protestant-Catholic opposition all over Europe appeared early in Germany in the Peasants' War (1524–25), whose proponents saw in Luther's theology support for their cause (which Luther himself repudiated), and the Knights' War (1522–23), in which the emperor unsuccessfully attempted to force the ecclesiastical princes (those who had left church and empire) to accept his rule once more. In the 17th century the Thirty Years' War would concentrate the conflicts unleashed in much of Europe and fight them out mostly on German soil.

Throughout the 16th century Protestantism continued to spread in Germany. By 1530 the principalities of Bayreuth, Ansbach, Anhalt, and Brunswick-Lüneburg and, in the next few years, Pomerania, Jülich-Cleve, and Wurtemberg had all left the Catholic Church. Soon afterward Silesia and the duchy of Liegnitz followed. In a few years almost all of Germany, from the Netherlands frontier in the west to the Polish frontier in the east, the territory of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, central Germany with the exception of the greater part of the western portion, and (in southern Germany) Pfalz-Zweibrücken and other small domains, with numerous free cities, was Protestant. Maximilian II, emperor from 1564 to 1576, was lukewarm in defense of Catholicism, having Protestant leanings himself. By 1600 only a few Catholic enclaves remained. Two of them, Bavaria and the Tyrol in the Austrian Alps, were compared by a contemporary Catholic churchman to the two tribes of Israel, which alone were saved while all the others were carried off captive.

The Catholic Church was mounting determined efforts to turn the tide, however. This movement is generally called the Counter-Reformation. Standing nunciatures (papal embassies) were established at Catholic courts instead of the former somewhat informal special envoys; men of probity replaced corrupt church officials; colleges of Jesuits, the priestly order in the forefront of the fight against Protestantism, were established in many areas of Germany. The Hapsburg emperor Rudolph II, a staunch Catholic, pressured Catholic German princes to reform the Catholic Church in their realms. The Jesuit-educated Ferdinand of Styria, who would later ascend to the Hapsburg throne as Ferdinand II, succeeded in re-Catholicizing his previously Protestant domains of Carniola and Styria.

These efforts met with resentment in many quarters, particularly in countries, such as Bohemia, under direct Hapsburg rule. Under the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 the practice of Lutheranism had been sanctioned in the empire, and Protestants began building churches, in some cases on lands owned by the Catholic Church, but held from the Crown and thus falling under the terms of the Peace of Augsburg. Then, however, local ecclesiastical rulers made use of an ambiguity in the terms concerning such lands, declaring that they were not held from the Crown but remained under Catholic jurisdiction. In 1617 in two Bohemian districts Protestant churches were destroyed and Protestant worship forbidden. Failing to obtain satisfactory redress from the imperial government, in 1618 Protestant nobles met with two local imperial officials in Prague and hurled them out of a window in the so-called Defenestration of Prague, which inaugurated the conflict that would grow into the Thirty Years' War. Imperial forces, aided by the Catholic League, a military alliance among Catholic princes, marched against the Bohemians and defeated them in 1620.

Among the first acts of the rebel Bohemian government were to confiscate church lands and to eject the hated Jesuits from Bohemia, both indicative of the deep frustration felt in many places north of the Alps at interference in local affairs emanating from Rome. The connection of the Holy Roman Empire with the papacy, which for centuries had anointed the emperor with the chrism of Christ's own church and assured him the fervent loyalty of all Germans, would now prove its undoing.

During the first part of the Thirty Years' War the Catholic side was more successful, and parts of Germany were returned to the Catholic fold. The Edict of Restitution (1629), issued by Ferdinand II, declared that ecclesiastical lands that had been seized by Protestant princes at the beginning of the Reformation should revert to Catholicism, an eventuality that would have had grave consequences for Protestantism. However, the entry of Sweden, France, and other Protestant supporters into the war swung the balance the other way, and when the Treaty of Westphalia brought the conflict to an end, its provisions kept the ecclesiastical lands in Protestant hands and stipulated that rulers could continue to determine the religion of their subjects (although they were free to allow toleration if they chose). Because most German princes were Protestant, this was a severe blow to the Catholic Church. However, in the Hapsburg territories of Bohemia and Austria the emperor was given a nearly free hand to reimpose Catholicism. But the fervor of the Counter-Reformation was lost in the war, which had been so devastating for the German people, exhausting them in body and spirit, and in Germany the power of the Hapsburgs, the foremost promoters of the Catholic Church, was broken.

In the study of early Germanic society it is important to understand that most of what we know dates from the time after the start of the first millennium C.E., when Germanic peoples were undergoing rapid and radical changes stemming from increasing contact with Romans. Some Germanic groups became increasingly intertwined with and integrated into Roman society as time went on, greatly changing that society as well. The frontier society that developed along the Rhine during the first centuries C.E. was neither fully Roman nor wholly barbarian. Other groups suffered dislocation and displacement during the wholesale movements that kept Europe in a turmoil for centuries. Thus no single picture of Germanic society through time or across space is possible. Some tribes, such as the Vandals and Suebi, were adventurers and invaders; others, such as the Visigoths, developed from refugees into the creators of a vibrant and stable society; the Franks, long nurtured by the last Romans as they guarded them, learned from their example how to establish an empire of their own; the Ostrogoths for a brief moment succeeded in integrating Germanic and Roman societies. Understanding the early Germanics is important because their outlook and institutions

GERMANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Germany (Deutschland); Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland)

derivation of name:
Meaning "land of the spear men" from the Germanic roots *gar,* or spear, and *man*

government:
Federal republic

capital:
Berlin

language:
Official language of Germany is German; Standard High German differs from many dialects of spoken German; minorities such as Danes, Sorbs, Frisians, and Rroma preserve their native languages; Italian, Greek, Turkish, Spanish, and Serbo-Croatian are also heard.

religion:
About 38 percent of the population are Protestant; about 34 percent Roman Catholic; an equal percentage profess no religious affiliation; a small percentage are Muslim and Jewish.

earlier inhabitants:
Scythians; Sarmatians; Celts; tribal Germanics (Suebi; Franks; Saxons; etc.); Romans; tribal Slavs (Polabians, etc.)

demographics:
About 90 percent of the population are Germans; Turks make up the largest minority; other groups include Danes, Sorbs, Frisians, Rroma, Serbo-Croatian, Italians, Russians, Greeks, Polish, Spanish, and Jews.

formed the basis of the history and society of most of western Europe in the early Middle Ages and beyond. Even today Europe would be a far different place if it had not felt the seminal influence of the early Germanic peoples.

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Germans: nationality (people of Germany)

GEOGRAPHY

Germany is bordered by the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France to the west; Switzerland and Austria to the south; the Czech Republic and Poland to the east; and Denmark to the north. The Baltic Sea extends from Germany in the northeast. Germany has a total area of 137,827 square miles. Northern Germany consists of low-lying plains used for farming, notably, the North German Plain; hills and forested uplands make up central Germany, and to the south lie the Central Alps. The Bavarian Alps, part of the southern Alpine zone, contain the Black Forest, the Bavarian and Bohemian Forests, and the Franconian and Swabian Mountains. Germany's highest peak, Zugspitze (9,718 feet), is also found there. Off Germany's coast are several islands, including the Frisian Islands, Helgoland, and Rügen. The Rhenish Slate Mountains and the Ruhr Valley in the west are the sites of major mining industries; the Rhineland in the south is a large agricultural region. The important waterways of Germany include the Rhine River; the Oder, which defines the Polish-German border; and the Elbe River. These rivers are important resources for Germany's industrial and commercial development. Principal lakes include the Lake of Constance and the glacial lakes of Bavaria.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Before the ninth century C.E., Germany was a collection of tribal Germanics—the Franks the most powerful among them. Out of these kingdoms, principalities and duchies emerged. Although the Holy Roman Empire incorporated Germanic emperors, no national German identification developed with this entity; present-day Germany was only a small portion of its territory, encompassing many different peoples, cultures, and lands (including portions or entireties of modern-day France, Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Poland). Internal struggle and outright civil war broke out, especially in the 12th and 13th centuries; whole countries were won and lost during respective periods of strong centralized power or near anarchy.

By the time the French under Napoleon I Bonaparte conquered the region in 1806, officially dissolving the Holy Roman Empire, German principalities within the empire had gradually become more powerful and autonomous. German nationalism grew throughout the Napoleonic Wars. In 1815, led by the Prussian principality, the German states formed a confederation that lasted until 1867. However, internal struggles with Austria prevented formation of a proper unified German nation until Prussian ruler Otto von Bismarck seized control in the

Germans: nationality time line

C.E.

c. 800 Oldest known literary work in German, epic *Hildebrandslied* (*Lay of Hildebrand*), is written.

843 Charlemagne's empire is divided into three kingdoms under Treaty of Verdun; Louis II wins lands east of Rhine River, which later become Germany.

911 German kingdom is divided into duchies of Bavaria, Lorraine, Franconia, Saxony, and Swabia.

955 Otto I defeats Hungarians in southern Germany, extending northern German boundary and gaining parts of middle Frankish territories, including Italy.

962 Otto I is crowned; he is later designated first Holy Roman Emperor.

1075 Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII dispute over religious power; civil wars result.

1138 Hohenstaufen emperors unite Germany.

c. 1200–1210 Epic poem *Nibelungenlied* (*Song of the Nibelungen*), based on pagan Germanic traditions, is written.

1210 Gottfried von Strassburg writes epic poem *Tristan and Isolt;* Wolfram von Eschenbach writes epic *Parzival.*

1254 Hohenstaufen dynasty ends.

1273 Rudolf I becomes first Hapsburg ruler.

1300s Hanseatic League rules northern Germany.

1450 Printer Johannes Gutenberg constructs printing press that uses movable type.

1514 *Melancholia I* by Albrecht Dürer exemplifies technique of engraving.

1517 Lutheran revolt brings about Protestant Reformation.

1521 Martin Luther publishes German translation of Bible.

1555 Emperor Charles V signs Peace of Augsburg, permitting Protestantism.

1609 Mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler announces laws of planetary motion in *Astonomia nova*, expanding on them in 1619 in *Harmonice mundi.*

1618 Ruler of Brandenburg inherits duchy of Prussia.

1618–48 Religious conflicts of Thirty Years' War; Peace of Westphalia ends war.

c. 1620 In *Summa theologie* Albertus Magnus attempts to reconcile Christian and Aristotelianism teachings.

1721 Georg Philipp Telemann settles in Hamburg, becoming town music director.

1740 Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, gains Silesia, Austrian province; war between Prussia and Austria results.

1740–56 War of Austrian Succession

1742 George Frideric Handel's oratorio *Messiah* is first performed.

1747 Composer and organist Johann Sebastian Bach visits Prussian king Frederick II (Frederick the Great) in Pottsdam and improvises on newly invented pianos.

1756–63 Seven Years' War begins, with Prussia and Austria competing for Silesia; Great Britain and France, allies of Prussia and Austria, respectively, carry the war abroad in an overseas struggle for colonial power; peace treaty at end of Seven Years' War maintains Prussian control of Silesia.

1770 Philosopher Immanuel Kant receives chair at University of Königsberg as professor of logic and metaphysics.

1781 *Critik der reinen vernuft* (*Critique of Pure Reason*) by philosopher Immanuel Kant is published (revised in 1787).

Astronomer Friedrich Wilhelm Herschel (Sir William Herschel to British) discovers planet Uranus.

1788 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel enters seminary at University of Tübingen, where he becomes friends with philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling and poet Friedrich Hölderlin.

(continues)

Germans: nationality time line *(continued)*

1799 Poet and playwright Friedrich von Schiller moves to Weimar where he devotes his time to writing.

1799–1804 Naturalist Alexander von Humboldt conducts studies in Latin America.

1800–24 Ludwig van Beethoven composes nine symphonies.

1806 Napoleon I Bonaparte establishes series of French dependent German states known as Confederation of the Rhine, ending Holy Roman Empire; Prussia declares war on France.

1807 Carl Friedrich Gauss is appointed professor of mathematics and director of observatory at Göttingen.

1812 When Napoleon fails to conquer Russia, Austria, the United Kingdom, Prussia, and Russia unite against France.

1812–15 *Kinder-und Hausmärchen* (*Grimm's Fairy Tales*) by brothers Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm and Wilhelm Karl Grimm are published.

1815 Napoleon I Bonaparte is defeated at Waterloo; German Confederation, a union of 39 independent states, is formed at Congress of Vienna.

1819 Philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer's principal work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (*The World as Will and Idea*), is published.

1822 Heinrich Heine's first volume of verse *Gedichte* (*Poems*) is published.

1830 Robert Alexander Schumann abandons study of law in order to devote himself to music.

1832 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe completes poetic drama *Faust;* Werner Karl Heisenberg wins Nobel Prize in physics.

1843 Composer Felix Mendelssohn helps found Leipzig Conservatory and begins serving as director.

1847 Physicist and anatomist Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz publishes paper on the principle of conservation of energy; in 1850 he determines velocity of nerve impulses.

1849 Frankfurt Assembly meets with hope of unifying nation after Germans revolt; German Confederation is reestablished.

1866 Bismarck fights Austria in Seven Weeks' War; German Confederation is dissolved; Bismarck annexes Prussian territory and establishes North German Confederation.

1867 First volume of *Das Kapital* by political philosopher Karl Marx is published; second and third volumes, edited by Friedrich Engels, are published in 1885 and 1894.

1870–71 In Franco-Prussian War France and Prussia dispute over Spanish throne.

1871 Wilhelm I becomes first kaiser of German Empire, uniting all German states; Bismarck becomes chancellor.

1874 Composer Richard Wagner completes text for four-part epic cycle *Der Ring Des Nibelungen* (*The Ring of the Nibelungs*).

1882 Italy joins Austria-Hungary and Germany to form Triple Alliance.

1883–85 Philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche presents his theory of Übermensch ("Superman" or "Overman") in *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spake Zarathustra*).

1902 Historian Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1907–08 Rainer Maria Rilke develops new style of lyric poetry in *Neue Gedichte (New Poems).*

1908 Philosopher Rudolf Christoph Eucken wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1910 Prose writer and poet Paul Johann Ludwig Heyse wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1912 Playwright Gerhart Johann Robert Hauptmann wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1914 Germany supports Austria when World War I begins.

Albert Einstein becomes professor at University of Berlin; in 1921 he wins Nobel Prize in physics.

1918 Germany becomes republic; under Treaty of Versailles, ending World War I; German part of Lorraine is ceded to France; Allies occupy Rhineland, and Germany is required to reduce army and pay reparations.

Max Karl Ernst Ludwig Planck wins Nobel Prize in physics.

1919 New constitution is written under an elected national assembly; Weimar Republic is established; two-parliament house and people elect president, who appoints the chancellor.

Walter Adolph Gropius founds Bauhaus school of design in Weimar.

1920s German expressionism finds an outlet in such silent films as *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*), directed by Robert Weine in 1919–20, and *Metropolis,* directed by Fritz Lang in 1926.

1928 *Die Dreigroschenoper* (*The Three-Penny Opera*), a collaboration by composer Kurt Weill and writer Bertolt Brecht, opens.

1929 Novelist Thomas Mann wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1934 President Hindenburg dies, and Adolf Hitler, who was declared chancellor in 1933, declares himself der führer; Nazi government is known as Third Reich.

1936 Germany occupies Rhineland.

1938 Germany annexes Austria and Sudetenland; German Jews, Jewish properties, and synagogues are attacked during Kristallnacht, or Night of Broken Glass.

1939 World War II begins when Germany invades Poland.

1945 Germany surrenders to Allies; World War II ends; Germany is divided into four zones occupied by United States, Britain, France, and Soviet Union; by Potsdam Conference the occupying powers agree to rebuild and govern Germany.

1945–46 In Nürnberg (Nuremberg) trials Nazi war criminals are sentenced.

1946 Novelist Hermann Hesse wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1947 German National Library is founded in Frankfurt; it moves to Berlin in 1970.

1948 Americans, British, and French integrate their sections of Berlin into one economic entity.

1949 U.S., French, and British zones become West Germany or Federal Republic of Germany; Soviet zone becomes East Germany or Communist German Democratic Republic.

1955 West Germany joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); East Germany joins Warsaw Pact.

1957 Germany joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).

1960s–70s Filmmakers Wim Wenders, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, and Volker Schlöndorff help establish Neu Welle, German New Wave, in cinema.

1961 Berlin Wall is erected.

1966 Poet Nelly Leonie Sachs wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1970 Karlheinz Stockhausen creates multimedia work *Stockhoven-Beethausen,* part of celebration of 200th anniversary of birth of composer Ludwig van Beethoven.

1972 Novelist Heinrich Böll wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1973 West Germany and East Germany join United Nations (UN).

1989 Berlin Wall is torn down.

1990 East and West Germany are united under Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

1991 Parliament declares Berlin new capital of United Germany.

1993 Germany becomes one of 12 original members of European Union (EU).

1999 Novelist Günter Wilhelm Grass wins Nobel Prize in literature.



German men and women cut rye near Schwarza, Germany, in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-118961])*

Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. In 1871 the German Empire was born; it consisted of present-day Germany, much of Poland, and present-day French regions of Alsace and Lorraine. Germany continued to become a major industrial and colonial power; its defeat in World War I (1914–18) led to a great reduction in its size, loss of power, and economic ruin. The ultranationalist Nazi Party emerged, launching World War II in 1939, during which Germany recovered much lost territory and occupied great portions of the European mainland. Defeat in 1945 reduced Germany's borders, and it lost much of its former Prussian lands to Poland. Germany was also divided into United States, British, French, and Soviet zones of occupation. In 1949 the U.S., British, and French zones were reconstituted, forming West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) and East Germany (the German Democratic Republic). The city of Berlin within the borders of East Germany was also divided. The collapse of Communist power in the East led to dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and German reunification in 1990.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

In considering the nature of the Germans' sense of their national cultural identity it is important to remember that Germany's political organization differed greatly from those of other European nations, particularly France and Great Britain, who had unified states with strong central governments by the end of the Middle Ages. In contrast, for centuries the political organization of Germany consisted of a loose confederation of bishoprics and principalities of various sizes under the no more than notional rule of the Holy Roman Emperor. In spite of this decentralization culture flourished in German lands. The Bach family in Thüringen provides a case in point; over seven generations they produced more than 50 important musicians, many of them in the latter 17th and 18th centuries. Johann Sebastian Bach was employed by the princes of Weimar and of Anhalt-Köthen (at the latter's court he composed the *Well-Tempered Klavier*) and dedicated a set of orchestral concertos to the Margrave of Brandenburg, a small principality in the sphere of influence of Prussia but nevertheless independent. Later in life he went to Leipzig to direct music at St. Thomas's Church, where his employers were the council. However parochial the people of Leipzig were, and however often Bach quarreled with the council, his employment there afforded him the peace and security to compose almost 300 cantatas and his most epic works—among them the *B minor Mass* and the *St. Matthew* and *St. John Passions*. In the 18th century three generations of the Beethoven family were employed at the court of the elector archbishop of Cologne, who maintained, in addition to a church choir, a full orchestra capable of playing the greatest works of the day, and an opera company.

The arts and sciences have long been central to German identity, a product of the long centuries, from the later Middle Ages to the 19th century, of political impotence. In contrast to France, the German Enlightenment of the 18th century played itself out largely in intellectual rather than active political achievement and was thus marked by a somewhat unworldly idealism. Its great heroes were not princes and military leaders as in France and England but rather poets and philosophers such as Friedrich von Schiller, Immanuel Kant, and preeminently Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, sometimes called the "George Washington" of Germany. As the universalizing tendencies of the Enlightenment were replaced by the nationalist revivals of the romantic movement, the idea of a German nation rooted in a primordial substrate of the soul of the

German Volk was born in the minds of scholars such as the Grimm brothers. A strong impetus toward German nationalism came to life in Prussia in reaction to its conquest and occupation by Napoleonic France.

Thus a sense of German nationhood has been a somewhat reactive one, and when the unified German state came into being in the 19th century, its leaders looked abroad, particularly to Great Britain, for models of how to proceed. The fact that German unification very soon led to the unparalleled disasters—for Germany and for the world—of the two world wars and Nazism has cast a deep shadow on Germany as a political entity. The shadow only slowly began to lift in the latter half of the 20th century as a result of the Germany's deep commitment to pacifism, social justice, and equality and the German government's lavish support of cultural enterprises. A huge number of organizations, maintained entirely or in part by public funds, are devoted to cultural exchange between Germany and the rest of the world. These efforts are aimed at acquainting the international public with the culture, life, and language of the German peoples and familiarizing the German public with those of other countries. Special emphasis in foreign cultural exchange is placed on fostering educational and cultural ties with the world's less-developed countries. For them Germany has not only assumed a major role in lending reserves of technological skill and capital for developing resources, but it has also become a major center for the education and training of students of these countries in the professions, the sciences, and technology. In this way Germans strive to realize the ideal of the German nation as essentially a cultural rather than a political entity.

It has been said that Goethe's poetry is part of the history of the German soul, revealing its essence. Even a simple poem like "The Heath Rosebud," about a budding rose trying to fend off with her thorns the boy who would pick her, only to be plucked at last, gives a sense of German reticence in love, or "Bliss in Sorrow," that is, the value of tears of unhappy love in preventing despair.

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Getae (Getians; Geto-Dacians)

The name Getae appeared in texts of the Greeks, such as those of the fifth-century B.C.E. historian Herodotus, in reference to a people living in present-day Romania from the Carpathian Mountains to the Danube River. Ancestral tribes, grouped together as Thracians, are thought to have settled the region by the sixth century B.C.E.

The Getae spoke a Thracian dialect but were influenced culturally by the Scythians and Sarmatians living to the west and became skilled horse-mounted archers. Celts who settled in the region in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. influenced their technology. One of the Getic deities was Zalmoxis. Getae first appeared in the Athenian slave market in the fourth century. They eventually became trading partners with the Greeks, imported Greek wine, and began to use Greek coins. The Getae formed a royal alliance with the Macedonians; a Getic princess married Philip II in 342 B.C.E. Philip's son, Alexander the Great, invaded their territory during his reign.

Some scholars consider the Getae and Dacians to be the same people at different stages of their history and discuss their culture as Geto-Dacian. In the mid-first century B.C.E. Burebistas organized a kingdom consisting of descendants of those whom the Greeks had called Getae, as well as Dacians, or Daci, the name applied to people of the region by the Romans.

Other peoples of other language families became known as Dacians in ancient times because they lived in the province known as Dacia. The name Getae was mistakenly applied by later writers to the Goths.

GETAE

location:
Romania

time period:
Sixth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Thracian

language:
Thracian

Geto-Dacians *See* Dacians; Getae.

Golaseccans (Golaseccii)

The Golaseccans lived in the southern Alps in present-day northwestern Italy. They are considered the earliest CELTS in that region, dating to about 1000 B.C.E.; they spoke the Lepontic form of Continental Celtic. (They may have been Celtic speaking from their beginnings, perhaps Celticized as a result of contacts with Celts living north of the Alps.) The Golasecca culture is associated with that of the INSUBRES and LIBICI, who are thought to be their descendants.

Golden Horde *See* MONGOLS.

Goplanians (Goplans; Goplanes)

The Goplanians are classified as a tribe of Western SLAVS, living in the Inowroclaw region of present-day north-central Poland by the beginning of the ninth century C.E. As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS. Along with the POLANIANS, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, they are among the ancestors of the POLES.

Goths (Gothi; Gotones; Gothones; Gutones; Gutonen; Götar; Ostrogoths; Visigoths)

The Goths were a confederacy of tribes, including a small Germanic tribe known as the Gutones or Gutonen (from whom the Goths name may have been derived; *Gutones* may mean the people) and other peoples, some from the Asian steppes. By the third century C.E. they had gathered around the Greek and Roman cities along the Black Sea. The Gothic confederacy became increasingly unified under the command of a single overall war leader or king. They were an important conduit by which cultural elements from steppe peoples traveled west, one of these the use of cavalry.

The Goths later subdivided into the OSTROGOTHS and VISIGOTHS, who became some of the most powerful of the GERMANICS and spread into western Europe. The name Goth has also been applied to all the eastern Germanic tribes, including the Goths proper, BASTARNAE, BURGUNDII, GEPIDS, HERULI, LOMBARDS, LUGII, RUGII, SCIRI, and VANDALS, but the histories of the various groups are distinct.

GOTHS

location:
Vistula River; Baltic Sea to Black Sea in central and eastern Europe

time period:
First century to c. 370 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Gothic (Germanic)

ORIGINS

Events in the interior of Germanic territory in the early centuries C.E., whose details are not known, led to changes and migrations among Germanic and other peoples.

Gothic legend maintained that the Goths had migrated from Scandinavia as a whole people in three boats and reached the estuary of the Vistula, but this event is unlikely. In any case by the first century some among them—perhaps the Gauti or Gauts, a people of present-day central Sweden—may have settled in the territory between the island of Rügen in present-day northeastern Germany and the Vistula River in present-day northwestern Poland (a region known as Pomerania and later Prussia). Archaeologists have named the culture Willenberg-Wielbark after the Polish town; it was distinct from other cultures in the region in that the deceased were buried without their weapons, a custom maintained by later Goths.

The perhaps ancestral Gutones, are thought to have settled along the eastern bank of the Vistula by the second century. For a time they were dominated by other Germanic peoples in the region, in particular the Vandals, Lugii, and Rugii. In the second half of the second century they began spreading south and southeast to parts of present-day Belarus and Ukraine; the core group eventually reached the banks of the Dnieper near present-day Kiev, Ukraine, and by about 214 the Black Sea. Another Gothic legend maintains that they began their migrations southward after a group of foreign nobles entered Goth territory from the far south and either took control of or influenced the leaders of the tribe.

Whether or not such an event happened, the movements of peoples from the Germanic territory had very probably been set in motion by a "systems crisis" there, in which the low level of raiding that had been endemic in Germanic society for centuries flared into large-scale war, as overpopulation and the unequal distribution of wealth created new competition for resources and led tribes that had become more militarized under the influence of the Romans to attack one another with devastating results. The Goths' consolidation of power and expansion along the Vistula were probably among the causes of the crisis.

In the course of these years other peoples—neighboring Germanic tribes, BALTS, and SARMATIANS—had become part of a confederation with Gothic military leadership. The Goths, as they became known to the ROMANS, were thus polyethnic. The Romans originally referred to them as SCYTHIANS, after earlier inhabitants of the Dnieper region near Kiev.

The most important and defining characteristic of the Gothic confederacy, as earlier of the Gutones, was its possession of a relatively permanent overall war leader or king. This form of leader was very uncharacteristic of Germanic peoples, who in the past had elected war leaders only as a temporary measure in times of crisis. The very existence of Gothic kings shows that the Gothic confederacy emerged from crisis. The great heterogeneity of the members of this diverse coalition of war bands, tribes, and other groupings required that all accept a single leader, whose significance transcended ethnicity. In this the king of the Goths was a barbarian equivalent of the emperor of Rome.

The territory near the Black Sea where the Gothic confederacy came into being consisted of forest steppe and steppe ecologies, which attracted steppe peoples from central Eurasia. The Goths' culture shows the influence of these peoples, some of whom joined their group. The Goths have tentatively been identified with materials of what is called by archaeologists the Cherniakhovo culture. The dispersal of some of the Goths from the Black Sea region and the subjugation of others by the HUNS in the late fourth and fifth centuries are reflected in the collapse of the Cherniakhovo culture in some areas at that time and its survival in a form much modified by Hunnic influence.

Goths time line

C.E.

first century Goths living along Vistula River

second century Goths migrate to Dnieper River.

c. 214 Goths reach Black Sea.

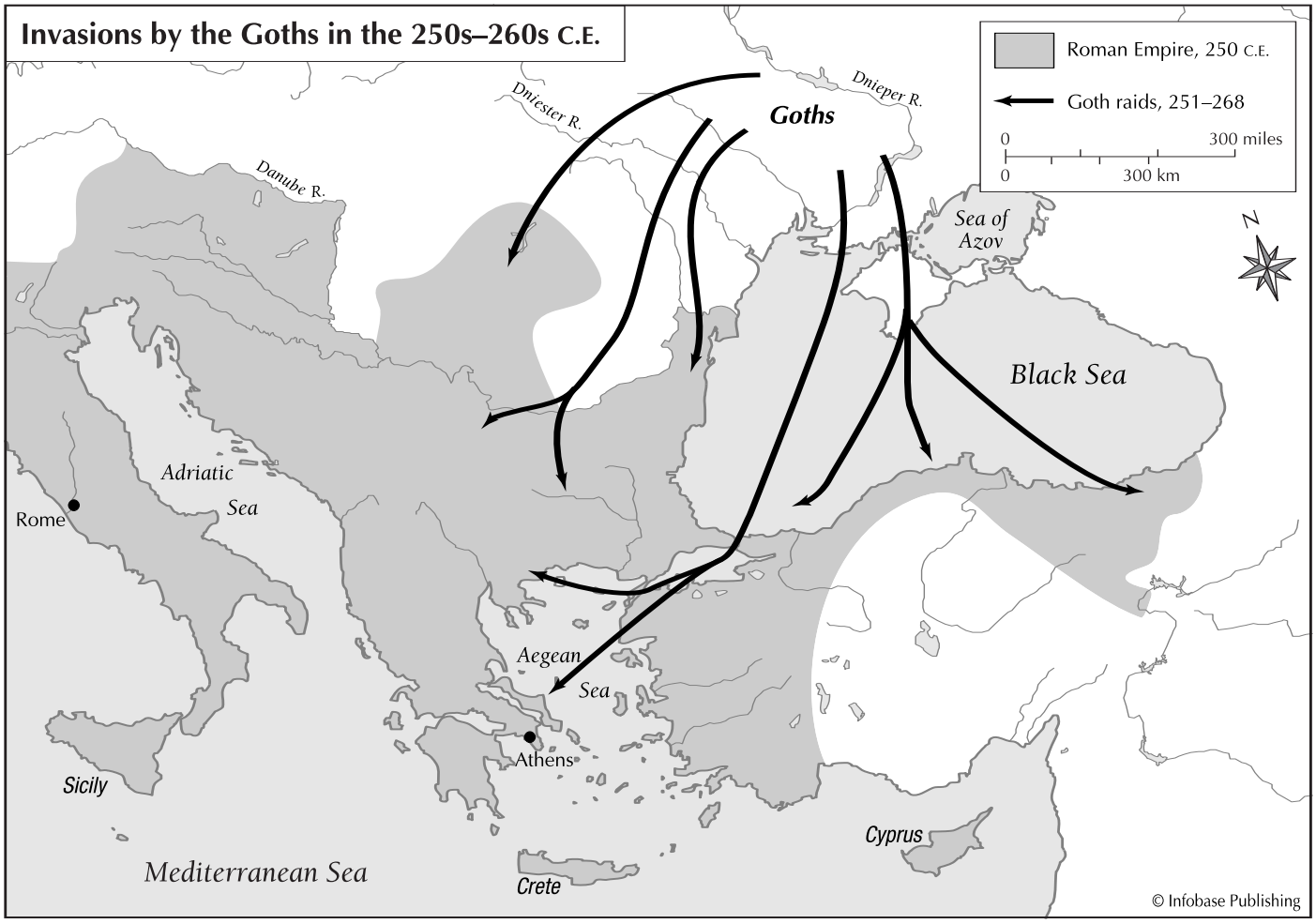
251 Goths defeat Romans at Abrittus and kill Emperor Decius.

267–68 Goths plunder Athens.

269 Goths defeated by Romans in Battle of Naissus.

c. 290 Goths separate into groups that evolve into Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

c. 370s Huns reach Black Sea, leading to dispersion of various Gothic groups.



LANGUAGE

The Goths spoke an East Germanic dialect, referred to as Gothic. With the exception of a few northern inscriptions it is the oldest Germanic dialect known from surviving fragments of the fourth-century translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, bishop of the Gothic Christians, as well as some other scattered writings.

HISTORY

Because the Romans grouped many of the invading "barbarian" tribes together, it is impossible to know with certainty when the first battle between Romans and Goths occurred. The years 213 and 238 C.E. are both given for the first conflict, depending on sources. In any case the Goths were known to carry out raids in the Roman province of Dacia (roughly modern Romania) after their arrival in the region.

In 251 the Goths under Cniva battled troops under Emperor Decius at Abrittus near the mouth of the Danube in present-day northern Bulgaria and, luring the Romans into a swampy area, defeated them, even killing the emperor. The incursions of the Goths were far more devastating to the empire than those of the MARCOMANNI in the war named after them of 166–180. In the ensuing years, first in 257, the Goths carried out nautical raids on coastal cities of the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Aegean Sea, in both Europe and Asia Minor.

The Goths mounted a combined land and sea invasion westward onto the Balkan Peninsula and captured Athens in 267–268 but were defeated by Emperor Claudius II near Naissus (modern Niš Serbia) in 269. He became the first emperor to take Gothicus as a triumphal title (thus establishing the tribal name Goth in the historical record). Emperor Aurelian, who succeeded Claudius, drove the Goths back north of the Danube by 271, after which he took the title Gothicus Maximus. Aurelian's armies used scorched-earth tactics in the Gothic territories, and the Gothic confederacy was destroyed. Yet, recognizing the continuing threat of the Goths, he made the decision not to attempt to hold the province of Dacia, the last European province established by Rome some century and a half earlier.

Division

The defeat of the Goths by the Romans started a period of new movement and reorganization among the Goths, who by about 290 had formed two political entities. The group later known as Ostrogoths (eastern Goths), centered on the royal family of the Amali, inhabited the region north of the Black Sea east of the Dniester River (part of modern Ukraine and Belarus). Those who would become known as the Visigoths (good Goths or noble Goths) were the western Goths, whose domain extended northwest of the Black Sea from the Dniester to the Danube (part of modern Moldova and Romania). This group was led by a number of aristocratic families, in particular the Balthis.

Their respective domains grew. In the east a possibly legendary Amali king named Ostrogotha founded a royal dynasty. The confederacy he led was known to the Romans as the Greutungi or Scythians, the latter a Greek term for steppe peoples. Little is known about the Greutungi during this time because they were so far from Rome. The first Greutungi king known to history was Ermanaric of the fourth century, who ruled an empire extending from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, centered along the Dnieper River.

In 332 Ariarich of the Balthi dynasty of the Gothic confederation known as Tervingi or Tervingians negotiated the first in a series of treaties with the Eastern Roman emperor Constantine. Among their provisions the Tervingians were to receive annual payments; in return they would supply men for the Roman military. The Tervingians were in general faithful federates of Rome and became deeply influenced by Roman imperial values and structures, although there were both pro- and anti-Roman factions among them. Their polyethnic society more closely resembled the hierarchical, top-down Near East societies than those of the Germanic tribes of the first century C.E. whom Tacitus had described, whose free warriors were able to some degree to govern themselves in their own assemblies.

Friction between the pro- and anti-Roman factions, the former led by Fritigern and the latter by the Balthi leader Athaneric, grew after the mid-fourth century. To unite the Tervingians under his rule, threatened by Fritigern, Athaneric fought the Eastern Roman emperor Valens in a series of battles that culminated in a treaty in 369 in which the Goths were treated as virtual equals rather than federates.

The rivalry between Athaneric and Fritigern was largely played out in religious terms; the pro-Roman Fritigern adopted Arian Christianity (not because he was influenced

by the missionary Bishop Ulfilas, who did not profess Arianism, but because Valens practiced it); Athaneric spurned Christianity altogether and sought to maintain the Gothic tradition, perhaps fearing that Christianity would interfere with the cult of the *thiudans,* which had long been a successful unifying force. From 369 Athaneric conducted persecutions of Christians of all sects. Ulfilas led a congregation into the Roman province of Moesia (modern Serbia and Montenegro and northern Bulgaria).

The fate of the Tervingians was decided externally with the arrival in the 370s, of the Huns, a polyethnic confederacy of steppe peoples out of Asia. Athaneric's forces were destroyed, and the majority of the elite followed Fritigern across the Danube into the empire. The onslaught of the HUNS led to new movements among the respective groups, greater geographical separation, and a renewed period of ethnogenesis. The emergence of the new Gothic confederacy called the Visigoths began as Fritigern and his followers sought a place for themselves within the Roman Empire. This would take some 40 years of repeated migrations, conflict, and suffering, which later led the Visigoths to compare themselves to the biblical Hebrew people wandering for 40 years in the Sinai Desert.

The Greutungi to the east were overrun by the Huns. Their king, Ermanaric, may have sacrificed himself to the gods in a desperate plea for aid, and they were subjected to a harsh domination. A small group of them fled to the Roman Empire and were settled in Pannonia, but the majority accepted Hunnic rule, however ambivalent they were about their new masters, and served them faithfully. They even adopted Hunnic clothing, weapons, and the practice of skull deformation. Huns and Greutungi shared names—the name Attila is actually Gothic—and Goths bore Hunnic names. At the same time the Greutungi Goths retained their ancient tradition of identifying themselves in terms of their service to their ruler. But it was only on the collapse of the Hunnic confederacy after the death of Attila that the Greutungi became known to other peoples as the Ostrogoths.

The Tervingians under Fritigern pleaded with the Roman authorities for permission to cross the Danube to escape the Huns. The Romans split this group in two. One was given lands in the northern Balkans, where they were allowed to settle; the other was sent to the eastern Roman frontier to augment the military forces there.

Because of their varying fortunes the two Gothic groups even battled each other, Ostrogoths fighting as allies of the Huns and Visigoths as allies of the Romans.

Some Goths, mostly Visigoths, who had settled in Moesia in the fourth century became known as Moesogoths; the Catholic bishop Ulfilas practiced among them. The name Suiogoths has been applied to Goths of Scandinavia.

The Goths were briefly reunited under one crown in the early sixth century when the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great became the regent of the Visigothic kingdom for nearly two decades.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

The origins of the institution of Gothic war leader or king can be traced to the Germanic social group called the *comitatus* by Tacitus and Gefolgschaft by modern German scholars. These were warrior bands or societies formed around the nucleus of a successful war leader, one whose good fortune in war signaled the favor of the gods and whose skills promised his followers much glory and plunder. Such war bands, although they might participate in tribal wars fought for the good of the whole people, stood outside tribal military lines of command and frequently went out on raids purely for their own benefit.

The original Gutones were unusual among Germanic tribes in that the *comitatus* was at the center of their tribal structure. The tribal king of the Gutones seems to have combined the functions of the *thiudans,* or sacred king, with the political and military power of the *reiks,* or war leader. He had a band of warriors loyal only to him, unlike in most Germanic tribes, the loyalties of whose warriors continually shifted over time. This stable inner circle of the Gutones, focused on their king, would stand them in good stead in the troubled times that started in the second century and allowed them to grow, in some five generations, into one of the greatest powers among northern Europeans.

The tumultuous circumstances under which the groups who formed the nucleus of the Goths moved out of Germanic territory made the warrior band, rather than the tribe, the most effective social structure, giving the Goths an advantage relative to other Germanic tribes. The tribe befitted the relatively settled and peaceful existence of the

past, in which few people engaged in large-scale movement. But central Europe of the second to the fourth centuries was a world of war and widespread social dislocation. In response for mutual safety the Goths banded into a *comitatus* writ large.

They were able to expand their political structure quickly by drawing other war bands and groupings, each under their own leaders, into orbit around the cult of the overall king, who combined the functions of *thiudans,* sacred king, and *reiks,* war leader. The individual *reiks,* or subkings, ruled their territories often from strongholds in the countryside, rather than from towns. Only their own warrior bands or *comitati* took part in governance, and free villagers were largely excluded from involvement in affairs.

The Tervingian Goths emulated the Roman imperial tradition, interpreting the emperors in terms of their own kings ruling a multiethnic society. A Roman commemorative medallion found in a treasure hoard in present-day Romania has images of the joint emperors Valentinian I and Valens inscribed with the legend *Regis Romanorum:* "Of the King of the Romans."

Evolution of Thiudans and Reiks in the Fourth Century The Gothic words used for political and military institutions in a fourth-century translation of the Bible into Gothic are an invaluable means of understanding Germanic political life. The word *thiudans* had formerly referred to a type of sacred king among some early Germanic tribes. The translation shows that *thiudans* had now become disconnected from any political meaning for the Goths themselves. The term was used instead to denote the Roman emperor, but more importantly the deity of the Gospels: the Lord God the Father and Christ, King of the Jews. For worldly kings biblical Gothic uses a Celtic term: *reiks* (compare the Irish *ri*). Theodoric the Great of the Ostrogoths was called a *thiuda-reiks,* denoting his exceptional status.

Technology and Art

Before the coming of the Huns the Tervingian Goths produced exquisite jewelry, vessels, and decorative objects in a style much influenced by steppe peoples, as well as Greek and Roman artisans. They developed a polychrome style of gold work, using gems, particularly garnet, in intricately wrought cells or settings, so that gold objects were literally encrusted with them. This style was extremely influential in western Germanic areas well into the medieval era.

The Cherniakhovo culture, thought to have been produced by the Goths, consisted of a wide range of finely crafted products that attest to the prestige goods culture the Goths had developed under Roman influence. Settlements and graves had Roman goods, including pottery and glassware. Local pottery was well made, wheel-turned, with highly polished surfaces and incised decoration. The makers of the Cherniakhovo culture produced prolific amounts of metalwork such as buckles, pendants, and fibulae. There is evidence of specialized craftsmanship and industrial levels of production.

Religion

The fourth-century leader Fritigern adopted Christianity, possibly a political move to gain support from the Romans; Christianity by that time was the official religion of the Roman Empire. The religious doctrine that he accepted, Arian Christianity, still being debated by church leaders at that time, was ultimately decreed a heresy. The Arian faith of the Visigoths would stand in the way of their rapprochement with Romans in Gaul and Spain when they migrated there in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The most important missionary to the Goths was Bishop Ulfilas, son of a Gothic father and a Cappadocian mother probably descended from captives of a Gothic raiding party. He was educated in Constantinople (modern Istanbul) and at Antioch in 341 was consecrated "Bishop of the Christians in the Getic [Gothic] Land." His translation of the Bible into Gothic was very helpful in his mission to the Goths. He is commonly described as an Arian Christian—one who denied the divinity of Christ—as opposed to an adherent of the belief that later was adopted by the Christian Church as orthodox—that Christ was one in substance with the Father. But in reality Ulfilas did not adopt either of these positions and simply refrained from speaking on the matter of whether or not Christ was divine (a reticence that has failed to satisfy Roman Catholic historians, by whom he is considered to this day an Arian because he did not strongly support the Orthodox position). The Tervingian leader Fritigern professed Arian belief in the hope of gaining the support of the emperor Valens, who was Arian. Fritigern's rival, Athaneric, in keeping with his conservative bent, sought to maintain the

Gothic cultic tradition and saw all forms of Christianity as a threat.

The Goths, as important as they are to the history of Europe, were one subgrouping among many Germanic peoples. Their name, however, especially in its adjective form Gothic, has taken on broad meanings. It has been used synonymously with "Germanic" or "Teutonic" (*see* TEUTONES). It has also been applied to a type of art of the Middle Ages, reflecting a Renaissance contempt for the cultural influence of "barbarian" peoples. It has also been applied more generally to elements of style or behavior from the Middle Ages—that is, the "Dark Ages"—and hence is synonymous with *crude, rude,* or *uncivilized.*

FURTHER READING

Jan Czarnecki. *The Goths in Ancient Poland* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1975).

Peter Heather. *The Goths* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Malcolm Todd. *Everyday Life of the Barbarians: Goths, Franks, and Vandals* (New York: Fromm International, 1988).

Herwig Wolfram. *History of the Goths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Graioceli (Graiocelli)

The Graioceli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the Graian Alps in present-day northwestern Italy and southeastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. With the CATURIGES and CEUTRONES they attempted unsuccessfully to obstruct the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in the Alps in 58 B.C.E.

Greeks (Graeci; Hellenes; Helleni; Hellenic peoples)

It is difficult to discuss the ancient Greeks as a single people. For much of Greek history the Greeks lived in hundreds of separate, fiercely individual communities, all with strong nationalistic pride, and even strongly different dialects. Even the term *Greeks* is a late appellation, probably used by the ROMANS as *Graeci* (in the Greek form *Graekoi*) in reference to one small northwestern tribe. The Greeks themselves, when not identifying themselves as autocthonically Athenian, Spartan, or Corinthian, called themselves the sons of Hellen, after a legendary lineage for the Greeks found in the writings of the eighth-century B.C.E. Boeotian poet Hesiod. The strong individualism and chauvinism of the Greek city-states were in great part a consequence of the fragmentation of the Greeks' homeland, either on mainland Greece, a peninsula crossed by high mountain ranges and with a rugged coast, or throughout the thousands of small islands of the eastern Mediterranean.

If by *Greeks* we mean all peoples who have spoken or speak a form of the Greek language, then the Greeks have by far the longest history of any other people in this book. The Linear B writings of the MYCENAEANS, dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C.E., show

GREEKS

location:
Greece; greater Mediterranean region; Asia Minor

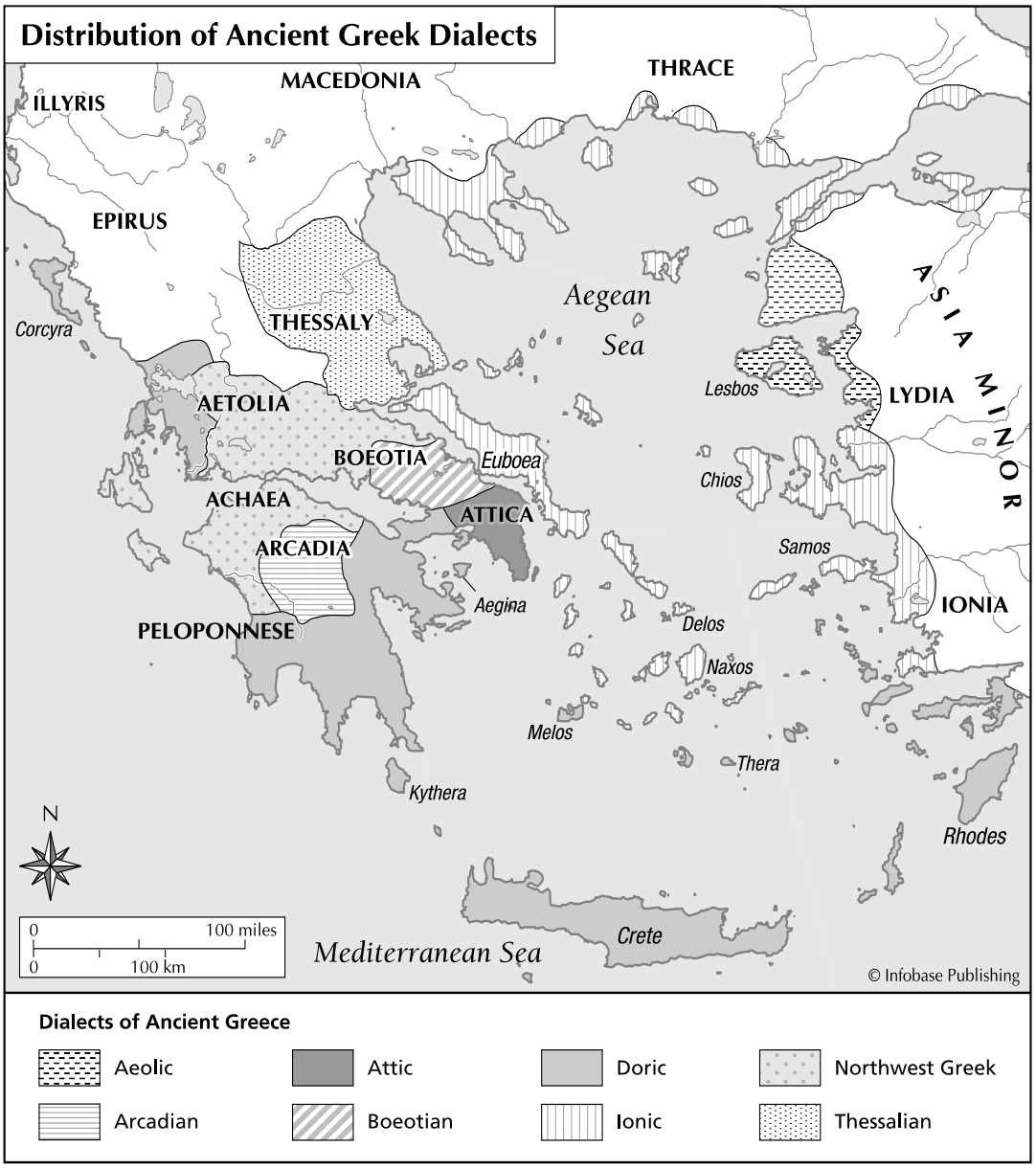
time period:
3000 to 31 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Greek (Hellenic)

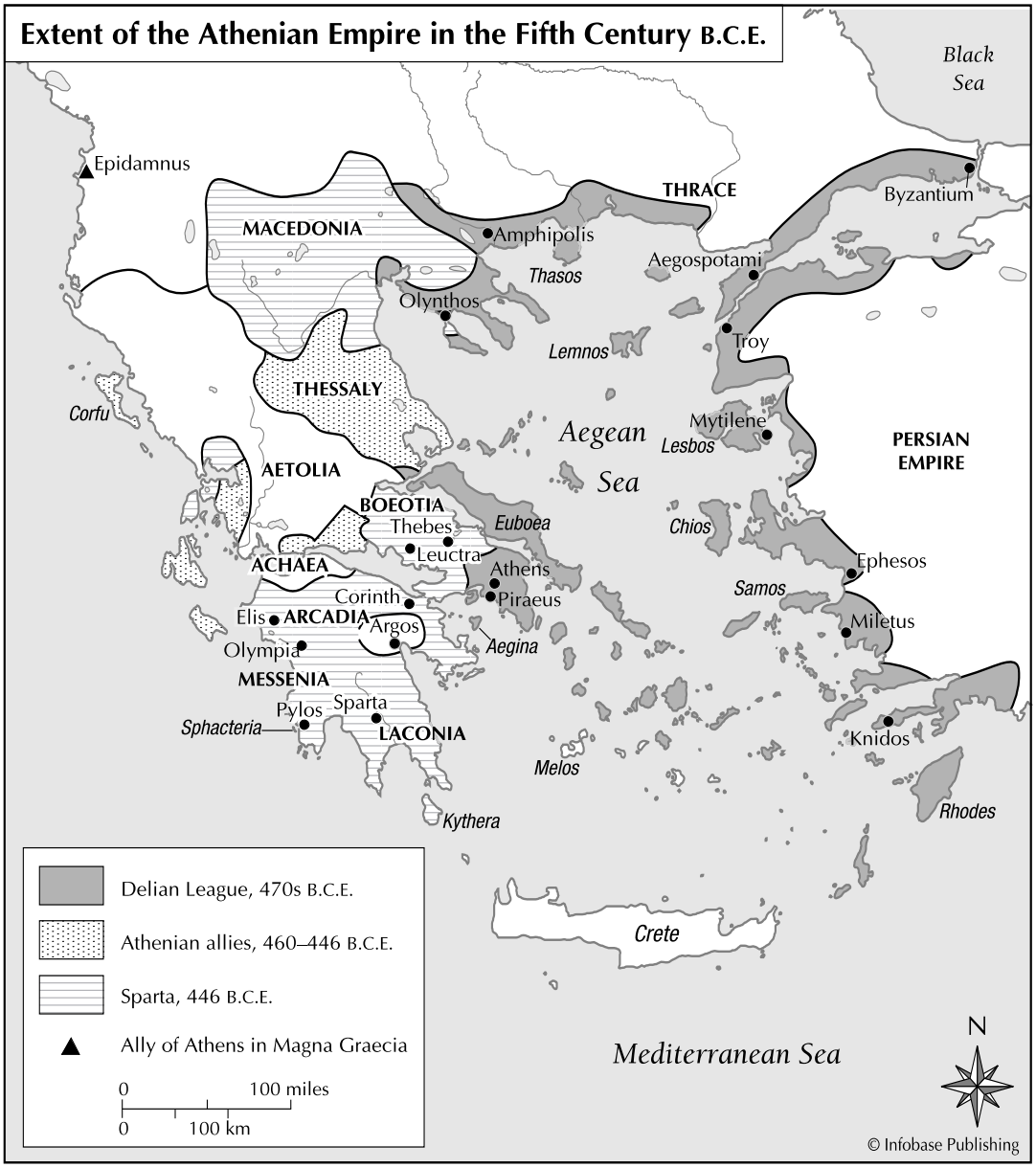
Greeks time line

B.C.E.	
c. 3000–c. 1400	Minoan Age
c. 1400–c. 1200	Mycenaean Age
c. 1200–c. 800	Dark Ages
ninth-eighth century	Greek epics *Odyssey* and *Iliad* emerge, credited to Homer.
late eighth century	Lelantine War
660	Byzantium founded.
600	Massilia (modern Marseilles) founded.
546	Tyrant Peisistratus seizes power over Athens.
514	Harmodios with his lover Aristogeiton murders Hipparchos.
510	Hippias sent into exile.
490–479	Persian Wars
490	Darius sends a fleet to capture Athens; Athenians are victors at Battle of Marathon.
480	Invasion of Greece by Xerxes I leads to battles of Thermopylae and Salamis
479	Persians decisively defeated at Battle of Plataea.
460–429	Pericles rules Athens; democracy flourishes.
431–404	Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta
338	Philip II of Macedon inflicts crushing defeat on allied Greek forces at Battle of Chaeronea.
323–313	Hellenistic age, reign of Ptolemies in Egypt
307	Library of Alexander founded by Ptolemy.
149—148	Romans conquer Macedonia in final Macedonian War.
133	Romans begin to conquer Greek city-states.
88	Mithridates of Pontos attacks Romans in Asia Minor and frees much of southern Greece from Roman rule.
86	Roman general Sulla defeats Mithridates, burns Athens, steals from Greek shrines.
49	Caesar's and Pompey's armies fight near Thermopylae; Caesar victorious.
31	Cleopatra, last Greek ruler of Egypt, commits suicide.



that they spoke a form of Greek that probably would have been somewhat intelligible to Greeks of the classical era. And from the time of the Mycenaeans and throughout Greek history to the present, the Greeks have been a very mobile people, trading and settling throughout the Mediterranean and in western Asia Minor and around the Black Sea. Thus through space and time numerous subgroups of Greeks have emerged, many of whom are discussed in separate entries in this book. In addition the devotion of Greeks to literature and learning, beginning in the time of Homer and Hesiod in about the ninth to eighth century B.C.E., has meant that an enormous amount has been written by ancient Greeks about themselves, their different groupings, and their ancestors. It has been a challenge to decide which of the very long list of peoples mentioned in Greek writings to include as entries in this book.

Homer mentions many groups, some of them tribes and some apparently language groups. The problem with the peoples mentioned by Homer is that many of them must have lived centuries before his time, and those centuries saw the disorders and dislocations of the Dark Ages, during which literacy was lost, so that Homer's sources of information were all oral records passed down from generation to generation, leading to an unknown amount of distortion. And it must be kept in mind that Homer was writing fiction, not history in the sense we think of it. A great deal of his material came from myths. In addition, Homer had



only a vague understanding of the people who created the pre–Dark Age civilizations: the MINOANS and Mycenaeans. He assumed, as his contemporaries did, that the people who fought in the Trojan War, whom he calls the ACHAEANS, had a warrior society similar to that of the ensuing Dark Age. If, as is likely, the story of the Trojan War is based in part on folk memory of the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization in about 1200 B.C.E. (near the traditional date of the Trojan War), then Homer's Achaeans were Mycenaeans and perhaps allies, whose society had gone far beyond a tribal warrior society to become a full-blown civilization. Much of what Homer understood of the peoples he wrote about is marred by a fundamental misconception.

Homer speaks of IONIANS, DORIANS, and AEOLIANS; these peoples seem to be based on language groups that had appeared by his time in various regions of Greece and Asia Minor. Historians before the 20th century have tended to accept Homer at face value concerning these peoples; archaeological discoveries since then have shown that it is very problematical to try to identify peoples known only from their material remains—pottery, weapons, dwellings—with those named by Homer. Thus we cannot trace with assurance the histories of the Ionians and the rest much before the Dark Ages that ensued after 1200 B.C.E.

Homer also mentions numerous other peoples or tribes—from the Aethikes, Agraeoi, and Akarnanes to the Visaltes, Vistones, and

Yandes. The information he supplied on them in many cases included obviously mythic events and figures, including gods. Their stories may very well have come from geneaological histories of ruling families who usually traced their ancestry to a god or to a founder hero aided by a god or goddess (a common tradition among tribal peoples all over the world). An important part of the duties of the tribal bards whose epic tales formed the basis of the Homeric epics was just this keeping and retelling of the foundation myth of a tribe or people. Since it beyond the scope of this book to cover the mythologies of peoples, we have chosen not to have entries for many of the peoples Homer mentions.

Some terms used by Homer and later Greek writers, such as PELASGIANS and Leleges, in addition to having a mostly mythic origin, have been variously applied, especially the former, their meaning changing over time. These two names have often been used in the past by historians as though they referred to real peoples; they have seemed to be important because Greeks used them to refer to earlier, pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece. Descriptions of them make them appear to have an early Neolithic culture—Pelasgos, the founder of the Pelasgians, was said to have invented the making of huts and an ancestor of the Leleges invented the grinding of corn. Yet since farming began in Greece around 7000 B.C.E., it seems unlikely that the information we have on these two peoples from the ancient Greeks thousands of years later has other than a literary or symbolic interest.

Numerous other peoples have been named by Greek historians in the centuries after Homer; Thucydides, for example, in his history of the Peloponnesian War mentions many allies of Athens and Sparta who took part in the war. Many of these, instead of being ethnic or tribal groups, were actually polities, each based upon a polis, or city-state, the basic political institution of classical Greece. They spoke Greek and considered themselves Hellenes, having the same gods and general culture as Athenians, Spartans, and other Greeks. For this reason they are not covered in separate entries; most of the information in the present entry applies to them. Similarly there are many regional names, such as Argives, Boeotians, and Arcadians, who do not have separate entries. During the classical period, a number of leagues, such as the Boeotian, Delian, and Epirote Leagues, were formed that brought different city-states together, mostly as allies in war. Again, they all shared a general Greek culture and outlook and are not given separate entries.

Archaeology, which has shed so much light on the early Greeks and their antecedents, has discovered the cultures of peoples who inhabited Greece and the Aegean in the remote past and who were almost unknown to historical Greeks. The Mycenaeans (named after the city of Mycenae, where the first traces of their culture was found) were one of these. Another group was the Minoans, who had a magnificent civilization on the island of Crete during the second millennium B.C.E. Archaeologists have found that peoples on the Cycladic Islands shared a Bronze Age culture much influenced by trade with the civilizations of the Near East; we have included an entry on these CYCLADITES.

In antiquity Greeks lived on the Greek peninsula, which makes up much of present-day Greece, the Ionian Islands to the immediate west, the Cycladic Islands stretching eastward to present-day Turkey, the islands of the Aegean, the islands of Crete and Rhodes, and the west coast of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont (the Dardanelles) north to the Carian peninsula in the south.

ORIGINS

The ancient Greeks spoke an Indo-European language; this fact does not clarify, however, when a Greek-speaking ethnicity emerged, because the timing of the emergence and spread of the earliest Indo-European language is still unknown. A prominent but much disputed theory maintains that the proto-Indo-European language spread throughout Europe with early agriculturalists and was adopted by indigenous peoples who took up farming. If this is true, a proto-Indo-European language could have arrived in Greece as early as 7000 B.C.E. when farming began there. A difficulty with this hypothesis is that it does not accord with known rates of language change unless it is assumed that this early Indo-European language remained static for thousands of years, which seems implausible.

Another more plausible view is that proto-Indo-European, the ancestor of Greek as well as of most modern European languages, arose as a consequence of a series of socioeconomic changes in various areas of Europe that began in the fifth millennium B.C.E. in southeastern Europe, including parts of Greece, and spread across the rest of the Continent in succeeding millennia. These changes greatly increased contacts among groups who, for thousands of

years since the adoption of farming, had led an isolated existence focused on farming villages. The Indo-European language may have arisen out of these new contacts.

One of these changes was the so-called secondary products revolution in which, for the first time, cattle, sheep, and goats (and possibly horses) were first used for more than their meat—for milk, wool, transport, and traction in pulling wheeled wagons (first documented in Sumerian pictograms of the first half of the fourth millennium B.C.E.) and plows. A consequence of this development was probably much greater mobility, which resulted in contacts among different peoples and cultures. The new products and agricultural surpluses that resulted from the use of the plow may have been used in trade.

Another development was trade in copper, which had begun to be worked in the Balkans in the sixth millennium B.C.E. and now was traded eastward toward the Black Sea region. In addition, development of the civilizations of Mesopotamia in the fifth and fourth millennia B.C.E. probably exerted an economic pull that tended to open up the closed, self-centered societies of the past in Greece and the Balkans.

Climate change, with several cold phases documented for the fourth millennium B.C.E., may have made southern Greece and the Aegean Islands more attractive than the plains of Thessaly to the north and may have fostered greater mobility. Many of the tells (mounds of decayed building material) that had been occupied for thousands of years were abandoned during this period.

A common form of handled pottery found throughout Greece and the Balkans to the Hungarian Plain indicates these new wide-ranging contacts, and the shapes of the jugs and cups of this type imitate metal vessels being made in adjacent areas of Anatolia, such as at the city-state of Troy. The spread of such pottery may have accompanied the introduction in the fourth millennium B.C.E. of a new beverage, wine.

All of these changes could have facilitated the emergence and spread of the proto-Indo-European language in several ways. It could have become important as a trade language. It could have derived from the language of groups of newcomers, probably from the steppe regions north of the Black Sea where in earlier times the domestication of the horse had been developed, who now were using wheeled vehicles and whose language, as well as their new technologies, were emulated by native peoples. The rituals of drinking that seem to be documented by the array of jugs and cups found in burials, used for forging bonds between strangers meeting for the first time, may have been conducted in the lingua franca of proto-Indo-European (which in Greece would later develop into Greek), both wine and language used for communication and in themselves symbols of a wider world than the closed tell societies of the past. Such settlers need not have been great in number to have had a strong influence, and there is no convincing evidence that their arrival, if indeed it occurred, had the character of a massive invasion.

As do modern Greeks the ancient Greeks called themselves Hellenes. They themselves traced their origin to the northern region of the Greek peninsula, which they called Hellas.

LANGUAGE

One of the principal factors uniting the various Greek people was their language. This is plain from the Greek word *barbarian,* used for non-Greeks, probably derived in its original form *bar-bar* from the unfamiliar sounds of foreign languages. Many Greek words are cognate with English words, because of the relation of English to Greek as an Indo-European tongue. However, English borrowed many Greek terms and contains a plethora of words derived from Greek roots. These words are found in scientific and philosophical discourse, adopted as Europe moved into the Renaissance and hearkening back to the scientific and philosophical achievements of classical Greece.

Greek is an Indo-European tongue—and thus related to the Italic, Germanic, and Indic language families. It is plain from the intrusion of many non-Indo-European place-names in addition to religious vocabulary that Greek, while retaining its Indo-European form, mingled with local dialects of an earlier population.

After the Dark Ages Greek, in its earliest history, was divided into dialects that are said to mirror the early ethnic divisions of the Greeks: Doric (of the Dorians), Aeolic (of the Aeolians), and Ionic (of the Ionians, which was refined into Attic in classical Athens and immortalized in the great literature of that time). A closer study of Greek dialects reveals that spoken dialects were interwoven and spread over the Greek world, roughly divided into West Greek (primarily Doric) and East Greek (Attic-Ionic; Arcado-Cypriotic, possibly an offshoot of Mycenaean; and Aeolic).

Alexander the Great, a Macedonian tutored by Aristotle, established his Attic Greek as the official language of state in his conquest of much of the early Mediterranean world and the Middle East in the fourth century B.C.E. Despite the collapse of Alexander's empire into smaller kingdoms after his death, the principal language remained Greek, and Greek traders spread and thrived in such capital cities as Alexandria of Egypt, for which the era is sometimes named. Attic Greek developed into a simplified common tongue called Koine, a language maintained by the citizens of the eastern half of the Roman Empire and the language of much of the New Testament. Common Greek lasted throughout the ancient world until the sixth century C.E.

The learning of Greek was revived from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment, as the West began to rediscover its debt to the ancient Greeks in literature, thought, and learning.

HISTORY

Minoans

The first civilization in the eastern Mediterranean was that of the Minoans, which began to develop in the third millennium B.C.E., probably under the influence of the Near East civilizations with whom they had contact through trade in tin and bronze. Crete formed an important way station for trade in the tin necessary to make bronze, which was introduced from the west, from sources in France and Britain (although the tin, a rare metal, passed through many hands before it reached Crete). The Minoans were able to make bronze with this tin by alloying it with copper mined on Cyprus, which was within the Minoan sphere, and traded it to the metal-hungry cities of Mesopotamia. Trade in produce, olive oil, and wine was also important. They developed a highly sophisticated culture based on magnificent palaces where large amounts of produce, accounted for on clay tablets with a script called Linear A, were stored in great clay jars. (The presumption that the writing on the tablets consisted of lists is based on analogy with the use of Linear B for such purposes and also on the fact that the earliest use of writing—in Sumer in Mesopotamia—was for recording lists of raw materials and products.)

The Minoans were long thought to be related to the original prehistoric inhabitants of the Greek world who migrated from Asia Minor and were supposedly characterized by their short stature and dark hair. Later Greek writers, such as Pausanius, believed that groups living in small wild communities in the hinterlands of the Greek world were the remnants of these original inhabitants related to the Minoans; they were called Pelasgians. The language of the Minoans was thought to be non-Indo-European, as evidenced in the names of certain gods (Poseidon) and in the names of places, such as Knossos. Their civilization was centered on Crete and on the island of Santorini. They built large multistoried palaces, had running water, and painted beautiful, colorful frescoes. Their religion was characterized by images of bulls and snake-handling priestesses.

The Minoans were capable seafarers and had an innovative method of farming that extracted the most yield out of the infertile coastal earth. They grew olives, grapes, and grain simultaneously, thereby distributing the work of cultivating them evenly over the growing season.

Mycenaeans

Minoan culture was highly influential on Greek speakers on mainland Greece, a chariot-using Bronze Age warrior society who may have begun to grow wealthy by preying on the lucrative trade of the Minoans. As would be the case later in Greek history, this society, while sharing the same basic culture, was centered in a number of cities; since the first of these to be excavated by archaeologists was Mycenae, this name was given to the civilization as a whole. The people are referred to as Mycenaeans. By the 15th century B.C.E. Mycenaean influence was felt throughout the Cyclades; a Mycenaean settlement with its own defensive walls has been found on the Asian mainland at Miletus. Trade routes, attested by finds of Mycenaean pottery, ran as far west as Sardinia, Italy, and Malta and as far east as the Levantine coast and Egypt. Twenty sites in Egypt, some far up the Nile, have produced Mycenaean pottery, and it has recently been suggested that figures of warriors on a papyrus from Tell el-Amarna might represent Mycenaean mercenaries. Meanwhile the Mycenaeans had close relations with the Minoans, their artists engaging in mutual emulation, to the degree that their products are nearly indistinguishable.

Minoan civilization repeatedly suffered catastrophic events that caused widespread destruction of buildings and cities; at least some of these probably were caused by earthquakes and volcanoes, although there is not enough evidence to show this definitively.

Mycenaean power increased at the expense of the Minoans, as through a combination of piracy, war, and diplomacy they encroached on the Minoan trade network and took advantage of the natural disasters the Minoans suffered. It is still debated whether the burning of all of the Minoan centers except Knossos, which occurred in 1425 B.C.E., was caused by an earthquake or by invading Mycenaeans. In any case after that time the Mycenaeans clearly ruled on Crete, as evidenced by the use of Greek for administrative matters, documented on numerous clay tablets inscribed with Mycenaean Linear B script, and by mainland-style chamber tombs containing weapon burials that were introduced.

The gold face masks and other exquisite artifacts found in the shaft graves at Mycenae and the massive palaces, tombs, and centrally planned agricultural estates, all of which must have required the labor of thousands, attest to the power and wealth of Mycenaean civilization. By the 13th century B.C.E., however, increasing instability can be seen in the fortification of many Mycenaean palaces; a defensive wall was built across the Isthmus of Corinth—whether as a protection against invasion from the north or from the south is unclear. The appearance at this time of a clearly intrusive form of pottery, called Barbarian Ware, and bronze daggers made in a northern style lends credence to the belief of later Greeks that a people speaking a dialect of Greek called Doric were involved in the collapse of Mycenaean civilization around 1200 B.C.E. The amount of this material does not support the idea of a wholesale invasion, however. The scanty archaeological evidence from this period makes dating of events highly uncertain. Some Mycenaean centers seem to have been rebuilt and then been destroyed again. The attacks suffered by the Mycenaeans should be seen in the context of a wave of destruction occurring at this time throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Both the Hittite Empire and Egypt were attacked by armies of what the Egyptians called the SEA PEOPLES, and other countries in the region were devastated as well.

The origins of the Sea Peoples are not known; some of them seem to have lived on Sardinia and Sicily, and the names given them by the Egyptians seem to derive from these islands' names. It seems probable that the Sea Peoples originally were bands of pirates preying on the lucrative trade routes crossing the Mediterranean, similar to the VIKINGS of a later day. They may have joined to form armies in response to defensive efforts of the Mycenaeans and other states. They could have swept into their forces smaller groups of warriors, such as the Dorians; it is equally possible that Dorians had been hired by the Mycenaeans as mercenaries for defense; these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive and could both be true.

It is also possible that the various Mycenaean power centers—Tiryns, Athens, Argos, Mycenae—competed for access to trade routes, each trying to carve out its own sphere of power, even as the city-states of classical Greece did later. An early version of the Peloponnesian War played out among different Mycenaean powers may have been responsible for some of the damage that has been found.

Such competition could have intensified in times of climate change. The pattern of destruction could be explained by a prolonged drought that struck the areas of Crete, the southern Peloponnese, Boeotia, Euboea, Phocis, and the Argolid, where the destruction was greatest, but did not strongly affect Attica, the northwest Peloponnese, Thessaly, the rest of northern Greece, or the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Kos, etc.), which were largely spared. Meteorologists have shown that such a pattern of drought is entirely likely and has actually occurred in recorded times.

Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians

Many Greeks fled the Dark Ages that enveloped the mainland after the Mycenaean collapse, emigrating eastward through the Aegean and settling in Asia Minor. Between the rude and warlike Heroic Age, a poetic picture of the past drawn during the desperation of the Dark Age, and the heyday of learning and refinement of classical Athens, the two loci of modern understanding of the ancient Greeks, the Hellenes lived scattered through the Aegean, divided into three basic ethnic groups by dialect, culture, and location: the so-called Dorians, the immigrants who may have precipitated or at least participated in the collapse of the Mycenaeans; the Aeolians, earliest settlers of Thessaly, in northern Greece, and Boeotia, the territory of the classical city-state Thebes; and the Ionians of Attica and Euboea, masters of the largest swath of Greek territory on Asia Minor and adjacent islands.

Archaeological evidence corroborates these legends of later Greeks that the Dark Ages saw significant migrations, with some regions left depopulated. The causes of these movements, as of the collapse of Mycenaean

civilization that brought on the Dark Ages, are not certainly known—as noted, climate change, such as prolonged drought, the consequent economic regression, and war are all strong probabilities. The distribution of different Greek dialects of the period after the Dark Ages may document these migrations. The Greek spoken by the Mycenaeans seems to have been preserved in a dialect, called Arcado-Cypriot, shared by people in the remote mountains of Arcadia and on the island of Cyprus, strongly suggesting that Mycenaean refugees fled to both these places. In the former Mycenaean region Doric predominated.

The material remains of newcomers here at the time of the demise of Mycenaean civilization do not seem to document a large-scale movement of people, as there is so little of it. An explanation for this scarcity of material remains may be drawn from an analogy with the third-century B.C.E. invasion of Anatolia by CELTS and the sixth-century C.E. invasion of Greece by SLAVS. In both these cases, which are known to have occurred from historical accounts, the invaders left almost no archaeological traces. What seems to have happened is that the invaders, whose culture was much less advanced than that of the inhabitants of the territory they were invading, quickly adopted elements of this new culture, thus becoming indistinguishable from the natives at least as far as material remains are concerned. The handmade burnished pottery found on several 12th-century sites, called Barbarian Ware, shows the process of acculturation of the invaders of Mycenaean Greece. The makers of this pottery at Tiryns soon began imitating Mycenaean pottery shapes with their handmade pottery. Production of large amounts of sophisticated, wheel-thrown Mycenaean pottery continued for a while after the destruction of the palace at Tiryns, after a time possibly by the invaders.

On the other hand it has been shown repeatedly throughout history that barbarian raiders on complex societies, such as the Vikings who raided northern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries C.E., can have a destructive effect disproportionate to their numbers. The spread of the Doric dialect could have occurred among the peasant farmers in the Peloponnese after the demise or departure of their Mycenaean overlords. The speakers of Doric probably had an egalitarian warrior culture similar to that of many such cultures, from the Bronze Age Bell Beaker culture, to the Iron Age Celts, early GERMANICS, Slavs, and others. A fusion of cultures may have taken place. Although the simple material culture of Doric speakers soon disappeared under late Mycenaean influence, Greeks in formerly Mycenaean areas may have adopted the Doric dialect and social structures. Pottery similar to the coarse Barbarian Ware of the Dorians has been found on the middle Danube in present-day Romania, suggesting either that they originated there or that they passed through the region. A pottery assemblage called Coarse Ware, similar to Barbarian Ware, is found near Troy from the time of its destruction. It is thus possible that Doric speakers took part in the invasions of the Sea Peoples who were attacking the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor and Egypt at the same time and who were probably responsible for Troy's destruction. The Doric dialect was spoken in Crete and across a wide area of the southern Aegean, in Rhodes, and on the southwestern tip of Asia Minor.

In the Athenian region of Attica and the island of Euboea after the Dark Ages a different dialect was spoken: Ionic or Ionian. Although Athenian tradition maintained that Athens never fell to invaders, Mycenaean civilization ended here at the same time as in other areas of Greece. It is possible that the Ionian dialect was introduced to an Attica suffering from economic distress and depopulation, caused by the Mycenaean systems collapse, by outsiders accustomed to a simpler way of life independent of long-distance trade and the agricultural central planning engaged in by the Mycenaeans. Able to support themselves with subsistence farming and simple craft goods, Ionic speakers could have taken advantage of the depopulated landscape. As in the case of the Doric dialect on the Peloponnese Ionic together with the lifeways of its speakers could have been adopted by the local peasantry of Attica and Euboea who had been left to their own devices by the collapse of Mycenaean authority. In the 10th century B.C.E. Ionic speakers seem to have migrated to Asia Minor, colonizing a region later named after them, Ionia.

Another distinct dialect of later times was Aeolic or Aeolian, spoken in the Boeotian plains and Thessaly and later in Asia Minor along its northern coastline.

End of the Dark Ages

The Dark Ages were not uniform everywhere in Greece. In spite of the loss of the Mycenaean trade network, trade on a more sporadic level apparently continued. Traders in the settlement of Lefkandi on the Euboean coast off the Greek

mainland resumed activity after a brief lapse in the 12th century B.C.E., trading with Cyprus and the PHOENICIANS on the coast of the Levant. Rich burials with gold grave goods attest to the wealth of the elites of Lefkandi. The settlement flourished until about 825 B.C.E. At Lefkandi the earliest evidence of a revival of wealth beginning to approach that of the Mycenaeans has been found. In a burial dating from between 1000 and 950 B.C.E. the cremated remains of an apparent chieftain were buried alongside the body of a woman bedecked in gold and four horses in an apsidal tomb (whether built for this purpose or adapted from a prior use is uncertain) and covered with a mound.

Within a century other Greek trade centers—Athens, Tiryns, and Knossos—were competing with Lefkandi for the eastern trade. A major stimulus for this competition were the Phoenicians, who may have been expanding their trade networks under pressure from their Assyrian overlords. By about 850 B.C.E. other trade centers had appeared on Euboea, and by 825 B.C.E. strong Greek influence was being felt at the port of al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes River on the Levantine coast, although whether Greeks had actually settled there is in dispute. The goods Greeks received from the East are clear in the archaeological record—textiles, carved ivory, objects of precious metals, as well as iron ore and other metals. The Greek exports are uncertain—perhaps slaves, captured on raids in the north, and agricultural surplus. Some Euboean pottery from about 925 B.C.E. has been found in Syria.

The pace of change increased dramatically in the eighth century B.C.E., in part driven by population growth. Land that had lain unused since the 12th century B.C.E. was again under cultivation. Increase in wealth led to development of craft working in metals and pottery. Greek pottery, which up to now had been made mostly for domestic markets, attained a level of quality that made it desirable abroad, as attested by finds over a wide region of the Mediterranean. An increased pace of shipbuilding is a sign of expanding trade activity.

Spreading Greek Colonies

At this time the Greeks spread throughout the Mediterranean world, as merchants, mariners, and mercenaries; as artisans to paint and sculpt for Eastern satraps; and as court doctors.

Population growth also led to emigration. The earliest Greek colonies were those of the Euboeans in the west. Naxos was established at the first landfall in Sicily in 734 B.C.E. (according to the fifth-century B.C.E. historian Thucydides). By the end of the eighth century B.C.E. Sicilian settlements created by the Euboean city of Chalcis lined the strategically important Strait of Messina. Syracuse, with the best harbor on the island, a secure water source, the spring of Arethusa, and fertile land nearby, was settled by the city of Corinth in 733 B.C.E. People from the northwestern Peloponnese founded cities on the coastal Italian Peninsula, and the Spartans founded there their only colony, Tarentum.

As the Greek presence in the western Mediterranean steadily grew, tensions with the Phoenicians increased. The latter had colonized the west coast of Sicily; now Greeks from Rhodes tried to settle in their territory, sparking clashes in 580 B.C.E. Settlers from Phocaea in Asia Minor who also moved west in the seventh century were the last contingent of Greeks who were able to find a place to colonize, but to do so they were forced north up the west coast of Italy past territory of the ETRUSCANS, then along the south coast of France, where, in about 600 B.C.E., they founded Massilia (or Massalia, present-day Marseille) near the mouth of the Rhône River. Trading expeditions north up the Rhône River brought Phocaean traders in contact with Hallstatt period Celts, whose eagerness for Greek products—wine, pottery, and fine metalwork—would have an enormous influence on their society, with momentous repercussions for the world of Mediterranean civilization. Phocaeans also moved into the northern Iberian Peninsula, founding Emporion (modern Ampurias).

Persian annexation of Phocaea caused another influx of citizens to the west in the 540s B.C.E.; they had to bypass land already taken by their fellow citizens, but ingeniously they settled on the island of Corsica, founding Alalia, which allowed them to trade directly with southern France and Iberia without going through the Etruscans. This situation was intolerable to the Etruscans, who convinced Phoenicians to join them in ejecting the Greeks from Alalia. By the end of the sixth century B.C.E. competition among Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans had resulted in separate spheres of trade dominance for the three groups.

Euboean Greeks also looked north along the coast of Thessaly and beyond, probably in part for timber for ships, but also for arable land; parts of Macedonia became important for the production of wine. Farther east Greek settlement in the territory of the THRACIANS met

Pytheas: Scholar and Explorer of Europe

Pytheas was born in the early fourth century B.C.E. in the Greek colony of Massilia, now Marseille in southern France, which at that time was surrounded by Celtic peoples. He received an education in mathematics and astronomy; his teacher was Eudoxos of Cnidos, a student of the philosopher Plato. Pytheas is known to have used astronomical observations to determine the latitude of Massilia and became an accomplished navigator.

In about 325 B.C. Pytheas set out from Massilia on a voyage to explore the Atlantic Ocean beyond the Strait of Gibraltar. He probably had backing from the merchants of Massilia, who were interested in establishing a direct sea route to tin and amber sources in northern Europe. At that time Greek mariners had been prevented from venturing into the Atlantic Ocean by the Carthaginians, who maintained a naval blockade of the Strait of Gibraltar. The Greeks had been further discouraged by reports of the hazards of the open sea, including sea monsters. Carthage, then engaged in a war with Rome, had temporarily left the Strait of Gibraltar unguarded, allowing Pytheas to pass through.

Pytheas sailed along the south coast of present-day Spain through the strait and into the Atlantic, then northward along Spain's and France's west coasts. He eventually reached the coast of Brittany, which he accurately described as a peninsula. From there he crossed the English Channel and landed on the coast of Cornwall, near Land's End. He established friendly contacts with the ancient Cornish, who, as tin miners and smelters, had frequent contacts with foreign traders that, Pytheas later noted, had made them less warlike than other Britons. He ventured inland and noted other aspects of life among the Britons, including the process through which alcoholic beverages were made—beer from fermented grain and mead from honey.

Pytheas next sailed northward along Britain's west coast, sighted Ireland, and rounded the north coast of Scotland. He heard reports there of an island called Thule, a six-day sail to the north, which he believed to be the northernmost point on Earth. He attempted to reach Thule but was forced back by icebergs and dense fog. Pytheas later reported on the great differences between the lengths of day and night in the north, indicating he may have approached the high latitudes near the Arctic Circle or at the very least reached as far north as the Shetland Islands or the south coast of Norway near Bergen.

Pytheas completed his exploration of Britain by sailing down its east shore, thus completing one of the first circumnavigations of the island. He is thought to have proceeded across the North Sea in search of principal sources of amber. He possibly sailed around the Jutland Peninsula (present-day Denmark) and entered the Baltic, sailing along its south coast along the coast of present-day Germany as far as the mouth of the Vistula in present-day Poland. He explored a number of islands, and then returned to open waters and followed the Atlantic coast back to the Mediterranean and Massilia, completing a sea journey of several years. After Pytheas's expedition the Carthaginians again closed off the sea route to the Atlantic. Seaward exploration of northwestern Europe was not resumed until Julius Caesar reached Britain some two centuries later.

Pytheas wrote an account of his voyages called *On the Ocean* in about 319 B.C.E. Although the work did not survive, his observations were cited in the works of geographers of later centuries, including Polybius, Strabo, and Pliny. Strabo in particular rejected as fabrication much of what Pytheas described on his voyage. However, his contributions to ancient knowledge are evident. He demonstrated that the sea route to the tin mines of Cornwall and amber sources along the Baltic was impractical compared to the much-shorter overland routes across present-day France and Germany. He also demonstrated that the supposed terrors of the Atlantic were imaginary, probably invented by the Carthaginians to discourage Greek maritime expansion. He established that the North Star did not lie above true north and that the Moon has a great effect on the tides along the North Atlantic coast of Europe, a phenomenon that was much less evident in the Mediterranean basin. Moreover he made accurate anthropological observations on northern peoples. Pytheas is considered the first scientific explorer.

with opposition; therefore Greeks colonized the island of Thasos in 680 B.C.E. At about the same time colonists from Megara, a city on the Greek coast west of Athens, had ventured into the Dardanelles, the entrance to the Black Sea; here they founded first Chalcedon on the Asian side of the straits, then in 660 B.C.E. Byzantium on the European side. The site of Byzantium was excellent, with a fine harbor and a fortifiable headland protected by the sea. This was to be the location of the Roman eastern capital, Constantinople (modern Istanbul). Despite initial hostility from Thracians and SCYTHIANS, Greek goods began to be traded up river valleys as far as present-day Russia, and their artworks heavily influenced the Scythians, who became excellent workers in metals. The Greeks received in return fish, hides, and slaves.

Greeks from Thera founded Cyrene in North Africa, located farther inland than was usual for Greek colonies. Cyrene became one of the richest agricultural areas in the Greek world, where sheep, horses, and grain were raised. Archaeological and other evidence from Cyrene suggests that Greeks there intermarried with native Libyans and adopted some of their cult practices. Intermarriage may have been typical for Greek colonists elsewhere, because the first settlers of new territories probably included few women.

Exploration and colonization both enriched Greek culture. In about 325 B.C.E. a Greek named Pytheas engaged in a great voyage of discovery, setting sail from the port city of Massilia and passing through the Strait of Gibraltar (called in his time the Pillars of Herakles) into the Atlantic Ocean and traveling northward, visiting the British Isles and the North and Baltic Seas (see sidebar). His account of the voyage was used by a number of ancient scholars as a resource.

The Greek colonies on the edges of the known world provided Greek scholars with the opportunity to observe other lands and peoples. One such was Strabo, born in Pontus south of the Black Sea (see sidebar, p. 351).

Lelantine War

In the late eighth century B.C.E. war began between Eretria and Chalcis, the two main cities of Euboea, over control of the rich Lelantine plain that lay between their territories. As in the fictional Trojan War and later conflicts in the classical period, the two rivals were soon joined by many cities of the Greek world, who allied themselves with one or the other Euboean city, a sign that the fierce competitiveness that probably characterized the

Mycenaean period continued to be a major factor in post–Dark Ages Greece. The warriors who participated in the war were of the elite classes who had grown wealthy in the Euboean trading enterprise; the two sides even made an agreement to exclude the use of ignoble weapons such as arrows and stones in favor of face-to-face combat.

Little is known about this war; it seems to have ended with the exhaustion of both cities, since neither enjoyed again the same dominance as each had in the past. Eretria survived mostly through its association with allies in the Black Sea region, and Chalcis relied on its alliance with Corinth, which now emerged as the new power. When the Euboean city of al-Mina was sacked by the Assyrians, the Corinthians rebuilt it. Corinth, which had been no more than a cluster of villages as late as the eighth century B.C.E., may have gained territory on the Isthmus of the Peloponnese as a result of the Lelantine War, which would have facilitated its trade enterprise by providing an alternate eastward route to the voyage all the way around the rocky and dangerous Greek (Peloponnesian) south coast. This would explain Corinth's rapid expansion in the seventh century B.C.E. Corinth was known as a center of shipbuilding, where shipwrights improved the 50-oared penteconter, a type of galley ship designed by the Phoenicians, by making it narrower and faster and giving it a projecting keel beam that was sheathed in bronze for use as a ram. Corinth thus became a dominant sea power.

The ruling clan of Corinth, the Bacchiadae, differed from more traditional aristocratic families in not despising craftsmen, but instead offered them generous patronage. As a result foreign craftsmen flocked to the city. Pottery production, in particular, flourished; Corinthian pottery in great amounts has been found all over the Greek world. It is notable for its eastern characteristics, since Corinth was more receptive to eastern influence than Athens.

Age of Tyrants

In the seventh century B.C.E. tensions between the aristocracy and the populace with its growing power had grown in many city-states. Such conflicts were exploited in a number of cases by ambitious individuals, paradoxically often aristocrats themselves, who championed the cause of the common people. Corinth was the first tyranny, followed by its neighbors Sicyon and Megara. The first Athenian tyrant was Peisistratus, who seized power permanently in 546 B.C.E. after several abortive attempts. There were tyrannies on the Aegean islands of Samos and Naxos, for instance, and in the Ionian cities along coastal Asia Minor. Most tyrannies were short-lived, as their emergence depended on special historical circumstances: the struggle for political power in cities between the old landed aristocracy and the rising merchants and traders, who in many ways resembled the middle class of the modern era. Most tyrants gained power by backing the latter and taking steps to weaken the aristocracy. Once this was accomplished, however, citizens of the new middle class were unwilling to divide their power with an autocratic leader.

In Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean art, architecture, poetry, and philosophy began to flourish. Out of this period and region arose epic poetry and Greek lyric poetry. Presocratic philosophers, such as Anaximander and Heraclitus, investigated the nature of the universe. City-states developed and grew, under kings, then oligarchies, finally under tyrants. These city-states formed leagues for defense—the Dorian League and Ionian League—and sent out colonizing expeditions,

Strabo: Traveler and Geographer

Strabo was born at Amasia in Pontus, a region south of the Black Sea in present-day Turkey, in 64 or 63 B.C.E. He studied history and philosophy in his native city and, it is thought, in Greece, Rome, and Alexandria as well. He also traveled widely, claiming to have visited lands in western Asia, southern Europe, and northern Africa, as well as islands in the Mediterranean. In 25 or 24 B.C.E. he explored the Nile River as part of the expedition of Aelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt. For most of his life he lived in Rome.

Only fragments survive of Strabo's work in 47 volumes referred to as *Historical Sketches;* many later authors quoted it, however. The extant *Geography,* a work in 17 volumes (with only part of the seventh volume missing), describes the lands of the known world as far east as India. It expands on facts and observations from his own travels, from Roman military expeditions, and from works of earlier Greek writers, such as Homer, Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Poseidonius. Strabo was skilled at selecting and organizing useful information, and his work has served as an invaluable resource on the peoples of the Augustan Age. He died sometime after 23 C.E.



Greek scholar Strabo holds a globe of the world in this print from 1584. *(Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-99999])*

renewing contacts with their kinspeople in Greece.

By classical times power and prestige had shifted from Asia to the Athenians of Attica and to the Spartans on the Peloponnese. Each claimed through a complex mythical web to be the original ancestors of Greeks on Asia Minor; the Athenians claimed the ancestral Ionians as their forefathers, the Spartans the Dorians.

Sparta

The site of Sparta has good natural defenses, probably the reason why it was a focus for settlement. The city emerged when villages scattered near the defensible area joined into a unified polis; the fact that through much of its history Sparta had a pair of hereditary kings suggests that the unification of Sparta resulted from an alliance between two powerful families. Spartan society was focused on war to a greater degree than that of any other Greek city-state, perhaps because Sparta had been born of a military alliance.

The Spartan kings had dual roles as religious leaders and generals of the army. These two roles are typical of other Indo-European peoples, although not always held by a single man; many Germanic tribes, for example, had a religious king called a *thiudans* and a war leader called a *reiks*. In general Spartan society was the most conservative in the Greek world, in a number of ways little different from that of the tribal Dorian past. The kings ruled with the aid of a body of 30 councilors, called the *gerousia*. As in most cities there was also a citizen assembly, who elected men to the *gerousia* by acclamation from among those who had reached the age of 60. The citizen assembly's role appears to have been consultative, listening to proposals of the kings or elders and approving or disapproving them. This arrangement, too, had many similarities to the *things* of Germanic tribes, also consisting of assemblies of all the warriors no matter their rank, guided by councils of elders.

The warlike character of Sparta led to the city's early expansion and absorption of neighboring towns and territories. In 736–716 B.C.E. the Spartans annexed the rich plains of Messenia to the west, Spartan citizens taking lands for themselves from the Messenians and reducing the latter, whom the Spartans called helots, to serfdom (as they also had the populations of other territories they had conquered earlier). The precariousness of Spartan control over the helots would have a profound effect through most of Spartan history. There is some evidence that in the seventh century B.C.E. a helot rebellion was not suppressed for two decades. Sparta may have been weakened at the time because of a conflict with the neighboring city of Argos, possibly the first Greek city to use hoplites, heavily armed citizen infantry. Hoplite armies were the most powerful forces in the Greek world, eventually adopted by every Greek city-state, including Sparta. Their hoplites may have allowed the Argives to inflict a devastating defeat on the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B.C.E.

These reverses led to a complete reorganization of Spartan society. As did most Greek city-states of the time, the Spartans recognized the necessity of building a hoplite army. The fundamentally feudal society of Sparta, all its citizens freed of the necessity to engage in economic activity, enabled the entire male citizenry to focus on war to the exclusion of everything else. Every Spartan man was assigned to a group of fifteen, called a mess or eating group, with whom he lived, trained, and went to war. This unit seems to have had its roots in the hall feasts of the warrior elite past. The Spartan army was tightly disciplined, and boys began their training in discipline and war at the age of seven, being subjected to harsh treatment to toughen them up.

Plato remarked that all education in Sparta was carried out through violence rather than through persuasion and that the emphasis was on producing hardiness through endless tests of self-reliance and endurance. At the age of 20 boys joined a mess, the *syssitia,* where they spent most of their time. Homosexual relationships may have been the norm. Men could marry, but all visits to their wives had to be conducted by stealth at night until they were 30. Even marriage ritual was conducted in such a way as to limit associations of home and the domestic side of life that would distract the husband from his primary duty: to fight. On the marriage night the bride was dressed in a man's cloak and sandals and lay in an unlit room to receive her bridegroom.

In general the insecurity of Spartan society caused by the constant necessity to keep the helots in submission fostered a culture of extreme insularity, with military discipline aimed at minimizing individuality. Spartans called themselves "those who are alike," an expression both of the suppression of individuality in favor of service to the state and of a sense of being surrounded by a hostile "other." Spartan soldiers all wore red cloaks and long hair to assure uniformity. A man's greatest glory

was to die for the state; survivors of a defeated army were shunned. Literacy was not important in Sparta; writing was used only for international treaties, and Spartans were famous for their brevity of speech (the word *laconic* is from Lacedaemon, the name of Spartan territory), a habit undoubtedly inculcated in them from childhood, both signs that freethinking was discouraged by Spartan society.

The Persian Wars

By the late sixth century B.C.E. Sparta was the most powerful of the Greek city-states, ruled by a pair of kings in an oligarchy. In Athens, the tyrant Peisistratus's son Hippias sought help from Spartan forces to remain in power but was forced to resign in 510 B.C.E. Athenians sought protection against the Spartans from Darius I of Persia, but when the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor rebelled against Persian rule the Athenians decided to join them. This sparked the Persian Wars (490–479 B.C.E.).

In 490 B.C.E. Darius sent a fleet to capture Athens. At the Battle of Marathon the Athenian hoplites drove away the Persian army. In 480 B.C.E. Xerxes I crossed into Europe with a huge army over a pontoon bridge to attack mainland Greece. Sparta led an alliance of 31 city-states against the Persians, and Leonidas I, king of Sparta, and his personal guard of 300 men, together with 5,000 troops from allied cities, faced a huge Persian army possibly as large as 200,000 men at the narrow pass of Thermopylae. Leonidas was able to hold off the Persians for several days, but finally, as Xerxes's scouts found an alternate path over the mountain over which to send a flanking force, Leonidas sent away the allied troops and with his personal guard faced the Persians alone. The Spartans fought to the last man. The Athenians had abandoned Athens by the time the Persians reached it, and the city was largely destroyed.

The Athenians, under Themistocles, defeated the Persians, even with their numerically superior navy, at Salamis, having lured the Persian ships into a narrow channel. In 479 B.C.E. the Greeks inflicted a decisive defeat on the Persians at Plataea, destroying a large part of their army.

The Rise of Athens

Supremely confident after naval victories against the Persians, and in spite of the fact that much of the city lay in ruins, Athens used its fleet to become a naval powerhouse, aiming to carry the war back to the Persians. Athens formed what is known as the Delian League with city-states in northern Greece, the Aegean islands, and the west coast of Asia Minor, where the Greeks were most vulnerable to Persian attack. (The treasury of the league was on the island of Delos.) Athens took control, exacting dues from member states in lieu of ships and crews. Athens surged in wealth and power by trading and raiding other states. The league developed into an empire for Athens, since the allies had almost no navies of their own. Athens refused to let states leave the alliance.

Pericles (see sidebar) was the leading Athenian politician of the 450s B.C.E., taking decisive steps to strip the Athenian aristocracy

Pericles: Statesman for the Ages

Pericles, the son of the army commander Xanthippus, was born in about 495 B.C.E. He was tutored by the philosophers Anaxagoras and Damon.

Upon the banishment of Cimon in 461 B.C.E. Pericles was elected leader of Athens. The Delian League, established in 478 B.C.E. to unite various cities on the mainland with some on the Aegean Islands, prospered during his reign. In 446 B.C.E. Pericles defeated Euboea (modern Évvoia), which had revolted against the league, strengthening Athen's dominance of the alliance. The next year he arranged a truce with Sparta. He also sent a fleet to secure the grain route between Athens and the Black Sea. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C.E. Pericles let the Peloponnesian army plunder the countryside while he gathered his countrymen inside Athens's gates. An epidemic ravaged the overcrowded city, and resentment of Pericles grew. He was driven from office and tried and fined for misuse of public funds. Reelected in 429 B.C.E., he died later that year, reportedly of plague.

Pericles, known for his statesmanship and eloquence, inspired what is known as the Age of Pericles. Among his achievements were government open to all citizens and payment for services rendered to the government. His public works program included restoring the temples destroyed by the Persians and building the Parthenon and Propylaea on the Acropolis. He supported the arts and befriended the historian Herodotus, the sculptor Phidias, the philosopher Protagoras, and the playwright Sophocles. Outliving his two legitimate sons, he was forced to legitimize his son Pericles, whom he raised with his mistress, Aspasia of Miletus, a cultured courtesan.



Pericles is depicted in this bust. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-107429])*

of its power, expanding the role of the democratic assembly in government, and promoting Athens's dominance over the Delian League. A symbol of that dominance as well as of democratic pride was the Parthenon (from *parthenos,* virgin), a magnificent temple to Athena in part built with funds from the Delian League's coffers, a fact bitterly resented by other league members. Pericles supported naval expeditions to Phoenicia and the Black Sea and frequently confronted Sparta, which had a league of its own on the Peloponnesos. Eventually Pericles advised that war was being fought on too many fronts, and Athens signed a peace treaty with Sparta to maintain a grip on its empire. At the empire's height there seem to have been some 150 subject states. Virtually every island of the Aegean was a member. Athenian control stretched along the Asian coastline from Rhodes up to the Hellespont, into the Black Sea, and around southern Thrace as far as the Chalcidice peninsula. Nearer home the cities of Euboea and the island of Aegina were members.

Athens put pressure on its shipping rivals, Corinth and Megara in the Peloponnese, which were key allies of the Spartans. This escalated into the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.). Pericles conducted surprise naval raids on the Spartans, then retreated behind the walls of Athens when the infantry attacked. In 430 B.C.E. an epidemic started behind the walls, killing thousands, including Pericles himself, over a period of several years. The Athenians' allies revolted against their demands for cash.

Finally in 415 B.C.E. Athens launched a foolhardy campaign against Sparta's allies in Sicily, overconfident of their prospects for victory. The Athenians were defeated catastrophically at Syracuse in 413 B.C.E. Sparta meanwhile built a navy with support from Persia. In 404 B.C.E. the Athenians lost the war, after much attrition, the loss of its silver mines, and a devastated agriculture. The Athenian empire ended, and Sparta installed a puppet regime, the Thirty Tyrants. These lasted only a year, replaced when rebels restored democracy in 403 B.C.E. Athens rebuilt but was unable to gain its former power, and Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens contended throughout the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. in brutal indecisive warfare. Corinth and Thebes rose to power as the century progressed.

Expansion of the Macedonians

The two great empires of Athens and Sparta, reduced to shades of their former glory, were eventually conquered by the MACEDONIANS. In 338 B.C.E. King Philip II led a crushing victory over allied Greek forces at the Battle of Chaeronea. His son, Alexander, nominally united all of Greece, but he departed Greece for wars of conquest in Asia, leaving surrogate rulers behind. After his death in 323 B.C.E. the city-states of the Greeks declined in power as the kingdoms carved out of Alexander's empire by his successors stabilized. The era of the city-state had ended; no city could compete with the large Alexandrian states Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. Several cities formed the Aetolian League against Macedonia, but another league, the Achaean, took the Macedonian side. The large states, ruthless and greedy, all eyed Athens as a potential jewel in their crown and competed to dominate the city. Athens meanwhile never gave up hope of regaining control over former possessions in the Aegean and repeatedly went to war in attempts to win them back, regaining and then losing them. Athens was forced to accept a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus, and history is replete with examples of Athenian sycophancy toward the latest ruler to gain control over the city, with the citizens voting statues, monuments, even deification and shrines to placate him, only to destroy and reverse all these when his power waned.

Continued warfare among the Greeks progressively weakened them, while Rome was uniting the ITALICS under its rule. After the Fourth Macedonian War in 149–148 B.C.E. the remnants of most of the Greek states fell into the hands of Rome.

In 200 B.C.E. Athens had sought Roman aid in one war and thereafter for more than a century was counted as a loyal ally of Rome, a policy that protected Athens from Roman attack until in 88 B.C.E. the city backed the pro-Hellenic and anti-Roman campaign of King Mithridates of Pontus in Asia Minor. The Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla, an utterly ruthless commander, defeated Mithridates in 86 B.C.E. and sacked Athens, massacring so many Athenians that whole neighborhoods were reportedly covered in blood, and destroying many Athenian buildings. Athens remained economically devastated for a generation.

Some 40 years later in the Roman civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, Athens backed Pompey who was defeated. Upon his victory Caesar addressed the Athenians, asking "How often do you expect to be rescued by the fame of your ancestors from the destruction you bring on yourselves?" His treatment of Athens was lenient, however.

Eventually all of the states founded by Alexander's generals fell to Rome. After the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. the latter took her own life, thus becoming the last Greek ruler of Egypt.

In spite of the loss of political power Greek cities long retained a degree of independence, and intellectual life maintained its vitality. Greek intellectual supremacy continued for many centuries, profoundly influencing Roman culture. After the Roman Empire was divided into Eastern and Western portions in 395 C.E. the Eastern part, which came to be known as the Byzantine Empire (*see* BYZANTINES), increasingly lost its Roman character, becoming primarily Greek in outlook.

CULTURE

Economy

Farming Level farmland was sparse in Greece except on the plains of Boeotia and Attica, but the Greeks grew wheat and made flour with mortar and pestle or, as technology developed, in mills. They made bread from barley and wheat. They grew many vegetables, including cauliflower, leeks, lettuce, onions, cucumbers, celery, and artichokes. The fruits in their orchards were various; many of them do not exist today. They grew figs, apples, pears, pomegranates, and of course grapes. Famous wines were made in Mendi, Naxos, Thassos, and the island of Rhodes. An ascerbic white wine, retsina, still made today, was characteristic of Attica. The Greeks used salt, pepper, oil, vinegar, dill, mint, thyme, oregano, and fennel as seasoning. They made cakes from flour, oil, dried fruits, milk, eggs, and honey.

There were many small farms on the plains outside most city walls. In Athens more people lived outside the walls than within them. These small farms were often manned by a few slaves, who used oxen to plow the field.

Goats were herded in the mountains, as they are today, and pigs and chickens farmed for meat while cattle were farmed primarily for milk and eaten typically after sacrifices. The very poor sometimes resorted to eating cattle, while the rich supplemented their diet with hunted wild boar and birds.

The diet of the ancient Greeks was in many ways similar to that of Mediterranean people today. With most of their settlements hugging the extensive coastlines of Greek territory or on islands, they primarily ate seafood augmented by meat products from sheep, goats, and pigs; goat and cow milk; small game; barley cakes; fruit from orchards; honey; and olives and olive oil. They made wine much as it is made today but drank it mixed one part wine to two parts water.

Farming in the Mediterranean then as now was a notably precarious proposition because of the very variable climate. The proximity to the Mediterranean basin of landmasses of strongly opposite character—the moist and cold European mainland to the north, the dry and scorching deserts of North Africa to the south—meant that weather patterns that caused one or the other region to affect the Mediterranean basin for a prolonged period could produce cold spells with untimely frosts or droughts. The different winds were gods of very different characters for the Greeks perhaps for this reason. Northerly winds were borne by the god Boreas, whose name meant "devouring"; he was considered a fertilizing force, perhaps because the north winds that blow down from the mountains over southern Greece during the winter are followed by the greening and flowering of spring. Boreas was legendary for impregnating mares, whose offspring were swift as the wind. But he was also a destructive force who once saved the Athenians by wrecking a Persian fleet. Another destructive wind was personified as Typhon (from which comes the word *typhoon*), a terrifying monster born of Mother Earth in revenge on the Olympian gods for destroying a race of giants who were her offspring. Typhon was associated with the burning blasts from volcanoes, but also with the sirocco, a prevailing wind from the deserts in Africa that could destroy crops with drought. Soil erosion was a continual problem, as suggested by Plato's comparison of the land of Attica to a human body wasted by disease, leaving nothing but skin and bone.

The Watery Thoroughfare for Greek Trade The mountainous interior of Greece fostered sea travel, since it was easier to traverse the whole Aegean than to cross mainland Greece from east to west. Also the lack of arable land led to emigration and the predominance of trade. By the eighth century B.C.E. the Aegean had become essentially a Greek sea, where the Greek trade centers, on their way to becoming city-states, competed for trade dominance. In the ensuing 200 years the Aegean became too small for all of the Greek trading interests, and Greeks began venturing farther afield. Northeast was the Black Sea, known for its cold winters and the difficult passage there through the Dardanelles strait. To the west the Tyrrhenian Sea, its name derived from the

Greek word for the Etruscans who lived on the west coast of Italy, where Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily lay, offered many desirable goods, particularly from metal-rich Etruria.

Greek sailors ventured throughout the Mediterranean Sea and most likely beyond. Mariners and merchants sailed through the Red Sea. In the late sixth century B.C.E. a Greek mariner, Scylax, was chosen by the Persians to lead an expedition down the Indus River to the Persian Gulf. The extent of early Greek sailing can be inferred from ancient Greek myths, such as the long voyage home of Odysseus, which seems to have touched places in north Africa, southern Spain, and Italy before the return to the island of Ithaca; and the voyage of the *Argo,* through the Bosporus and to the far end of the Black Sea. The Greeks were certainly involved in the amber trade from Scythia. And of course the voyage of Pytheas of Massilia to the "Hyperborean" regions beyond the realm of Boreas himself equalled the exploits of any mythic hero.

Trade with the Near East The topography of Greece also fostered sea travel to Asia Minor. The Aegean Islands acted as stepping stones to the east, many providing excellent harbors.

Meanwhile the Phoenicians from the Levant, whose cities there were well established by the ninth century B.C.E., soon began moving out into the Mediterranean toward Greece. They founded a colony, Kition, on the southeast coast of Cyprus in the ninth century B.C.E. The traditional date of the founding of Phoenician Carthage on the coast of north Africa is 814 B.C.E. The Phoenicians began moving westward toward Italy, a course that involved a difficult crossing from the Peloponnese to landfall on the Italian coast, probably as much as a century before the Greeks, in all probability pioneering sea routes the Greeks would use. The Greeks also later adopted Phoenician galley ship types: the 50-oared warship, the penteconter, and the three-tiered trireme.

Greek trading contacts with the Phoenicians were inaugurated by traders from Lefkandi before the end of the Greek Dark Ages and were maintained by its successor city, Eretria, and by traders from Chalcis, also on Euboea. Again absence of material evidence of Greek trade goods at this time in the Phoenician trading sphere suggests that the Greeks were exporting slaves or agricultural produce that leave no mark in the archaeological record. The site of a trading post at al-Mina in northern Syria has produced Greek materials, but they seem to record a settlement of Greeks, rather than use of Greek products by other groups living here, mostly Phoenicians and CYPRIOTS. Al-Mina was important as the start of the shortest caravan route to Mesopotamia.

The growing power of Assyria, a state north of Babylon in Asia Minor based in the city of Ashur on the Tigris, increasingly disrupted trade in the eastern Mediterranean in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E.; Assyrians captured al-Mina in about 720 B.C.E. and destroyed the Phoenician city of Sidon in 677 B.C.E. In the long run, however, their conquest of the Phoenicians increased the latter's trade activities to satisfy Assyrian demands for tribute. Assyrian records tell of attacks on their interests by Greek raiders, perhaps based in Cilicia (modern southern Turkey).

Power politics in the seventh century B.C.E. led to the opening of Egypt to Greeks by the Egyptian king Psammetichus (Psamtek), who was attempting to expand his power at the expense of the Assyrians. He hired Greek mercenaries and welcomed Greek traders, who were primarily interested in the rich agricultural surpluses of the Nile valley. Greeks traded in oil, wine, and silver. They were allowed to set up a trading post in the western Nile Delta at Naucratis.

Trade and Settlement in the West The Phoenicians had probably been trading with SARDINIANS and perhaps settling in Sardinia from the ninth century B.C.E. Sardinia had rich deposits of copper, tin, lead, and iron ores. Probably because of Phoenician dominance of Sardinian trade, when traders from Euboea began arriving in about the mid-eighth century B.C.E., they bypassed Sardinia and established a settlement, called Pithekoussai, on the island of Ischia farther up the west coast of Italy. Here they had contact with the Etruscans, who had cities in the western region of the Italian Peninsula north of Rome. A flourishing trade with the Etruscans soon developed despite tensions between these trade rivals that sometimes led to conflict; the Etruscans particularly desired Greek pottery, and by the late sixth century B.C.E. in Athens potters of the so-called Perizoma group had developed a style of pottery specifically for the Etruscan market.

Population growth at home, as well as the Greek custom of inheritance whereby landholdings were shared equally by sons, increasingly led to emigration of Greeks across the Mediterranean, a migration that only slowed in

the sixth century B.C.E. because the best settlement sites had been taken. By that time Greeks lived throughout the Mediterranean and along the coast of the Black Sea. The new settlements varied in their functions and activities along a continuum from the *emporium,* predominantly devoted to trade, to the *apoikiai* (colony, or home from home), in which colonists took and farmed land. In reality in most settlements Greeks pursued both activities to a greater or lesser degree. At first emigration was an ad hoc affair, but with the rise of the polis, city-states began sending out organized colonizing expeditions of 100 or 200 young men, sometimes gathered by force, because of land shortages. Once a colony became established, it often maintained its ties to the mother city, importing its pottery and continuing to take part in its festivals and cult rituals.

Greek colonists on Sicily seem to have maintained good relations on the whole with the native SICULI and SICANI—in the case of one colony, setting up formal arrangements for intermarriage. Peace led to prosperity; some colonies became fabulously rich and adopted lifestyles that some Greeks at home disapproved of as overly self-indulgent and hubristic. The word *sybaritic,* "given to sensuous pleasures," is taken from the name of the Sicilian Greek city Sybaris.

Government and Society

Early Kings The first evidence of Greek political structure is from Myceneae, where the political life was centered around a king, called a *wanax.* There was another high office, the *lawagetas,* or leader of the people, probably a war leader. This division of leadership has analogies among other Indo-European peoples, such as the Celtic and Germanic. As the Mycenaean cities grew in size and wealth, the *wanax* and other leaders gradually accumulated a bureaucracy, according to evidence from Linear B tablets and from major building projects, palaces, elaborate tombs, and even planned agricultural estates, which could only have been built by marshaling and administering great numbers of laborers. One of the minor officials who helped the *wanax* administer his court was called the *basileus*. After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization the new rulers of the settlers who dotted the small islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor used that name, which took on the meaning "king." Gone were the ages of strong centralized rule, however. Throughout Greece during the Dark Ages these leaders were more chiefs than kings, who ruled so long as their followers allowed them, through cooperation.

Rise of the City-State According to the Greek philosopher of the fourth century B.C.E. Aristotle, Greek city-states emerged inevitably based on the laws of nature. It is more probable that Greek city-states arose in the political vacuum of the Dark Ages, and in reaction to the monarchical cities found on Cyprus, throughout Phoenicia, and in other parts of Asia and Africa. By about 750 B.C.E., however, Greeks all over the Greek world had established themselves in city-states. Greek city-states were autonomous, each having its own customs and religion, protector deities, and founding myths. For protection or trade the city-states would establish leagues whose relationships were cemented by festivals and panleague games. Two of these were the Ionian and Achaean Leagues. The crucial importance of trade in the rising fortunes of Greek cities meant that the merchant class was more or less equal in power to the landed gentry. Because of this the key characteristic of a city-state was the limiting of centralized power. Variously the city-states were ruled by oligarchy or differing forms of democracy. The city was usually established close to water, the only viable form of transportation in ancient times, but far enough away to be safe from marauders and usually at an elevation that provided the best views of the surrounding areas. Often a city-state was established around a central temple, the house of its protective deity. In Athens this was the Acropolis, on which was perched centrally the Parthenon, the house of Athena.

Modes of Justice and Lawgiving The Greek world depicted in Homer (the name attributed to a poet of the ninth or eighth century B.C.E.) had a system of justice similar to that of many other tribal warrior societies, both contemporary and later. The basis of such systems was the blood price, the compensation due from the family of a lawbreaker to the victim or his family. The form taken by homicide trials in tribal societies is shown by the description in the *Iliad* of a scene that was pictured on the shield of Achilles made for him by the smith god Hephaistos (perhaps meant to convey that justice was society's protection and shield). The scene shows a litigation in which two men were disputing over the blood price for a man who had died. The problem in this case was not the price but the fact that one of the men, presumably the kinsman of the deceased, was refusing to accept it, a situation that mirrors



This late-19th-century photograph shows a view of the ruins of the Parthenon in Athens. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-108932])*

the stalemate in the larger narrative in which Achilles is refusing to accept the blood price offered him by King Priam of Troy for Achilles's slain friend Patroklos, intended by Priam as ransom for the body of his son Hector whom Achilles had killed to avenge Patroklos's death. Homer demonstrates the necessity in tribal warrior societies of a means of halting endless blood feuding by compensation of the victim's family, the amount of compensation determined at an assembly.

It has been suggested that Achilles's eventual acceptance of the ransom offered him by Priam is a reflection of an emerging view in Greek society of justice, one that informed and was being played out in the development of the polis, the basic larger social unit of the Greeks (aside from tribe and family), consisting of the city and the community of its people. But Achilles's acceptance of the blood price offered by Priam is part of the tribal past. The feature that distinguished the polis from earlier Greek society was not the communal activities—the seasonal round of festivals and religious observances, choruses, funerals, assemblies of justice, plus shared experiences in war, in kinship groups, in age classes, and in marriage alliances, all of which were present in tribal warrior societies—but the fact that this Greek kind of community was based in a city and that it was literate. The Greek city was a more or less self-guided community, unlike the cities of Egypt and Mesopotamia that existed to serve kings. It introduced to the urban setting the communal values of the tribal past.

Individualism The individualism of Greek society that led to the experiments with democracy in Greek city-states was given an early expression by the poet Hesiod. The bitterness with which he denounces the givers and takers of bribes, those who use unfair means of gaining advantages over their neighbors, is based on the belief that such practices trample on the rights of others and attack and demean their self-respect. Mediterranean peasant societies from Hesiod's time to the present fostered in the individual a fierce sense of his privileges and personal worth. Men who trespass on the rights of others are guilty of *hubris,* which means "violence," but also the attitude that fosters violence: a sense of superiority and a contempt for the rights of others.

The rise in importance of trade in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., in contrast to the time of the Mycenaeans, when it fostered the rise of elites, tended to "level the playing field" in a number of city-states. Luck and initiative meant more to becoming a successful trader than aristocratic lineage. What may be called a middle class of merchants and craftsmen began to challenge the dominance of the aristocracy in public affairs; in Athens these tensions culminated in creation of a code of laws by a sixth-century B.C.E. citizen by the name of Solon who had grown wealthy and influential through trade.

Codification of Laws Laws were first written down at about the time that the oral poetic tradition of Homer began to appear in writing. Previously law codes had consisted of compilations of rules created by generations of past lawgivers or judges (similar to the Irish *brehon,* meaning judge in Irish law). Law codes that began to emerge in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. were commonly later ascribed to a single lawgiver (as the Homeric poems were ascribed to a single poet). In the case of Athens in 621 or 620 B.C.E. a lawgiver named Draco (Dracon) drew up a code of law to resolve conflicts among the classes of Athenians. The code carefully laid out definitions of various kinds of homicides, but generally the punishments were held to be extreme (hence the term *Draconian*), and the debtor class was much distressed that the Draconian code ruled that they be sold into slavery if they defaulted. In Sparta in accordance with the conservative nature of their society the tradition was that a judge called Lycurgus forbade the writing down of laws.

Law codes, such as those observed on Crete, typically dealt with such matters as the

powers of magistrates and mandated religious observances but were mainly concerned with private matters of barter and sale, dowry and adoption, inheritance and succession, fines for trespass, and blood money. Fines were fixed in numbers of cauldrons or tripods. An inscription from 450 B.C.E. describes a trial; the procedure was oral, consisting of oaths and testimony, without material or documentary proofs. The Romans believed that the Athenians invented lawsuits.

The Greeks had the custom of settling disputes between two states or members of a single state by resorting to external arbitration. There was no systematic collection of laws. Evidence on legal matters can be found in Homeric poems. Attic law derived from speeches of orators. Aristotle was known to criticize Plato, a philosopher of the fourth century B.C.E., for his abstract treatment of law; Aristotle in contrast discusses law in relation to the constitutions of Greek states and to early Greek lawgivers.

Solon An economic depression in Athens in the late seventh century B.C.E. brought resentment against Draco's laws to a head, as many small farmers were sold into slavery. In 594 B.C.E. Solon, a wealthy aristocrat, was chosen as a mediator among the classes in Athens as well as archon (chief magistrate). He cancelled all mortgages and debts and set free all who had become slaves as a result of debt, forbidding such practices in the future. He took the further step of encouraging those whose landholdings were too small to sustain them, a common circumstance because of the Greek custom of dividing landholdings equally among sons, to take up a craft or other occupation (he himself had grown rich by engaging in overseas trade).

Solon established the right of every person to appeal to the law courts and claim legal satisfaction on behalf of anyone wronged. Courts were established with hundreds of jurors. He also made reforms in laws of inheritance.

Solon's reforms were not restricted to legal matters. Far more important were his mandates concerning the political system of Athens. He began by setting forth criteria for membership in four different political classes, based on the property each man held. The first three classes were based on long tradition: the *pentacosiomedimni,* that is, those whose annual income equaled 500 *medimni* (one *medimnus* = 1.5 bushels or 8.5 gallons) of grain, wine, or oil; the *hippeis,* or knights, who could supply a warhorse for military service and whose income amounted to 300 *medimni;* and the *zeugitae,* or teamsters, who could supply a yoke of oxen and had an income of 200 *medimni*. Perhaps Solon's greatest achievement in his reforms was to add to these a fourth class, the *thetes,* who in general held no property. Although these *thetes* could not hold office, they could attend city assemblies and vote on policies proposed by a council of 400. This gave the general populace a voice in matters of state unheard of at the time: It was truly the birth of democracy.

Crime and Punishment For premeditated murder the penalty was death; wounding with intent to kill meant exile and confiscation of possessions. The penalty for manslaughter, or killing a slave or a resident alien, was exile without confiscation until the criminal had propitiated the relatives. Punishment for instigating a crime was the same as for committing it.

The allotment of jurors in trials was probably randomly determined the day a case was to be heard. Each court contained an equal number of jurors from each of the 10 tribes. Jurors were paid a fee. Speeches were made by advocates, one or two on each side usually. In the fifth century B.C.E. mussel shells were used for voting. Each of the jurors received a shell that he placed into one of the two urns. In the penalty phase jurors drew on wax tablets, a long line for heavy penalty, short line for lighter one. In the fourth century B.C.E. the shells were replaced by disks of bronze.

In Athens persons were executed by being hurled into a deep pit in northwest Athens; later in the time of Socrates the condemned was compelled to drink hemlock. Common criminals were beaten to death with clubs.

Rise of Tyrants The expansion of the Greek world in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., which resulted from a shortage of resources, most particularly arable land, was accompanied by continuing and debilitating conflict, both in the homeland and between neighboring colonies abroad. In many cases new colonies had to fight with neighbors for their survival, for land and trade routes. The continual conflict gave rise to infantry armies made up of citizen soldiers, called hoplites, who provided their own weapons and armor, since few colonies could afford to hire mercenaries or provide arms to their soldiers. Such armies were highly successful, even against cavalry. Service as hoplites was another means

by which commoners could play a crucial role in their city's affairs, and their success against the mostly aristocratic mounted soldier gave them a sense of pride and entitlement. In addition the focus of the Homeric warrior, personal honor and glory, was replaced by an ethos of service to the community.

The conflicts that increasingly arose between the aristocratic class and the invigorated and ambitious commoners—conflicts that often ended in political stalemate—led to the emergence of leaders who knew how to appeal to ordinary citizens and give them what they wanted. These leaders, called *tyrannoi* (rulers), were usually aristocrats themselves, but whether through a greater breadth of vision than their fellows that caused them to see the value of involving the citizenry in political affairs or a cynical belief in their ability to manipulate public opinion for personal ambition, they opposed their own class to propel themselves into power. The case of Cypselus of Corinth may be similar to that of other tyrants about whom less is known. An excluded member, through his mother, of the ruling Bacchiadae clan, he may have gained popular support as a military commander. In about 657 B.C.E. he overthrew the Bacchiadae, sent the clan into exile, and distributed their land among his supporters. Tyrants (at least those who were successful) seem to have had a shrewd sense of how to please the public and in particular their supporters. They ensured the favor of the gods and glorified their cities with fine temples and other buildings and took steps to foster trade.

Most tyrannies did not last much beyond the lifetime of the first tyrant or that of his son, however. In a sense a tyranny was a step backward in political evolution from rule of the few (the aristocrats) to the rule of one, when instead the trend of the time was toward rule of the many since the hoplite citizens increasingly sought to play a greater role in the affairs of their city than that of simply defending it as soldiers. The Greek polis was far more than an accumulation of buildings. It was a community welded together by shared experiences of peace and war and shared histories. It preserved the egalitarianism of the tribal past in a society made more complex and sophisticated by being literate and urban.

As a result most tyrannies were soon replaced by either oligarchies (from Greek *oligos,* few, and *archos,* ruling) or democracies (from Greek *demos,* people, and *kratia,* power). The office of a single archon who served for 10 years was abolished in 683 B.C.E. and all his duties distributed to a group of archons who held office for one year.

Rise of Hellenism The destruction and instability caused by the city-state rivalries of the fifth century B.C.E. was the beginning of the end of ethnic rhetoric, which had ceased to matter much outside political maneuvering. Already during the threat of Persian invasion the Greeks had established an idea of Hellenism versus barbarianism, recognizing their common traits. These ideas can be found in the writings of Herodotus and Thucydides, Greek historians of the fifth century B.C.E., both of whom considered Hellenism more of a cultural trait, that is, something that could be acquired, than an ethnic one. The final defeat of these ethnic divisions was the advance of the Macedonian Alexander the Great, who conquered and united all of Greece in 336 B.C.E. and went on to establish a short-lived Hellenic empire throughout the Near East, spreading over Greece and beyond a common Greek culture and dialect.

Slavery In modern times the role of slavery in classical Greek society, which had been overshadowed by the highly idealized view of the Greeks of earlier centuries, was subject to increased scrutiny. It has become clear that those aspects of Greek society that have most been admired since the 18th century—the development of democracy, achievements in philosophy and the arts—were in large part made possible by the slave labor that freed a large segment of Greek society to engage in politics and intellectual endeavor. The wealth of Athens that allowed the city to lead the Greek world was based on the silver mines of Laurium, worked by slave labor, a source that remained constant throughout the exigencies of agriculture and trade caused by weather and war. Slaves did the agricultural labor for landowners, enabling them to engage in affairs in the cities.

Use of slave labor was a given in Greek society; Greeks seem to have been unable to imagine their world without it. Owning slaves and even working them in harsh conditions bore no moral stigma; it was commonplace for men to make money by sending their slaves to work in the Laurium mines for a fee, even though the mine passages were barely wide enough to crawl through, their walls of rough and sharp stone, so that moving through them caused cuts and abrasions. Slaves in the mines

would work for 10 hours at a stretch by the light of simple oil lamps.

Most slaves were obtained in war, and even fellow Greeks could be enslaved, although most slaves were non-Greek. The women and children of Melos, a client city of Athens that the latter attacked for insubordination, were all sold into slavery after the Melian men had been slaughtered. There is some evidence that Plato himself was sold into slavery by the tyrant Dionysios of Syracuse after a quarrel. Plato was ransomed by wealthy friends, but the episode underscores the difference between slavery in the ancient world and that, for example, in the American South before the Civil War. It may be that Greeks viewed enslavement as one of the unavoidable consequences of war, a step away from being killed or wounded. Greeks used war for political purposes and for the glory of their cities, and for Greeks perhaps sending slaves into the mines may have been equivalent to sending soldiers into battle. Another key difference was that slavery did not conflict with the Greeks' religious and ethical beliefs, as it does with Christianity. It was considered simply as one of the possible fates meted out by the gods.

Status of Women The role of women among the Greeks was limited. Women were the possessions of their fathers until they married, when they became the possessions of their husbands. Fathers paid a dowry for their daughters. Aristotle considered women less than human, and in Athens they were restricted from voting and from attending many public festivals. Women's roles in tragedies were performed by men. In the Greek household women lived in their own quarters, which other men were forbidden to visit. In the myths and legends of the Greeks, however, there is evidence that women once held stronger roles in society, and some interpreters of myths have posited that Greece was once matriarchal, a theory that has fallen into disfavor for lack of evidence. What is clear is that in Minoan and Mycenaean times powerful goddesses were worshipped as well as gods, and such a strongly patriarchal pantheon as that of the Olympian gods probably did not exist. It is probable that the social position of women in these cultures was reflected in the importance of goddesses. Women in Homeric works, particularly the aristocratic wives of heroes—Penelope, wife of Odysseus, and Arete, wife of King Alcinous of Phaeacia—enjoyed high status. The status of women was variable throughout Greek history and from community to community. In Sparta of classical times girls exercised alongside boys, encouraged to have a strong body and mind. The female poet Sappho of the seventh–sixth century B.C.E. was a highly regarded lyric poet even in ancient times, and her poems paint a picture of a less repressed feminine spirit.

Greek plays give an idea of the view of women in the male-dominated Greek society. Heroines and female characters often depict the "other," apparently symbolizing forces threatening to a stable and orderly society, such as the unbridled emotions displayed by women swept up in Dionysiac revels, or consumed with rage or with illicit passion, such as Phaedra for her stepson, Hippolytos. On the other hand characters such as Antigone, who gave her life to give her brother, Eteocles, a proper burial, could be held up as a model of a woman's selflessness and devotion to duty.

A female character in Euripides's *The Children of Herakles* (tellingly, she is not named but only called *parthenos,* virgin), who has emerged from a temple into the street to speak with some men there, describes the proper demeanor for Athenian women as silent and modest and asks their permission for speaking out.

The relation of women to men for the Greeks partook of the hierarchical and dualistic way in which Greeks ordered their world as a whole—woman versus man, slave versus freeman, barbarian versus Greek, emotion or unreason versus reason, senses versus intellect. As in the case of slave versus freeman it was always possible for a rational man to sink to the irrational level of a woman. In the scene described earlier, the maiden, one of the children of Iolaos's former companion, Herakles (Hercules on Roman mythology), has offered herself as the sacrifice demanded by an oracle for victory in a battle against foes determined to kill Herakles' other children. Iolaos, lacking the firmness of will to choose the appointed sacrifice, had cried out in despair, and now on the maiden's heroic departure to her death collapses. The roles of Iolaos and the maiden have been reversed, she displaying the courage of a man and he the weakness of a woman. As in the case of slavery the Greek male's attitude about his superior status in society seems to have been one of gratitude to the gods who made it so, and a recognition of the need to live up to the state to which he had been born. In the case of Iolaos his great age had rendered him weak; later, insisting on joining in the battle, he has a vision of his apotheosized

companion Herakles riding the sky in a chariot, which reinvigorates him with youthful strength. From the inscrutable gods comes all and to them all returns.

The End of the Democratic Experiment Some years before Philip of Macedon's defeat of the allied Greek city-states the orator Isocrates of the fifth–fourth century B.C.E. argued in his speeches that the only way to combat Persian power was for all to join under a single war leader; this in turn would end the internecine warfare that had severely debilitated the Greek world. He lived to see Philip's victory over the Greeks in 338 B.C.E., met the Macedonian king, and congratulated him. It had indeed been Philip's lifelong dream to lead the Greek world in conquering the Persian Empire. The united kingdom he now set about establishing formed the political model for the Greeks for years. Even though a monarchical system based ultimately on the excellence of the monarch himself and the troops and nobles who gave personal allegiance to him had become totally alien to the Greek world, it was to prove the most successful and resilient form of government in that world for the next two centuries.

Athens in the Postclassical Period Even after Athens had been stripped of the power of the glory days, conquered and looted many times, it remained the center of Greco-Roman civilization. Sons of Roman aristocrats were regularly sent to Athens to study and toured the other great sites of Greece, such as Olympia and Delphi, in a way very similar to the grand tour of Europe—Paris, Rome, Florence, and Venice—made by wealthy young people of 18th-century England and 19th-century America. Romans of taste and culture began settling in Athens as early as 100 B.C.E., "going native" as they soaked in the much superior culture of Athens as compared to that of Rome. Cultured tourists were shown the philosopher Plato's chair and the fourth–third-century B.C.E. philosopher Epicurus's house and visited Colonus, the setting of the fifth-century B.C.E. playwright Sophocles' late masterpiece *Oedipus at Colonus*. The great Roman writer Cicero of the first century B.C.E. marveled at the sense of history found at such places as the spot by the seaside where the fourth-century B.C.E. orator Demosthenes had exercised his voice against the roar of the waves.

Long after Athens had been subjugated to the Macedonian kingdom the practice of democracy continued to be vital. In the Hellenistic Age with the rise of the large Alexandrian kingdoms and then Rome democracy was widely considered foolishness or worse. But Athenians continued to preserve equality before the law and freedom of speech for all those Athenian men who were citizens. Many officeholders were chosen by lot rather than election, a procedure that, unlike election—which tended to favor the wealthy aristocrats who could buy votes and exert their influence in other ways—ensured participation in government by all citizens and diluted the power of the rich.

As in the fifth century B.C.E. every year 500 citizens were chosen by lot to serve on the council; every month 50 of them, by rotation, acted as its executive committee. They prepared business for the assembly, the gathering of all citizens, which directed the city's affairs. The assembly made alliances, voted honors, and declared peace and war.

Recent study of public inscriptions in stone from this period, for which little in the way of narrative history was written at the time, has discovered a storehouse of information on the politics of the time. Such inscriptions recorded such matters as the membership of the national cadet force, the *ephebes,* or the award of a golden crown of honor to some foreign dynast who has conferred a benefit on the city. Sometimes such honors recognize a gift of wheat to the people or its sale at a subsidized price. Records of the names of officeholders demonstrate that for the most part a great range of ordinary citizens readily took part in public affairs, and power seldom became concentrated in the hands of a few aristocratic families.

Military Practice

As the Greeks emerged from the Dark Ages in the seventh century B.C.E. and organized themselves into city-states, they developed new tactics of warfare. These new tactics are hinted at in parts of the *Iliad,* which has at its forefront the ancient style of chariot warfare centered around great chieftains or heroes. But alongside the new political structure of Greek communities with the advent of oligarchy and democracy the heroic model was rejected, in favor of the much more effective phalanx. A phalanx was a solid wedge of infantrymen, called hoplites. Each man in the front held a large shield on his left shoulder and a double-edged sword or spear in his right. The hoplites were equipped with a helmet, a metal and leather breastplate, and shin guards called greaves. They adopted the Assyrian round shield and horsehair crest.

The hoplite was responsible for guarding the man on his left. The success of the phalanx depended on each man's holding his place so that the phalanx was not broken. The new way of fighting encouraged close and egalitarian relationships within the Greek armies. The phalanx was more maneuverable and more powerful than the disorganized groups that preceded it.

Clothing

Clothing throughout the ancient Greek world was very simple. Two main garments were worn by men and women, the *himation* (outerwear) and the *chiton* (underwear). These were worn by men and women, though the styles varied with the sex and station of the wearer. The Greeks wore sandals on their feet and leather boots in cold weather. Only under the influence of the East did clothing became more intricate.

The *chiton* was a simple tunic made out of a rectangle of either linen or wool. It was draped over the wearer and pinned at the shoulder with a brooch (called a fibula) and anchored at the waist with a belt. Depending on fashion, it could have formed sleeves, and be open or closed on the side. Excess fabric was pulled up over the belt. Spartan women of classical times wore it open on one side and were insulted for vulgarity by the more prudish Athenians. It could be pinned on one or both shoulders, but often the right shoulder and arm were left free. Soldiers wore a *chiton* with shoulders sewn together.

The *peplos* was a tubular garment worn by women; it was fastened at the shoulder and left the arms bare. A girdle surrounded and held it at the waist. The right side was open and hung from the shoulders like a shawl.

Whereas during the Archaic period vibrant colors were forbidden to ordinary citizens, later times saw the clothing, especially of women, dominated by colors, including violet, green, and gray, and patterned designs, of wavy lines, checks, stripes, and floral patterns.

The *himation* was a cloak originally worn in cold weather. It consisted of a single rectangle of rough wool worn over the other garments as outerwear. As lighter materials became fashionable, the *himation* was worn at any time. It grew in length with fashions and was draped in a more and more elaborate fashion as time passed.

Greek clothing was made primarily by the women of the household—mother, daughter, and female slaves. Women used cosmetics, including powdered lead to lighten their complexion.

Art

Role in Society Greek art comprises ceramics, coins, gems, frescoes and so-called easel paintings, small votive sculptures, large sculptures and portraits, and monumental architecture. It was either functional in the form of painted vessels such as amphorae and cylixes or functional on a different plane, as in the temple architecture, or in statues dedicated to gods or to the heroes of the Olympic and other games. Instead the art we find is that which played a role in the community at large: in the architecture of the temples and theaters, in the statues of gods and community leaders, and in everyday life—the fine coins, the brooches that held together the Greeks' garments, and the painted pottery.

Eastern Influences Greeks avidly sought luxury goods of all kinds from the East—bronzes and objects in silver, jewelry and gems, and probably textiles—although none of these have survived. The custom at the Olympic games for victors to dedicate bronze cauldrons at the temple employed numerous cauldrons made in Assyria, Syria, and Urartu, east of the Euphrates. Greek craftsmen imitated the cast animal head attachments on these cauldrons. The Olympic games furnished the occasion for a great trade fair of goods from all over the Mediterranean and the Near East. These included carved gemstone seals from Syria and Egypt, shells from the Red Sea, worked ivory, and Phoenician silver work. Eastern styles, motifs, techniques, and materials influenced Greek artisans.

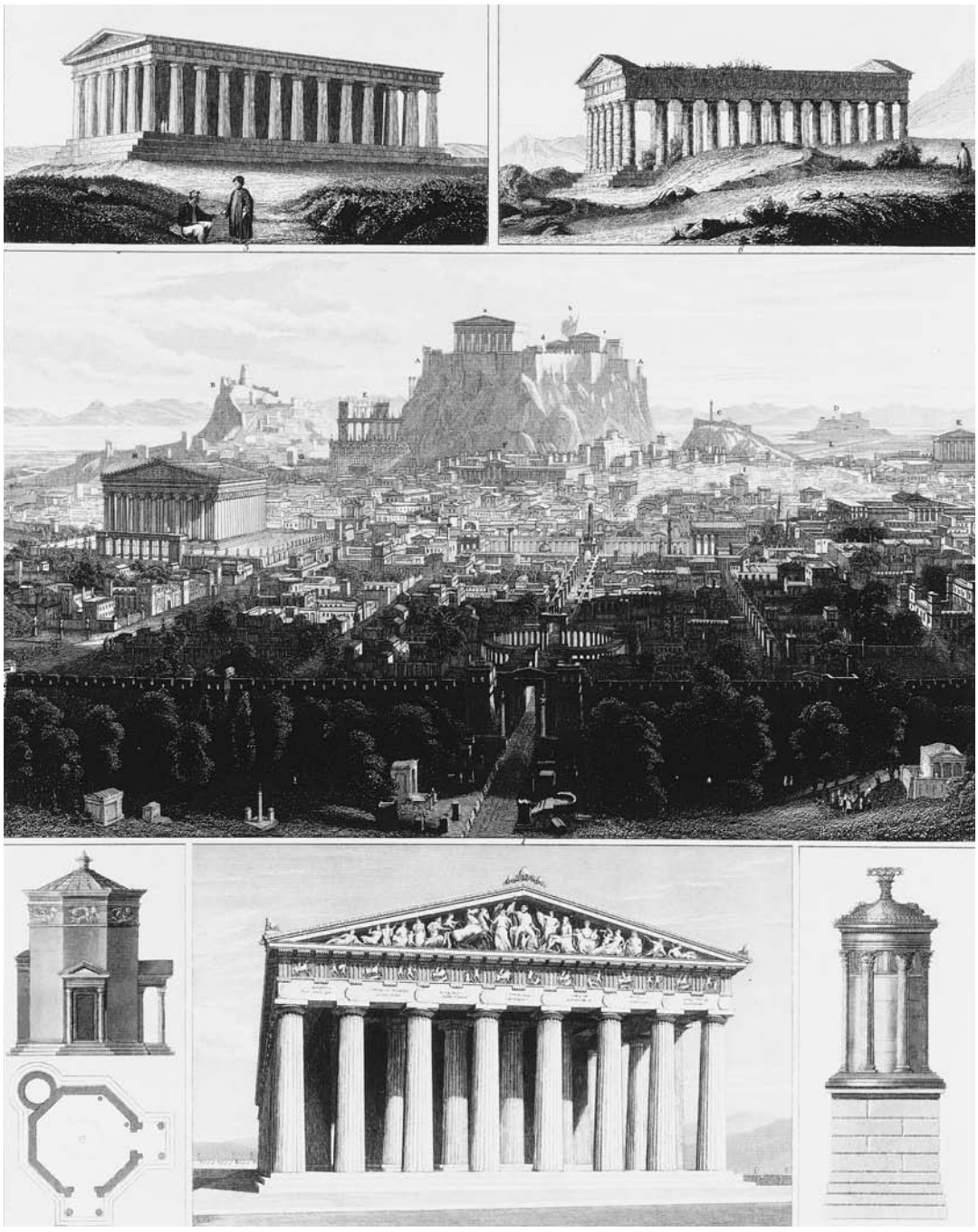
Many of the Eastern motifs that were taken up by the Greeks are so familiar to us that their non-Greek origins come as a surprise. The first Greek temples built in the classic style with rows of columns enclosing the interior began to be constructed after the seventh century B.C.E. when the Egyptian king Psamtik I opened his country to Greek traders. Thus the many-columned halls of the Egyptians were probably the main inspiration for Greek temples. In the sixth century B.C.E. the great Heraion of Samos, a temple to Hera, was built. It had a double colonnade, 21 columns along each side, eight at the front, and ten at the back. Ionian Greeks, who established trading emporia in Egypt in greater numbers than other Greeks, were especially enamored of large temples, and many temples built in Asia Minor had columns of the Ionic order.



This terra-cotta relief of the Greeks dates to about 460 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



This silver stater depicting Pegasus was used by Greeks in about 550 C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



These six drawings of ancient Greek architecture appeared in an encyclopedia in the mid-19th century: 1) Temple of Theseus; 2) Temple of Segesta in Sicily; 3) view of ancient Athens; 4) Tower of the Winds; 5) western front of the Parthenon; 6) Choragian monument of Lysicrates. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105997])*

Depictions of Zeus holding a thunderbolt and Poseidon a trident derive from images of Syro-Hittite gods, who often bear weapons in their right hands. A number of composite animals were from the East, such as the chimera, which had a lion's head, a she-goat's body, and a serpent's tail, and the Triton, a merman. The chimera was from the Hittites; a Greek myth tells of a fire-breathing chimera that terrorized Lycia, a country in southern Asia Minor near the western fringes of the former Hittite realm, suggesting that the story was inspired by images of chimeras on Hittite buildings and objects that Greek travelers had seen there. The Greek mythical hero Bellerophon of Corinth, aided by the winged horse, Pegasus, slew this chimera. The Triton originated in Mesopotamia. The sphinx, a bird-winged crea-

ture with the upper body of a woman and the haunches of a lion, was Egyptian; the myth of Oedipus and the riddle of the Theban Sphinx gives a sense of what early Greeks may have felt in confronting the ancient, awesome, and enigmatic civilizations that had preceded them. The 66-foot-high Great Sphinx of Egypt (made in about 2500 B.C.E.), already ancient by the time Greek travelers could have seen it, certainly exudes the aura of mystery and menace that pervades the story of Oedipus, doomed to commit the most heinous of crimes.

Plant images were elaborated into decorative borders in much Greek art, either twining tendrils of vines, or foliate shapes repeated over and over; two of the most important of these, the palm and the lotus, were from the East. Greeks adopted craft skills from the Phoenicians, whom Homer described as *polydaidaloi* (of many skills), such as techniques of fashioning metal objects by hammering. From the Phoenicians the Greeks derived the lost-wax process, by which a piece of wax was fashioned in the desired shape and then encased in clay. This was subjected to heat, simultaneously melting the wax and firing the clay, making of it a mold into which molten metal was poured. Greeks began to use ivory for carving, although they may not have known where the material originated in their early history; tales of elephants and their tusks would have seemed no more or less fabulous to them than their own mythic creatures.

Corinthian pottery of the seventh century B.C.E. was particularly influenced by the East in motifs and in the invention of the black figure technique, which consisted in having the background of pictures left in the natural buff color of the clay, while figures in black were delineated and given details by incising line in the black paint. This technique is thought to have derived from Eastern metalworking. When Athenians adopted the technique a century later they gave their backgrounds an orange color.

Remains of Greek Art after the Classical Era Greek art filled the Greek world throughout the heydey of ancient Greece. Sculptures multiplied in city centers; the walls of porticos, of temples, and theaters were adorned with statues and frescoes. When the Romans conquered the Greek world many of these treasures were carted away to Rome and spread through the empire, where they were copied by Roman artisans. A combination of neglect, resettlement, and a series of powerful earthquakes, not to mention the scorched-earth tactics of invaders from the Romans to the Goths, left much of Greek art and architecture in rubble and buried for some 1,500 years. Much of what remained of Greek art until the advent of modern archaeology was to be found in later copies and in the catalogues of Greek historians and travelers, whose writings were preserved more carefully than the art objects themselves.

Painting The Greeks inherited the fresco techniques of the Minoans and Mycenaeans, which were executed similarly to those of the Renaissance masters. The pigments were primarily earth-based. Of what are commonly referred to as easel paintings there is little evidence and nothing surviving.

Pottery Pottery of what is called the Protogeometric Age (1050–900 B.C.E.) lost all lingering traces of Mycenaean influence. Pots of larger size began to be made. Increased control in the design and execution of decoration developed. The compass began to be used to make semicircles. Athenian pottery making was in the vanguard of these innovations, which, however, were not taken up everywhere, indicating that Greek culture remained considerably parochial in nature.

Pots of the Geometric style, which began in Athens after 900 B.C.E., were covered with rectilinear forms, borders, and motifs, such as zigzags and swastikas. Figures, however, are largely absent. Again this style was not adopted in many areas of the Aegean, including Euboea and the Cyclades. The earliest known harbinger of the figurative art that would be a hallmark of Greek artwork is a 10th– or ninth-century B.C.E. pot from Lefkandi bearing a depiction of a centaur, a creature part man, part horse, which would become a common decoration of Greek pottery in later periods. At this time Lefkandi perhaps continued to be in the forefront of developments in spite of the growing vitality of Athens as a center for culture.

A small explosion of figurative art occurred in Athens in the eighth century B.C.E. in the work of the Dipylon master, so-called because his only known works were found in the Dipylon Gate cemetery. The impetus for the funerary pots covered with figures seems to have been to glorify the exploits of elite warriors, for they depict battles on land and sea. Other scenes show mourners surrounding a body on a bier. These works depart from the Geometric style only in having figures, but they are highly stylized and geometrical, their upper bodies shown as inverted triangles, and their poses, repeated over and over, having a

uniform regularity like that of the geometric motifs that accompany them in parallel borders. The Dipylon master, who worked from about 770 to 725 B.C.E., had no direct imitators. But the use of the human form reappeared in about 700 B.C.E., and Greek pottery would be used from then on to render narratives of real or mythical events.

Music

A stringed instrument, the lyre, was the favorite of Greek philosophers from Pythagoras of the sixth century B.C.E. to Plato, in that it consisted of strings tightly wound of specific lengths descending in exact ratios with a mathematical precision that resonated through the Greek universe concerning ideas of natural beauty. The poetess Sappho of the seventh century B.C.E. is said to have invented the lyre (although this is undoubtedly a myth since lyres were in use centuries before Sappho's time). Pythagoras linked pitch relations to numerical ratios. According to legend he discovered this by listening to the clanging of the hammers of blacksmiths. Some of his musical ideas influenced medieval thinkers and musicians. Aristoxenus invented or at least systematized the study of pitch in the fourth century B.C.E.

The lyre was the traditional solo accompaniment for lyric poetry of the kind composed at the wane of the Archaic period by Sappho, as well as by Alcaeus and Anacreon of the sixth century B.C.E. The lyre was played and lyrics recited during the symposium, or drinking party. Much of our evidence concerning Greek musical instruments and performance is taken from vase paintings, which depict common scenes. The music of the lyre was probably composed to accompany lyric poetry. Poets were as much composers of music as of verse.

Other forms of poetry were also recited to music. The elegiac, a verse on any subject also performed at symposia gatherings of men (and at some times also gatherings of women) but composed in elegiac meter, was probably accompanied by the flute or *aulos,* a single- or double-reeded instrument with two pipes (*aula*). Music was an important part of symposia and was integral to Greek theater, in the part of the chorus, a group of actors who sang their lines and contributed to both the tension of Greek tragedy and later the amusement of Greek comedies. However, there were also competitions of solo *aulos* and lyre players, held as early as 582 B.C.E., who had careers as recitalists.

The music of symposia and the theater probably arose from early cult hymns, which were divided into the stately paean and the ecstatic dithyramb. The first written evidence are the *Homeric Hymns,* songs of praise to the Greek gods probably performed at ceremonies during the eighth century B.C.E. and recorded in writing in later centuries. These were probably accompanied by the lyre, drums, or flutes, and of the music we have only the evidence of words, which are strung together in heroic or epic verse. These hymns were the rough contemporaries and probably the forebears of the touchstone of all Greek literature, the two epic poems known to the ancients as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey.*

Literature

Return of Literacy The greatly increased contact of Greeks with the Semitic cultures of western Asia in the eighth century B.C.E. led to the revival of writing in Greece, as Greeks adopted the use of alphabets from the Phoenicians, who along with other Semitic speakers had devised systems of conveying sounds through markings using Egyptian hieroglyphs. Because the Phoenician and other alphabets had symbols only for consonants, their flexibility and range of use were limited. The Greeks, in contrast, adopted Phoenician consonants that denoted sounds not used in the Greek language to symbolize Greek vowels instead, thus creating an alphabet that could be used for the whole Greek vocabulary and opening up the possibility of recording the finest products of poets, as well as more mundane material, such as recording of commercial transactions and listing of goods for which alphabets had been used earlier. By the seventh century B.C.E. the use of writing had grown; more than 150 inscriptions of that date have been found in Athens, including public inscriptions and others on gravestones. Pots offered to the gods at shrines have inscriptions as well, as though written speech in some way partook of the immortality of the Olympians, a visual means of fixing thought, so that the piety of the individual who had caused the inscription to be made would be perpetuated in eternity. This may have been the motive for tomb inscriptions as well, a form of individuality and will toward immortality.

Writing of Poetry One of the earliest known inscriptions in Greek dates to about 720 B.C.E., that on a drinking cup found at a Greek trading post on the island of Ischia off the west coast of

Italy. It gives the name of the owner of the cup, Nestor, but also includes three lines of verse (promising sexual desire to anyone who drinks from it). However, it is not known whether the greatest poetic works of the Greeks, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* had yet been committed to writing by this time.

The Iliad and the Odyssey The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the only surviving remains of a grand cycle of eight epic narratives in verse, which together comprised many tens of thousands of lines; these, when they were eventually written, totaled at least 77 "books," or papyrus scrolls. These narratives were not "composed" by an individual or individuals all at once (although Homer of the ninth century B.C.E. is so credited), but instead evolved over many centuries as wandering poets kept alive, varied, and added to a traditional body of heroic tales that they performed for the entertainment of aristocratic households all over the Greek world. We have only a partial idea of the impact of Greek poetry (as well as of Greek theater, which was closer to opera than to modern drama) because poets were equally singers, chanting their words as they accompanied themselves on a lyre. Thus the narratives were far more than mere recitation of facts and happenings, as poets aimed to influence their audiences by deploying the emotional power of powerful events, to enable them to feel as well as imaginatively see and hear them. This drive to move their listeners probably led to the invention of new incidents and details, since improvisation on the traditional themes was an important component of the poet's art.

As did the narratives of many other tribal cultures, the Greek epic tradition essentially took the form of annals describing the events surrounding the birth of a people—they comprised the foundation myth of the Greeks, the basis of Greek ethnic identity. The relationship of the Greek epics to historical fact may be similar to that of the British legends of King Arthur and the Frankish *Song of Roland.* All have a core of truth—in the case of Arthur the resistance of BRITONS to the invasion of the ANGLO-SAXONS, while the invasion of Europe by Muslims informs the *Song of Roland*—liberally garlanded with strands of poetic imaginings, such as Arthur's Twelve Battles and his Round Table (possibly based on a Roman amphitheater). The core of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* may be fierce and protracted rivalries between power blocs of the late Mycenaean age, when shrinking resources may have sparked wars for dominance of the trade networks that were the source of Mycenaean wealth. These rivalries would have been remembered and reinterpreted in the far simpler warrior societies of the ensuing Greek Dark Ages as arising from matters of personal honor and the warrior's drive for glorious deeds of battle.

The basic story line of the Homeric epics concerns a 10-year-long war against the kingdom of Troy waged by the Achaeans, a race of heroes who apparently lived in the regions of Greece we now know were dominated by Mycenaean elites from the 15th to the 12th century B.C.E. They were led by Agamemnon, king of Mycenae. The cause for the war was nothing so prosaic as control of trade networks, but rather the abduction by Paris, son of the Trojan king, Priam, of Helen, the wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. The traditional date for the Trojan War was the 13th century B.C.E. Archaeological excavations have shown that there was indeed a wealthy city on the coast of Asia Minor just south of the entrance to the Black Sea, roughly where Troy was said to have been located, and it was indeed destroyed, not once but twice: at the time of greatest Mycenaean expansion in the 15th century, then in the 12th century, when strongholds fell all over the Mycenaean world and throughout the eastern Mediterranean. There is no evidence of Mycenaean involvement in either of these attacks on Troy; they are not likely to have taken part in adventures abroad in the 12th century, when they were beleaguered at home.

In addition to folk memories of the wide-ranging raiding by Greeks all over the Mediterranean during the height of Mycenaean power, or of rivalries among Mycenaean powers, the concept of war between rival cities may have derived fresh emotional resonance from the Lelantine War between the cities of Euboea in the later eighth century B.C.E. None of this explains, however, why the war was located by the epic poets at Troy, where apparently the Mycenaeans had never fought.

A possible explanation is that Homer's "Achaeans" were not Mycenaeans at all, but rather a group of the Sea Peoples named by the Egyptians as their 12th-century attackers, possibly speakers of Doric, more than likely makers of the Barbarian or Coarse Ware associated with the 12th-century destruction of Mycenaean cities and of Troy. These invaders, after all, were as much a part of the heritage of post–Dark Age Greeks as those who had given rise to Mycenaean civilization thousands of years earlier, and their folk memories could

well have contributed to the corpus of stories and legends that solidified into the Homeric epics. Perhaps it was the fact that the epics arose out of a fusion of traditions between those of Mycenaean Greeks and of Doric and other speakers who arrived during and after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization that made these works so important to later Greeks, whose ethnic identity had been born of this fusion.

Both this core of truth—long years of war far from home and the accompanying arduous journeys, perhaps also the names of the heroes of the war, Achilles, Ajax, Hector—and no doubt favorite episodes that audiences would always demand from poets caused the narratives to solidify over time. The evolution of Greek society away from the essentially tribal one depicted in the epic tradition probably also played a part in the gradual ossification of what had been a living tradition. By the time of classical Greece, as the city-states of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and others began replicating the self-destructive rivalries of the Mycenaeans that may have lain at the heart of the Trojan War story, the Homeric epics, by now written, were treated in some respects as holy texts to be studied exhaustively, line by line, as though to find profound truth in their very syntax and grammar.

The identity of Homer, presumably the poet or poets who recorded or composed the Trojan War epics, may never be known. According to tradition, he was a native of the island of Chios in the eastern Aegean or of the city of Smyrna, in Asia Minor. However, the final version of the poems was written in the Ionic dialect of Euboea, possibly at the behest of wealthy elites of this important trading region. From here this Ionic version of epic poetry was carried through much of the expanding Greek world, where the Homeric tales were received with great enthusiasm, sparked an interest in the heroic past, and caused Greeks to embrace the Homeric world as the birthplace of the Greek ethnos.

Lost narratives of the Homeric corpus concerned a wide range of subjects all having some bearing on the Trojan War, some peripheral, such as the wedding of Achilles' parents and the murder of Odysseus in his old age by his son, Telegonus, his child by the witch Circe. Later summaries, paraphrases, and even quotations in learned commentaries on classical works that have survived give details about some of these tales. We know that the 11 books of the *Cypria,* for instance, cover all the action from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis to the judgment of Paris to the abduction of Helen, all the way through to the first nine years of the war up until the moment when the *Iliad* begins.

Another body of tales, the *Little Iliad,* take up the story after the death of Achilles, from the suicide of Ajax and the mission to fetch Philoctetes to the construction of the Trojan horse, the deceitful embassy to the Trojans of the Greek soldier Sinon (who convinced the Trojans to accept the wooden horse, saying that the Greeks, fearing plague, had returned home), and the Achaeans' terrible entry into Troy. The *Aethiopis* narrated the deaths of various ancillary characters such as the Amazon queen Penthesilea and Memnon, an Ethiopian ally of the Trojans; another, called the *Nostoi,* or "Returns," narrated the arduous homecomings of the Greek heroes after the war, particularly that of Agamemnon. The *Odyssey* was probably part of the *Nostoi.*

Hesiod The poet Hesiod possibly lived in the eighth century B.C.E., born in Boeotia to a farming family. He and his brother quarreled over their shares of the family inheritance, and Hesiod's works betray a deep sense of the harshness and suffering of life and of social injustice. He was greatly influential for centuries after his death and taken to embody the worldview of early Greek civilization.

Hesiod worked at a time when Greeks were undergoing a profound transition from a mostly local, tribal society to a great cosmopolitan civilization. In a sense they were becoming "self-conscious," striving to comprehend their own essence as a society, where they had come from and where they were going, and what were or should be their guiding principles. Some of the answers to these questions were to be found in Homer and others in Hesiod. The latter's two most famous works, the *Theogony* and *Works and Days,* provide a comprehensive picture of Greek religious and sociopolitical thought of his time, a portrait of the way many Greeks may have seen themselves—or at any rate the way Hesiod saw his own society, both what it was and what it could and should become.

The title of *Works and Days* refers to two sections only of a more rambling, loosely constructed work to which Hesiod probably added over time. The *Works* section details various agricultural tasks, and *Days* gives the days of the month that are propitious or not for these tasks and other activities. In general the book contains advice and thoughts on how to lead

an industrious life. Its specific form in the beginning is a harangue given to Hesiod's brother, Perses, on the occasion of a quarrel, followed by one directed at some "kings," probably local nobility, whom Perses had bribed. Later sections gradually leave this format behind.

Works and Days finds its place in the Sumerian, Babylonian, Hebrew, and Egyptian traditions of wisdom literature whose existence can be traced continuously from about 2500 B.C.E. to the early centuries of our era. It is similar to many other such works in that the narrator is a victim of injustice and that he does not merely offer neutral advice but remonstrates against his afflicter. It also includes an animal fable, the earliest known in Western literature, a century before the reputed date of Aesop's life. Animal fables, too, had a long tradition in the Near East, beginning with the Sumerians in the third millennium B.C.E. The ages of man with its metallic symbolism also has many parallels in Asian literature (Mesopotamian, Jewish, Persian, Indian); its story of humanity's progressive deterioration from an original state of paradise is alien to much else in Greek literature, and the interruption of this decline with a second brazen race of heroes seems a compromise, reflecting Greek optimism and, perhaps, a sense of their own rising greatness as a society. Indeed for all Hesiod's pessimism he nevertheless holds out the possibility that justice can be achieved if humans work hard to preserve order in unity with the gods. He invokes Zeus as humanity's protector, a departure from the usual portrayal of the gods as indifferent to human suffering.

This concept of the paramount importance of social, ethical, and spiritual order achieved at the behest of and with the help of the gods remained a part of the Greek outlook throughout the classical period, expressed in such oracular maxims as "Nothing too much" and "Know thyself." It informed the Greeks' preoccupation with mathematics and geometry; the orderly and universal quality of numbers and ways in which they could be used to understand physical shapes showed their divine and eternal nature—Plato had a plaque at the entrance to his academy inscribed with the words, "No entrance without [knowledge of] geometry," which was the surest means of comprehending the divine. And order, *taxis,* was the fundamental principle of the society of the Byzantine Empire, the Eastern portion of the Roman Empire, the culture of which was predominantly Greek.

Greek Theater as Political Expression An important aspect of Greek theater alien to some extent to modern ideas was its use as a forum within which to explore the realm of politics. The psychological motives of characters in Greek drama played out in terms of the relationship between the individual and the state, or the individual and necessity—the fate mapped out for him or her by the gods—whereas theater since the Renaissance often explores individual psychology for its own sake. The fact that much of Greek drama assumes the nature of a dialogue between two actors allows for demonstration of the tensions underlying contradictory imperatives—personal morality versus duties imposed by the state (Sophocles' *Philoctetes*), ethical obligations to family versus those to the state (*Antigone*), and archaic, tribal emotions such as personal vengeance versus the civilized rule of law (*Oresteia*).

Other Intellectual Pursuits

Rise of Rationalism There has long been a current of thought among scholars who study the ancient Greeks that the achievements of Greek philosophers and mathematicians, and of practitioners of medicine and historians, developed from an intellectual movement away from a mythopoetic view of the world toward a rational one, a movement sometimes termed "from Mythos to Logos [logic or rationality]." Thales of the seventh–sixth century B.C.E. was the first philosopher to try to explain the world systematically by using logic rather than simply resorting to the workings of the inscrutable gods. His peer, the philosopher Anaximander, used reason rather than myth to elucidate the origin of humans. In doing so the Presocratic philosophers set the stage for the achievements of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. In fundamental terms this shift represented the abandonment of the idea that events are controlled by humanlike gods in favor of the assumption that these events result from the cause and effect of physical processes.

A fundamental realignment of the relationship between physical matter and the divine took place during this time. The two ideas that exemplify this were Democritus's theory that atoms are the basic "building blocks" of matter, and the growing belief in a universal divinity above all other gods. Both the concept of atoms and of a universal, omniscient, omnipotent, and eternal God or One emerged during the course of the effort by philosophers of the fifth and



This photograph from the early 20th century shows the ruins of the theater at Delphi in Greece. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-110671])*

fourth centuries B.C.E. to reconcile two competing and contradictory views, formulated in the previous century, of the fundamental principle of existence—that there is an eternal, unchangeable divine principle standing above all gods, or that the essence of the universe is eternal becoming, perpetual and cyclic change. This was the conception of Heraclitus. The concept of an eternal divine principle had been developed during the sixth century B.C.E. by the Eleatic school of philosophy on the island of Elis; this concept later evolved into that of "an intelligent, personal God who stands above and apart from the material world and directs it." In contrast another school of Greek philosophy that flourished in the sixth century B.C.E., the Milesian of Miletus, made no distinction between the animate and inanimate—they were called by later Greeks "those who think matter is alive." It was they who first used the word *physis* to denote the essential nature of things; to them this essential nature was life and spirituality—they had no word for matter. One of their sages declared "all things to be full of gods"; another thought of the universe as a kind of organism animated by *pneuma,* "the cosmic breath."

In the new conception of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. the immutable divine principle was held to be manifest in the material world in the form of atoms, indivisible and invariable substances whose mixture and separation give rise to the change and variety of the world. Matter is fundamentally immutable; and the change and becoming we seem to see with our senses are illusions. Because the eternal divine principle finds expression in the world of our experience only in atoms, Greek philosophy essentially denigrated the sensory world. Even Aristotle, who made a lifelong study of natural history, believed the study of the divine was far more important; Plato's concept of ideal

forms, of which those we see with our senses are but shadows, is another example of this attitude.

The writing of history as well used a more rational framework. Herodotus's work differs from the mythic idea of history found in Homer and Hesiod, in which the gods play central roles, in his explanation of the course of history in terms of human motivation and political processes and his care to obtain firsthand observations (many of them his own): an emphasis that demonstrates a rational, scientific outlook. Thucydides' explicit rejection of the fabulous has caused some scholars to call him the first true historian among the Greeks.

In medicine, too, practitioners sought to discover and establish general and systematic theories about the way the body works and the cause of disease, rather than relying on magical practices. Medicine became a rational art with defined rules guiding empirical observation and practice.

The work of Aristotle has been seen as an exemplar of the rational approach, as he attempted to discover the general principles that underlay the natural world he observed in voluminous detail.

However, the rationalistic approach could also encompass the work of Plato as well. Plato believed that "pure reason" (as 18th-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant would call it) was embodied by geometry and mathematics and that study of these was a surer route to true knowledge than sense observations, which are imperfect.

The work of inventor and mathematician Archimedes of the third century B.C.E. represented the ideal fusion between the Platonic style of thought, with its tendency to denigrate sense experience in favor of abstract reasoning, and the Aristotelian, which embraced an empirical approach to knowledge using observation and experimentation. The two famous stories about Archimedes demonstrate both approaches. In one anecdote, his observation of water overflowing from his bath led him to devise a means of determining the metal content of a gold crown independent of its weight. He realized that solid objects displace a given amount of water based on their volume, not their weight. Since gold is more dense than silver, weighing more per unit of volume, a given weight of gold would displace less water than the same weight of silver. Thus a gold crown alloyed with silver would displace more water than a crown of pure gold. Archimedes' story also provides us with the first example in history of the absent-minded scientist, for on coming up with this idea and uttering his immortal "Eureka!" meaning "I have found it!" he reportedly leapt from his bath and ran naked through the streets all the way home to test his new theory. In the other story he used the principle of the lever to perform a "thought experiment," saying "Give me a place to stand and I will move the world." Using pure thought he extended the powers of the lever to a level of magnitude beyond the reach of human observation. Among his many-sided accomplishments were his calculation of the value of π, his invention of war machines, and of the screw named after him that could be used to raise water and loose materials such as sand.

The basis or springboard for Archimedes' achievement was the book *The Elements* by Euclid, who was active about 300 B.C.E. In it he set out a series of axioms, propositions so basic that their validity is self-evident, and then through rational argument systematically deduced theorems from them. The simplicity of his work and the method he used has made *The Elements* the foundation of all subsequent mathematics. This universality of mathematical study that causes Euclid's work and that of his followers to retain their relevance even today (the study of conic sections by Apollonius of Perga, active about 200 B.C.E., taxes even the most advanced mathematicians) seemed to confirm Plato's view that mathematics and geometry are the surest routes to true knowledge.

Hippocrates and Galen Hippocrates, who was born in 460 B.C.E. on the island of Cos off Asia Minor, is regarded as the father of medicine. His systematic approach to medicine is recorded in a series of medical texts. To him is credited the Hippocratic oath, in which he defined the role of the doctor in relation to the patient: "Do no harm." He encouraged careful diagnostic techniques. Doctors were to observe their patients carefully with all the senses and to treat disease with herbal medicines, and with diet and exercise.

Before and after Hippocrates Greeks depended on religious solutions to many of their medical problems. The Greeks doctors had no means of dealing with infections, and often people in apparently perfect health could decline and die rapidly.

The Greek physician and writer Galen lived six centuries later than Hippocrates and was thus the recipient of the ancient Greek medical tradition as it had evolved since

Hippocrates laid its foundations. After study in his native Pergamon (in present-day Turkey), a center of learning second only to Alexandria, he moved to Rome, where he quickly gained fame as a public demonstrator of anatomy. His reputation for profound medical knowledge placed him in great demand as a practitioner among the Roman elite, including emperors. Among his patients were the emperors Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Lucius Septimius Severus. Because of his exalted status, his writings on medicine were widely disseminated and survived the upheavals of the collapse of the Roman Empire. After his death, in 203 C.E., the increasing disorder in the Greco-Roman world and also the rise of Christianity, increasingly dominated by an apocalyptic worldview that denigrated the present world of mortality in favor of the coming end of days in the Last Judgment, led to a steady erosion in intellectual life. Thus Galen's writings represent the culmination of a Greek medical tradition that already was beginning to fade away as a living, ongoing enterprise of new research based on reason. The fact that, although he was not Christian, his writings evince a belief in one God and that he held the study of philosophy to be as essential for medical practitioners as the study of anatomy saved his work from being suppressed during the Middle Ages, either by Christians or Muslims. He declared that the body was an instrument of the soul. During much of the medieval period learning consisted mostly of reading and copying texts and accepting received knowledge. In this atmosphere Galen's authority on medicine was absolute and not until the 16th-century Belgian anatomist Andreas Vesalius began to conduct his own research did Galen's legacy begin to be seriously questioned.

Socrates and Plato Plato's philosophical system can be seen to have grown out of his lifelong attempt to understand his master, Socrates. Socrates was an extraordinary figure. Living in a fifth-century B.C.E. society that—at least in its higher echelons, in which Socrates for the most part moved and taught—worshipped physical beauty, Socrates was a notably ugly man. Yet a portrait sculpture of him was made in a realistic mode, the first of its kind (as though his ugliness embodied a counterstandard to the established canon of masculine beauty), and Socrates' appearance did not prevent Alcibiades, the most sought-after beauty of his generation, from falling in love with him. Socrates was neither well born (his father was a stonecutter) nor wealthy (although apparently he was well off enough to be able to spend most of his time philosophizing in the Agora, possibly through receiving gifts or a stipend from wealthy friends).

Yet for all this his thought and life had great influence on virtually all of the most gifted and powerful men in Athens and elsewhere during his lifetime and beyond. The great playwright Aristophanes conversed with him (and later caricatured him); among those who sought him out were generals, statesmen, and internationally famous intellectuals. The famous "Socratic" dialogue became an important literary genre—this though Socrates himself wrote nothing. A number of dialogues written by others include speeches by Socrates, making him perhaps the first Greek to receive biographical treatment from his fellow Greeks. His influence on the young was considered to be so great, and so dangerous, that laws were enacted by the Athenian government specifically to curtail his activities. His serene acceptance of his own death by self-execution for flouting those laws is the first example known in European history of a person's accepting martyrdom rather than giving up his way of life and belief. And besides all this his personality and thought helped lead to the development of Plato's philosophy, a critical juncture for Western philosophy. The history of the interpretation of Plato has been called a great part of the history of philosophy.

For Socrates philosophy was not merely a system of thought but a way of life. In his relentless pursuit of the *elegchos,* the elenchus or refutation, stripping away all givens, all presuppositions and assumptions, all illusions "that we know what we do not know," he seems to have aimed at the ironic self-annihilation that precedes genuine insight and self-creation, that is, the creation of a self that experiences the world at first hand, not through cultural filters, that arrives at a harmonious state of existence composed of thinking self and sensuous experience conjoined.

Some scholars believe that the course of Plato's works shows his struggle to understand Socrates. What many of Socrates' followers found so difficult to understand was his opacity, his refusal to tell them what to think. The early dialogues tell us nothing about how Socrates arrived at his life of philosophic virtue—Socrates even refuses to claim any knowledge of virtue. This creates a paradox that Plato cannot allow to stand.

In some of his dialogues, the *Meno, Gorgias,* and *Phaedo,* through striking metaphors often of

great beauty Plato strives to evoke the spiritual state beyond the world of sense experience; he claims that the material forms we experience on Earth are but shadows of the original forms that make up the realm of the One (as Plato called it), of the timeless and changeless, the fountainhead, the good and the beautiful, all virtue and wisdom. He depicts the soul as a charioteer driving winged horses and striving to fly to the upper regions, the habitation of the gods. Plato believed that Socrates had experienced that vision, and that his wisdom and virtue derived from his familiarity with the unseen world of true, eternal reality.

Finally in the *Republic* Plato outlined the institutions and laws that would create a society that fostered the good life—the life Socrates had by intuition or genius created for himself.

It can be said that to imitate Socrates is to create oneself. It follows, however, that in the course of such self-creation one will become increasingly unlike Socrates or any other human being, and increasingly original and true to oneself: probably what Socrates hoped to bring about in his followers.

Writing of History Many of the greatest historical texts providing information about ancient times were written by Greeks. The work of the Greek historians, indispensable to our knowledge of antiquity, also represents a signal literary achievement. One of the earliest historians of the ancient world and probably the most influential and important is Herodotus (see sidebar). He may not have invented history, for there is evidence earlier lyric poets wrote historical ballads, but his was the first work to show the personal search for history, through first-person investigation and interviews. Herodotus's history spans the entire ancient Greek world, and beyond, in his efforts to record the causes of the Persian War.

Herodotus was probably born in 484 B.C.E. in Halicarnassus in the former Greek region of Caria and spoke and was educated in Greek in the liberal arts of grammar, gymnastics, and music. At the time under the rule of the tyrant Artemisia, Halicarnassus was dependent on Persia. Born to a prominent family there, Herodotus found ample time and means to travel through the lands of Persia, visiting Susa and Babylon. In 457 B.C.E. Herodotus left Halicarnassus and moved to the island of Samos, which belonged to the Athenian confederacy. This allowed Herodotus to travel through the Greek world, and even to Egypt.

Herodotus: "Father of History"

Born in about 484 B.C.E. Herodotus was a native of the Greek city of Halicarnassus on the east coast of Asia Minor, the site of present-day Bodrum, Turkey. He is believed to have been exiled from Halicarnassus in about 457 B.C.E. for participating in a revolt against Persian rule. He probably traveled first to the Ionian island of Samos in the Aegean Sea and soon afterward embarked on his travels around the Mediterranean region, heading northward along the coast of Asia Minor to the Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea. He also traveled into the ancient region of Scythia (parts of modern Ukraine, Russia, and Kazakhstan) as well as Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. By 447 B.C.E. he was in Athens.

In 443 B.C.E. Herodotus supposedly helped found the Greek colony of Thurii on the Gulf of Taranto in present-day southeastern Italy. Settling there, he undertook the writing of his great *History.* As a background to historical events, in particular the sixth-century B.C.E. wars between Greece and Persia—which he presented as the centers of Eastern and Western culture, respectively—Herodotus described the geography of the known world, including parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. His descriptions were based on his own travels, reports from traders, and the writings of Hecataeus of Miletus in the previous century. Among the diverse cultures he described were the Scythians and Sarmatians, early nomadic dwellers of the Central Asian steppes who had moved into Europe. He also correctly identified the Caspian Sea as a landlocked lake.

Herodotus established a systematic approach to history and geography and expanded the European view of the world and its peoples. A century after his death in about 425 B.C.E. his *History* helped inspire Alexander the Great's campaign of conquest. Herodotus is sometimes referred to as the father of history.

In Herodotus's history, it is obvious that the historian had been exposed through his literary education to the works of Homer and the lyric poets, as well as writings of earlier historians, such as Hecataeus of Miletus of the sixth–fifth century B.C.E., who traveled as an Ionian ambassador.

In 447 B.C.E. Herodotus reached Athens, where he probably gave readings from the history he had been writing. This was a history of the Persian Wars, which had concluded a few decades before Herodotus's birth and whose results were still reverberating through the ancient world.

Herodotus's position as an educated Greek living in Asia gave him an ideal perspective from which to understand the relationship between Greeks and so-called barbarians. His history makes clear that sociology or anthropology was his principal interest. In moving from Persian-dominated Halicarnassus to a community of Greeks ruled by Greece and through his many travels through the Greek and non-Greek world he must have gained a good sense of Greek identity. The main feature of his description of non-Greek peoples is the sense of otherness in

Ptolemy: Scholar of the Ages

Claudius Ptolemaeus, born in about 90 C.E., lived most of his life in the city of Alexandria, Egypt, when it was ruled by Romans but still under the influence of the Greeks. He was a leading scholar and scientist among the city's Greek intellectual community, conducting studies in mathematics, astronomy, and geography. His exact ancestry is not known; he may have been Greek, Roman, or Egyptian, or a combination; he wrote in Greek.

From 127 to 147 C.E. Ptolemy produced an eight-volume work summarizing the geography of the known world. Known as *Geographia,* or *Introduction to the Description of the Earth,* it includes a compilation of 8,000 places, along with their coordinates of longitude and latitude, with relative distances obtained from travel reports and some astronomical observations. The work was fairly accurate about the Mediterranean region and correctly located Ireland as lying west of Britain. His northernmost point, known as "Ultimate Thule," has since been identified as one of Scotland's Shetland Islands. He also mentions Eastern Europe's Volga River and makes the first known reference to the Carpathian Mountains. Much of his work was drawn from Greek geographers, including Strabo.

After the decline of Roman rule in Egypt Ptolemy's *Geographia* was preserved by Arab scholars. Translated into Arabic it greatly influenced geographic thought in the Muslim world throughout the medieval period. In about 1400 a copy in Greek translation was taken from Constantinople to Florence, along with 27 maps, reported to be copies of originals produced under Ptolemy's direction. They showed the locations of ancient peoples and are a principal source for modern studies. His studies of the principles of cartography, trigonometry, astronomy, music, optics, and the property of light—as presented in *Almagest* and other works—were also groundbreaking and shaped intellectual activity for centuries after his death in about 150 C.E.



This 19th-century print is a representation of Ptolemy of Alexandria. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-92884])*

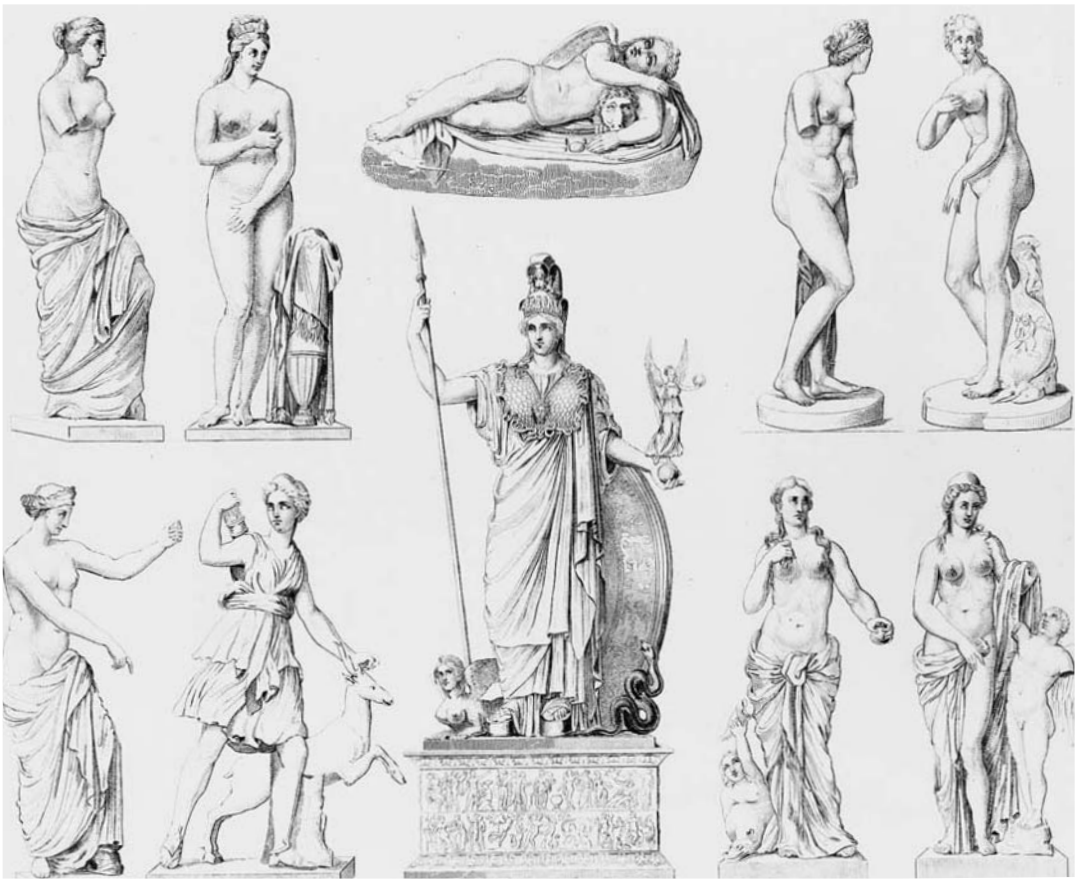
their customs. The religion of the Persians is described in opposition to that of the Greeks. A key incident is his description of the visit of the archetypal Greek democrat Solon to the court of the Lydian king Croesus, in which Croesus's personal accumulation of wealth is contrasted with the Athenians' universal community spirit. At the time Herodotus settled in Athens conflict was beginning to rise between the Greeks. His great history sought to demonstrate to the Greeks that they were kindred peoples in the face of outsiders, hoping to remind them of the successful alliance, primarily of the Spartans and Athenians, against the barbarian invaders. Although his message was accepted by some of the Athenian literati, it was ultimately ignored.

Another writer of history in the tradition of Herodotus was the second-century C.E. geographer Ptolemy (see sidebar), who made his home in the city of Alexandria in North Africa when it was under Roman rule but wrote in Greek, although he may have had Egyptian or Roman ancestry. His book *Geographia,* summarizing the geography of the known world, and 27 maps he presumably helped create are the only record of a number of ancient peoples.

Philosophy in Postclassical Athens Athens continued to be the world center of philosophy even after its fall from power, a consequence of the establishment of formal, permanent schools with buildings and endowments like those of the universities of the modern world. Plato had pioneered this practice in the early fourth century B.C.E. when he established a school outside the city in the grove of the hero Academos, the famous Academy. His pupil Aristotle later founded his own establishment, the Lyceum or Peripatos. The founder of the Stoic sect, Zeno from Citium in Cyprus, settled in Athens, probably at the turn of the fourth century. He gathered disciples and eventually left a flourishing school. The group was completed when Epicurus established his philosophical community (The Garden).

All four schools operated for centuries, debating their contrasting views with increasing subtlety and sophistication, alternating in their levels of influence over time—one flourishing more than the others, then another rising to prominence according to the intellectual fashions of the time and the talent of their proponents. They attracted pupils from all over Greece and beyond. Many sons of prominent Romans, such as the son of Cicero, were sent to Athens to study with that school most appealing to the parents. In the second century B.C.E. Hasdrubal from Carthage, under the Greek name of Clitomachus, became head of the school of Plato.

Hellenistic Age Greek intellectual endeavors centered at Alexandria, Pergamum, Dura, and other cities beyond the Greek homeland are generally called Hellenistic to distinguish them from the Greek culture before the time of Alexander the Great. These cities outside Greece spread Greek influence and preserved the Greek heritage for later ages. The libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum were centers of literary criticism and the compilation of anthologies and catalogues.



These drawings of ancient Greek and Roman architecture appeared in an encyclopedia in the mid-19th century; the centerpiece, Phidias's statue of Athena, stood in the Parthenon. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-99145])*

The period saw a great increase in the level of education, which resulted in the emergence of a popular literature and of new literary forms, such as the romance. The greatest achievement of the time was keeping the intellectual traditions of the past alive; they were thus absorbed by Rome, playing an important role in Roman culture and to some degree the Romans' basic outlook. Hadrian, the great Roman emperor of the second century C.E., was steeped in Greek culture and believed Rome's most important duty was to preserve and promote it. Greek thought also played a seminal role in the development of Christian theology.

Religion

It is difficult to get a comprehensive grasp of Greek religion because of the sheer amount and variety of material that remains. Nearly all extant Greek texts, on whatever subject, contain references to religion, some with evidence of very ancient practices, yet much of this writing on religion is hard to interpret. It is important to remember that although the sheer volume of writings that remain is great, it still represents only a fraction of what once existed. What was kept, what destroyed deliberately, and what simply lost through neglect all reflect the choices of writers, readers, and keepers of books. In the case of religion in particular the zeal of the early Christian Church to stamp out paganism must have resulted in much loss of material; on the other hand early church fathers wrote many descriptions of pagan practices that have to be carefully evaluated for their natural bias. Even such works, however, contain valuable information.

The loss of so much means that only mainstream religious practices for the most part have come down to us. From the time of Homer and Hesiod through the classical period the vast majority of writings deal with the religion of the Olympian gods, while another class of rituals that were practiced throughout this period alongside the Olympian, those honoring the so-called chthonic (of or relating to the underworld) deities, were relatively neglected, at least in what has survived. These rituals were a particular feature of women's festivals, which, because of the suppressed role of women in

Greek society, were less likely to be written about, since most writers and scholars were men. It is probable that our sense of Greek religion is lopsided, with goddesses seen through an Olympian lens—Hera, queen of heaven, as the jealous, scheming wife of the boundlessly unfaithful Zeus and Athena, goddess of wisdom, having no mother, but born fully formed from Zeus's head and remaining virginal for eternity, in her armor looking as much like a beautiful youth as a woman, as though feminity was somehow at odds with wisdom. Even Demeter, apparently the most influential goddess, had to suffer the abduction of her daughter by Hades, god of the underworld.

The mythology is enormously complex, having accumulated over a very long time span, and in many cases it is difficult to tell which myths arose out of the deep preliterate past and which are late, mostly literary or philosophic inventions. Archaeology continues to uncover new evidence, and ethnology has been used to compare Greek ceremonies and rituals with rituals of nomadic and hunting peoples in remote areas of Europe who still in the late 19th century preserved their ancient practices. Over the course of the 20th and into the 21st century scholarship has increasingly revealed the multicultural currents that entered the sea of Greek religious belief throughout antiquity. From its Minoan and Mycenaean beginnings and influences by the cultures of the Hittites, Phoenicians, and Egyptians; through the probable contributions of migrating peoples such as the Dorians at the onset of the Dark Ages; to later arrivals, such as the cult of Adonis, Greek religion continued to change and evolve. During the classical period it was increasingly attacked by means of the logos, the logic of Socratic philosophy.

Around the turn of the 20th century discoveries about religious practices of primitive peoples around the world had a strong impact on the study of Greek religion. The practice of magical ritual to promote the fertility of crops, shown by various scholars to occur all over the world, was used to understand the Eleusinian mystery cult and other rites. The importance in many religious systems the world over of a feminine principle and of goddesses, particularly in India, caused scholars to look behind the patriarchal Olympian pantheon or interpret its myths as revealing a matriarchal past.

Greek Gods The Greeks had a polytheistic religion, that is, one of many gods. It has a complex origin, with many influences from the East, especially from the Phoenicians and the Egyptians. Some evidence that some elements of the Greek pantheon were taken from Africa through Egypt bridges the divide between Africa and the Near East.

The Greeks' views of their gods changed subtly through their history. The earliest religious practices on Crete and of the Mycenaeans seemed to combine two tendencies: the placement of religious shrines on remote mountaintops, where early Greeks sacrificed and worshipped gods much as the ancient Canaanites did, and the location of religious complexes in the early Greek cities, with the king serving as high priest, and a religion subsumed into the daily workings of the state. Evidence for early Greek religious practices is sparse, much of it reconstructed from confusing archaeological finds, partially translated texts, and reconstructive analyses of more modern myths alongside linguistic comparisons. These latter find a connection between some of the leaders of the Greek pantheon and Indo-European deities of India, Celtic countries, Germany, and Italy.

The earliest Greek god worshipped seems to have been Poseidon. He was worshipped by the Minoans as sea god and as the Earth Shaker, and later by the Mycenaeans. The Greeks of northern Greece worshipped Zeus, whose name is connected linguistically to that of Jupiter, the Germanic Thor, the Celtic Teutates, and the Sanskrit Dyasis.

It seems that every community had an associated god and gods, which were regarded as protecting it. Moreover, different groups of Greeks had different festival calendars. Greeks who had similar origins would often gather in sacred areas for joint festivals. At the festivals there were contests in singing, dancing, chariot races, and footraces. This custom led to the drama contests at Athens, where tragedians had their tragic plays performed for the citizens of the polis. The games from these festivals included the Olympic games at Olympia to honor the entire pantheon, participated in by nearly all the Greeks, and the Pythian Games at Delphi to honor Apollo. In addition to honoring the gods, these gatherings served to bind together the citizens of one polis, or the citizens of various leagues of cities, or, as in the case of the Olympic games, the Greeks themselves as a whole. Victories in the games were important for the prestige of city-states, especially those ruled by dictators, with whom the victor of a race was often closely identified, and

who expended great sums in their pursuit of victory.

Other than the names of gods, which have been identified in the script of the Mycenaeans, the works of Homer and Hesiod represent the first textual evidence of Greek religious attitudes and beliefs. In Homer the gods are represented as having human features and human vices. The gods are both all-powerful and themselves bound by fate. In the *Iliad* Zeus, the leader of the gods, cannot save the life of his own son because of the disorder doing so would cause in the balance of the cosmos. The Homeric gods squabble among themselves and take sides in human affairs. Humans can do little but try to propitiate the gods and through the agency of priests and oracles figure out how best to please them.

***Mythology in Hesiod's* Theogony *and* Works and Days** In Hesiod gods and humans are even more intertwined than in Homer. His *Theogony* gives the origin of the universe and of humans, and of the different Greek peoples. It also attempts to combine different myths and folklore into one authoritative narrative.

Hesiod's description in the *Theogony* of the creation of the gods and of the universe complements Homer's Olympian pantheon by describing how the Olympians originated. He wrote that both the inspiration for singing about the gods and the instruction to do so were from the Muses themselves, who visited him while he was tending his father's lambs on a remote mountain pasture. (Whether this claim was a poetic convention or the result of a genuine religious experience, invoking the Muses certainly became a poetic convention that was used long after antiquity—for example, by Milton at the opening of his *Paradise Lost*.) Hesiod gives the names of some 300 deities, some of whom seem to be of his own invention, all of them related to one another. Some are gods who were actually worshipped; others play a role in the myths Hesiod relates; others seem to exist only to fill in genealogical blanks. Some are merely personified abstractions: Death, Sleep, Deceit, Strife, Victory, and the like.

It is now understood that Hesiod's creation story and pre-Olympian deities contain elements of Babylonian religion, showing that Greeks were strongly influenced by the Near Eastern cultures with which their growing trade activities gave them contact. They seem to have understood that the Near Eastern civilizations were vastly older than their own. When Hesiod wished to go to the beginning of time, discover the first gods and the creation of the universe, it was natural for him to look to the tales of the ancient Babylonians that had been preserved by the Assyrians contemporary with them.

A major theme Hesiod derived from the Near East was what has been called the *succession myth,* relating how several "generations" of gods succeeded one another. Hesiod's version relates how heaven was overcome by Kronos, the leader of the Titans, and how the Titans in turn were overcome by the younger gods led by Zeus. The first god and goddess were Uranus, god of heaven, and Gaia, goddess of Earth. Their son, Kronos, supplanted his father by castrating him; Uranus's genitals fell into the sea, and their semen and blood mixed with the ocean brine to bring forth Aphrodite, the goddess of love, conventionally described as "foam-born Aphrodite." Kronos went on to swallow all of his own sons to prevent any of them from succeeding him, until he was tricked into swallowing a stone instead of his youngest son, Zeus, who overthrew him. The succession myth is known from a Hittite text of the 13th century B.C.E. and a Babylonian text of the 11th century B.C.E. Hesiod says that Zeus was born in Crete, suggesting that the tale entered Greece from there. It became part of Greek religious worship; for example, the stone that Kronos swallowed instead of Zeus was displayed at the sacred site of Delphi.

A number of Hesiod's tales explain the origins of religious rituals, a source for many Greek myths in general; the story of Prometheus explains that the reason the meat of sacrificed animals is eaten and only the inedible parts dedicated to the gods is a trick that Prometheus once played on Zeus. He concealed the best meat in the animal's entrails and offered Zeus only the bones concealed in fat. In retaliation Zeus prevented humans from using fire to cook their ill-gotten meat; Prometheus then stole fire from heaven for human use. Finally Zeus contrived a punishment for men from which there would be no escape—and gave them women. He had Hephaestus create a woman named Pandora, who had a jar from which she released all the world's ills (the Renaissance scholar Erasmus mistranslated the word *jar* as "box"—thus the phrase "Pandora's box"). This tale reveals a deep misogyny in Hesiod, although it did not prevent him from maintaining a pious belief in goddesses, such as his Muses.

In *Works and Days* the life of toil we experience is presented in the context of a progressive downward trajectory in humankind's passage through time, from an original state of bliss experienced by the first humans, the golden race, who were subjects of Kronos. They lived together in the harmony of a hive of bees: dancing and laughing, without cares or labor; eating acorns, wild fruits, and honey; and drinking sheep and goat milk. They disappeared from mortal life but survive as spirits or genii who aid in the enjoyment of music, give good fortune, and uphold justice.

They were succeeded by a silver race, eaters of bread, the men of whom were completely subject to their mothers. They were quarrelsome and ignorant and did not sacrifice to the gods, but at least they did not make war. Zeus destroyed them all. It is possible that here Hesiod is recording a folk memory of the first farmers of Neolithic Greece and the Balkans, who made numerous female figurines. The worship and ritual of the grain goddess Demeter maintained great importance even among later Greeks with their patriarchal pantheon and seem to have had ancient roots. It is probable that early farmers had at least a sense that a feminine principle, perhaps worshipped through the agency of female ancestors whom the figurines represented, played an important role in agriculture; folk memories of this worship of the feminine, viewed from the perspective of worshippers of almighty Zeus such as Hesiod, could have been interpreted as evidence of the dominance of women in society in those ancient times (a situation that modern archaeology has not so far borne out).

There followed two different brazen races, both warlike; the second of these took part in the Trojan War, the heroes of which (in contrast to Homer's account) dwell immortal in the Elysian Fields, a Greek version of heaven. In the present race of iron, "humans will no longer respect their parents, war and looting will be the order of the day."

The works of Hesiod document the Greeks' embrace of many religious themes and narratives. The realm of the dead, Hades, has similarities with an underworld of mud and darkness described in the Mesopotamian epic, *Gilgamesh*. The flood in *Gilgamesh* that influenced biblical mythology gave rise to the Greek story of Deucalion's flood.

The Role of Government in Religion Gods were worshipped through the agency of the government. Many founding ideas of Greek law can be traced to origins in ancient taboos, as can the idea of taking oaths to bind contracts. Priests and priestesses were civil servants, and temples were administered by the polis. Greek temples were the houses of the gods, not places for worship. The god was felt to reside there, and a cult image or statue was always found within. Outside the temple was an altar, where public sacrifice was performed. The sacrifices were community events and took place in a rigidly prescribed ritual. Usually cows, pigs, and goats were the sacrificial animals, although there are strong hints that human sacrifice continued to be practiced from time to time into the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. Also highly ritualized and administered by groups of priests and priestesses were the oracles that guided many important decisions by heads of state, even outside the Greek world.

The most famous of these oracles was the oracle at Delphi, where people would journey to seek guidance. The priestess would sit atop a tripod and enter a trance. Her utterances were written. They were often cryptic and would have to be interpreted by the receiver of the oracle. Herodotus reports that when the sixth-century B.C.E. Lydian king Croesus asked the oracle whether he should march on the Persians, she replied that he would destroy a great empire. Taking it as encouragement, Croesus marched on the Persians and was defeated; he had destroyed his own empire. Alexander was another who had supposedly consulted the oracle in the fourth century B.C.E., as did the Roman emperor Claudius I in the first century C.E. The ancient theory that gas rose from a crack in the Earth and caused the trance has recently been posed again with modern geological evidence after being dismissed as impossible for hundreds of years.

Alongside the public religion were the mystery cults. These cults remain little known because of the intense secrecy involved. The most important was the cult of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, often called the Eleusinian mysteries. Also important was the cult of Orpheus, and later the cult of Isis and Osiris, which was imported from Egypt and spread throughout the Hellenistic world and into Rome. The worship of Adonis originated in the annual death of a god of vegetation celebrated in the Phoenician city of Byblos. A similar god in Syria and Lebanon was called Tammuz. People on Cyprus, who worshipped the goddess of love, Aphrodite, incorporated this rite into their own, in which Adonis was beloved of Aphrodite. As was Tammuz Adonis was killed

by a boar and translated underground to Hades, the Greek abode of the dead, where he became the beloved of Persephone, goddess of the underworld. But Aphrodite in later classical myth pleaded with Zeus to release Adonis from Hades; he did so for only part of the year, and Adonis spent the gloomy winter months with Persephone. When she herself was released in the spring to join her mother, Demeter, goddess of grain, Adonis rejoined Aphrodite.

These cults introduced to the Greeks the religious concept of death and resurrction, which was increasingly important throughout the course of ancient Greek history and became part of a new religion: Christianity. The mystery cults offered the secrets of eternal life and happiness to their initiates, who had to undergo secret learning and initiation ceremonies and were sworn to silence. We know something about these cults from tablets that have been found in burials, with instructions for the afterlife written on them. The cults have also been reconstructed from the myths and legends that relate to the gods on whom the cults have been based.

The cults spread through Greece during times of difficulty accompanying waves of mysticism and with the influence of Eastern philosophy and religions that had a more detailed view of afterlife. The mystery cults have been associated with Pythagoras and found their way into the philosophy of Plato. They were a combination of life practices, such as the Pythagoreans' prohibition against eating beans, thought to contain the souls of the dead because of the gastric discomfort brought on by their ingestion (wind also was thought to consist of spirits), and a series of instructions on what to do to have the best possible afterlife (do not drink from the stream of Lethe and lose your memories, for example). The cults were successful because they became divorced from civic and tribal boundaries and spoke to people's dissatisfaction with their present life and their fears of death. They had their heyday in times of chaos during the Hellenistic period.

Rituals of the Chthonic Deities Much writing on Greek religion in classical times portrayed it in a positive light as a fellowship with the gods and even a festival. Ritual in Homer consisted of the sacrifice of an animal followed by a feast on its flesh. This was also the view of later writers such as Thucydides, for whom religion was "a rest from toil." Pericles talked of providing for Athenians opportunities for recreation, through celebration of games and sacrifices throughout the year. Other writers of the fifth century B.C.E. talk of sacrifices in terms of social banquets, and of temples to the gods not as places of awe, but as beautiful places of resort for citizens to gather in celebration of the splendor of the city and its gods.

In Plato's dialogue the *Euthyphron* Socrates explored this conventional idea of religion, in full ironic vein revealing that its essence was a quid pro quo between gods and mortals. Mortals give the gods their due—their portion of the sacrifice (which, ever since the trick played on Zeus by Prometheus, consisted of the inedible parts only)—and the gods give, in return, peace and prosperity, the good things of life. In this religion elements that inform many modern religions—ideas of sin and repentance, purification, fear of imminent judgment, longing for an afterlife of beatitude in God's presence—play no role.

The rational entered into this view of religion in the sense that if the gods were honored and accorded their due, they would be pleased and smile on humans, a cause-and-effect equation. By classical times the obverse of this equation, that the gods would do harm to humans if they failed to worship them properly, was not considered. The writer Plutarch, speaking of the gods of Homer, who shows them being harsh and cruel, insists that the evil consequences of war must not be ascribed to Ares, god of war, but considered as inherent in war itself as waged by men, independent of any action or will of Ares: "If evil be spoken of Ares we must imagine it to be said of War, if of Hephaistos, then of Fire, if of Zeus, then of Fate . . ." or as Euripides said, "If gods do anything shameful, they are no gods."

There seems to be a missing link, gods who are not gods. That an entirely other element of Greek spiritual belief existed than the benign worship of the Olympian gods is strongly suggested by a Greek word meaning "fear of spirits" or of the supernatural. By Plutarch's time this word was being used to connote what we would call superstition. Plutarch wrote that this superstition is a perversion of normal spiritual feeling. He writes that the superstitious approach the shrines of the gods with as much fear as they would come near dens of bears and holes of snakes. By Plutarch's time it had almost been forgotten that in the past certain places, especially the lairs of snakes, were in fact the dwellings of gods where mortals went to sacrifice. In classical times a second class of rituals, intended not to please gods but to ward them away, continued to be practiced. The

more primitive nature of such rites seems to suggest that they were a part of the original religion of Greeks before the benign Olympian rituals were devised in cities such as Athens, probably as a means of promoting civic order, cohesion, and pride.

The orator Isocrates distinguished two classes of gods, the Olympians, source of all good things, and another, which he declined to name, saying only that they have "harsher titles." These others, instead of the prayers and burnt sacrifices given to the Olympians, received ceremonies of *apotrophoi* "riddance," "sendings away," or exorcism. They are referred to as gods of riddance or aversion.

In classical times the locales of such rites were often the shrines of heroes, often barrows; the ghosts of such heroes, it was thought, could cause only evil and thus must be placated so that they would stay away. In light of the strong probability that in the Neolithic Age ancestors were worshipped as protectors, sometimes buried under houses, and that the numerous female figurines found in Neolithic settlements in Greece and the Balkans probably were used in fertility rites, this fear and abhorrence of the ghosts of the dead in classical times may well be analogous to the abhorrence felt in Christian Europe against anything that smacked of pagan practices. In such periods a religion that had been successfully suppressed was felt, nevertheless, to retain enough dangerous power to necessitate its containment through ritual actions. The gods of riddance in ancient Greece probably represented a substratum of earlier religious belief that had not been abolished entirely but whose significance had been transformed. Hippocrates says that to avert hostile things "we must pray to Earth and the heroes"—chthonic deities dwelling underground.

Some of the most important festivals in Greece, the Diasia of Zeus, the Thargelia of Apollo and Artemis, and the Anthesteria of Dionysos, ostensibly in honor of Olympian gods, were celebrated with ritual quite unlike the joyful feasting and games usual in Olympian worship. Instead they have a gloomy, underworld character and consist of rituals of purification and of communication with ghosts. It seems likely that these festivals became associated with the Olympians but nevertheless retained their original character.

The festival of the Diasia in honor of Zeus under his title of Meilichios, for example, was described as having a character of "chilly gloom," a figure of speech that evokes Hades and the Erinyes, agents of vengeance, who were often called "chilly ones." It is apparent that this aspect of Zeus is far different from his usual one of dwelling in the high heaven. The customary sacrifice for Zeus Meilichios was a holocaust of pigs, which were burned to ashes, none of the meat shared in a feast as was usual for Zeus in his Olympian mode. Uneaten sacrifices were typical of rites to placate angry ghosts, and Meilichian Zeus was, as were the Erinyes, the avenger of kindred blood; as such the latter hunted down Orestes, who had murdered his mother. The rituals of Zeus Meilichios took place under cover of night. Moreover reliefs have been found, inscribed with the name Zeus Meilichios, depicting a large coiled snake. In one case three worshippers approach a snake several times their size.

The shrines of heroes all over Greece had attendant snakes, who were given offerings of food; in all probability their acceptance or rejection of the offering indicated to the suppliants whether or not their prayers were to be answered. Snakes are appropriate symbols of the underworld because they often dwell underground or in caves; their shed skins may have been explained as evidence that they could become invisible; a common epithet for winds was "snake-tailed," and winds were considered to contain spirits and ghosts, both for evildoing and for fertility (Boreas, the god of the north wind, was believed to impregnate mares). Thus by mythic logic the snakes at hero shrines were probably considered incarnations of the heroes' ghosts, who had drawn on their skins again and become visible. Such heroes were addressed by titles similar to that of Meilichios, which means "gentle" or "gracious," probably attempts to placate a deity only too likely to be anything but gentle. It seems then that Zeus Meilichios—or rather, Olympian Zeus—took over the worship and attributes of a hero customarily entreated by the name of Meilichios.

This combination of Zeus and other Olympian traditions with local hero cults is documented by titles given him and other gods in different regions in Greece; in Athens itself Zeus had several titles. In addition to Meilichios he was called Zeus Philios, "the friendly"; in this case, according to an inscription, he had this title from his mother, Philia, the Friendly One. From the similarity of this epithet to that of Meilichios, the Gracious One, it is likely that Philia was a chthonic deity of riddance who was given offerings to keep away and do the suppliant no harm. Such deities were probably also invoked to ward off ghosts

and evil influences in general; the essence of their worship was purification.

Although in classical times the chthonic cults had an atmosphere of nearly unrelieved gloom and dread and were primarily concerned with purification and exorcism, certain details of their ritual hint that they were not always so. This is seen in the festival that preserved to the greatest degree a pre-Olympian character, the autumn festival of the Thesmophoria. Herodotus writes that it was a festival introduced from Egypt and taught to the women of the Pelasgians, the name given by Greeks of his time to the original inhabitants of Greece, who were thought to be related to the Minoans. The festival may have entered Greece from Crete, whether or not it originated in Egypt. It was celebrated all over the Peloponnese until the entry of the Dorians, Herodotus says, after which it died down and was preserved only by the Peloponnesians (probably meaning pre-Dorians or Mycenaean Greeks) who were left and by the Arcadians in their remote region. The Thesmophoria was also celebrated in Attica, at Eleusis, where it eventually developed into the Eleusinian mysteries. Curiously Herodotus does not mention this. It remained nearly uncontaminated by Olympian practice because it was a women's festival; such festivals were viewed by men with a mixture of contempt and dread, and little attempt was made to infuse it with a triumphal Olympian character because the primary purpose of so doing, to promote cohesion and solidarity among the male citizens of a polis, was in this case irrelevant.

The Thesmophoria was fundamentally an autumn sowing festival, held on three days in the Athenian month that corresponds to late October and early November. The three days were called Downgoing and Uprising, Fasting, and Fair-Birth. The goddess who oversaw the Thesmophoria was Demeter, who had joined the Olympians but was much older than they and whose worship preserved many pre-Olympian elements.

Instead of consisting wholly of negative actions of aversion, purification, and warding off, the Thesmophoria included positive rituals of promotion. Pigs were sacrificed and taken down into two chasms called *megara* (chambers), one sacred to Demeter and the other to Demeter's daughter, Kore. This is probably reflected in the name "Downgoing," and the "Uprising" referred to the act of taking up the rotted remains of pigs that had probably been deposited there previously, perhaps the year before. Pigs were reportedly used because they were prolific breeders. The rotted remains were then taken to an altar and offered to husbandmen to mix with their seed in order to yield a good crop. Although these remains probably had a property of purification, of warding off of harmful insects and blight, they also had a positive promotional value: Because pigs were seen as prolific, their remains would help the seed to sprout abundantly.

Another fertility-promoting feature of the Thesmophoria were cakes made of cereal paste in the shapes of snakes and, most probably, phalluses, which were deposited in the chasms. The cakes were supposedly left to placate snakes in the chasms that had been feeding on the rotted remains. The very name of the Thesmophoria refers to these cakes and probably also to the pigs, for it derives from *thesmoi,* "things laid down" or "tokens deposited." The fact that the name of the hero Theseus, who was a mythical king of Athens and a sort of King Arthur for the Athenians, means "he who deposits" or "lays down" suggests that the original rite of the Thesmophoria was a sacred marriage or hierogamy between the king and a woman, priestess or queen, representing the Earth goddess, a practice, possibly once common to all Indo-European cultures, preserved among the Celts into historic times. A reenactment of such a rite seems to have been observed as one of the secret rituals of the Eleusinian mysteries that developed from the Thesmophoria.

Another aspect of chthonic worship is illustrated in sixth–fifth century B.C.E. lyric poet Pindar's 10th *Nemean Ode,* which tells of events at the Argive annual festival of the Hekatombaia, a spring festival in honor of Hera, probably on the occasion of her bringing the Earth back to life and renewed vigor. He says that the winner of the bronze shield (awarded to the best athlete at the games) will win as his ultimate fate the kind of "oblivion" won by the mythic twins Kastor and Polydeukes (Castor and Pollux), who chose to spend their lives after death alternately in golden Olympus and in the underworld. This myth probably had its roots in beliefs dating to the Neolithic that equates the death and rebirth of plants with the fate of departed ancestors or heroes.

The gloomy rituals of the chthonic deities, the despised women's festivals, are likely to have been in the mainstream of religious practice in Minoan and Mycenaean times and to have had their roots in Neolithic practices.

Some scholars have found vestiges of this substratum of belief appearing like bedrock throughout Greek mythology. The imposition of Olympian religion on this bedrock or subsoil may have been carried out by the Dorians and other warrior groups involved in the destruction of the Mycenaean world. On the other hand the clear use of the yearly round of festivals in Greek city-states to foster loyalty to the state and strengthen bonds among citizens suggests that many of the religious observances of classical Greece were self-conscious "inventions" or compositions. These developed along with the emergence of the polis as the basic social unit of the Greeks—a series of sacred plays with the function of what ethnologists would call "social imprinting," teaching the people about the origins of their society and about their history and heroes and giving them the sense of solidarity born of participation in communal activities. Pericles was clearly involved in providing such sacred plays, probably employing poets to devise beautiful rituals in parallel with the actual plays they composed for the theater.

The fertility-giving aspect of festivals such as the Thesmophoria was mostly forgotten in classical times; with the growing importance of rationalism belief in such magical rituals was on the wane, at least among the educated. Vestiges of fertility rites can be seen in the custom of obscene jesting that was observed at the Thesmophoria and other similar festivals. The mythic explanation given for this practice was the story of a maidservant's pulling up her dress to amuse the grieving Demeter (a method of amusement more likely to appeal to a male than a female imagination). Recent thinking on the purpose of such practices sees in them a departure from the decorous behavior usually demanded of women, to allow the release of antagonisms between the sexes. It probably also furnished a way for men to laugh at rituals that they clearly found repellent and even threatening. In general women's festivals may have served as a release of social tensions to promote subsequent acceptance of prevailing conditions.

The ancient Greeks gave rise to a succession of great civilizations that left an indelible mark on the Western world. Throughout their varied history the Greeks were daring seafarers, innovative thinkers, and monumental artists. Their culture bridged the gap between the great Eastern civilizations of Phoenicia, Babylonia, and Egypt and the West.

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Greeks: nationality (people of Greece)

GEOGRAPHY

Greece lies along the southern tip of the Balkan Peninsula bordering Albania to the northwest, Macedonia to the north, Turkey to the east, and Bulgaria to the northeast. The

Aegean Sea extends to the east of the peninsula, the Mediterranean to the south, and the Ionian Sea to the west. Mountains make up about three-quarters of the landscape, and only a quarter of the land is used for agriculture. The Chalcidice peninsula and the Pindus Mountains, where Greece's highest peak, Mount Olympus (9,570 feet) is found, are located in northern Greece. Low-lying plains are found in central Greece and along the Nestos and Struma Rivers. The Peloponnese, a peninsula separated from the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, constitutes southern Greece; the Taíyetos Mountains lie to the south of the peninsula. Principal rivers include the Vardar, the Struma, the Néstos, and the Aliákmon, Greece's longest river. The total area of Greece is 50,949 square miles, of which islands make up about 20 percent. Principal islands, of the more than 2,000, include Crete in the Mediterranean; Kérkira, Kefallinía, and Zákinthos in the Ionian Sea; and the Cyclades, the Northern Sporades, and the Dodecanese in the Aegean Sea.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Ottoman Turks, led by Sultan Muhammad II seized Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453 C.E. (*see* TURKICS). Greece, as in the time of the ancient GREEKS, consisted of small city-states, easily conquered by invaders. By 1669 Turks completely dominated the Peloponnese, Aegean Islands, and Crete. Throughout the 18th century Grecian revolts against Ottoman rule occurred. Greeks finally won the support of Britain, Russia, and France to defeat the Ottoman Turks in 1829 after eight years of war and declare its independence. The following year Britain, France, and Russia issued the London Protocol, officially recognizing and agreeing to protect the kingdom of Greece. Greece at the time stretched from Arta in the west to eastern Vólos on the mainland and included the Peloponnese and small islands. The Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 defined the modern boundaries of Greece.

Greece acquired the Ionian Islands from Britain in 1864 and the province of Thessaly and part of Epirus in 1881 after the earlier Turkish defeat in the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78). After various revolts the island of Crete won autonomy under Ottoman rule and proclaimed its union with Greece in 1913. Greece gained Ioánnina, the capital of Epirus, from the Turks the same year. In the Balkan War of 1912–13 Greece and Serbia defeated Bulgaria; the Treaty of Bucharest divided the majority of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia. Greece won Bulgarian territories in western Thrace and Macedonia in 1919 and acquired eastern Thrace and the Aegean Islands from the Ottoman Empire the following year. In the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne Greece ceded eastern Thrace and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos to Turkey.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

From ancient times Greece has been the portal by which cultural influences from the Near East entered Europe. The development of ancient Greek civilization was aided greatly by contacts with the more advanced societies of Asia Minor; later as Greek trade, society, and political power impinged more and more on Near Eastern civilizations, especially Persia, a protracted power struggle ensued, from the classical period of Greece through the entire history of the Byzantine Greek Roman Empire (*see* BYZANTINES) until the final victory of the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century. Throughout the period of Asian dominance Greeks preserved their sense of a European identity and kept alive hopes of throwing off the Ottoman yoke. An active Greek nationalist movement came into being in the 18th century as Greeks studying in Europe became aware of the reverence in which the civilization of classical Greece was held. The Greek movement to win independence gained the powerful assistance of Britain, Russia, and France in part for strategic reasons but also because of the love of many in Europe, where classical studies formed the basis of education, for ancient Greece. (The great English poet Lord Byron, for example, died in Greece while doing his utmost to aid the rebellion against the Turks.) Thus from its modern inception Greece's self-perception has been based on continuity with the classical past.

A part of Greek cultural identity concerns the Turks (*see* TURKS: NATIONALITY) and involves rejection of as many vestiges as possible of the centuries-long rule over Greece of the Ottoman Empire. Greek Independence Day on March 25 remains an important holiday, and Greeks still view Turkish foreign political aims with deep suspicion. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus (*see* CYPRIOTS: NATIONALITY) in 1974 and the Turks' systematic destruction of all signs of Greek culture there only confirmed Greek fears. Greek anxiety about recovering and preserving their folk and traditional culture has led to attempts to

GREEKS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Greece (Hellas, Ellás, or Ellada); Hellenic Republic (Ellinikí Dimokratía)

derivation of name:
From the Latin word *Graeci* after the tribal name Graikoi

government:
Parliamentary republic

capital:
Athens

language:
Official language is Greek; Demotike is the spoken vernacular, Katharevousa the formal form; English, German, and Turkish are also spoken; Slavic Macedonian, Vlach (Romanian dialect), Albanian, and Pomak (Bulgarian dialect) are used by ethnic minorities.

religion:
About 94 percent of the population are Eastern Orthodox Christian; small numbers are Muslim or nonreligious.

earlier inhabitants:
Mycenaeans; Greeks; Macedonians; Romans; Byzantines; Turks

demographics:
More than 95 percent of the population are Greek; minorities include Turks, Albanians, Pomaks, Rroma, Macedonian Slavs, Armenians, and Vlachs.

Greeks: nationality time line

C.E.

1204	Crusaders sack Byzantine capital of Constantinople; Greece is divided among western conquerors.
1453	Ottoman Empire expands to include Constantinople and Greece.
1821–29	Greece, aided by France and Great Britain, wins independence from Ottoman Empire.
1828	Ioánnis Antónius Kapodistrias becomes first president of Greece.
1832	Treaty of Constantinople defines modern-day boundaries of Greece and places it under protection of Britain, France, and Russia.
	National Library is founded.
1833	Athens becomes capital of Greece.
1834	Rebuilding of Athens and excavations on Acropolis begin.
1844	First constitution creates democratic parliamentary system of government.
1854	Performances of *Karagiozis,* shadow puppet theater, are first presented in Athens cafes.
1864	Constitution is enforced to allow a stronger parliament; Prince William of Denmark becomes King George I of Greece.
1866	National Archaeological Museum is founded in Athens (building completed in 1889).
1881	Ottoman Empire cedes Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece.
1896	First modern Olympic Games are held in Athens.
1898	Restoration of Parthenon begins.
1900	National Art Gallery and Alexandros Soutzos Museum is founded in Athens (reorganized in 1976).
1909	Military coup establishes new government.
1912–13:	Balkan Wars further increase Greek territory.
1913	Greece obtains Ióannina, capital of Epirus, and island of Crete from Ottomans.
1914–18	During World War I Greece relinquishes neutrality, joining Allies.

demonstrate continuity in culture from classical times to the present, "uncontaminated" by Turkish influence.

Greek nationalism was greatly influenced by ideas of the 19th-century German scholar Johann Gottfried von Herder, who formulated the concept of a nation with a common language, folk, and moral values as the most "natural" state for a national culture. The most unnatural state, he claimed, was one in which various races and nations mingled under the rule of one scepter.

Because of the influence of this form of romantic nationalism there has been a tendency for Greek cultural preservationists to minimize influences from non-Greek cultures, taking at face value ancient Greek assertions about Greeks versus "barbarians"—that is, all non-Greek speakers—oblivious of the fact that such cultural chauvinism is at odds with the reality of important "orientalizing" tendencies of ancient Greeks. This rejection of cultural borrowing and insistence on the greatness of ancient Greek culture tend to erect (real or imagined) boundaries between Greek and neighboring cultures, such as those of Slavic nations. The establishment of cultural boundaries by Greek folklorists has been used by the Greek state to justify the establishment of political boundaries on the grounds that all inhabitants within a region are Greeks (culturally and therefore politically). In this way culture is politicized to bolster arguments of territorial integrity and national security. A majority of Greeks in Greece believe that politicizing culture is necessary for the legitimate purpose of preserving the Greek nation. But Greek folk dance researchers and enthusiasts are very aware of the regional cultural diversity found in Greece; the state's attempts at cultural homogeneity for the sake of nation building are at odds with preserving regional

1923	At end of war with Turkey Greece cedes all territories in Asia Minor to Turkey.
1924	Monarchy abolished by popular vote; Greece becomes republic.
1927	Poet Angelos Sikelianos and American wife Eva Palmer sponsor First Delphic Games at Delphi, a celebration of Greek culture, including athletic games, concert of Byzantine music, exhibition of folk art, and performance of *Prometheus Bound.*
1935	Monarchy reestablished.
	Piímata (*The Poems of Constantine P. Cavafy*) by Constantine Cavafy (Konstantínos Pétrou Kaváfis) appear posthumously.
1936–41	General Ioannis Metaxas becomes dictator.
1939–44	During World War II, Nazi Germany occupies Greece.
1944	Greece comes under British control.
1946–49	Monarchy is restored; civil war begins between Communist army and reigning government.
1952	Greece is reestablished as parliamentary democracy with reigning monarch; it joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
1963	Poet George Seferis (Gorgios Sefariadis) wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1964	Novel by Nilkos Kazantzákis is made into movie *Zorba the Greek* with music by Mikis Theodorakis.
1967	Military coup takes over government.
1974	Civilian government replaces military and abolishes monarchy; new president is elected.
1979	Poet Odysseus Alepoudhelis (pseudonym, Osysseus Elytis) wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1981	Greece joins European Community (EC).
1985	New restoraton of Parthenon begins.
1993	Greece becomes one of 12 original members of European Union (EU).
2000	National Museum of Contemporary Art is founded in Athens.
2004	Second Athens Olympic Games are held.

cultural diversity and with the influx of immigrants from abroad.

A threat to the continuity of traditional culture is rapid urbanization. In response cultural organizations, clubs, and societies whose stated purposes are to preserve Greek cultural heritage and ethnic identity have been created. These organizations usually focus on certain elements of their heritage. One cultural element that is readily accessible and whose basic principles are most easily taught is folk dance. The Greek government has recognized this fact and has included folk dance in the physical education curriculum of Greek secondary educational institutions. Physical education teachers must receive a specific accreditation in Greek folk dance to teach the subject in Greece. As a result Greek folk dance groups are flourishing.

Greek society is noted for its close-knit families, whose members are obliged to provide mutual support. Rather than disappearing in the face of modern, urban economic life, the family is seen as a primary forum for economic pursuits. Marriages still function to a degree as economic alliances. The great majority of the country's businesses, including those of the all-important ship-owning industry, remain family-run enterprises. Yet this family structure of industry tends to impede modernization, as *mesa* (family connections) and *rouspheti* (exchange of favors) count for more than the objective analysis characteristic of modern business decision making.

One aspect of Greek family tradition that has changed markedly is the role of women. The sphere of women in the past was almost exclusively home and family, and they did not gain the right to vote until 1955. Since the 1980s, however, there have been significant changes in the status of women, as they increasingly enter the workplace. Changes in



Greek women harvest tea in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-prok-11522])*

family law, particularly the abolition of the dowry system, which had required brides to give property or money to grooms, have accorded greater equality and economic freedom to women.

Modern Greeks resemble their ancient counterparts in conducting much social intercourse outside, especially in the hot summers. A very popular custom in small towns and villages is the *volta,* the evening stroll along the main street or the waterfront.

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Greutungi *See* Ostrogoths.

Grudii

The Grudii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul, their location unknown, at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts and Gauls. They were a subgroup or allies of the Nervii.

Gutones *See* Goths.

Gypsies *See* Rroma.

H

Haedui *See* AEDUI.

Hasdingi *See* VANDALS.

Havelians (Hevellers; Hevelli)
The Havelians are classified as a tribe of Western SLAVS, living along the Havel River, a tributary of the Elbe, in present-day northeastern Germany by the early eighth century C.E. As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS. In 929 the Havelians, OBODRITES, POLABIANS, and VELETIANS were defeated by Henry I, king of Germany. Their resistance continued into the 12th century, however.

Hellenes *See* GREEKS.

Helvetii (Helvetians; Helvetes)
The Helvetii are classified as a Celtic tribe, although they probably had Germanic ancestry as well. They lived in present-day central Switzerland by the second century B.C.E. They are grouped among the CELTS or GAULS living to their west. The TIGURINI and the TOUTONES were perhaps subgroups.

In 58 B.C.E. because of population growth and pressure from Germanic tribes to the north, such as the SUEBI, the Helvetii decided to migrate westward under Orgetorix and Divico, the latter perhaps of the Tigurini. Some BOII, LATOVICI, RAURICI, and TULINGI accompanied them. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar defeated them, the final battle at Bibracte, a town of the AEDUI on Mont Beuvray 12 miles west of present-day Autun. Caesar reported the deaths of two-thirds of some 386,000 enemy combatants. He forced survivors to return home. Six years later some Helvetii fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix in a rebellion against the Romans.

Aventicum on the site of present-day Avenches was the Helvetii *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation of Gaul lasting until the fifth century C.E. The Helvetii were known for their goldwork.

HELVETII

location:
Central Switzerland

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

Helvii
The Helvii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Ardèche River in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Herminones (Irminones; Erminones)
According to the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. the Herminones were the most easterly proto-Germanic tribe or collection of tribes. In his account they supposedly lived between the Elbe and Oder Rivers in present-day central and eastern Germany by the first century B.C.E.

HERMUNDURI

location:
Central Germany

time period:
First to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

By the early first century C.E. a number of tribes emerged from this region, such as the LOMBARDS, MARCOMANNI, and QUADI, perhaps Tacitus's Herminones. Tacitus refers to three early groups, descended from Mannus, son of the Earth-born god Tuisto and, according to legend, founder of the Germanic nation. From his three sons the INGAEVONES supposedly emerged near the ocean in the north, the ISTAEVONES to the west and south, and the Herminones to the east and south. Tacitus reports a second mythic version of the origins of GERMANICS in which Mannus had more sons who founded other tribes.

Hermunduri (Hermanduri; Hermenduri; Hermunderi; Hermunduringi; Hermonduri; Hermondurians; Ermunduri)

The Hermunduri are classified as a Germanic tribe, a subgroup of the SUEBI. They lived in present-day central Germany by the early first century C.E. and eventually farther south around present-day Augsburg (the former Roman colony of Augusta Vindelicorum founded in 14 B.C.E. in the Roman province of Raetia).

The Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries describes them as the only GERMANICS to trade extensively with the ROMANS in the first century C.E., although modern archaeology has proven that Roman trade goods were spread throughout much of Germanic territory far beyond Hermunduri territory. He further writes that certain among them were allowed in Roman cities without armed escorts.

The ALAMANNI and IUTHUNGI possibly displaced some Hermunduri or absorbed them as part of a new confederation, which included the SEMNONES living to the north, by the early third century. Some descendants of the Hermunduri are thought to have merged with the THURINGI in the fifth century.

HERNICI

location:
Lazio in west-central Italy

time period:
Seventh to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Italic

Hernici (Ernici; Aernici)

The Hernici are classified as an Italic tribe. They inhabited northern parts of the region of ancient Latium (part of modern Lazio) in present-day west-central Italy and had contacts with the ETRUSCANS as early as the seventh century B.C.E. By 493 B.C.E. they had allied themselves with the ROMANS in response to the alliance between their neighbors the AEQUI to the north and the VOLSCI to the south, fellow ITALICS. In 362 B.C.E. they broke with the Romans.

By 306 B.C.E. some Hernici had joined other ITALICS battling the Romans in the Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.E.). Their principal and sacred town Anagnia (modern Anagni) fell to the Romans that year and was occupied. Other Hernici towns—Aletrium (modern Alatri), Ferentinum (modern Ferentino), and Verulae (modern Veroli)—were allowed to maintain their independence. By the end of the third century B.C.E. the Hernici had been Romanized.

At Anagi, the location of many temples and sanctuaries, were flaxen books containing sacred writings as late as the second century C.E., according to Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Heruli (Heruls; Herules; Herulians; Eruli)

The Heruli were a tribe of GERMANICS active in eastern Europe in the third and fourth centuries C.E., then in central Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries. In the course of their history they were both enemies and allies of the ROMANS and HUNS and were part of the ever-shifting alliances of Germanic peoples.

ORIGINS

The Heruli are thought to have migrated from present-day Denmark or southern Sweden to the Black Sea region, north of the Sea of Azov in present-day Ukraine, by about 250, probably because of pressures from other Germanic peoples. Their migration was in the context of mass migrations all over the Germanic world. In the Black Sea region they engaged in struggles for dominance with other Germanic peoples who had migrated there; their name was perhaps derived from the Greek *hele* for "swampy places." Although they emerged from these struggles as a distinct group, they are considered part of the Gothic confederacy that became dominant in the region. Some among them are thought to have migrated westward into Gaul (present-day France and Belgium), where they lost their tribal identity, killed by or absorbed into other tribes.

LANGUAGE

The Heruli spoke an East Germanic dialect, probably close to that of the GOTHS, whose core group, the Gutones, migrated from southern Scandinavia about the same time.

HISTORY

During their time along the Black Sea the Heruli were known to carry out raids along coastal areas, including Asia Minor, and into the Mediterranean Sea as well. They were part of the series of raids and incursions carried out by Gothic groups in the Balkans and Greece from the 250s. In 267 they attacked the BYZANTINES in Constantinople (modern Istanbul). They and Goths penetrated deep into Greece, after an intense struggle taking Athens and sacking the city. It was long told of this episode by the Byzantines that when the Heruli were about to burn a vast pile of books, an Athenian stepped forward and said they should leave the GREEKS their books so that they would read and spend less time in the exercise of arms that had made them so hard to defeat. It seems clear from this anecdote that the Heruli were for the Byzantines the very type of ignorant and savage barbarian tribe that formed the antithesis of Greek civilization. They, along with the Goths, were defeated by the Romans in 269 at near Naissus (modern Niš in present-day Serbia).

The Heruli also joined the Goths in resisting the Huns after their invasion of the Black Sea region in 370, eventually succumbing to them. Heruli warriors served as part of the Hunnic force that invaded Gaul under Attila in 451.

In the mid-fourth century after the death of Attila the Heruli joined a coalition of Germanic tribes under Ardaric of the GEPIDS against surviving Huns and defeated them in 455. The Heruli then established a kingdom in present-day northern Hungary and Moravia (eastern Czech Republic). From there they launched raids into Illyria along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea.

In 476 Odoacer, thought to be Scirian by birth, led an alliance of SCIRI, Heruli, and RUGII and captured Ravenna, the capital of the Western Roman Empire, causing the deposition of the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustus. In 487 Odoacer led the Sciri and Heruli against their former allies, the Rugii. In 505 the Heruli defeated the LOMBARDS, who had invaded lands of the Rugii in present-day northern Austria. The Heruli forced them to pay tribute. Yet in 508 the Lombards launched an army against them and dispersed them. Some Heruli settled in Moesia (modern Serbia and Montenegro and northern Bulgaria), submitting to the Byzantine emperor and adopting Orthodox Christianity. Others joined the GEPIDS and shared their fate. Late in his reign in the 510s–530s Wacho, king of the Lombards, took as his third wife Silinga, daughter of the last Herulian king, to legitimize his claim to the Herulian kingship in the region. Soon afterward the Heruli disappeared from the historical record.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

The Heruli, originating from a part of Germania far from direct influence by Romans, probably had a society close to the relatively simple and unstratified societies most Germanics had known for millennia, in which all free men were warriors and anyone could rise to leadership through bravery and success in war. They may have taken part in the Roman slave trade by providing slaves that they had captured in raids to Germanic tribes to their south, closer to the imperial border, the latter acting as middlemen. If so, this would account for their warlike character, for among other tribes who took part in the slave trade, the activity fostered a greater importance of war than had prevailed in the past.

Military Practices

Because of their location along the Black Sea Heruli are thought to have been skilled seafarers, using boats to raid coastal settlements southward. They also were much sought after to serve in the Roman Imperial Guards. The Byzantines referred to a type of sword they used as a "Herul" sword.

Religion

The Heruli, originally pagans, were practicing Arian Christianity by the end of the fourth century C.E.

The Heruli are renowned for their military service to the Huns, to the Romans, and to

HERULI

location:
Southern Scandinavia; Romania; Austria; Czech Republic; Serbia and Montenegro; Bulgaria

time period:
Mid-third to mid-sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Heruli time line

C.E.	
c. 250	Heruli settle along Black Sea.
267	Heruli attack Constantinople.
269	Romans defeat Heruli.
370	Huns invade Heruli territory.
455	Heruli and Gepids defeat Huns.
505	Heruli defeat Lombards.
508	Lombards defeat Heruli.

HUNGARIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Hungary (Hungarian, Magyarország; German, Ungarn); Republic of Hungary (Magyar Köztársaság)

derivation of name:
Meaning "people of the 10 spears" or "alliance of the 10 tribes"

government:
Parliamentary democracy

capital:
Budapest

language:
Official language is Hungarian (Magyar), part of the Ugric branch of Finno-Ugric languages.

religion:
More than 60 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; about 20 percent are Protestants, members of the Hungarian (Calvinist) Reformed Church or Hungarian Lutheran Church; Orthodox Christians, Unitarians, and Jews make up small percentages; about 7 percent are nonreligious.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Illyrians; Celts; Romans; Iazyges; Marcomanni; Quadi; Gepids; Huns; Ostrogoths; Avars; Slavs; Magyars; Cumans; Mongols; Turks

demographics:
About 90 percent of the population are Hungarian (Magyar); minorities include Rroma, Germans, Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Croats.

Odoacer in his defeat of the last Western Roman emperor.

Herzegovinians *See* BOSNIANS AND HERZEGOVINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Hessians (people of Hesse)

The name Hessians refers to people living in the region or state of Hesse, situated in present-day southwestern Germany, once the domain of the SUEBI. During the Middle Ages the territory expanded from the west of the Rhine River to the south of the Main River. In the 16th century Hesse divided into the houses of Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Nassau. The region was alternately controlled by France, Austria, and Prussia. The houses united in 1945 to form the western German state Hesse (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

Hevellers *See* HAVELIANS.

Hiberni *See* IRISH.

Horvatians (Horvats)

The Horvatians were a Slavic tribe, associated with both Eastern SLAVS and Southern Slavs. They are mentioned, along with Eastern Slavic peoples, as being under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality in the second half of the ninth century C.E., paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907. Their name was later used synonymously with CROATS, who were Southern Slavs, indicating shared ancestry.

Hungarians *See* MAGYARS.

Hungarians: nationality (people of Hungary)

GEOGRAPHY

Hungary is landlocked: Slovakia lies to the north; Ukraine to the northeast; Romania to the east; Austria to the west; and Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia to the south. The total area is 35,919 square miles. Hungary's principal river, the Danube, forms part of the Slovakian-Hungarian border and then flows southward through the center of the country. To the east of the Danube lies the Great Hungarian Plain (Great Alföld); to the west lies the Transdanubian region. Transdanubia contains the Mecsek Mountains to the south and Little Plain to the northwest; to the north the forested Bakony Mountains overlook Hungary's principal lake, Lake Balaton. Mount Kékes (3,327 feet), Hungary's highest peak, is found in the Mátra Mountains (part of the Carpathian Mountains) near the northeastern Slovakian-Hungarian border. Other important rivers include the Tisza, the Raab, and the Drava.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The MAYGARS, led by Árpád, seized present-day Hungary and invaded German territories, the Italian Peninsula, Moravia, and Burgundy by the late ninth century C.E. Holy Roman Emperor Otto I stopped Maygarian expansion in 955. With this defeat the Maygars united remaining territory under Stephen I, king of Hungary. His successors expanded Hungary's territory to include Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and parts of Transylvania, much of which by now was the homeland of the SLAVS. MONGOLS briefly conquered Hungary in 1241, leaving it in anarchy. Charles I reconsolidated the Hungarian monarchy in 1308, further increasing Hungary's borders through conquest. His son, Louis I, acquired the Balkans and Poland. Battles with the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) in the late 15th century cost Hungary some of its territories in the Balkans and destabilized the country.

In the mid- to late 15th century, Matthias Corvinus reclaimed power for Hungary in central Europe, annexing Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia and temporarily ending Hapsburg control. Hungary dissolved after his death; the Ottomans conquered some former Hungarian territories, while other territories gained autonomy. Constant war of the following 150 years led to the partitioning of Hungary among Austria, the Ottoman Empire, and Transylvania. By 1718 Austrian Hapsburg monarchs gained control of the entire region. A brief attempt at independence was made in 1849; the movement was suppressed with Russian military aid.

When Prussia defeated Austria in the Seven Weeks' War (1866), Hungary regained independence. In 1867 Austria-Hungary formed; it lasted until the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in World War I (1914–18). The Hungarian Democratic Republic was established in 1918 only to be overthrown by Communists the following year. Czech and Romanian forces invaded the country, forcing the Allies to

Hungarians: nationality time line

C.E.

896 Magyars settle in Carpathian Basin.

997–1038 King Stephen I of Árpád dynasty reigns.

11th century Hungary acquires Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Croatia.

1222 King Andrew II issues Golden Bull, limiting monarchy.

1241 Mongols invade territory.

1308 Charles I reconsolidates Hungarian monarchy.

1458–90 King Matthias Corvinus rules; resists Turkish invasion.

1526 Turks defeat Hungarian army at Mohács in southern Hungary.

1540 Hungarian version of Bible is published.

1541 Hungary territory is divided; Hapsburgs govern the west, Turks rule central area, and Hungarians occupy Transylvanian principality in southeast.

1699 Hungary, except Banat, is ceded to Austria.

1703–11 Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II starts rebellion against Hapsburgs and fails.

1806 First Hungarian language newspaper, *Hazai Tudósitások,* is published.

1815 József Katona writes *Bánk bán,* first modern tragedy in Hungarian.

1822 Brothers Sándor Kisfaludy and Károly Kisfaludy publish annual literary review *Aurora.*

1824 Pianist Franz Liszt makes debut in Paris.

1828 Poet and translator Ferenc Kazinczy is elected member of Hungarian Academy

1846–48 Collections of Hungarian folklore are published by János Erdélyi.

1847 Hungarian National Museum (and library) opens.

1847–54 Poet János Arany publishes epic trilogy about legendary Hungarian hero Toldi.

1848 "Talpra Magyar," poem by Sándor Petöfi, becomes anthem of revolution.

1848–49 Revolution against Hapsburg dynasty begins in Pest; Hapsburgs, aided by Russia, subdue revolts.

1867 Hapsburgs and Hungary establish dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary, with seats in Vienna and Pest-Buda.

1873 Budapest is formed when Pest, Buda, and Obuda are unified.

1906–21 Composers Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály publish Hungarian folk songs.

1908 Literary review *Nyugat* (The West) is founded.

1909 *Liliom,* play by Ferenc Molnár, opens; it later serves as basis for 1944 musical *Carousel* by Rogers and Hammerstein.

1910 *Sárarany* (Gold nugget), first of many novels by Zsigmond Móricz, is published.

1915 During World War I Russia and Austria-Hungary occupy Poland.

1918 World War I ends; Austria-Hungary is defeated; monarchy dissolves; Hungary proclaims itself a republic.

1919 Communists, led by Béla Kun, run government; Kun starts war with Czechoslovakia and Romania.

1920 Hungary loses two-thirds of country to Czechoslovakia, Romania, Russia, and Yugoslavia under Trianon Treaty; National Assembly restores kingdom of Hungary.

1923–29 Artist László Moholy-Nagy teaches at Bauhaus school of design in Berlin.

(continues)

Hungarians: nationality time line *(continued)*

1938	Hungary regains Southern Slovakia and Northern Transylvania after Munich and Vienna Treaties.
1944	Nazis occupy Hungary during World War II; Fascists take over government.
1945	World War II ends; Soviet Union (USSR) occupies Hungary.
1949	People's Republic is established.
1956	Uprisings against Communism erupt; Soviet army crushes resistance.
1960s	Filmmakers Miklós Jancsó, István Szabó, and Márta Mészaros help establish Hungarian New Wave of cinema.
1989	Communist party relinquishes autocracy; Hungary establishes parliamentary democracy as Republic of Hungary.
1999	Hungary joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
2002	Novelist Imre Kertész wins Nobel Prize in literature.
2004	Hungary joins European Union (EU).

reestablish a monarchical government under the Treaty of Trianon in 1920; decreasing Hungary by two-thirds; removing Transylvania, Croatia, and Slovakia; and forming the borders of present-day Hungary. The country attempted to regain many of its lost territories while allied with Germany and Italy in World War II (1939–45). Its attempt to withdraw from that alliance led to German occupation, and at the end of the war the majority of its 1920 borders were reinforced by Allied powers. After World War II Hungary again became a Communist state with strong ties to the Soviet Union (USSR) that lasted until the Communist Party voted to dissolve itself in 1989. By 1991 all Soviet troops had withdrawn from the country, and Hungary established a multiparty democracy.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Hungarian cultural identity first arose out of a fusion of Magyar and Slav elements that occurred after the MAGYARS, steppe warriors speaking a Ugric language (part of the Finno-Ugric language family), conquered the territory of the princedom of Moravia, where Slavs were in power. Its oldest roots thus lie in the steppe and forest steppe cultures out of which the Magyar and Slav ethnicities emerged. Centuries-long domination of Hungary by foreign powers, in more recent times the Austrian Hapsburg dynasty, has caused the Hungarian cultural identity to become politicized. Hungarians, like many European peoples who were swept into the orbit of great powers, defined themselves as a people in part as a reaction to their conquerors. The rise in the 19th century of a romantic fascination with ancient ethnic roots that swept across Europe affected Hungarians as well. As a result cultural life has been highly political. Theater, opera, and literature in particular played crucial roles in developing national consciousness. Poets and writers rose to the status of national heroes and prophets.

In the case of the Hungarians, however, the experiences of having been a center of high culture during the late Middle Ages and of being on the front line in the battle between Europe and the Ottoman Turks have left their mark. The focus on Hungarian cultural identity has often been modified by the sense of Western European identity, honed by resistance against the Turks and amplified by Hungary's inclusion in the Hapsburg Empire. All of this has resulted in a diverse mix of genuine Hungarian peasant culture and the cosmopolitan culture of an influential German and Jewish urban population.

Hungary's cuisine is notable for the ubiquity of the use of the spice paprika, made from the pods of chili peppers (*Capsicum annuum*), which may have been introduced either from Spain, from India by way of the Turks, or from the Americas. The fondness of Hungarians for this spice, used in the way salt and pepper are in other countries, may be an exotic echo of the Magyar past. Hungarian food is very rich, and red meat is frequently used as an ingredient, again possibly a relic of the steppe nomadic Magyar past, when people subsisted on the meat of their cattle. Goulash (*gulyás*), bean soup with smoked meat, and beef stew are

national dishes. Among Hungary's spicy dishes are *halászle,* a fish soup, and *lecsó,* made with hot paprika, tomato, and sausage.

Today in Hungary there is a rise of interest in the ancient steppe practice of shamanism and the extent to which it may have influenced Hungarian culture as practiced by the ancient FINNO-UGRIANS. Researchers have pointed to elements of folk song and dance and the use of the drum in both as possible derivatives of shamanistic practices.

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Huns (Hunni; Hsiung-nu; Xiongnu; Runs)

The Huns were steppe people out of Asia. Although they were defeated by the ROMANS and GERMANICS after an invasion of western Europe, their period of dominance in much of Europe helped bring about the downfall of the Western Roman Empire. Attila the Hun is the most famous leader of all the ancient invaders of Europe.

ORIGINS

The genetic makeup of the Huns is uncertain. A tribe in western China in the second and first centuries B.C.E., who had migrated there from central Asia in the third century B.C.E., the Hsiung-nu or Xiongnu perhaps were the original ancestral Hunnic group (although the name as used by the Chinese may have referred to all nomadic peoples who lived beyond the Great Wall of China, built specifically as a barrier against them). In the first century C.E. pressure from the Chinese or other nomadic peoples caused the people known as Hsiung-nu to migrate both southward and northwestward. The group that headed westward took up residence along the southern reaches of the Ural Mountains and the steppelands north of the Caspian Sea, some of them settling on the Volga River in eastern Europe.

There is considerable evidence of intermingling of peoples and cultures all over the steppe region, both European and Asian, in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Thus the Huns, especially those who migrated to the west, may have been a combination of central Asian Turkic, Mongolic, and Ugric stocks (*see* TURKICS, MONGOLS, and FINNO-UGRIANS). Another central Asian group, called the White Huns or Hepthalites or Ephthalites (as known to the GREEKS), and Hunas (as known by the Indians), held territory from the Aral Sea to the east, along the eastern border of the Persian Empire, and south into India. It is not certain that they were related to the Huns. As the western Huns advanced into Europe and absorbed other peoples as part of their empire, they began to have Sarmatian and Germanic bloodlines as well.

LANGUAGE

The exact linguistic affiliation of the Huns is not known. They may have spoken Mongolic, Turkic, or Ugric dialects. It eventually included Germanic vocabulary.

HISTORY

According to the Chinese historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien in about 176 B.C.E. the Huns defeated the Yüeh-chi, known in Europe as the Tocharians, the most eastern-dwelling speakers of an

HUNS

location:
Eastern and Central Europe

time period:
Fourth to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Possibly Mongolian, Turkic, or Ugrian

language:
Hunnic (possibly Mongolic, Turkic, or Ugric)

Huns time line

B.C.E.

c. 176 Huns defeat Yüeh-chi, or Tocharians, in western China, pressuring steppe groups known collectively as Sarmatians to expand into present-day Romania and Hungary.

first century Huns move into the southern region of Ural Mountains and along Volga River.

C.E.

370s Huns reach Black Sea and conquer Ostrogoths and other Germanics.

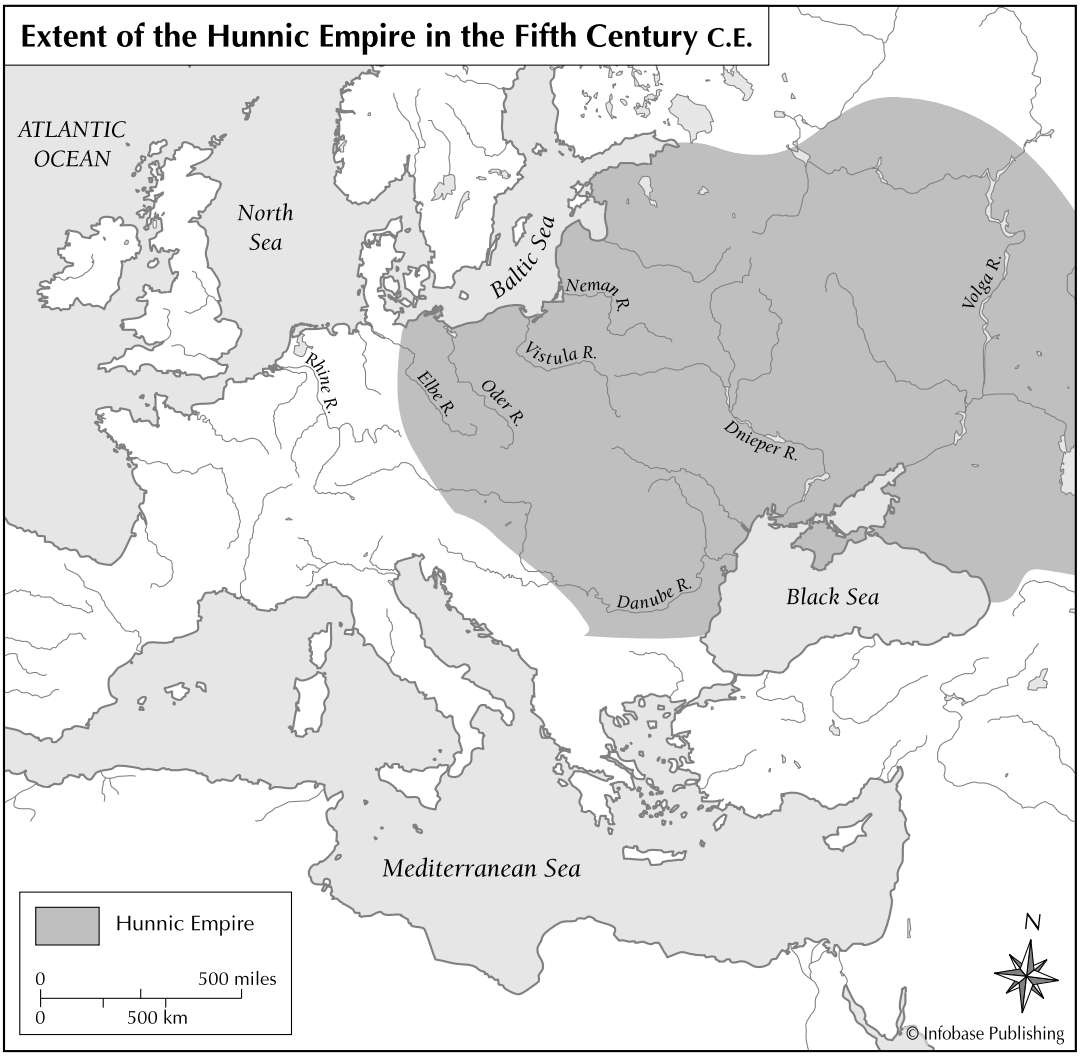
433–434 Attila rules with his brother, Bledu.

445 Attila becomes sole ruler.

451 Huns and allies battle Romans and allies in Gaul.

453 Attila dies; three sons take power.

455 Germanic tribes defeat Attila's sons, and Huns disperse eastward.



Indo-European language, who lived in Xinjiang province, also called Chinese Turkistan. Their growing power caused steppe groups known as SARMATIANS to move away from them into Romania and Hungary. In the first century B.C.E. possibly under pressure from expansionist China the Huns moved into the southern region of the Ural Mountains and along the Volga River. They thus were part of the age-old phenomenon of the vast Eurasian steppes, the ripple effect caused when a disturbance in one region led to a series of migrations.

Arrival in Europe

In the 370s C.E. the Huns living on the Caspian steppes and Volga River pushed farther westward. In about 372, led by Balamir, they defeated a force of ALANS on the banks of the Don River and soon afterward extended their domain to the Black Sea, conquering the HERULI and GOTHS by 375. They also defeated some of the tribes of CAUCASIANS living north of the Caucasus Mountains. They pushed on into the Roman province of Dacia (roughly modern Romania), and on the Dniester River defeated the VISIGOTHS, who afterward took refuge in Roman-held lands south of the Danube. The Huns took up residence on the Hungarian plain, settling along the Danube. From here they launched small-scale raids, some clans hiring themselves out as soldiers to the Romans, and engaging in trade with Rome. The Goths were absorbed into the Hunnic confederation as mostly loyal soldiers. Roman influences began to change Hunnic society in fundamental ways. The career of later leaders was in part allowed by these changes, which included a greater degree of social stratification and a need to construct a more ordered society ruled by the more powerful elites who emerged, one of which was Attila's family.

Rugilas, Bleda, and Attila

By about 420 the various Hunnic factions had formed a confederacy under Rugilas and begun

a more aggressive policy of conducting raids for the purpose of plunder. During his rule and that of his nephews (sons of his brother, Mundzuk), Bleda and Attila (see sidebar), who succeeded him in 434, the Hunnic Empire stretched from the Baltic to the Caspian. In 437 the Germanic BURGUNDII while attempting to expand into Gaul were defeated by the Huns, who probably attacked them with the complicity of the Romans under General Flavius Aetius, who had spent time among the Huns as a boy and had been a friend to Attila. The Burgundian king Gundicar was killed in battle. (This defeat provided the germ of the epic poem *Nibelungenlied.*) During this period the Huns negotiated an agreement with the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire under Emperor Theodosius II to stay out of the Balkans. In 441, taking advantage of Roman wars with the VANDALS and Persians, the Huns did invade southward. They hoped to take Constantinople (modern Istanbul), but the Hunnic army, primarily a cavalry without siege skills, after negotiating for greater tribute withdrew.

Attila's Invasion of the West

From 433 to 444 Attila united all of the Hunnic tribes under his and his brother's rule. In about 445 Attila killed Bleda. Meanwhile he had instituted a policy of great annual plundering raids that soon threatened the existence of the Eastern Roman Empire. Attila demanded an annual tribute that amounted to 2,100 pounds of gold a year. In 447–450 the Huns overran the Balkans, entering northern Greece. The new Eastern emperor who rose to power in 450, Marcian, refused to pay further tribute to the Huns, as did Valentinian III, emperor of the West. When Valentinian's sister, Honoria, tried to forge an alliance with the Huns, Attila claimed this to be a marriage proposal and demanded as her dowry half the Western Empire. Valentinian's refusal gave Attila political justification to invade Gaul in 451.

The Huns moved through Gaul attacking towns but were forced to give up the siege of Orléans. They took up a position on the Catalaunian Plains south of present-day Châlons-sur-Marne in northeastern France. There they did battle with the Roman army led by Attila's former friend and ally Flavius Aetius. Fighting alongside the Huns were the OSTROGOTHS led by three brothers—Thiudemir, Walamir, and Widimir; the Alans; Heruli; GEPIDS; MARCOMANNI; RUGII; SCIRI; SUEBI; and a faction of FRANKS. Roman allies included the Visigoths under Theodoric I and his son, Thorismond, as well as the BURGUNDII and a faction of Franks. After bitter fighting the Huns were forced to retreat.

The Huns invaded northern Italy the next year and destroyed Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic Sea, whereupon the inhabitants, the VENETI, fled and founded Venice, as well as Milan, Padua, and other cities. At the intercession of Pope Leo I and probably because of a shortage of provisions and a rumored threat of an attack by the Byzantines from the east Attila decided not to attack Ravenna, the capital of the Western Romans at the time, or Rome;

Attila: Empire Builder

Attila (also Etzel or Ethele) was born in about 406 C.E. Little is known of his childhood other than that he was the son of Mundzuk, brother of Bleda, and nephew of Rugilas, on whose death he and his brother became supreme rulers. He also reportedly developed a childhood friendship with Flavius Aetius, who was sent by the Romans as a child hostage to the Hunnic camp and who grew up to be a Roman general.

Attila and Bleda became rivals, and, in about 445 Attila murdered his brother, becoming sole ruler. Attila was an effective leader both militarily and politically, and the Hunnic Empire expanded. The Huns were traditionally master horsemen; Attila adopted some of the techniques of the Romans and developed an extensive infantry as well. He made use of conquered peoples to expand his empire, the Ostrogoths and Heruli among others helping strengthen his army. He also effectively played political angles, allying himself with the Roman emperor's sister, Honoria, as a basis for a claim of half the Western Roman Empire. He lived modestly as his subjects lived but could demonstrate a sense of appreciation for the fine objects of other cultures when hosting emissaries.

On the battlefield Attila encountered Aetius, his boyhood friend, who made a study of the Huns as Attila himself made a study of the Romans, and lost a critical battle. But the Huns may have in the end proved triumphant over the Roman Empire if Attila had not died in 453, choking from a nosebleed while passed out after a night of celebrating his latest marriage to Ildico.

Attila endured as a larger-than-life historical figure among Western Europeans, referred to as "the Scourge of God." In later centuries he appeared under the name Etzel in the German epic *Nibelungenlied* and under the name Atli in the Icelandic *Volsungasaga*. Although having a reputation as a "barbarian," Attila was a sophisticated politician who learned much from contacts with Westerners and was more than a match for other European rulers of his day.



This is an artist's rendition of Attila the Hun. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-87255])*

instead he withdrew and recrossed the Alps. In 453 Attila prepared another invasion of Italy, but he died before carrying out his plan.

After Attila

Ardaric, leader of the Gepids, led a coalition of tribes—among them Heruli, Rugii, Sciri, and Suebi—against Attila's three sons, Ellak, the oldest, and Dengizik and Ernak. In 455 the allies defeated the Huns in the Battle of Nedao, probably along a tributary of the Sava River in the Roman province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary). Ellak was killed. Followers of Dengizik fled eastward to the steppes between the Dnieper and Volga Rivers, where they fused with wandering Turkic-speaking peoples, mostly Ogurs. Followers of Ernak settled southeast of the Sea of Azov with other Turkic tribes. Those who had been Ellak's followers migrated farther eastward with still other Turkic peoples to territory near the Caspian Sea. Some among the Huns and Turkic peoples evolved into the BULGARS and reentered central Europe in later years. Other Huns meanwhile stayed in Europe and fought as mercenaries in the Roman army.

CULTURE

Economy

The Huns originally were steppe pastoralists who obtained wealth from herding and also raiding. Some Hunnic groups were known to grow wheat, millet, and beans as well. After arriving in Europe they began to engage in trade with the Greco-Roman world on a scale they had not experienced before. The main "products" of the Huns were slaves obtained in their wars, whom they traded to Romans and Greeks for wine, silk, gold, and other goods at fairs held along the Danube River.

Government and Society

Settlement Patterns Before the Huns moved out of their traditional territories, they were completely nomadic, living in moving camps rather than towns or cities. The harsh climate of the central Eurasian steppes, with low rainfall and temperature extremes, made suitable grazing lands sparse; summer and winter pasturages were often as much as a thousand miles apart, so that much of the time the Huns were on the move. This lifestyle worked against centralization of authority among the Huns, and their society probably consisted of loose networks of kinship groups ruled by elite warriors whose status was based on their protection of their moving families and the booty they obtained in raids.

The Hunnic Confederation The Huns, similar to CELTS, Germanics, and earlier steppe peoples such as the SCYTHIANS, were deeply affected both by contact with the Greco-Roman world and by the stresses of migration. The former affected them through the luxury goods that the Hunnic elite sought eagerly: wine, silk, gold, and jewelry made of coral, carnelian, mother-of-pearl, quartz, pyrite, and lapis. Luxury goods fostered greater social stratification as elites acquired the most desirable items, with which they demonstrated their status, and handed lower-status goods to retainers, setting in motion gift-exchange cycles.

The intensification of trade, as well as the challenges of war with such a sophisticated power as Rome, obliged the Huns to develop a more structured way of governing themselves and curb the egalitarian instincts of their war bands. As did the Germanic Goths, who had found it necessary to have an overall war leader to rule their polyethnic coalition, the Huns ceded to Attila more authority than Hunnic leaders had had in the past; for the first time it was he who decided on war and peace for his people. Attila chose a body of advisers from among his nobles (comparable to a political cabinet), who helped him develop a system of collecting food and tribute from his subjects. Even from his camp in Pannonia Attila maintained contact with and control over a vast region. The Huns drew on Sassanid Persian and Roman models in forming their government but retained their own confederate structure based on personal loyalties. (Meanwhile the Hsiung-nu Huns in China were changing their society as well, as attested by the discovery of a city built by them in northwestern China's Shaanxi Province in the fifth century C.E.)

The ethnic Huns formed the core group of a polyethnic confederation in many ways similar to that of the Goths. This was the reason many Goths became loyal soldiers in the Hunnic confederation, for it meant for the most part merely a change in leadership. This is not to say that the subjection of the Goths and other Germanic groups by the Huns was not harsh to the extreme. Families of the Ostrogoths whom they chose to favor, particularly the Amalis, received fair treatment, but for the rest a mere glance from Attila or one of his nobles was enough to awaken fear and trembling, such was their habitual cruelty, according to later Ostrogothic accounts.

The Huns differed from the Goths in having a more clearly defined structure for their allied groups, based on noble families. Under Attila and his family and the Hunnic families allied with him were specific families of Germanic chiefs—such as the kingly lines of the Gepids and Ostrogoths. The Huns kept control of their Germanic allies by playing different dynasties against one another; even after they accorded the Ostrogothic Amali line rule over all Goths, they encouraged certain other Ostrogothic noble families to maintain their independence as a check on the Amalis. A princely burial uncovered in Hunnic territory in Romania contained a gold sheathed rod (possibly formerly a spear shaft or standard), which is thought to be the token of office borne by noble allies of the Huns. Another sign of alliance with the Hunnic empire was the eagle, fashioned in gold for use as a saddle mount or brooch. Hunnic influence is also shown in the use of a crown or diadem, which the Huns had adopted from Sassanid Persian ritual. The Huns often chose men of humble background to elevate in a new elite loyal only to themselves and not part of earlier Gothic networks of alliance.

Chinese sources state that some Hunnic groups practiced polyandry; two or more brothers shared a wife.

Military Practices

The Huns fought primarily as mounted bowmen. The quality of their horses, their superb horsemanship and use of horseshoes and stirrups, and the devastating power of their composite bows made them among the most effective troops in the ancient world. Their military structure was loose, consisting of hordes who carried out independent campaigns, maintaining themselves by plundering conquered territories. The Hungarian plain did not offer as much grazing land as did the Asian steppes, and the Huns were forced to develop an infantry to supplement their cavalry.

Clothing

The Huns wore a loose robe to the calf, split at the sides and gathered in by a girdle whose ends hung down in front.

Personal Habits

The Huns practiced the custom, common among steppe nomads, of deforming the skulls of their infants, while they were still soft, into an elongated shape. According to Chinese sources they wore fairly bushy moustaches and no beards except tufts of stiff hair on the chin; their ears were pierced and adorned with rings. They usually shaved their heads, except a tuft on the top.

Religion

The early Huns probably practiced a form of the shamanism observed for millennia by peoples all over the steppe lands. Shamanism usually involved the shaman's entering a trance state, often attained by ingesting cannabis, to communicate with the spiritual realm and gain wisdom. The Huns worshipped certain mountains as sacred, probably those overlooking their migrations and grazing lands, to whose deities they would pray for rain and protection for the herds. Later other religious impulses moved through the steppe lands—Persian Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, especially the Tantric sect.

The Huns had the practice, similar to that of the Scythians, of making the skulls of their enemies into drinking cups; this may have had a ritual basis.

The Huns, while they remained an organized group, were adamant in spurning all Christian efforts at converting them.

The Huns' arrival in Europe in the late fourth century C.E. led to the displacement and migration of numerous peoples, known in German as the *Völkerwanderung* (folk wanderings). For all their remote Asian origins, a steppe climate and ecology vastly different from those of Europe, the Huns' reactions to contact with the Greco-Roman world were remarkably similar to those of many different European peoples—Celts, Germanics, IBERIANS, THRACIANS, and others. The Greco-Roman luxury trade and Roman military power transformed all of these peoples, making their societies and economies more complex and creating powerful impulses toward war and domination on a scale not previously known.

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HUTSULS

location:
Carpathian Mountains in southwestern Ukraine, extending into northern Romania

time period:
After fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Hutsul (East Slavic)

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Hutsuls (Huculs)

The Hutsuls are a Slavic people currently living in Transcarpathia, that is, the Carpathian Mountains and surrounding regions. Their lands are located in southwestern Ukraine, extending into northern Romania. To their west are the BOIKOS and the LEMKOS. All three groups of SLAVS, who speak distinct dialects, are among the people known as RUSYNS or Carpatho-Rusyns. The Hutsuls speak an East Slavic dialect known as Hutsul; it has both Polish and Romanian influence. Slavs lived in the region as early as the late fifth century C.E.; the exact time the Hutsuls assumed a distinct identity is not known.

The Hutsuls, as have their Carpathian neighbors, have preserved Ukrainian traditional farming culture although their principal occupations involve animal husbandry, especially the breeding of cattle and sheep: their land is used primarily for grazing and growing hay. Many Hutsuls also work gathering timber. Their homes are in remote valleys in the higher altitudes. They are known for their work in wood, brass, ceramics, and textiles, especially the weaving of rugs. Although Eastern Orthodox Christian, they have preserved pre-Christian rituals, including folk festivals and belief in demons.

See also UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Hyperboreans

See BRITONS.

I

Iapyges (Iapygi; Iapygii; Iapygians; Iapigi; Iapigians; Jagyges)

Iapyges is an ancient name applied by writers in antiquity to the assumed ancestors of ILLYRIANS who lived in historical times on the southeastern Italian Peninsula, including the APULI, the MESSAPI, and the PEUCETI. The ancestors of these groups may have been named Iapyges by the ancient GREEKS after the mythological Iapige (Iapyx) from whom the Greeks believed them to be descended; Iapyge was son of Daedalus by a Cretan woman during Daedalus's exile on Crete (*see* MINOANS) and brother of Icarus. That Iapige was supposedly a leader of the Cretans points to a Cretan ancestry for the Iapyges, perhaps from traders who had settled in Italy. Alternatively the name may have evolved from Illyrian tribal names indigenous to the Balkans, Iapodes and Iapuzkus, borne by Illyrians who came to Italy. The geographical names Apulia and its modern form Puglia are derivative of the tribal name.

Herodotus, the Greek historian of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., wrote that a city he called Hyria, in what was in his time Iapygian territory, was founded by Cretans who had defected from the fleet of King Minos while sailing to Sicily to capture Daedalus. In one account these Cretans were led by Iapige; Hyria may have been the city of Uria. Although the story of Minos and Daedalus is mythical, Cretans may have founded a trading post or city here; if so, Uria would date to the second millennium B.C.E., when the Cretan trading empire was at its height. Again it is uncertain whether these were the ancestors of the historical Iapyges, who migrated to Italy at least by the ninth century B.C.E.

The Iapyges may have also played a role in the founding of Tarentum (Taras, modern Taranto), which the Greeks occupied in the eighth century B.C.E. After this time, however, Tarentum became dominated by Greeks who had ties with the Greek mainland city of Corinth. By the fifth century B.C.E. Tarentine Greeks had, probably repeatedly, engaged in war with Iapyges and Peuceti, the latter two sometimes in alliance. In the beginning of that century the Tarentines won victories, one of which was the subject of a bronze monument dedicated at Delphi in Greece, which commemorated the battle in which King Opis of the Iapyges, leading Peucetian forces, was killed. In about 473 B.C.E. the Tarentines suffered a disastrous defeat by the Iapygians leading a confederation of native peoples. The Tarentines did not recover from their losses for a generation. Tarentum's subsequent rise to become a great and prosperous city was not accompanied by conquest of the Iapyges, suggesting that some kind of peaceful accommodation had been reached.

In addition to similarities of tribal names a connection is made with the Illyrian-speaking people across the Adriatic Sea because of the Messapic dialects known from inscriptions

IAPYGES

location:
Southeastern Italy

time period:
ninth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Illyrian

language:
Illyrian

IAZYGES

location:
East of Carpathian Mountains, probably in western Russia

time period:
First century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Indo-Iranian

language:
Iranian

written in the Greek alphabet, from placenames, and from words recorded by ancient writers. Some of the Iapyges joined the ITALICS in revolt against the ROMANS in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

Iazyges (Iazigs; Iazygians; Iasians; Jazyges; Yazigs; Metanastae)

The Iazyges were an Iranian-speaking tribe, their nomadic ancestors originally from Asia; they are classified as SARMATIANS. Their early history is not known, other than that they lived east of the Carpathian Mountains in eastern Europe, probably in western Russia.

In the first century B.C.E. Iazyges joined King Mithridates VI Eupator (Mithridates the Great) of Pontus, a kingdom in Asia Minor, in his wars against Rome, attracting the attention of the Romans as enemies. Sometime after 20 C.E. Iazyges settled on the Hungarian plain in present-day Hungary along the Tizsa River.

By the mid-second century C.E. Germanic pressures on the Roman frontiers intensified. In 167 C.E. the Iazyges joined Germanic tribes, the MARCOMANNI and the QUADI, in a massive invasion southward, reaching the head of the Adriatic Sea. The ROMANS under Emperor Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) waged successful warfare against them, restoring the Danube frontier. Some 8,000 Iazyge cavalry were forced to serve in the Roman army. The arrival in their homeland of first the VANDALS in the third century and then the HUNS in the late fourth century led to the dispersion of the Iazyges. Some of them were said to be among the LOMBARDS in the sixth century.

FURTHER READING

András Palóczi Horváth. *Pechenegs, Cumuns, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989).

IBERIANS

location:
Eastern and southern Spain

time period:
Eighth century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

ancestry:
Iberian

language:
Iberian

Iberians (Iberi; Iberes)

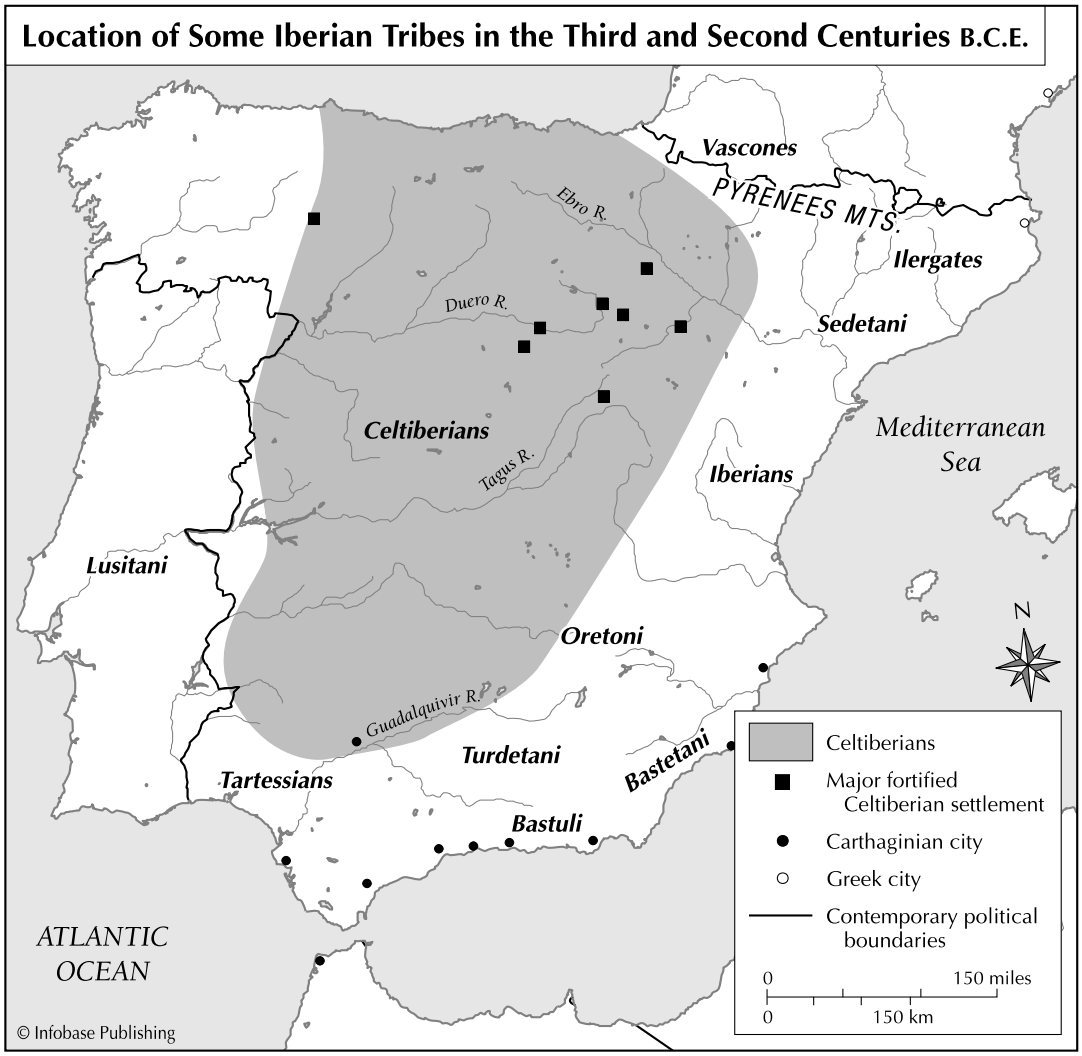
The Iberian Peninsula is named for the Iberians, people living mostly in the southern part of the peninsula with whom Greek traders had contact from about the seventh century B.C.E. The GREEKS named them Iberians probably after the Iberus River (today called the Ebro). Different groups made up the Iberians, some of them organized into proto-city-states centered on trading towns. The most important of these were the TARTESSIANS, whose major center was Tartessos on the southern Atlantic coast of the peninsula, probably at the site of present-day Huelva. Other Iberians had more tribal societies. Iberians had contacts with PHOENICIANS, CELTS, CARTHAGINIANS, and ROMANS in addition to Greeks. Some Iberian and Celtic tribes intermingled, resulting in the ethnic and/or cultural mix known as the CELTIBERIANS. (The Greeks also applied the name Iberians to peoples of present-day Georgia in Asian lands south of the Caucasus Mountains, a people not related to those of the Iberian Peninsula. It is the latter people whom we discuss here.)

ORIGINS

It is probable that at least some of the Iberian known to history were descendants of Neolithic and perhaps earlier peoples living on the Iberian Peninsula, since many of them spoke a non-Indo-European language. Indo-European languages spread though most of Europe sometime in the latter part of the Neolithic Age. For this reason peoples speaking non-Indo-European languages into historic times, especially in more peripheral areas, such as the northern forest zone where peoples spoke Finno-Ugric tongues, and the Iberian Peninsula, the home of the Iberians, are thought to have lived there before the spread of Indo-European. Some scholars theorize that people migrated to the Iberian Peninsula from North Africa by the mid-second millennium B.C.E. and intermingled with other Neolithic peoples; archaeological evidence for this hypothesis is ambiguous or lacking.

The Iberian Peninsula was among the first regions of Europe to receive migrations of hominids from Africa. Neanderthals lived there for thousands of years, and some of the latest Neanderthal remains have been found there, including bones of a child, dated to 24,500 years old, who may have been of mixed Neanderthal and modern human parentage. Among the finest examples of Upper Paleolithic cave art were made by modern humans in caves along the north coast of the peninsula in the region called Cantabria. The Cantabrian coastal region at that time had a mixed tundra ecology whose huge migratory herds supported human population densities close to those of later agricultural peoples. It was one of the most favored areas of Europe, in the forefront of cultural developments such as the Upper Paleolithic Revolution. More than 90 percent of all European cave art of the time is concentrated in a small region that includes northwest Spain, the Pyrenees, and adjacent areas of southwest France.

The ecological challenge posed to people of the Iberian Peninsula during the Mesolithic Age as the Ice Ages ended was lack of moisture,



rather than the return of dense forests that occurred elsewhere in Europe. Despite the challenges, people here continued making masterful figurative art, paintings on open-air limestone outcrops that are found in the Spanish Levant of archers hunting red deer and other animals. Other pictures show figures climbing trees for honey, in one example carrying a collecting pot and being greeted by a swarm of bees. Other scenes show dancers, and groups of archers confronting one another; the latter have been variously interpreted as battle scenes or, because of what appear to be slain deer shown between the two groups, a cooperative hunt that has rounded up a deer herd.

Sedentary populations settled from about 6500 B.C.E. along Atlantic estuaries of present-day Portugal, where shell middens have been found. Although the evidence for the arrival of agricultural practices in Iberia is sparse and hard to decipher, the existence of such sedentary groups provides good evidence that the relative sedentary existence fostered by agriculture would not have been new to indigenous people. Farming may have come to Iberia both as farming groups migrated there and as native peoples adopted farming practices themselves. Caves in eastern Spain with the earliest evidence of farming, including sheep and goat remains and impressed pottery, date from 6000 B.C.E. Cereals were being grown from the sixth millennium B.C.E. An unanswered question is whether people from North Africa migrated to Iberia, introducing farming practices with them; as yet the evidence is too sparse to determine this. The aridity of southeastern Spain adjacent to the Strait of Gibraltar could have discouraged migration.

In the late Neolithic along the Atlantic coast of Spain and later also the Mediterranean coast large stone constructions began to be built. The megalithic works in Iberia are similar to large timber and stone tombs covered by long or circular mounds built in a zone that

Iberians time line

B.C.E.

eighth century	Phoenicians establish trading colonies among Iberians.
seventh or sixth century	Celts migrate to Iberian Peninsula.
c. 630	Greeks establish trading colonies among Iberians.
sixth century	Carthaginians establish trading contacts with Iberians.
fourth century	Iberian culture reaches its pinnacle.
237	Carthaginians occupy southern parts of Iberian Peninsula.
201	Romans defeat Carthaginians, ending Second Punic War, and gain control of Iberian Peninsula.
197	Romans establish colonies on Iberian Peninsula.
147–139	Lusitani rebellion under Viriathus against Romans
133	Scipio the Younger takes Celtiberian town of Numantia, ending serious rebellion in Iberia.
80–73	Lusitani rebellion under Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorious against Romans
13	Hispania divided into three Roman provinces: Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis.

spans the coastal regions of France, Britain, Netherlands, Denmark, and southern Sweden. The constructions are found typically where incoming farming groups met dense populations of Mesolithic foragers, or where farmers and foragers coexisted. In Iberia simple passage graves appeared first in farmed lands inland from the Mesolithic shell mounds. It has been theorized that this development resulted from a kind of compromise between the farming and foraging lifestyles, with prominent mortuary tombs satisfying sedentary impulses of farmers, their sense that farming connected them with the land in a spiritual way that must be acknowledged, while more mobile settlement patterns allowed travel through the landscape to seasonal foraging opportunities. The long-range contacts that seem to have begun among megalith builders along this Atlantic coastal zone would become ever more important in the future. Chambered stone burial mounds first built in Spain in the fourth millennium B.C.E. show stylistic similarities with similar constructions in North Africa. Among the best preserved of all European Neolithic clothing remains, robes and hats made of esparto grass fibers, have been found preserved by the aridity of southern Iberia.

Production of copper began in Iberia, where there were rich local sources of ore, after 3500 B.C.E. Iberia experienced a flowering of tomb building and ritual activity at this time. People were buried in collective tombs accompanied by fine artifacts such as ivory combs. Ostrich eggshell from Africa was used in artifacts. Elaborate settlements were constructed in some areas, with defensive walls, bastions, and complex entrances perhaps used in ritual processions. They combine elements of contemporary settlements in western France with others, including the bastions, found in Sardinia, Sicily, the Aegean, and the southern Levant. People in settlements in the arid Almería region used floodwater impoundments for irrigation. The settlement at Los Millares had some 100 corbelled chamber tombs and bastioned forts on nearby hills. The rock art tradition of the Spanish Levant that had begun in the Mesolithic continued.

In the Bronze Age Iberia became influenced by the Bell Beaker culture, named for a characteristically shaped pot found in burials, which spread quickly throughout the Atlantic zone from Britain to Spain in about 2800 B.C.E. The Bell Beaker culture was not borne by a migration of people (in a now-discredited theory from Spain) but by a movement of ideology and technology. This was the first European culture to show clear signs of the emergence of a warrior class, for Bell Beaker graves are well equipped with weapons such as daggers, bows, and arrows. The earliest bell-shaped beakers are from the Rhine delta region in present-day Germany, but there is some evidence that the warrior lifestyle may have emerged first elsewhere, possibly Iberia. Iberia received Bell Beaker influences both from Brittany along Atlantic seaways and from west Mediterranean Beaker groups who had connections to the Rhine region via the Rhône River corridor in southern France. These Beaker connections and trade routes remained important for centuries.

The quick adoption of the Bell Beaker pottery and other elements in southern Iberia, so far from the Rhine, implies that the ideology was introduced by traders, rather than by slower means of diffusion such as movement of peoples or gift exchanges. It spread quickly all over Iberia and even to North Africa. The meeting of Beaker users with people living in the large fortified centers such as Los Millares was peaceful. Burials document an exchange of elite goods by the groups. Iberians received horses (which had entered the Beaker network originally from communities on the Middle Danube); northern recipes for food and drink, probably including flavored mead; and a repertoire of geometric motifs for decoration of pottery. Beaker groups in Iberia and also Brittany

received Iberian copper and a few objects in silver. A connection of the Beaker network with advances in metallurgy that has been demonstrated in Britain may have existed in Iberia as well, since beakers are found in buildings used in metalworking.

El Argar Culture

At first the Beaker ideology was absorbed by Iberian communities such as Los Millares with little change. Gradually however the Beaker emphasis on mobility and individuality eroded the centrality of ritual in southern Iberia; possibly a greater desire for elite goods put a strain on the economy, based as it was on the small-scale farming that was all the arid land could sustain, leading to environmental degradation. Around 2200 B.C.E. these settlements were abandoned and new centers established at different sorts of locations, although still in the same southern coastal region. The new settlements were on hilltop sites, some precipitous, defended by thick stone walls enclosing rectangular huts laid out in streets. A radical shift in agricultural practice probably took place, involving a greater reliance on livestock rearing. This culture has been named after the site at El Argar. Individual burial had become the most common rite, both in stone cist graves and later in large pottery storage jars and brewing vats. People were buried with many grave goods—men with copper or bronze axes, daggers, or halberds; women with awls, knives, and sometimes silver ornaments. El Argar pottery is very fine, with elegant shapes and a smooth finish, made of micaceous clay, which gives it a glittering look, perhaps in emulation of silver cups possessed by people in contemporary Brittany.

The culture had an abundance of metal relative to that of other regions in Europe, most from local sources, but technologically simple. Although Iberia continued to participate to some extent in the long-range links established in the Bell Beaker period, the higher standard of metalworking, both in shape and in quality of metal, of northern regions such as Britain, Ireland, and central Europe did not affect southern Iberia at this time. Long-distance trade in bronze and bronze-working techniques in northern Europe was driven by a scarcity of tin and copper and the fact that the two metals seldom occur together in the same region. Iberia's ready supply of metals may have precluded a need for its people to seek out bronze objects from elsewhere, which would have made them aware of innovations; its isolation, in terms of the capacity of Bronze Age shipping, prevented it from participating in the bronze trade of the north.

Engraved stelae (grave markers) made in Iberia later in the Bronze Age give eloquent testimony to the new world that had been evolving through the period. The most common depictions are of warriors fully armed with sword, spear, shield, and helmet with horns. Perhaps significantly the bodies of the men are no more than stick figures, as if their humanity was less important than their identity as warriors; on the other hand the pictures prevented the dead from disappearing into the anonymity of the grave and may have served as memoirs of their deeds.

LANGUAGE

The Iberian language is non-Indo-European. It endured into Roman times but was eventually replaced by Latin. Inscriptions, mostly on third-century B.C.E. coins, have been found in the Iberian script, which has 28 alphabetic and syllabic characters, some of them derived from Phoenician or Greek alphabets. Decipherment of the Iberian script has led to an understanding of place-names, but little else. Their language has been studied in relation to the language of the BASQUES, which manifests some phonological similarities and is thought by some scholars to have evolved from Iberian. Yet separate parent languages seem to be indicated.

HISTORY

Mycenaean and Phoenician Presence in Iberia

The earliest Iberian contacts with the outside world known to history involved the Phoenicians, traders from the eastern Mediterranean, and somewhat later, the Greeks. However, Mycenaean trade there can be deduced by the presence in southern Spain of Mycenaean pottery from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. The raw materials of Iberia, especially bronze and silver, must have attracted the MYCENAEANS, with their high demand for such goods, which they traded to the civilizations of the Near East. The Phoenicians, skilled mariners, were active as traders by the mid-13th century B.C.E. It has been claimed that they established coastal colonies on the southeastern Iberian Peninsula by about 1200 or 1100 B.C.E., but this hypothesis lacks archaeological confirmation. The earliest evidence for Phoenicians dates only from the eighth century B.C.E. At least by 800 B.C.E. the Phoenicians were probably acting as middlemen



The Iberian torc (neck ring) possibly dates to as early as the fourth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

transporting Iberian silver to Assyria, where it was in great demand for coinage. The fifth-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus tells us that the Phoenicians received such great amounts of silver from the Tartessians of the Atlantic port town of Tartessos, in exchange for a little olive oil and sundry other small wares, that in order to prevent their ships from sinking with the weight, they had to make all metal implements and their anchors out of silver. We need not take this story literally; it could easily have begun as a tall tale spun by a delighted Phoenician who had made his fortune in the Tartessian silver trade, but it gives an indication of the large scale of that trade. Their seaports included Abdera (modern Adra), Malaca (modern Málaga), and Sexi (modern Almuñécar), as well as Gadir (later Gades, modern Cádiz) beyond the Strait of Gibraltar. These ports attracted products from the rich hinterlands of the intermontane plateau of the Sierra Nevada and the valley of the Guadalquivir River. The Phoenicians also traded along the Tunisian coast, probably a medium through which North African influences arrived in Iberia.

Greek Presence in Iberia

The Greeks, as were the Phoenicians, were highly skilled mariners who became active traders throughout the Mediterranean and established trading colonies along the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula starting in about 630 C.E. and over the next centuries, such as Ampurias and Rosas and the site of modern Alicante and of modern Sagunto (formerly Murviedro and Saguntum). According to Herodotus Greeks from the town of Phocaea on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor opened up Spain and Tartessos, the latter around the lower Guadalete, Guadalquivir, and Tinto Rivers on the southwest coast. Again the minerals of this region drew the Phocaeans, not only those mined in Iberia—importantly, tin from Galicia—but also metals from Brittany and Cornwall transported along the age-old Atlantic seaways. Tartessos was a major source of tin for Greece. The Tartessian king invited the Phocaeans to emigrate and settle in his kingdom; they declined.

Greek shipping tended to follow coastal routes with established safe anchorages along the way; thus their probable route to Tartessos would have been from the southern coast of France, south along the Iberian coast, then through the Pillars of Hercules and around Iberia's Atlantic coast to the Tartessian ports on the southwest coast just north of present-day Cádiz. The Greeks' stopovers along the southern Iberian coast put Iberians for the first time in contact with the burgeoning city-state culture of Greece.

The Iberians and the Celtiberians

It is thought that by about 600 B.C.E. Celtic peoples had settled on the Iberian Peninsula, having migrated across the Pyrenees from the north, and displaced as well as intermingled with Iberians. The term Celtiberia is sometimes used specifically for a region in the north-central part of present-day Spain between the Tagus and Ebro Rivers, where the Celtic presence and influence were strongest. But it is also used for all those tribes in the western two-thirds of the peninsula exposed to Celtic influence to any degree. The Iberian tribes of the east were influenced to a greater degree by other Mediterranean cultures.

The first historical references to the Iberians are in Greek sources, based on colonization of coastal areas. Greek geographers originally applied the name Iberian to tribes of the southeast coast, but Herodotus applied it to all the peoples between the Ebro and Huelva Rivers, who had managed to maintain continuity with earlier times, maintaining their pre-Celtic languages and way of life and having material culture distinct from that of the Celtiberians in the north and west. This distinctive Iberian culture is thought to have reached its pinnacle in the fourth century B.C.E.

The Carthaginians in Iberia

The Carthaginians first developed their interests in the southern Iberian Peninsula as traders, along with their kinsmen the Phoenicians, in the sixth century B.C.E. After the collapse of the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon in the eastern Mediterranean they inherited many of the Phoenician trade relations, and Phoenician traders now made Carthage their home base. The Carthaginians took over the Greek trade routes to Tartessos and their southern Spanish ports. As a result the Greeks developed their port of Massalia (modern Marseille) near the mouth of the Rhône River in southern France as an alternate route to obtain tin from the north. This development led to the Greeks' historic trade with Celtic groups in central France and Germany, the inception of the relationship between northern European and Mediterranean societies (later to include the ROMANS) that would have such momentous consequences in coming centuries.

In general the foreign trade contacts experienced by the Iberians during this period fall into two phases: an opening phase from about 800 to 600 B.C.E., during which the Phoenicians and Greeks established and developed their trade networks peacefully, followed by a phase of conflict and competition among them from 600 to 450 B.C.E., during which the Carthaginians ousted the Greeks from the Iberian trade.

Carthaginian and Roman Battleground

With victory in the First Punic War of 264–241 B.C.E. between Rome and Carthage Rome appropriated Carthaginian trading centers in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, thus depriving Carthage of revenue. As a result Carthage placed new emphasis on its holdings in Spain. However, it now set out to conquer where before it had been content to trade.

Carthaginian forces campaigned in southern Spain under Hamilcar Barca from 237 B.C.E. until his death in battle in 229 or 228 B.C.E. In 237 B.C.E. Carthage founded the city of Cathargo Nova or New Carthage (modern Cartagena) on the southeast coast, which served as the major Carthaginian supply base on the Iberian Peninsula in a northward expansion. Some Iberian settlements sought to eliminate Carthaginian expansion through Roman contacts. The Greek cities on the coast of southern France and northern Spain appealed to Rome for help. Rome and Carthage negotiated a treaty in 226 B.C.E., in which Carthaginian influence extended as far north as the Ebro River, with Roman interests to the north. One exception was the seaport of the Roman-allied Saguntum, 100 miles south of the Ebro River. In 219 B.C.E. the Carthaginian general Hannibal laid siege to and captured Saguntum. In 218 B.C.E. the Roman senate declared Spain a Roman province. This was the start of the Second Punic War of 218–201 B.C.E. between Rome and Carthage. At its end the Carthaginians relinquished claims to lands on the Iberian Peninsula.

Roman Rule of Iberia

In 197 B.C.E. Rome divided Spain into two provinces, known as Hispania Citerior (Hither or Near Spain) and Hispania Ulterior (Farther or Far Spain). Even before the end of the war with Carthage Romans began founding new towns, including Italica, near present-day Seville, and Córdoba in the Guadalquivir River valley. Rome extracted huge quantities of Iberian silver and gold; some 40,000 slaves were reputed to work in the silver mines near Cartagena. Moreover the Guadalquivir River valley held fertile farmlands, where olives, wine, and grain were produced in abundance. The rewards reaped in Iberia showed Rome the advantages of colonization, an encouragement for further expansion. Before and after reorganization Roman legions were forced to campaign against the Iberians and Celtiberians, many tribes of whom offered stiff resistance. Starting in 206 B.C.E. the Ilerges and in 197 B.C.E., the TURDETANI battled the Romans until final defeat by the consul Marcus Porcius Cato in 195 B.C.E.

The LUSITANI living to the west in present-day Portugal mounted a number of organized but small-scale revolts against the Romans in 195–190 B.C.E. Roman troops under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus destroyed 300 Celtiberian "cities," probably typical Celtic towns or hill fort compounds, in 179–178 B.C.E. By 170 B.C.E. Roman colonies were established, although the Romans did not attempt to occupy the entire peninsula. Lusitani finally mounted a full-scale rebellion in 154–150 B.C.E., with Celtiberians as allies. The murder of tribal representatives by Roman troops during peace negotiations furthered Celtiberian resolve to continue fighting. Beginning in 147 B.C.E. the Lusitani and allied tribes under Viriathus, whose charismatic leadership counted for much in the victories they achieved, waged a successful guerrilla war until the Romans bribed his retainers to assassinate him in 138 B.C.E., after which Lusitanian resistance crumbled, but the Celtiberians continued to fight.

The Romans waged war among the Celtiberian tribes along the Ebro valley. Among the Roman generals was Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Scipio the Younger), grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus, who became consul in 134 B.C.E. The next year Aemilianus took the fortress of Numantia (from which he took his honorific) from the Celtiberians after a long siege, ending their rebellion.

Even while resistance continued in parts of Iberia, the products of the country were having an important impact on the Roman economy. Pliny, writing in the first century C.E., emphasized Iberia's raw materials, but also her people: assiduous laborers, robust in body and character, perfect slaves. Manpower, including slave labor, was a crucial component of the Roman economy.

The increasing importance to Rome of its Iberian provinces, given Roman distrust of sea travel, made securing the land route through



Iberians of Portugal used this small silver cup in about the third to first century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

southern Gaul a prime goal and turned Rome's attention toward southern Gaul itself as a trading opportunity. Local pirates preyed on shipping from Massilia and other Greek cities there, which appealed to Rome for help. Successful intervention gained for Rome the territories of the tribes involved, further involving Romans in affairs in Gaul, a harbinger of the future.

In 80 B.C.E. the Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorius, who had been sent to govern Hither Spain, led a campaign against other Roman factions. He sought the support of Iberians and Celtiberians, even establishing a school to educate the sons of chieftains. His other allies were Mediterranean pirates, for whom he set up a naval base at Dianium (modern Denia) in southeastern Spain. Sertorius was defeated by Pompey in 73 B.C.E., whereupon he was executed. The Lusitani were defeated once and for all by troops under Julius Caesar in 61 B.C.E., three years before his first campaigns in Gaul.

Continuing resistance from the northwest corner of Iberia was suppressed during the reign of Emperor Augustus by the year 19 B.C.E., allowing withdrawal of troops there to take part in the conquest of Germania east of the Rhine. In 13 B.C.E. Rome divided Hispania into the provinces Tarraconensis, which comprised the north, northeast, and part of the southeast of the peninsula; Lusitania, comprising the southwest; and Baetica, comprising the south, including the Strait of Gibraltar. As part of the Roman provincial system the Iberians became increasingly Romanized.

Hadrian in Iberia

Many Romans emigrated to Hispania and stayed for generations, in some cases intermarrying with Iberians. One of these families produced the great emperor Hadrian, who ruled Rome at its zenith of power and cultural achievement, both due in large part to his efforts. Hadrian's ancestors had entered Spain generations before his birth, from the town of Hadria in Picenum, at the end of the Second Punic War. His mother, Domitia Paulina, was from a distinguished family of Gades. Although it is not certain whether Hadrian was born in Baetica, as was his kinsman and predecessor, Trajan, he can be considered to some degree a product of Romano-Iberian culture and had probably spent much time there while growing up. His Iberian ties, which he shared with Trajan, fostered a bond between them beyond kinship, that, no doubt, contributed to Trajan's decision to name Hadrian as his heir. Hadrian's upbringing in the less sophisticated society of Iberia, away from the increasingly decadent Rome, may have bred in him his hardihood both in battle and in pursuit of his lifelong habit of travel to the roughest far reaches of the empire, and the relative moderation of his personal life.

In the fifth century C.E. the Romans lost control of the Iberian Peninsula. The Germanic-speaking VANDALS and the SUEBI occupied Spain in 411 C.E.; the Germanic VISIGOTHS occupied southwestern Gaul and Spain in 412–414, driving the Vandals into Africa. The Visigoths ruled Spain from Toledo, near the southern limits of their territory in northern Spain. The south continued to be the most prosperous area with the highest standard of culture, and the culture of Visigothic Spain was hardly Gothic at all, dominated by that of the Romano-Iberian south. The intellectual life of Visigothic Spain was unmatched in any other Germanic state, as attested by the career of the great scholar Isidore of Seville. The Visigothic kingdom was quickly toppled by the Arabs, who invaded in 711.

Subtribes

Iberian tribes included the already-mentioned Tartessians, as well as the BASTETANI, BASTULI, CARPETANI, ILERGETES, ORETANI, TURDETANI, TURDULI, and VASCONES (assumed tribal ancestors of the BASQUES). There were many other Iberian groups (as distinct from Celtiberian), and some of them organized around a single urban center. The second-century C.E. geographer Ptolemy, living in Alexandria in North Africa, cited more than 60 groups, with different names appearing at different times in history. The mountainous terrain led to the formation of isolated enclaves. The Lusitani of central Portugal and western Spain are classified as either Celtiberians or Iberians. They manifested some Celtic cultural traits but spoke a different language, Lusitanian.

CULTURE

Economy

Farming, particularly cattle and sheep rearing, formed the basis of the Iberian economy. Fishing also provided sustenance and trade goods. Mining provided raw materials—iron, lead, gold, silver, tin, and copper. Ironwork reportedly was taken to the region by Phoenicians. Iberian pottery also was traded; archaeologists have located it in France, Italy, and North Africa. It is thought that the Greeks introduced grapevines and olive trees, and wine and olive oil became exports.

Trade with Phoenicians and Greeks greatly intensified the Iberian economy in terms of the amount of materials being exchanged. An excavation in present-day Huelva, which is thought to be located on the site of ancient Tartessos, found in a single six- by four-meter trench the shards of some 1,400 Greek pots from Athens, the islands of Chios and Samos, and other places, dating from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. If representative of the entire site, the density of material implies that hundreds of shiploads had arrived during this period.

Tartessos also participated in the Atlantic coastal trade, which linked it with ports as far away as the Shetland Isles of Britain, and with Armorica (Brittany), Wales, Devon, and Cornwall. A ship excavated there that was wrecked probably in the seventh century contained a consignment of bronze Irish spearheads. The poem *Ora Maritima* by the Roman poet Avienus, based on a now-lost source that was already ancient in Avienus's time, mentions Tartessian traders' traveling to Armorica, Ireland, and Britain.

Burials indicate the wealth enjoyed by elites in Tartessos. In one excavated tomb the deceased was accompanied by a walnut wood chariot with bronze decorations. Other burials contained finely carved ivories and lavish gold jewelry made both locally and from Syria and Egypt.

The reorientation of trade that occurred as the Carthaginians ousted the Greeks after the sixth century also led to a change in trade dominance among Iberians. The Carthaginians seem to have begun to establish contacts with the interior Sierra Morena silver-producing region from Iberia's Mediterranean coast via the Guadalquivir River valley, resulting in the rapid rise of towns there during this period. The Atlantic ports of the Tartessian region accordingly became less important. The discovery of new sources of silver near Cartagena may have stimulated the development of ports along the southeast coast, such as Ibiza. By the fifth century a vibrant urban-based society had emerged along the whole Mediterranean coast of Iberia.

In Roman times the region, along with North Africa, served as a primary granary for the Roman market, with wheat a major export. *Garum,* a sauce made from decomposing fish entrails, was sought after in Rome. The Romans introduced irrigation projects, which increased agricultural output. Peoples of the south also acted as middlemen for products. Gadir (Cádiz) was a stopover point between the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic commerce in tin. Coins became a medium of exchange among peoples.

Government and Society

The Iberians evolved from a tribal people to urban dwellers, especially in the east. Urban centers, many of them independent of one another, began to emerge especially as a result of foreign trade; the Guadalquivir River valley underwent rapid urban development in the period of 770 to 550 B.C.E.

As elsewhere in undeveloped societies who formed Phoenician and Greek contacts, Tartessian society was transformed by the luxury trade, which led to greater social stratification as elites acquired the wealth and demonstrated their status. Local craftsmen stretched their skills as they strove to copy the exotic luxury items, and in general the local economy was invigorated and conducted on a more intensive scale than ever before. And Tartessian elites adopted new customs from the foreigners in their midst.

By the end of this period substantial towns had been built with encircling defensive walls. In these towns sophisticated artwork began to flourish, testimony to the wealth of local elites, who marked their high status by their patronage of the arts. By the fifth century the whole east coast of Iberia had developed urban centers, in which writing in a distinctive Iberian alphabet made possible a more sophisticated governmental and military structure than in the tribal past. In Galicia, long the major source of tin for the Mediterranean world, large hill forts (*castros*) were built during the Iron Age. Some of the southern peoples, such as the Tartessians, organized into monarchies.

Military Practices

The Iberians were known in the ancient world as accomplished cavalrymen, riding the local breed of horse known as Lusitano, known for its agility. In about 370 B.C.E. the Greek historian Xenophon described the effectiveness of the quick charges and retreats of Iberian and Celtiberian cavalrymen in the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta in Greece. The Romans, who adopted some of these techniques, set up stud farms in Spain. Some Iberian infantrymen typically wore flax armor, leather helmets, and small shields hanging from their neck and carried long spears and a short dagger. Celtiberians developed a two-edged sword that later became the standard sword used by Roman legions.

Clothing

Among the Iberian clothing documented are garments made of black woolen cloth or goat fur.

Art

The Iberians were known for metalwork and ceramics. Among their works are bronzes and terra-cotta figures. As in so much else, the goods taken to Iberia by Phoenicians and Greeks had strong influence on craftsmen. In the period from about 770 to 550 B.C.E. Iberian pottery, especially in the Guadalquivir valley, changed dramatically from its former dull gray to a lighter, ochre color painted with red and black geometric patterns.

Soon after the sixth century a fully developed, indigenous Iberian fine art style appeared with great suddenness, beneficiary of the wealth generated by the Phoenician and Greek trade. Large stone sculptures were made, often of limestone, clearly influenced from the east but fully original in style and details of clothing and armor. Subjects included animals, prominently bulls, and full-size human statues, often of participants in religious ritual and of mounted warriors.

Religion

A number of menhirs, upright slabs with carved reliefs, of the megalithic period in Iberia have been interpreted as depicting female figures, possibly deities. They are similar in style to others found in France and elsewhere in the Atlantic zone, suggesting a common cult. At Los Millares bone and schist figures called "eye idols" have been claimed as evidence of goddess worship, although this belief is not universally held.

The many sculptures of bulls made by Iberians of the first millennium B.C.E. strongly suggest the presence of a cult whose deity was manifest in these animals, understandable in a society for whom cattle rearing had long been central. There is some evidence that a goddess similar to the Roman Venus was worshipped in coastal cities and received offerings of doves.

Tartessians, especially the elite, seem to have adopted elements of religious belief and ritual from the eastern Mediterranean through their contacts with Phoenicians and Greeks. Some elite burials contain ritual bronze vessels, including incense burners.

After Iberia fell under Roman rule the Romans, as was their wont, rather than imposing their own religion on the Iberians, identified Iberian deities with Roman ones who had similar attributes. For example Ataecina was an Iberian goddess identified with the Roman Proserpina, an underworld goddess. Such identifications give us an idea of Iberian gods and their functions. Candamius, whose cult was strongest in northern Iberia, was identified with Jupiter, the Roman ruler of heaven. Eacus was a weather god identified with Jupiter probably as creator of thunder and lightning. Cariociecus was a war god conflated with Mars. Dercetius ruled mountains and upland regions.

The Iberians were one of the many Mediterranean peoples, such as the ETRUSCANS, whose rich and distinct culture was subsumed into the Greco-Roman culture that became dominant during the first millennium B.C.E. Their culture is thus something of a mystery. They became so intertwined with the Romans that in some cases it is difficult to unravel what aspects of what we think of as Roman culture were actually Iberian. Historically the importance to Rome of its experiences in Iberia can hardly be overstated, for the annexation of this rich province greatly affected the Roman economy as well as Roman politics, making both to some extent dependent on conquest—or at least extension of trade relations—in new territories. The Roman economy ran on booty from conquest, large-scale export of goods—importantly wine and pottery—to annexed lands, and importation of foodstuffs made necessary because so much land in Italy was given over to wine production. Roman politicians after Caesar used successful campaigns of conquest to make their political fortune. For several centuries after annexing Iberia Rome was in a sense "addicted" to conquest until the Iberian-raised Emperor Hadrian halted expansion and turned to consolidation instead.

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Icelanders: nationality (people of Iceland)

GEOGRAPHY

Iceland is an island of the Atlantic Ocean lying south of the Arctic Circle, west of Norway, and southeast of Greenland. Iceland's total area is 3,100 miles. Embayments, such as Faxa Bay

and Breidha Fjord, and peninsulas make up the coastline. The republic includes many small islands such as Vestmannaeyjar off the south coast. Iceland's terrain is marked by broad plateaus, glaciers (notably Vatnajökull, 3,265 square miles) in the south, volcanoes, craters, and thermal springs (notably Geysir). Of the 200 volcanoes Mount Hekla (4,900 feet) is the highest. About one-fourth of the land is habitable; most residents live along the southwest coast, where Iceland's lowlands are found. To the southeast lie highlands, including Hvannadalshnúkur (6,952 feet), Iceland's highest peak. The principal river is the Jökulsá, which flows into the Axar Fjord.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The IRISH, mostly monks, settled Iceland in the early ninth century C.E.; Norwegian VIKINGS soon followed. By 930 settlers organized the Althing, a parliament, establishing a republican state without an official head. Icelanders recognized King Haakon IV Haakonsson of Norway as their king around 1262 after a civil war.

Icelanders: nationality time line

C.E.

874–930 Norwegian Ingólfur Arnarson settles Reykjavík.

930 Althing, annual parliament, is established; Republic of Iceland forms.

1056 Ísleifur Gissurarson becomes first Catholic bishop of Iceland.

1230 Icelanders resist occupation; beginning of civil war.

1262 King of Norway is recognized as Iceland monarch; end of civil war.

1380 Iceland and Norway are united with Denmark; Danish government takes measures to stifle Icelandic trade to England and Germany to avoid competition.

1550 Danish government forces Lutheranism on Iceland by executing Catholic bishops.

1662 Absolute monarchy is enforced.

1666 Lutheran pastor and poet Hallgrímur Pétursson writes *Passíusálmar* (Hymns of the Passion).

18th century Economic oppression by Denmark has caused drastic drop in Iceland's population.

1800 Althing is nullified.

1814 When Norway joins union with Sweden, Iceland remains part of Denmark.

1818 National Library is founded in Reykjavík.

1843 Althing reconvenes in Reykjavík.

1850 Jón Thóroddsen writes earliest Icelandic novel, *Piltur og stulka* (Lad and lass).

1863 Icelandic Museum of Antiquities is founded (now National Museum) in Reykjavík.

1874 New Icelandic constitution is established, permitting limited autonomy.

1904 Iceland gains home rule under Denmark.

1911 University of Iceland is founded in Reykjavík; in 1940 University Library is founded.

1918 Act of Union recognizes Iceland's independence under Denmark, limiting control over foreign affairs.

1940–45 During World War II Iceland is occupied by British and United States troops.

1942–50 Sculptor Asmundur Sveinsson designs Ásmundur Sveinsson Sculpture Museum for his works, part of Reykjavík Art Museum.

1944 Republic of Iceland is founded.

1946 Iceland becomes member of United Nations (UN).

1949 Iceland joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

1951 United States pressures Iceland to allow troops as part of NATO; Iceland gives permission, which divides country.

(continues)

ICELANDERS; NATIONALITY

nation:
Iceland (Danish, Island; Icelandic, Ísland)

derivation of name:
Meaning "land of ice"

government:
Constitutional republic

capital:
Reykjavík

language:
Official language is Icelandic, derived from the Old Norse and part of the Scandinavian branch of Germanic languages; English, German, Danish, and Nordic are also spoken.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church; Roman Catholics and independent Christians make up the remaining percentage.

earlier inhabitants:
Inuit; Irish; Vikings

demographics:
Over 95 percent of homogeneous population are a mixture of Norwegian and Celtic descendants; only a small percentage are of Inuit or other origins.

Icelanders: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1955	Novelist Haldór Laxness wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1970	Iceland joins European Free Trade Association.
1973	Kjarvalsstadir, part of Reykjavík Art Museum, is inaugurated, named in honor of painter Jóhannes Sveinsson Kjarval
1980	Vigdís Finnbogadóttir becomes world's first woman elected as chief of state in Europe.
1985	Althing, by unanimous decision, votes to ban nuclear weapons from Icelandic soil.
1990	Combined National and University Library of Iceland opens in new building in Reykjavík.

Iceland, a suzerainty of Norway, became a part of Swedish rule when Norway, Sweden, and Denmark united under the Union of Kalmar in 1397. Icelanders were forced to pledge allegiance to the Danish absolute monarch Frederick III in 1660. The activist Jón Sigurdsson helped the Althing reconvene in 1843, during a period of nationalism and sought-after independence and in 1874 helped in the establishment of a constitution. By 1904 Iceland was granted autonomy. Denmark officially recognized its independence in 1918, although it was still bound to Denmark by the Treaty of Union. The Republic of Iceland was officially proclaimed in 1944.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Icelandic cultural identity strongly relates to the Icelanders' experience of being pioneers, of having created for themselves a new society in a new land, even though this happened over a thousand years ago. Although their culture is in many ways close to that of SCANDINAVIANS through heritage and language, Icelanders see themselves as sharing some traits with Americans as well. The Icelandic government (which is the oldest parliament in the world) was a conscious experiment by Icelanders, rather than an inherited tradition, as was the government of the United States. Like Americans, Icelanders prize independence, both individual and national, and the entrepreneurial spirit of the free market. Icelanders also value American egalitarianism, but even to a greater degree than many Americans do. Icelanders believe in the importance of equality of conditions and opportunity for all, which the free market in itself does not provide. Thus Icelanders favor social democratic principles, with the state helping to level the playing field. Such egalitarianism derives from the Viking past, when warriors themselves played at least some role in governing. This attitude has led to a very progressive culture in terms of tolerance for a wide range of social behavior.



Icelanders walk along a street in Reykjavík in 1938. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-95106])*

Thingvellir, the "Parliament Plains," where the first Althing was held in 930, is considered the most sacred place in Iceland, designated by law as such. A special ceremony of sanctification that took place before each Althing, first recorded in the 12th century, has continued to be performed in a modified and Christianized form ever since. Recently Icelanders have begun to focus on the pagan aspects of the Althing ceremony and others, and at midsummer in the year 2000, the oldest known version of the ritual was performed at Thingvellir at 11:00 at night (according to tradition)—still full daylight during summer in this northern land.

The dramatic and unique Icelandic landscape, three-fourths of which is uninhabited—the endless summer days and winter nights, forbidding coasts, vast realms of glaciers and volcanic rock, hot springs and geysers, numerous small lakes and swift-flowing rivers—make it a haven for outdoor enthusiasts, and Icelanders engage in hiking, skiing, canoeing, fishing, ice climbing, and trekking on the back

of Iceland ponies. During the summers people often sleep little as they make up for the long winter nights.

More book titles are published per capita in Iceland than in any other country in the world. The largest city, Reykyavík, has the cultural richness of a city several times its size in the number of art galleries, bookstores, cinemas, and museums and in its vibrant nightlife. It also holds a biennial international art festival.

Icelanders still allow for shared mythological tradition in their lives, as in the case of trolls. Supernatural beings variously described as giants or misshapen dwarves, trolls are supposedly capable of giving humans serious problems. Their anger is terrible if they are crossed, and they exact a cruel revenge. But if on the other hand someone does them a good turn, they show their gratitude by returning the favor and often assist people without being asked. Trolls, according to legend, live in crags and cliffs and caves, subsisting by hunting and fishing and perhaps raising livestock. When in the 1970s the construction of the Ring Road around Iceland met with a series of accidents and problems in an area where trolls were said to live, the road designers erred on the side of superstition and altered the course of the road, which then reportedly was completed without further trouble. The trolls of Icelandic mythology are very similar to those in Norway, but some Icelanders claim that they entered Iceland with the Irish monks who lived there before the Norse arrived.

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Iceni (Eceni)

The Iceni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the present-day county of Norfolk and parts of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire in eastern England and are discussed as Celts or Britons. Coin finds dating to about 70 B.C.E., indicate that they were a thriving people in the first century C.E.

The Iceni did not resist the invasion of the Romans under Emperor Claudius I in 43 C.E., but when Publius Ostorius Scapula became governor of Britain in 47 C.E. some tribesmen rebelled. Scapula defeated an Iceni force in battle.

Probably at that time Prasutagus became the client-king of the Iceni for the Romans. After his death in 60 C.E. and reported abuses by the Romans, his wife, Boudicca (Boadicea), led a rebellion (*see* sidebar "Boudicca" under Britons). Iceni and allied Trinovantes attacked a number of towns, destroying parts of Roman-held Camulodunum (modern Colchester) in Trinovantes territory and Londinium (modern London) and Verulamium (modern St. Albans) in Catuvellauni territory. Iceni warriors also annihilated the Ninth Legion. Yet in 61 B.C.E. were defeated in a battle, the site of which is unknown, by a Roman force under the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus. Tradition has it that Boudicca took her own life soon afterward.

Venta Icenorum in Iceni territory on the site of present-day Caister St. Edmund was a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation until 410 C.E.

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Ijores *See* Izhorians.

Ilergetes (Ilergeti; Ilergates)

The Ilergetes are classified as Iberians. They lived in the Lower Ebro River valley near the confluence of the Segre River in present-day northeastern Spain. In 206 B.C.E. during the Second Punic War between the Carthaginians and Romans the Ilergetes under Indibil revolted against the Romans, who, led by Scipio Africanus, defeated them. They continued to resist after Roman colonization of Spain, and Marcus Porcius Cato, who became consul in 195 B.C.E., defeated them.

Illyrians (Illyrii; Illyrici)

The Illyrians were a group of tribes living along the Adriatic Sea, an arm of the Mediterranean, and inland, and speaking a number of related dialects. They may have been ancestral to modern Albanians (*see* Albanians: nationality).

ICENI

location:
Eastern England

time period:
First century B.C.E to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (Celtic)



Celtic peoples utilized gold coins in commerce. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

ILLYRIANS

location:
Western Balkan Peninsula; eastern Italian Peninsula

time period:
1300 B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Illyrian

language:
Illyrian

Illyrians time line

B.C.E.

late seventh century Greeks found coastal cities in Illyria.

358 Philip of Macedon campaigns against Illyrians.

335 Alexander the Great campaigns against Illyrians.

168–167 Romans defeat Illyrians and capture Scodra.

35–33 Romans under Augustus defeat southern Illyrians.

C.E.

6–9 Romans suppress Illyrian revolt and found Illyricum.

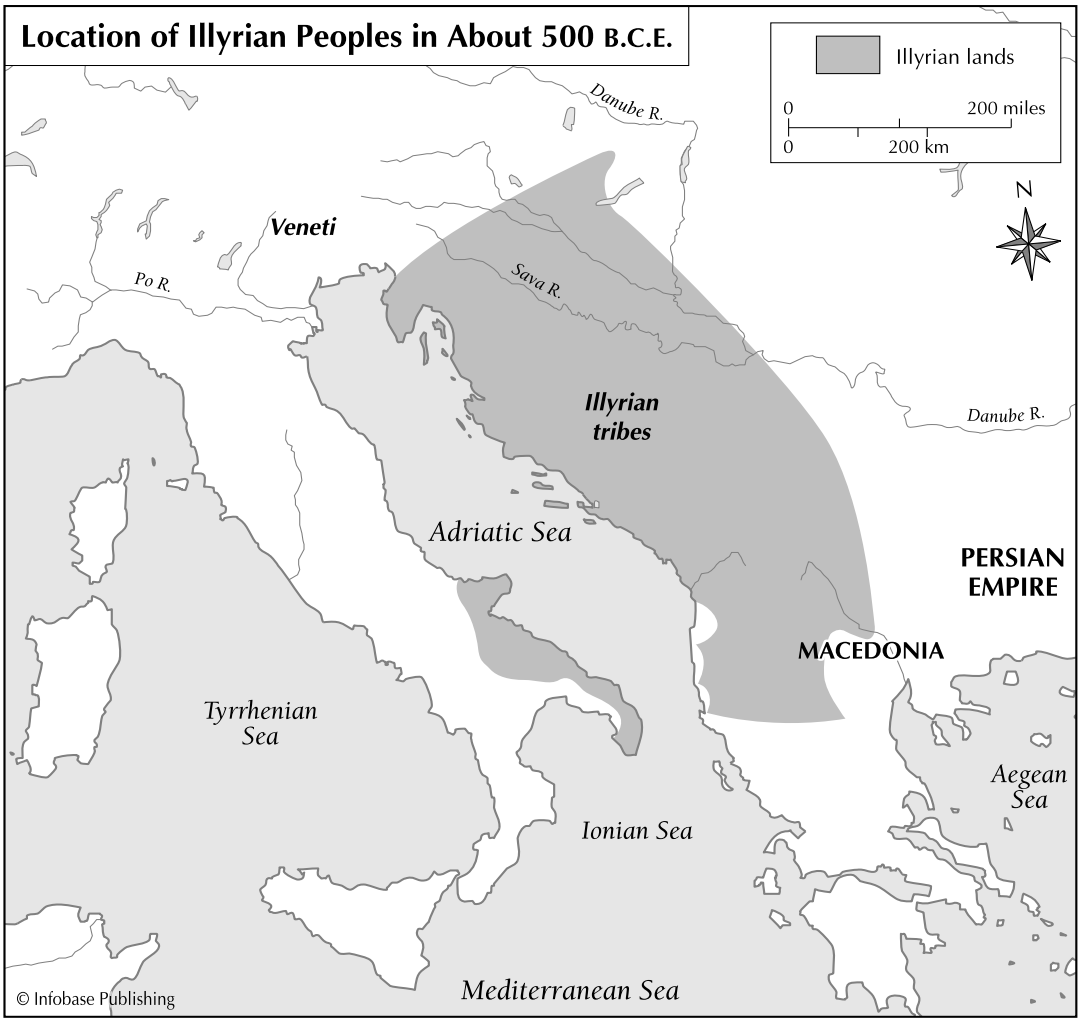
395 Illyricum becomes part of Eastern Roman Empire.

The history of the Illyrians relates to that of THRACIANS living to their east, separated by the Morava and Vardar River valleys; the GREEKS living to their south; the MACEDONIANS living to their east; and the ROMANS living to their west on the Italian Peninsula. They also had contacts with CELTS, who invaded their lands.

ORIGINS

Proto-Illyrians, that is, peoples possibly speaking a language ancestral to the Illyrian of historic times, are thought to have reached the region sometime before the first millennium B.C.E. during the transitional period between the Bronze Age and Iron Age, settling the western Balkans. From the relation of the Illyrian language to Thracian, it is postulated that these proto-Illyrian speakers came from Thrace and possibly from the steppe lands to the east. They also migrated to the Italian Peninsula by sea or land over the next years. They are associated with the Hallstatt culture, known for early ironwork.

It is likely that the ancestors of the Illyrians had been living in their western Balkan territory for many centuries before Greek historians first made note of them. Important societal changes would have resulted from the copper ore deposits in the Balkan region that, during the Bronze Age, gave rise to an important bronze-working industry there.



LANGUAGE

The Illyrians spoke a now-extinct Indo-European language known as Illyrian related to the language of the THRACIANS. It probably split off from an ancestral Thraco-Illyrian tongue spoken in Thrace to the east when peoples ancestral to the Illyrians of historic times migrated to the Balkans. An apparently related language of tribes of the eastern Italian Peninsula in pre-Roman and early Roman times is known as Messapic or Messapian. It is generally believed that modern Albanian evolved from Illyrian.

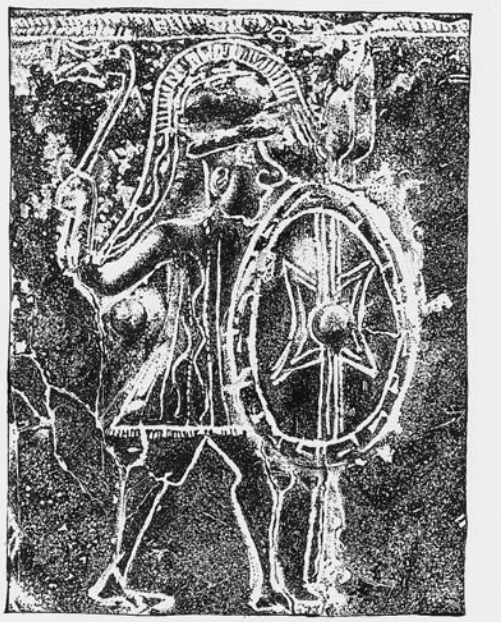
HISTORY

Illyria as a place-name was variously used throughout ancient times. Since some Illyrian peoples settled as far north as present-day Hungary, the place-name Illyria sometimes was applied to the lands from present-day northwestern Greece and Albania to the Danube River, lands comprising ancient regions known as Dalmatia (Adriatic coastal parts of modern Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia) and Pannonia (including parts of modern Hungary extending south and west into Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria). Thus one sees the regional names DALMATIANS and PANNONIANS in reference to Illyrian peoples (although ancient texts do not necessarily distinguish between the original Illyrians and invading peoples, in particular the Celts). Ancient Greeks tended to use Illyrians as a collective term for non-Greek peoples living adjacent to the Greek territory of Epirus on the west coast of Greece. A more narrow definition of the territory of Illyria is that it comprises the Adriatic coast north of central Albania to the Istrian Peninsula in Croatia and Slovenia, and west of the Dinaric Alps, mountains paralleling the Adriatic coast.

Tribes of greater Illyria included Arbëri, Ardian, Dalmat, DARDANI, Dasaret, Delmatae, Encheleae, Eordej, Epiriot, Japod, Japyg, Kaon, Labeat, Liburni, Mesap, Molossi, Paion, Parthin, Penest, Pirust, Taulant, and Thesprot. The Chaones of the region of Epirus in Greece may have been Illyrian as well, along with other tribes generally presented as Hellenic in ancient texts.

Illyrian Warfare

The Illyrians were known as an independent people who carried out acts of piracy on the Adriatic shipping of more organized neighbors. Their lands were desirable to outsiders because of the iron, copper, silver, and asphalt



An Illyrian is depicted in this detail of a bronze situla from Slovenia, dating to the seventh or sixth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

mines. The Greeks established coastal cities there as early as the late seventh century B.C.E., such as Epidamnus (modern Durrës, Albania), and in the sixth century. Other important colonies were Apollonia and Aulon (modern Vlorë) to the south. Yet the Greeks had little success advancing into the mountainous interior. From the late fifth century and into the third century B.C.E. Celts from Transdanubia (eastern Hungary) raided Illyria, and Illyrians formed tribal alliances to defend against them. In the fourth century they were united in the kingdom of Bardhyllus. The Macedonians under Philip II in 358 B.C.E. campaigned against them successfully, seizing lands as far as Lake Ohrid. In 335 B.C.E. his son, Alexander the Great, defeated the Illyrian chieftain Clitus.

After the breakup of Alexander's empire the Illyrians regained control of their lands. In 312 B.C.E. King Glaucius expelled the Greeks from Epidamnus. By the end of the next century the Illyrians founded a kingdom with its capital at Scodra (present-day Shkodër, Albania).

By about 310 B.C.E. the Celtic raids had increased enough in intensity to cause panic among the Illyrians. The numbers of Celts grew until 279 B.C.E. They overran Illyria and moved into Macedonia. These Celts, known to the Greeks as GALATOI, penetrated deep into Greece, reaching Delphi.

Regular attacks on Roman merchant ships by Illyrians under Queen Teuta—and a Roman expansionistic policy—prompted Roman campaigns in the Neretva River valley in 229–228 and 219 B.C.E., known as the Illyrian Wars. Epidamnus became known as Dyrrachium under their rule. In 168–167 B.C.E. the Romans defeated King Genthius, captured Scodra, and founded Illyricum, one of the earliest Roman colonies. The Romans sent legions north to Dalmatia in 156, 119, and 78–77 B.C.E. In the first century B.C.E. the Dardani specifically are mentioned as causing trouble in Roman Macedonia, and in about 70 B.C.E. a Roman army waged war against them.

In 35–33 B.C.E. Augustus, soon to be emperor (who had been sent by his uncle, Julius Caesar, to study at Apollonia), defeated the southern Illyrians and secured the region. Follow-up campaigns in 29–27 B.C.E. and 12–11 B.C.E. pacified other Illyrian tribes, including those to the north in Pannonia. The Romans eventually built aqueducts and roads in Illyria, including the Via Egnatia, a military highway and trade route that led from Dyrrachium along the Shkumbin River valley to Macedonia and eventually Constantinople (modern Istanbul).

The Illyrians mounted a revolt in 6–9 C.E. After suppressing it Emperor Tiberius founded the province of Illyricum (formerly a colony). In the fourth century C.E. the Roman province of Dalmatia was created. After the Roman Empire was subdivided into East and West in 395 C.E. Illyricum became part of the Eastern Roman Empire and a Roman prefecture comprising most of the Balkan Peninsula. The southern Illyrian region went to the Eastern Roman Empire and the Eastern Church; the northern Illyrian region went to the Western Roman Empire under the ecclesiastical authority of the pope.

The Illyrians, known for their skill in warfare, served in the various armies of their conquerors. Some among them became part of Alexander's army in his conquest of Persia in the fourth century B.C.E. Others served Roman legions. Some among them, especially during Rome's decline, served in the elite Praetorian Guard and rose to high ranks in the army. A number of them even became emperors late in Roman history—some of the most famous, such as Diocletian (ruled 284–305 C.E.) and Constantine I (ruled 306–337 C.E.), as well as Justinian I (ruled 527–565 C.E.) of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Late History

In the fifth century C.E. the Illyrians suffered other invasions. The VISIGOTHS, HUNS, OSTROGOTHS, and AVARS all occupied some of their territory for a time. Between the sixth and eighth centuries SLAVS settled in the Balkans, and the Illyrians were assimilated by varying groups who founded kingdoms in the region and spread Slavic dialects. The peoples of southern Illyria, however, those in Albania, managed to preserve their native tongue (with some elements of Latin). The name Albania in fact is derived from that of the Arbëri (Albanoi) tribe of central Albania, their name first recorded by the second-century geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria.

Illyrian Peoples of Italy

The Illyrians who migrated to the Italian Peninsula were documented in relation to early Roman expansion. They include the IAPYGES (APULI, MESSAPI, PEUCETI), FRENTANI, and VENETI, and their histories are summarized under those tribal names.

CULTURE

Economy

The Illyrians grew crops and raised livestock and fished for both sustenance and trade. Among their trade goods were fish, oil, wine, and cheese. They also traded raw materials from mining as well as metalwork, including tools and luxury goods. Piracy also provided revenue. Some Illyrians supported themselves as mercenaries.

Government and Society

Early Illyrian peoples were organized into tribes and clans. Councils of elders selected the chieftains. Tribal confederations led to the establishment of kingdoms. Mountain clansmen retained much of the local authority even through Macedonian, Greek, and Roman rule. In later years, although they were forced to swear allegiance to the Roman emperor and his envoys, they still made many of the day-to-day decisions for their people. An annual ceremony in which the tribes reaffirmed their loyalty to Rome evolved into the *kuvend,* a ceremony still held in northern Albania.

Archaeology has shown that Dardanian society began to develop urban centers by the fourth century B.C.E., probably under influences from the Greeks, with whom trade had begun at least by the seventh century.

Art

Illyrian friezes depicting a variety of activities, such as warfare, ceremonies, feasts, and sporting events near present-day Ljubljana, Slovenia, have been found.

Religion

The Illyrians originally practiced an animist and polytheistic religion. Contact with other cultures led to worship of new deities, such as Mithra, the Persian god of light. Christianity took hold early in the first century; the apostle Paul wrote that he preached in Illyricum. In 58 C.E. a bishop was assigned to Dyrrachium. Although Albania became part of the Byzantine Empire, Albanian Christians remained under the jurisdiction of Rome until 732, when the Byzantine emperor Leo III placed them under that of Constantinople. When the church divided in 1054, the dividing line between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy cut through the region, and both religions are still practiced there. Some peoples of possible Illyrian ancestry also converted to Islam, when the Ottoman Turks gained control of the region in the 14th century.

With so many peoples playing a role among the Illyrians, they became an ethnic mix. The Albanians honor their Illyrian ancestry. The name Illyria endured. It has appeared in fiction, as in the English playwright William Shakespeare's play *Twelfth Night*. In 1809–13 Napoleon Bonaparte named a division of his French empire the Illyrian Provinces. After reclaiming the region Austria established the Kingdom of Illyria, which endured as part of Austria from 1815 to 1849.

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Ilmen Slavs (Novgorod Slavs; Slovens)

ILMEN SLAVS

location: Around Lake Ilmen in northwestern Russia

time period: Ninth to 10th century C.E.

ancestry: Slavic

language: East Slavic

The Ilmen Slavs were a tribe of Eastern Slavs, living in the vicinity of Lake Ilmen in present-day northwestern Russia. Although the name Slovens has been associated with them, they have a different tradition from the Southern Slavic Slovenes.

Related to the neighboring Severians, the Ilmen Slavs were centered in the vicinity of Novgorod, which was probably built under the impetus of Vikings and became an important trading center. In 862 C.E. the supposed founder of the Novgorod principality and the Rurikid dynasty of Rus settled among them.

The Ilmen Slavs, with other Slavic tribes of the region, eventually fell under the suzerainty of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the Byzantines of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

Ingaevones

According to the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. the Ingaevones were the most northerly proto-Germanic tribe or collection of tribes. In his account they lived on the Jutland Peninsula and along the North Sea and Baltic Sea in present-day northern Netherlands, Germany, and Poland by the first century B.C.E. By the mid-first century C.E. a number of tribes emerged from this region, such as the Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons, perhaps descendants of Tacitus's Ingaevones. Tacitus refers to three early groups, descended from Mannus, son of the Earth-born god Tuisto and, according to legend, founder of the Germanic nation. From his three sons the Ingaevones supposedly emerged near the ocean in the north and the Herminones and Istaevones to their south. Tacitus reports a second mythic version of the origins of Germanics in which Mannus had more sons who founded other tribes.

Ingrians

INGRIANS

location: Near Gulf of Finland in northwestern Russia

time period: 11th century C.E. to present

ancestry: Finno-Ugrian

language: Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

The name Ingrians is used to designate the various Finnic-speaking peoples, a subgroup of

INGUSH

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millenium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Nakh (Caucasic)

FINNO-UGRIANS, native to the present-day St. Petersburg region near the Gulf of Finland in northwestern Russia. Their homeland was formerly known as Ingria or Ingermanland, and the name has been used variously: for the IZHORIANS (also known as the Izhora Ingrians, Ijores, or Lyds); for the VOTES (or Vodes); for two smaller tribes known as the Evremeisets and Savakots, whose descendants now live in the city of Leningrad itself; and for the Ingrian Finns, that is, FINNS from Finland, especially from the subgroup known as Tavasts, who settled in Ingria. The region of Ingria (the Anglicized form) has been known variously as Vod in Russian, as Ingermanland in Swedish, and as Inkeri in Finnish. It is said to be named after the daughter Ingegärd (Ingigerd) of the Swedish king Olof Skötkonung. She married Yaroslav I the Wise, ruler of the RUS, in 1019 C.E.

Ingria became Swedish territory in 1617, after which much of the migration of Finns to Ingria occurred. In 1703 Peter the Great annexed Ingria to the Russian Empire; in 1712 St. Petersburg became Russia's capital. The self-appellation of the Ingian Finns, inkerin suomalainen (Finns of Ingria), came about in the 19th century because of a newfound feeling of unity with the Finns of Finland largely because of shared Lutheranism.

During the existence of the Soviet Union (USSR) in the 20th century the Ingrian Finns were referred to by Russians as the Leningradskie Finny. The new, accepted pluralism in the Russian Federation has led to increased ethnic awareness among the Ingrian Finns, many of whom have chosen to migrate in recent years.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Ingush (Ghalghaaj; Ghalghai)

The Ingush are a Caucasic-speaking people, living for the most part in the north-central Caucasus region of southwestern Russia. Their North Caucasic language is classified as part of the North-Central (Nakh) branch and related to the languages of the CHECHENS and the Bats of the nation of Georgia to the south in Asia. The Cyrillic alphabet is used in the written form. The name Ingush was applied to them by the Russian SLAVS, based on the name of the village Angusht; their native name is Ghalghaaj, a clan confederation. Like other CAUCASIANS, the Ingush are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E.

Traditionally organized by clans and tribes, they were originally a mountain people who herded livestock in the highlands and farmed in the lowlands. The Sunzha and its tributary the Assa are the principal rivers in the region. Christian missionaries converted many in the 11th century C.E., but Islam took hold from the 17th to the 19th century.

Northern Ingush lands were under Russian rule by 1750, and the rest in 1810. Unlike most of their neighbors, the Ingush did not resist Russian occupation in the 19th century or Soviet control in the 20th century. In 1924 the Ingush Autonomous Oblast was formed as part of the Soviet Union, becoming in 1936 part of the Checheno-Ingushetiya Republic with Chechnya situated to the east.

In 1944 during World War II Joseph Stalin accused the Ingush and other Muslims in the region of collaborating with Germany and ordered their deportation to Soviet Asia, especially Kazakhstan, where many still live. It is estimated that one-quarter to one-half of the migrants died in transit. The Ingush were allowed to return to their homeland in 1956–57.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991, the Ingush and Chechen established their own republics, and since 1992 Ingushetiya (or Ingushetia or Ingush Republic) has been a republic within the Russian Federation. Many non-Ingush also live there. The Chechen independence movement and war with the Russian government have led to the deaths of Ingush as well, and an influx of many Chechen refugees to Ingushetiya.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

IONIANS

location:
Central Greece; Asia Minor

time period:
Eighth to fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Ionic and Attic (Greek)

Insubres (Insubrians)

The Insubres are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived around present-day Milan in northern Italy. They are thought to have been descendants of the GOLASECCANS, the first CELTS in the region. A powerful tribe for centuries, they were defeated by the ROMANS at Telamon west of Lake Bolsena in 225 B.C.E. (along with the BOII) and in their homeland in 196 B.C.E. They were known for wearing trousers and bright-colored clothing.

Ionians (Ionic Greeks)

The Ionians were one of the four main ethnic groups into which the ancient GREEKS divided themselves; the others were the ACHAEANS, AEOLIANS, and DORIANS. On mainland Greece the Athenians in Attica and the Greeks of Euboea identified themselves as Ionians. They and many Greeks in Sicily and Italy regarded

themselves as related to the Ionians of Ionia, a small strip of western Asia Minor. Ionia also included the adjacent islands in the Aegean Sea. A dialect of Greek and an order of Greek architecture take the name Ionic from the Ionians. The Ionians have been classified as having four tribal groupings: Aigikoreis, Argadeis, Geleontes, and Hopletes. The name Ionian is associated with the names of two mythological characters, Io and Ion. The exact derivation is unknown, however.

Ionians time line

B.C.E.

eighth century Ionic speakers living in Attica

478–404 First Delian League, a confederation between Athens and Ionian states of Asia Minor

336–335 Alexander the Great unifies Greece; Greeks begin to identify themselves as Hellenes, and not as different ethnic groups.

ORIGINS

Before the classical period the name Ionian was primarily a linguistic designation for people speaking the Ionic dialect of Greek. Thus it is extremely difficult to identify Ionians from prehistoric times before written records were kept. It is known that after the Greek Dark Ages by about the eighth century B.C.E. Ionic speakers were living in Attica (the territory surrounding Athens) and on Euboea. Earlier the existence of an Ionian ethnicity increasingly becomes a matter of speculation. Identification by 19th-century and early 20th-century scholars of Ionians, along with other post–Dark Age linguistic groups—Achaeans, Aeolians, and Dorians—with waves of Bronze Age invaders to Greece as early as the third millennium B.C.E. rests on very uncertain ground.

It seems clear that many groups and cultural influences entered Greece from abroad as early as the Copper Age or even earlier. The first Indo-European speakers may have arrived (probably in small bands rather than waves of invaders) as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E. Throughout the Bronze Age Greece was in touch with a wider world through trade and small-scale movement of peoples, but again there is no positive evidence of the existence of Ionians. Writing first emerged in Greece with the MYCENAEANS, whose civilization flourished from about 1400 to 1200 B.C.E. From this period evidence for the dialects of later Greeks might be found; however, the Greek spoken by the Mycenaeans is similar only to the dialect called Arcado-Cypriot spoken in later times on Cyprus and in the remote mountain region of Arcadia. Theories that Ionians may have been part of the Mycenaean civilization are based only on the logically unsound method of extrapolating backward from classical times: Athenians of the classical period spoke Ionian-derived Greek; Athens has been part of Mycenaean civilization; therefore Athenians of Mycenaean times must have been Ionians. Such a scenario would only be plausible if the interval between the Mycenaean and classical periods had been a relatively peaceful, stable one, enabling a single ethnic group to survive largely unchanged.

Instead the period under consideration saw the violent collapse of the Mycenaean system, and Greece was plunged into an economically and culturally regressive period called the Dark Ages, during which writing was lost, cities were abandoned, and foreign trade languished. There was widespread depopulation of some areas along with population movement, the details of which are unclear. There is evidence that warrior groups from the Danube region north of Greece played some role in the demise of Mycenaean civilization, although they probably were not the decisive factor, only one of a number of factors involved. The fact that speakers of Arcado-Cypriot after the Dark Ages lived only on the margins of the Greek world, while Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic speakers dominated the Greek mainland, may imply that the ancestors of the latter were among the warriors from the north who had arrived in Greece around 1200 B.C.E., probably taking part in the civil wars and large-scale raiding that were devastating the region and later settling lands abandoned by the fleeing Mycenaean elites.

Although later Athenian tradition maintained that Athens never fell to invaders, Mycenaean civilization ended there at the same time as in other areas of Greece. It is possible that the Ionic dialect was introduced to an Attica suffering from the economic distress and depopulation of the Mycenaean systems collapse, by newcomers accustomed to a simpler way of life independent of long-distance trade and the agricultural central planning engaged in by the Mycenaeans. Able to support themselves with subsistence farming and simple craft goods, speakers of Ionic could have taken advantage of the depopulated landscape. As in the case of the Doric dialect on the Peloponnese Ionic together with the lifeways of its speakers could have been adopted by the local peasantry of Attica and Euboea who had been left to their own devices by the collapse of Mycenaean authority.

The origin of the name Ionian is unknown. In the *Iliad,* written in Ionic presumably by Homer in the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., some inhabitants of Attica, the area of mainland Greece centered around Athens, are called Ionians. A group identified as Yauna in Old Persia, and the related Javan of Hebrew from a similar period indicate that the eastern Greeks were probably widely known as Ionians. Literary evidence from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. indicates that the Ionians of Ionia considered their cities to be recently founded by colonists from Attica. There is evidence of a large migration of Greeks from the mainland eastward into the Aegean and to the coast of Asia Minor between 1200 and 1050 B.C.E., in the wake of the fall of the Mycenaean civilization. The linguistic connection between Attic Greek and that of the Ionians lends credence to the claim of the Ionians of Ionia to be descendants of a group of Greeks who had moved through Athens before emigrating to Asia.

Origin Myth

In his genealogy of the Greeks or Hellenes the poet Hesiod of the eighth century B.C.E. calls the Ionians descendants of Ion (perhaps the source for the name Ionian), the son of Xuthus, and grandson of Hellen, ancestor of all the Greeks. Xuthus was granted the Peloponnese, the southern peninsula when Greece was portioned out to the sons of Hellen, but later the Ionians were pushed by the Dorians into Athens, a foreshadowing of the centuries-long enmity been Athens and Doric Sparta on the Classical period. Neleus and Androclus, sons of Codrus, the last king of Athens, supposedly led the colonizing expedition to Asia Minor. In the continuing myth the sons of Dorus—that is, progenitors of the Dorians—later reclaimed the land of the Peloponnese for the sons of Heracules.

LANGUAGE

The Ionians are identified with Ionic, one of the main dialects of ancient Greek, but it is not certain where the dialect first developed. It is related to the Attic dialect, spoken by Athenians and other inhabitants of Attica. Sometime in the eighth century B.C.E. the Ionians adopted the Phoenician alphabet. Ionic is also referred to as Homeric Greek, since the Homeric epics, the *Iliad,* and the *Odyssey,* were written in Ionic Greek. Ionic Greek, also called proto-Greek, is the foundation on which classical Greek developed; it in turn gave rise to Koiné (a common variety), Byzantine dialects, and eventually modern Greek.

HISTORY

Migrations to Asia Minor

The Parian Marble, a marble tablet found on the island of Paros (probably carved in the third century B.C.E.) bearing an inscription, essentially a long chronology of events, gives the date of the Ionian migration to Asia Minor as 1077 B.C.E. There is no reason to accept this date as completely accurate, given the clearly mythic nature of many of the events of the distant past that are recorded on the tablet, such as Deucalion's flood or Demeter's invention of corn. Events closer to the chronicler's time seem to be more historically accurate, so that the date of the Ionian migration could have some validity, although in 1077 B.C.E., because Greece was still in its period of illiteracy, it is difficult to know how the Parian chronicler could have discovered a specific date. It is likely that Ionians had begun moving to Asia Minor sometime during the Dark Ages, very possibly by the 11th century B.C.E. Since there is no evidence to back up historical accounts of the Ionians as conquerors, small numbers of migrating Ionians probably mixed with the existing population, perhaps some of whom were earlier Greek colonists. The migrating Ionians founded the first of the Greek city-states. By the ninth century B.C.E. these city-states dominated Ionia, and in historical time, the city-states of Ionia formed the Pan-Ionian league, a loose confederation of 12 cities. The cities of Ionia were Clazomenae, Colophon, Ephesus, Erythrae, Lebedus, Miletus, Myus, Phocaeam, Priene, Teos, as well as the islands Samos and Chios. Ionia was bordered by Caria on the south and the Hermus Valley to the north, and the Aegean Sea to the west and Lydia to the east. The Ionians were excellent seafarers, who had contact with the Egyptians and the PHOENICIANS and established colonies along the Mediterranean as far east as present-day France.

Links between Attica and Ionia

Until the sixth century B.C.E. there is no evidence that Athens and the rest of Attica regarded themselves as linked to the Ionians of Asia. Solon, however, the Athenian who reformulated the laws of Athens in the seventh–sixth century B.C.E., declared Attica "the oldest land of Ionia." Athens continued to express its ties to Ionia even as the Ionian lands were conquered by Croesus, the king of Lydia, in the sixth century B.C.E. After the Persians under Cyrus II conquered the Lydians in 546 B.C.E. the Greek cities of Ionia became subject to the Persians. In 499 B.C.E. the Ionians revolted under Aristagoras of Miletus

and were aided by the Athenians. The Ionians, however, were defeated in the naval Battle of Lade in 494 B.C.E. Miletus was burned to the ground and its inhabitants slain or enslaved. Many Ionians fled to Greece and to Italy.

As a result of the early success of the revolt the Persian emperor Xerxes I invaded mainland Greece in 480 B.C.E. The Persian army was a formidable force that modern scholars believe comprised about 200,000 men and 1,000 ships, but it suffered a defeat at the Battle of Mycale in which Ionians participated. This victory secured partial independence for the Ionians, who joined with Athens in a league of Ionian cities known as the Delian League, which lasted from 478 to 404 B.C.E. The ease with which the Ionians subjugated themselves to the Lydians, Persians, and then Athenians, and their taint of oriental luxury, lent a pejorative cast to the name Ionian.

By this time the Athenians had already changed their tribal structure, replacing the Ionian tribes with tribes based on 10 uniquely Attic heroes, and were stressing their independent roots, while the Ionians of Ionia maintained the Delian League. The Ionian identity was used in opposition to the Spartans, who emphasized their Dorian roots. Conflicts between the two principal powers in Greece, Athens and Sparta, led to the Peloponnesian War, which ended with the humiliating defeat of Athens in 404 B.C.E., followed by Sparta's loss of Greek hegemony to Corinth and Thebes.

Pan-Hellenism

Warfare and instability in the fifth century B.C.E. were the beginning of the end of the ethnic rhetoric that had ceased to matter much outside of political maneuvering. Already during the threat of Persian invasion the Greeks had established an idea of Hellenism versus barbarianism, recognizing their common traits. These ideas can be found in the fifth-century B.C.E. writings of Herodotus and Thucydides, two of the greatest Greek historians, both of whom considered Hellenism more of a cultural trait—that is, something that could be acquired—than an ethnic one. The final defeat of these ethnic divisions was the advance of Alexander the Great of the MACEDONIANS, who conquered and united all of Greece in 336–335 B.C.E. and went on to establish a short-lived Hellenic empire in parts of Asia and North Africa, spreading a common Greek culture and dialect, based largely on the Attic Greek of Athens related to Ionic. (Alexander's father, Philip, had spent part of his youth as a hostage in Athens, an experience that instilled in him a lifelong love of all things Athenian. For this reason, he insisted that his son learn to speak Attic Greek, no doubt a factor in the importance of Attic, rather than Macedonian, in Alexander's court and government.)

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS)

The Ionians are thought to have introduced innovations in pottery and warfare to Greece. Extensive trade led to the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet, probably in the sixth century B.C.E., allowing Greek oral poetry to be written, such as that by Homer, said to be a blind poet of Smyrna, a city in Asia Minor. Ionia also saw the birth of forms of architecture, art, and music all called Ionic. These show traces of the art of the Mycenaean civilization, as well as influence from the Hittites of Asia Minor.

The Ionic order of architecture may well have had Egypt for its inspiration. The Greek trading post at Naucratis in Egypt, about 100 miles from the pyramids at Giza, was largely settled by Ionians. Ionian cities were notable for their monumental architecture, such as the temple of Artemis at Ephesus with its double row of columns similar to the columned halls of Egypt, and the famous row of marble lions at Delos had many predecessors in the traditional sacred processional routes of Egyptian temples. Ionic columns are distinguished from square topped Doric columns by the spiral volutes of their capitals.

Claims by Athenians of classical times about their putative ancestors, the Ionians, were uncritically accepted by modern scholars for centuries, even into the 20th century, because of the enormous prestige accorded Athenian scholarship and historiography. With the unprecedented new wealth of knowledge about the ancient world bestowed by archaeology, we can now see the Athenians' narrative about their early history as the product of a people emerging from a Dark Age of societal chaos, during which memory of things past is largely lost from generation to generation in the exigencies of the moment, into the self-consciousness of literate civilization. Other peoples have created similar narratives in similar circumstances. The Athenians' semi-mythical narrative of the Ionians, Achaeans, Dorians, and other groups, much of it told in the Homeric epics, tells as much about the values and dreams of a people as about actual events; their truth is not less than that of factual history but of a different order.

IRISH

location:
Island of Ireland

time period:
7000 B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Primarily Celtic; pre-Celtic

language:
Irish (from the Gaelic branch of Insular Celtic) and English

The classification of the Ionians as a distinct people is a convenient one, using the ancient texts as sources. Yet it is important to keep in mind that they no doubt consisted of a number of different ancestral tribes and that an exact time frame is impossible to determine for them.

Further Reading

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George Leonard Huxley. *The Early Ionians* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972).

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Irish (Hiberni; people of Ireland)

The Irish were the people living on the island of Ireland, part of the British Isles, in the centuries B.C.E. Both indigenous pre-Celtic peoples and Celts were among them. They maintained a distinct tradition as Irish into the 20th centu-

Irish time line

B.C.E.	
Fourth–third century	Beginning of Iron Age in Ireland
52	Romans refer to Ireland as Hibernia.
C.E.	
First century	Irish trade with Britain.
127–147	Ptolemy publishes *Geographia* with map of Ireland.
433	St. Patrick begins preaching in Ireland.
sixth–ninth centuries	Ireland's Golden Age of learning
795	First Viking attack on Ireland
842	First Irish-Viking alliance
1014	Battle of Clontarf
1171	First Norman invasion of Ireland
1315	Scottish invasion of Ireland
1536	Catholicism banned in Ireland.
1541	Henry VIII proclaimed king of Ireland.
1588	Survivors of Spanish Armada reach Ireland.
1636	*Annals of the Masters,* telling of ancient Irish, compiled.
1649	Irish resistance to English crushed by Oliver Cromwell.
1660	Ban on Catholicism ends.
1695	First penal code limits Catholic worship.
1778–93	Most penal codes are repealed.
1782	Greater freedom is granted to Protestant-run Dublin Parliament.
1798	Rebellion by Society of United Irishmen
1801	Union with Great Britain
1829	Catholic Emancipation Act
1845–54	Potato famine and great emigration
1916	Easter Rebellion against English rule
1920	Government of Ireland Act
1921	Partitioning of Ireland; Anglo-Irish Treaty creates Irish Free State within British Commonwealth of Nations.

ry, at which time a sovereign nation of Ireland was formed (*see* IRISH: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

People are thought to have begun to settle in Ireland by about 7500 to 7000 B.C.E. Ice Age conditions prior to this made the land unsuitable for permanent settlement. The first arrival were probably seasonal hunters. Even by 7000 B.C.E. tundra conditions prevailed, with the soil locked in permafrost. People probably arrived first from Britain and Brittany in France. During the Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages other groups may have migrated to Ireland from the Continent and Britain and possibly also from the Iberian Peninsula, linked with Ireland by trade, especially in copper and gold. Movement of peoples is hard to document archaeologically, since changes in material remains such as house types or pottery could have been brought about by the arrival of new ideas rather than that of new people. Ireland clearly received many influences from the mainland, from farming practices to metalworking and art styles. Traders entered Ireland both by way of present-day northern France and Belgium and from the Iberian Peninsula along the Atlantic coast and from Britain.

The Bronze Age

The earliest metal tools found in Ireland were made of copper and date to the Copper Age. The presence in Ireland of copper and gold deposits brought the remote island firmly into the sphere of mainland-wide trade networks, which increased in importance from the Copper Age onward and must have kept people there au courant with new ideas and techniques.

The Bronze Age in Ireland is considered to have started in about 2500 B.C.E. More Bronze Age gold hoards have been discovered in Ireland than anywhere else in Europe.

In about 2150 B.C.E. artifacts of the Bell Beaker culture, in particular the bell-shaped vessels for which it is named, began to appear in Ireland. It has been suggested that with this culture the original language, called Common Celtic, which evolved into Irish Gaelic, may have begin. The Bell Beaker culture seems to have represented an entirely new ideology of individualism, as opposed to the communalism of the Neolithic megalithic tomb builders of such monuments as Newgrange, expressed through the adoption of a warrior lifestyle. At least as important as the beakers were weapons: daggers, bows, and arrows. In Ireland Beaker motifs were used in elaborately worked crescent-shaped gold necklaces (*lunulae*) and other ornaments, but drinking and burial practices were not adopted. The extent to which this culture was taken to Ireland by outsiders is unclear and hard to document archaeologically. Beaker ideas, embodied in weapons and clothing as well as in behavior and practices, could have been introduced by a small number of elite warriors and widely imitated by indigenous Irish. There is little sign that Beaker warriors engaged in conquest of territory.

The Late Bronze Age began in about 1200 B.C.E., signaled by the appearance of new bronze implements and weapons, such as socketed axe heads and swords. At this time hill forts and ring forts were first be made, the latter more prevalent in Ireland. A common type of dwelling in use at this time was the crannog, an artificial island, palisaded on all sides, constructed in the middle of a lake.



The Iron Age

The earliest clearly identifiably Celtic artifacts and remains are from the Hallstatt C culture of the Iron Age (800–500 B.C.E.) in the Upper Rhine and Danube valleys of central Europe. Swords of the Hallstatt type are found in Ireland from about 700 B.C.E., but made of bronze rather than iron. They may have been copies in bronze of iron models made by local smiths or castoffs of weapons made of an obsolete material imported from the Continent to be melted down for reuse.

The Iron Age in Ireland may have begun as early as 500 B.C.E. and lasted up to 500 C.E., although clear evidence of the predominance of iron is not found in Ireland until around the third century B.C.E. This contrasts with Britain, where ironworking began in the late seventh century B.C.E. The lag time for ironworking to arrive in Ireland is not well understood. Flourishing Late Bronze Age industries seem to have collapsed and disappeared by the seventh century B.C.E., and the two centuries before 500 B.C.E. in terms of artifact, are a dark age for Ireland. Long earthworks such as the Dorsey in county Armagh and the Black Pig's Dyke, which run across much of lower Ulster, were thought to have been built during the Iron Age.

Celtic Migrations

During the large-scale migrations of the continental Celts of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. some Celtic groups may have entered Ireland as well. After this period Irish craftsmen were strongly influenced by the La Tène style, although reinterpreting it to create their own style. Ireland shows other influences from the Continent as well, but this is not a new phenomenon, as mentioned. There is still much disagreement as to the extent of Celtic migration to Ireland. The weight of scholarly opinion is against wholesale migration and displacement; rather, Celtic influences impinged on Ireland in a more piecemeal, mosaic process involving trade and the movement of ideas as well as people. The conquest of the GAULS by the ROMANS in the first century B.C.E. may well have caused Gallic Celts to migrate to Ireland. The conquest of the BRITONS in the first century C.E. may have led to migrations from Britain as well.

LANGUAGE

Ancient Irish peoples spoke dialects of Gaelic or Goidelic, one of the branches of Insular Celtic (the other is Brythonic or Brittonic). Insular Celtic languages evolved in the British Isles from Continental Celtic, which comprised Celtic languages spoken in mainland Europe, including Gaulish (or Gallic), all of which have disappeared and are little known. The Gaelic dialects retain archaic features of pronunciation and grammar, indicating that the Brythonic dialects represent a later evolution from Continental Celtic. Another set of terms for the two main Insular Celtic groups is q-Celtic (Gaelic) and p-Celtic (Brythonic), referring to the fact that Brythonic dialects substitute the letter *p* in words for *q,* another sign of evolution away from Continental Celtic.

HISTORY

The writings known as the ancient Irish annals are a possible source for early Irish history. They consist of year-by-year contemporary accounts of notable happenings that were handed down for centuries solely through oral tradition until, on the conversion of the Irish to Christianity and their adoption of writing in the fifth century C.E., scribes began to write them. Many of them were compiled in 1636 C.E. from a large collection of vellum manuscripts into a work called the *Annals of the Masters*. These annals are considered a "shadow" of history or a kind of pseudohistory, as much folk tradition as verifiable fact. They also typically describe the actions of elites rather than those of common people. Yet what they describe often intersects with known physical sites, a characteristic that seems to lend credibility to their accounts.

Annals recorded for the latter half of the first millennium C.E. contain dates for eclipses and comets that have been verified scientifically. The likelihood that the methods used for recording these later annals were similar to those used in prehistoric times may give the ancient annals some validity as well, allowing for the distortions that can happen to orally transmitted material. A significant feature of the annals is that they mention repeated waves of invasions and migrations into Ireland from Brittany in present-day France as well as from Spain and Greece. Movement of peoples is hard to document archaeologically, since changes in material remains, such as house types or pottery, could as easily have been brought about by the arrival of new ideas as by new people. Given the fact, however, that large-scale movements of peoples across Europe are known to have happened in historic times, beginning with the Celts in the Iron Age, the waves of invaders mentioned in the annals perhaps should not be dismissed out of hand.

Ancient Peoples of the Irish Annals

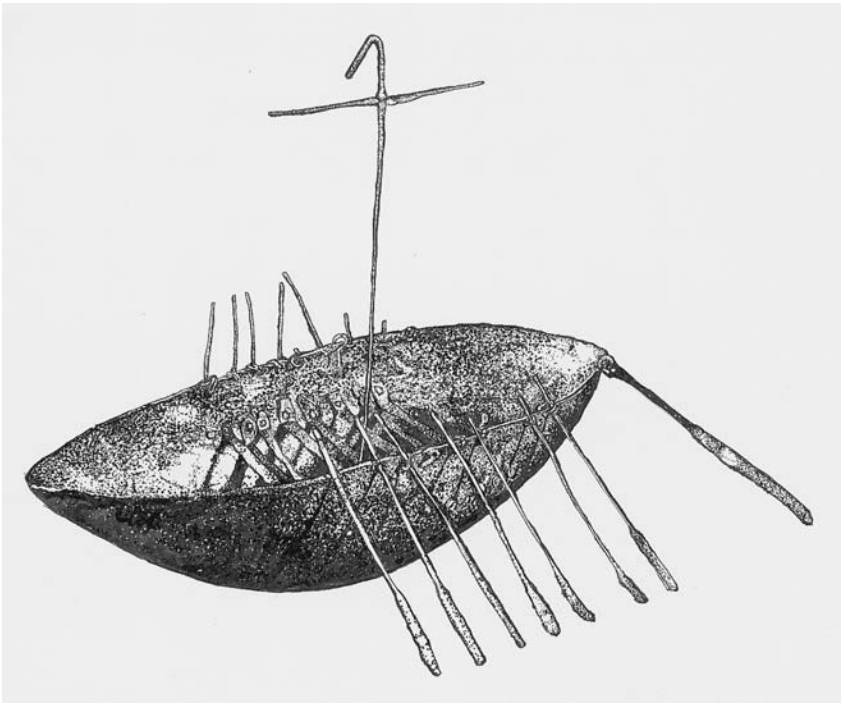
According to the annals the Fomors (or Fomorians) were supposedly in Ireland long before any other races, living by the sea. They may have been the original Mesolithic settlers of Ireland, there by about 7000 B.C.E. The first invasion described is that of the Partholons, who competed with the Fomors for 300 years then died out in an epidemic. Next were the Nemeds. Most of them also died in an epidemic, and any survivors were supposedly absorbed by the Fomors.

Four major invasions that may have taken place during the Celtic period are mentioned. The first is that of the Cruithin, which may include tribes known to the ancient GREEKS as Priteni, estimated by some scholars as around the eighth–fifth century B.C.E. Members of this tribe may have migrated to Scotland, for the people known in Roman times as the PICTS were sometimes also called the Cruithne.

After the Cruithin were the Erainn or Firbolgs, possibly from Spain or Greece (possibly around the fifth–third centuries B.C.E.). The Erainn (also known as Firbolgs and Bolgi, as well as BELGAE and MENAPII, names applied to mainland groups) called their new home Eueriio, which would later evolve through the Old Irish Eriu to Eire, and from Eire to Ireland. The early annalists tell us the Erainn survived as distinct tribes well into early historic times. In southern Ireland they may have descended as the Corca Loigde and the Osraighe. In east Ulster they were said to descend as tribes of the DÁL RIATA and the DÁL FIATACH. In Connacht the tribes of the Ui Maine and the Conmaicne are sometimes claimed as their descendants.

Then arrived the Laigin—also known as Domnainn, Gailionn/Gailing/Gaileng, or Tuatha de Danaan—tribes from Armorica (Brittany) in northwestern France (possibly around the third–first centuries). According to tradition these people founded Tara in the Boyne Valley, the ritual inauguration and burial place for the ancient kings of Ireland. Archaeological traces remain of Tara. The Tuatha de Danaan traced their ancestry to the goddess Danu (also called Brighid), daughter of the Dagda, the chief god of Ireland. The province of Leinster takes its name from the Laigin.

The last major invasion was that of the Goidel/Gael or Milesians, sons of King Milesius, who are said to have been from either northern Spain or southern France (possibly around the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E.)



Irish people crafted this gold boat model in the first century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Greco-Roman Sources

Probably from at least the sixth century B.C.E. CARTHAGINIANS and GREEKS traded regularly with the British Isles and could have provided eyewitness accounts of the peoples there. The fourth-century C.E. Roman writer Rufus Festus Avienus gives an account thought to be based on information from a Carthaginian named Himilco, who traveled to the British Isles in about 480 B.C.E. Avienus calls Ireland Insula Sacra (Holy Island) and its inhabitants *gens hiernorum*. This in all likelihood is a modification of the word Eriu, from the Eueriio of the Erainn, a validation by an independent source of information from the ancient annals. In 52 B.C.E. Avienus seems to have thought the name *hiernorum* reported by Himilco meant the same as *hieros* for "sacred," hence the name Holy Isle. The Romans referred to Ireland as Hibernia, possibly derived from *hiernorum* and the people as Hiberni or Hibernians.

In about 325 B.C.E. Pytheas, a Greek from the trading emporium Massilia (modern Marseilles, France), traveled to the British Isles and circumnavigated them. The Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy published a map of Ireland—Hibernia, as he called it—produced in 127–147 C.E., probably based on a map made by Pytheas. This map includes some names of rivers and islands that can be identified with existing features.

Among some of the tribal names on Ptolemy's map are the ROBOGDI in the northeast. These were people ruled by a line of kings called the Dál Riata, who raided and later colonized Scotland and became known by that tribal name. The Dál Fiatach, or Darini of present-day Down, within whose territory Emain Macha is located, claim descent from the same people as the Dál Riata. The Volunti are known in Gaelic sources as the ULAID, a name later to become Ulster. They are said to have had had their cult center at Emain Macha, even though Ptolemy's map shows it as within Dál Fiatach territory. By about 200 C.E. the Ulaid seem to have absorbed the Dál Fiatach into their sphere of influence. The Menapii (Manapii) may correspond to the MONAIG, who survived into the early Christian period as the Fir Manach (or Fermanagh). The CORIONDI (Koriondi) in the southeast may have been related to the Celtic tribe CORIONOTOTAE in Britain. Their neighbors, the BRIGANTES, have the same name as a tribal group that occupied much of the north of Britain during the time of the Roman Empire, possibly evidence that some of the Brigantes fled Roman depredations in Britain and went as refugees to Ireland. The USDIAE are perhaps the early peoples of the territory known as Osraige, later to become Ossory. The DUMNONII, too, had counterparts in Devon and Cornwall in Britain; the name recurs in the province of Leinster and later in the province of Connacht as the Domnainn, also one of the names from the Irish annals. The IVERNI in the southwest are associated with the Erainn of the Irish annals. The Auteini in the west are later identified as the UAITHNE of present-day county Limerick and county Tipperary.

New Dynasties

According to the Irish annals the first centuries C.E. until the coming of Saint Patrick and Christianity in the fifth century C.E. saw a series of wars for dominance among the main tribes of Ireland. It is thought by historians that during this period aggressive new dynasties were engaged in supplanting a political order characterized by many small independent petty kingdoms that had held sway for centuries. They did this in part by appropriating to themselves symbols of past power. Most important of these was the ancient site of Tara (Teamhair), for centuries the place of inauguration of kings.

In the third century C.E. the great High King Cormac macAirt, grandson of Conn Cétchathach (Conn of the Hundred Battles), founder of the Connachta kingly line of the previous century, was said to have established a new royal capital at Tara, even though it was located within the territory of another line known as Breagh or Brega. Cormac was ancestor to later generations of kings and high kings ruling Gaelic dynasties of the northern provinces of Connacht, Midhe, and Ulster. In claiming Tara, which by this time was probably an unoccupied site used for ritual purposes only, Cormac was attempting to assume a mantle of sacred kingship, a proof of the favor of the gods, and this may have had a significance similar to that of the papacy in Christian Europe of the Middle Ages, when papal sanction guaranteed royal legitimacy. In past times the sacral kingship of Tara may indeed have been more like the papacy in the early Christian church when it was mostly apolitical, but now kings such as Cormac increasingly seem to have used it to forward territorial ambitions. Finds of Roman glass, pottery, and other artifacts dating from the first three centuries C.E. at Tara give tangible evidence both that this was a period of heightened activity there and that Roman influences may somehow have been involved.

By about the fourth century C.E. the major provinces in Ireland were said to be Uladh (Ulster) in the north, with Emain Macha as its royal site; Cruachain (Connacht) in the west, with its capital at Cruachu; Breagh (or Brega) in the east, with its royal site at Teamhair (Tara); Laigin (Leinster) in the southeast with its royal site at Dun Ailinne; and Caisil (Munster) in the southwest, centered on the royal site of Caiseal (Cashel). Another province, known as Midhe or Mide (middle), in the center of Ireland is also referred to in Irish folklore. The "province" of Mide (or Meath) is later connected with the rise of the southern Ui Néill and eventually included Breaghan territory within its borders.

The Ulaid (Volunti) were ousted from their position of power in the north in the fifth century by the Ui Néill, a dynasty controlling a loose confederacy of tribes and claiming descent from a great ruler called Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Ui Néill had formerly been part of the confederacy of the Connachta, who held central and west-central Ireland including Tara in the former territory of the Breagh. In breaking away from the Connachta the Ui Néill also wrested control of Tara. The south was dominated by a similar group called the Eoganacht, whose kings took the title of king of Cashel or king of Munster.

Ireland had between four and 10 provinces at any one time, as alliances and confederacies were made and then broken. Today's four provinces—Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and

Connacht—represent only the final stage of the changing borders.

Question of a Roman Invasion of Ireland

Although Ireland was never subjected to large-scale invasion and conquest by the Romans, the island was definitely within the Roman sphere of influence, and the Romans may have staged military incursions there that were never chronicled. Roman artifacts are known in Ireland. The fact that areas, particularly Leinster in the southeast, where Roman artifacts and even Roman-style burials and cemeteries have been found, lack much native material may suggest substantial intrusions there that caused evacuation by natives. If this happened it would have been around the beginning of the first century C.E. In the first and second centuries C.E. there is evidence of sporadic trading between the Irish and the Romans of Britain. The Roman historian Tacitus in the first century C.E. writes of Ireland, "The interior parts are little known, but through commercial intercourse and the merchants there is better knowledge of the harbors and approaches." Evidence of a Roman trading post has been found near Dublin.

The lack of documentation of such an invasion may not rule it out as a possibility. We only know of Julius Caesar's aborted attempt to invade Britain in the first century B.C.E. because of his writings. Gnaeus Julius Agricola's campaign in Scotland in the first century C.E., which had no real strategic importance since it was not followed by annexation, is only known because of Tacitus's book *Agricola* (DEVITA IULLI AGRICOLAE). Other Roman commanders in search of political capital, a prime motivation for Caesar and possibly Agricola as well, could have contemplated and even carried out similar unsuccessful forays into Ireland that were never documented.

Only by the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. as the Roman Empire waned and then collapsed is there substantial evidence of prolonged Roman influences in Ireland. There is evidence that the language spoken by the Eóganacht of Munster, who arrived at the end of the Iron Age, had been heavily influenced by Latin. Ogham, the first written script in the Irish language, was based on the Latin alphabet. Such "Roman" influences were exerted by Romano-Britons on the Irish, probably in part by Christian missionary work in Ireland itself, by trade between Britain and Ireland, and by interaction between Irish raiders and settlers in western Britain and native Britons.

Irish Migrations in the First Millennium C.E.

Toward the end of the Roman Empire the Irish took advantage of Roman weakness by raiding western Britain. Eventually the Irish began to colonize western Britain. The Erainn of Munster settled in Cornwall, the Laigain of Leinster settled in southern Wales, and the Déisi of southeast Ireland settled in northern Wales. Cormac of Cashel (writing much later, in 908) records that "the power of the Irish over the Britons was great, and they had divided Britain between them into estates . . . and the Irish lived as much east of the sea as they did in Ireland." These colonies were all defeated by the Britons within the next century or so, although Irish kings seemed to be still ruling in southern Wales as late as the 10th century. Irish raiders called by the Romans "Scoti," many of them presumably from among the Dál Riata, repeatedly attacked western Scotland, eventually founding a kingdom there called Dalriada. Their colony thrived and most or all ultimately left northern Ireland for the new colony. The kingdom of the Dalriada, as it was known in Scotland, was well established by the sixth century. In the ninth century under King Kenneth MacAlpin the SCOTS took control of Pictland, to the east, founding the united kingdom of Alba.

Irish immigrants and their descendants formed a new ruling dynasty in western Wales in the fifth century. They reached an accommodation with the native aristocracy that included the acceptance of Christianity. They founded a subkingdom in Breconshire and later sent colonists to Cornwall (*see* CORNISH), where Christianity became widespread only in the seventh century, primarily through evangelization from west Wales. Early Christian inscribed memorial stones from the fifth–seventh centuries found in western Britain and Ireland may document the process by which the Irish immigrants became Christian. The earliest stones have brief inscriptions in Irish ogham script; later ones are bilingual in ogham and Latin; by the seventh century they use Latin alone with clearly Christian formulae such as *hic iacit*.

Ireland's Golden Age

Ireland's Golden Age began in the sixth century and lasted well into the ninth century. Ireland was known as an Island of Saints and Scholars. The rise of Christian monastic schools in the latter half of the sixth century led to a flowering of literature and learning in early Ireland. The scribes and monks of these schools played a critical role in preserving the West's written heritage by copying and preserving the texts of the

ancient world. From these monastic centers Irish missionaries established religious centers of learning in other parts of Europe. These early missionaries included Saint Columba, who went to Iona off the coast of Scotland in about 563 to convert the Scots and Picts. Another missionary Columbanus went to Gaul in about 591, and later into other parts of Europe, to establish monastic schools, including the monastery of Bobbio in Italy in 614. In his writings Columbanus displays an erudition practically unknown at the time on the Continent, quoting from scripture and from classical authors. His disciple Gall founded a Scholastic center later named after him, called Sankt Gallen in Austria, where an important collection of insular manuscripts still exists. Fursa went to East Anglia in England and to Gaul around 633 to establish monasteries. Aidan became the first bishop of Lindisfarne in Northumbria in about 635.

Among European cities that grew up around monasteries founded by Irish monks are Lumièges, Auxerre, Laon, Liège, Trier, Würzburg, Regensburg, Salzburg, and Vienna. There are many more. The scope of Irish influence in fostering the emergence of European civilization has been called incalculable.

Early Christianity in Ireland as well as in the rest of the British Isles was as important politically as spiritually. It was no small part of Columba's influence that he was a kinsman of King Conall of the Dál Riata, who may have given him the island of Iona for his central monastery. No doubt with the aid of King Conall's wealth the monastery on Iona soon became one of the most important centers of learning in northwestern Europe. The monastery played a vital role in mediating among Picts, Scots, Britons, and ANGLES, who were contesting territory all over Scotland. The abbots of Iona enjoyed great prestige because of their aristocratic connections. Among the most influential was Abbot Adomnan, friend of the king of Northumbria in northern Britain and of the Anglo-Saxon historian Bede.

Iona became the most important center for cultural exchange between Ireland and Britain. King Oswald of Northumbria in England, who had spent time at Iona before ascending the throne in 633, sought help from the monastery in furthering the conversion of his people, the ANGLO-SAXONS. In answer the monk Aidan was sent and helped found the great monastery of Lindisfarne. Because of Iona the culture of Northumbria received a strong admixture of Celtic influence, which bore fruit in the seventh century in what has been called the Northumbrian Renaissance. Iona was a critical link whereby Anglo-Saxon influence reached both the Picts and the Irish.

Vikings in Ireland

The first recorded attack by VIKINGS on Ireland occurred in 795, although there may well have been others around that time. In that year the Annals of Ulster recorded "the burning of Rechru by the heathens." It is not certain whether Rechru was the island monastery of Lambay off the coast of county Dublin, or Rathlin Island off the Antrim coast. By the mid-ninth century the Vikings had established a foothold in Dublin.

The intensity of Viking attacks waxed and waned; they occurred within a context of considerable violence among the Irish themselves. Between 795 and 820 the Irish annals record 26 acts of violence committed by Viking raiding parties, compared to 87 acts of violence committed by the Irish. In the period between the years 795 and 836 the level of raiding averaged about one raid every 18 months.

Monasteries were a prime target for the Viking raiders because of their wealth, both in artworks made of precious materials and in food provisions, livestock, and cattle. Even the human population of monastic settlements was valuable, and many were carried off to be sold as slaves. But again the Viking attacks on monasteries occurred in a context within which they also suffered violence from Irish tribes at war with one another. Monasteries were often closely identified with their patrons and benefactors among the local lay aristocracy who had endowed them with their lands. The office of abbot, for example, was frequently a hereditary office occupied by a member of the original founding family, often an aristocrat. The consequence was that a monastery could become a target for attacks for prestige or wealth during the feuds waged by rival aristocratic factions. The monastery or church belonging to a nobleman or noble family, being a symbol of prestige and a source of much wealth, became a target for attack by rivals.

The great shock expressed in the annals over the first Viking attacks arose more from the suddenness with which the seaborne raiders would appear, utterly without warning, marching up from seashore or riverbank to fall with fire and sword on their victims.

Major monasteries, such as Armagh or Clonmacnoise, managed to survive the Viking raids with their economic resources intact. Some smaller monastic foundations were abandoned

during this period, but their demise could have been brought about by a combination of causes, Viking raids giving the coup de grace to houses already weakened by local political circumstances. These could include the ambition of more powerful monastic houses, which were steadily seeking to increase their influence by putting smaller foundations under their control. Only more detailed research into the history of individual monasteries will provide an accurate assessment of the Viking impact on the church.

After 837 the Vikings began raiding more intensively and farther inland and establishing more permanent bases, a process also happening in England at the same time. However, in contrast with England, over half of which was under the control of Vikings by the end of the ninth century, permanent Viking settlement in Ireland was confined to coastal areas. In Anglo-Saxon England those political units that were more stable and physically larger than those in Ireland may have allowed the Vikings to acquire large territories by treaty. The fractious society of the Irish may have made their territories less attractive to potential settlers. Moreover the Vikings raiding Ireland were from Norway, those in England primarily from Denmark. The Norwegians had a much longer voyage to sail to reach Ireland, a factor that militated against taking large armies and numerous settlers. In general Norwegian immigrants seemed to have preferred settling in sparsely or uninhabited regions where minimal warfare was needed to establish settlements, such as the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland.

There was no united Irish military response to the Viking raids, as there was no sense of a united Irish nation to defend. The Vikings must quickly have seemed no more than another set of warrior bands among many others. Individual Scandinavian strongholds, such as that established at Dublin in about 841, seem to have been absorbed rapidly into the flux of shifting hostilities and alliances. Within less than half a century after the Viking raids had begun Viking groups were engaging in alliance with Irish against other Irish. The first recorded alliance between an Irish king and a Viking leader against a fellow Irish king occurred in 842. Norse-Irish alliances soon became commonplace.

The famous Battle of Clontarf fought in 1014 is often used to exemplify a clear-cut division between the Scandinavians as aggressors and the Irish as defenders. The story of this battle and others is told in *The War of the Irish against the Foreigners,* a tract written in the 12th century under the auspices of the descendants of the Irish king Brian Bóruma. There the battle is portrayed as a major victory by the Irish against the Vikings, in which Brian defeated the Vikings and ended Scandinavian aspirations of conquering Ireland. Supposedly it occurred at the climax of a long campaign waged by Brian on behalf of all Irish. Yet the major participants in the battle were all Irish. It involved a struggle between the king of Leinster and his overlord, King Brian. Both sides had Viking allies, the Scandinavians of Limerick and Waterford fighting on behalf of Brian, and the Scandinavian king of Dublin fighting on behalf of the king of Leinster, to whom he was related by marriage. Instead of depicting the struggle of Irish against Vikings, the battle illustrates how well the Vikings fit into the sociopolitical mix in Ireland.

By the mid-10th century the Vikings had assimilated into Irish society. This included conversion to Christianity, as attested by the death in 981 of Olaf Sihtricson, Viking king of Dublin, at the monastery of Iona after a "victory of repentance." The culture in the mostly coastal regions where the Vikings had settled can be characterized as Hiberno-Norse. The old Norse language of the settlers did not survive, although it contributed loanwords to Irish. These loanwords, fittingly enough, relate to fishing, shipping, and trade, prime contributions of the Vikings to Irish society.

The small Hiberno-Norse colonies were centered on the trading towns of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, and Cork. From the mid-10th century they were under the overlordship of the more powerful of the Irish kings. Yet their influence on Irish society was out of proportion to their importance according to the standards of the centuries-old political culture based on warfare between chieftains and kings. Theirs was a different kind of dynamism fueled by different ambitions than the old Celtic thirst for glory in war. The Scandinavian towns engaged in expanding trade that fostered greater contact with the outside world. They provided an important new source of wealth for their overlords, mostly in the form of silver exacted as tribute or rents. In general they played an important role in moving parts at least of Irish society into the early modern era that was beginning in Britain and the rest of Europe.

Norman Invasion

In 1171 King Henry II of England ordered the invasion of Ireland. He received approval for this

from the newly elected pope, Adrian IV, an Anglo-Norman. The ostensible reason given for the invasion was that morals in Ireland had become corrupt, and religion almost extinct, and his purpose was to put the barbarous nation within the fold of the faith and under church discipline. The NORMANS often acted as champions of the church and of church orthodoxy.

The Normans eventually acquired large areas of Kildare and Munster, county Waterford, county Cork, Meath, Connacht, and county Louth. They founded many towns, usually near navigable rivers. These include Kilkenny on the Nore, Athlone on the Shannon, Trim on the Boyne, and New Ross on the Barrow.

Bruce Invasion

In 1315 Edward Bruce of Scotland, as part of the campaign of his brother, Robert I, to assume the monarchy of Scotland, invaded Ireland with the intent of complete conquest. Robert's purpose was to weaken the colony of ENGLISH in Ireland and to give his brother a chance to win a new kingdom. The O'Neills of mid-Ulster promised support.

Before Edward embarked, Robert had written a letter to "all the kings of Ireland, the prelates and clergy and to the inhabitants of all Ireland, our friends." The Scots would arrive, he said, "not as invaders but as liberators." Bruce had reason to believe that native Irish kings would join with him against Norman English, who were entrenched in eastern Ireland but who had left the Irish in the center and western regions to continue their way of life unchanged. However, there was no more sense of "Irish national unity" now than when the Vikings invaded, and although some Irish kings went to Bruce's aid, others resisted his armies vigorously. In 1318 Edward Bruce himself was killed in battle at Fochart, and by the end of the year the Scots were gone. However, the rhetoric of Robert's letter to the Irish would be taken up again and again in the following centuries as Irish rebellion against English rule became a reality.

The concept of Irish nationhood for centuries had little or no political coherence but was kept alive by two factors: One was a sense of shared language and culture distinct from that of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland; the other was the continuation of the idea of the high kingship of Ireland as a goal to be sought by the members of the several kingly dynasties, who continued to compete for it in violent struggle. In a sense the native Irish were continuing to engage in Celtic Iron Age politics at the same time as Anglo-Norman England and the English in Ireland were developing early modern political institutions.

In reality after the Norman invasion Ireland had become irrevocably part of the Anglo-Norman political sphere; English power politics slowly but steadily encroached more and more on Ireland, for better or worse. Power struggles in England itself during the 13th and 14th centuries diverted attention from Ireland until the 15th century.

The Pale

English royal power in Ireland reached a low point by the end of the 14th century, as wars and the epidemic known as the Black Death drained English resources. Furthermore the Anglo-Norman nobility in Ireland was assimilating more and more with the native Irish and losing their allegiance to the Crown to become independent warlords. In response the ports and the territory around Dublin, which remained loyal to the Crown, were fortified to create a zone that became known as the Pale. (A *pale* was a pointed stake driven into the ground to form a palisade or fence). Apart from Carrickfergus castle the province of Ulster was not included in this fortified area and thus was "beyond the Pale."

The rise of the Tudor dynasty in the later 15th century finally stabilized the English monarchy and the effects were quickly felt in Ireland. Henry VII provided stable government and insisted on the loyalty of his subjects within the Pale but made no attempt to expand his power and territory. He employed the most powerful Anglo-Norman family in the country, the FitzGeralds of Kildare, to act on his behalf.

Fitzgeralds ("the Geraldines")

The Norman family of the Fitzgeralds, known as the Geraldines, were the dominant political force in much of southern Ireland for centuries. At first they maintained a policy of intermarriage with the Norman aristocracy in England and Ireland, but gradually through intermarriage and contact with the Gaelic Irish they began to see themselves more as Irish than as Norman.

By the 15th century the Geraldines were in the forefront of promoting the welfare of the Irish by promoting trade between Ireland and the mainland and bringing Norman and Gael together into a united Irish nation.

Gerait Og, ninth earl of Kildare, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland by his cousin, Henry VIII of England, in 1513. Becoming

embroiled in English power politics, in 1526 Kildare was denounced by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey as a traitor and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Meanwhile his son, Thomas Fitzgerald, 10th earl of Kildare, whom he had appointed lord deputy in his stead, declared an abortive insurrection against English rule in Ireland. Thomas was captured and sent to the Tower of London, where his father had already died, reportedly of a broken heart on learning of Thomas's insurrection. He was hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn in 1537. An act of Parliament that year decreed all the Geraldines' counties to be forfeited to the Crown.

Henry VIII and Ireland

Henry VIII, the king of England in 1509–47, driven in part by his efforts to secure the Church of England, which he had created, undertook a deliberate policy of annexation of Ireland. His efforts should be seen in part in the context of the political struggles unleashed over Europe by the Protestant Reformation. His Draconian measures against English Catholics, including the wholesale confiscation by the Crown of the wealth of the church, extended to Catholic Ireland as well. By an act of Parliament in 1541 he was proclaimed Henry king of Ireland.

Conspiracies by Irish with Henry's archrival, Francis I of France, led to drastic measures to curb Irish resistance and sense of separate nationhood from England. Laws were enacted against Irish forms of marriage, fosterage, and other customary law and against the use of native literature and its language. On the other hand Henry had tried to cajole the Gaelic chiefs to accept English rule, offering them secure title to their land and a role in government in return for their abandonment of Gaelic law, language, and customs in favor of English ways. Many of the native Irish noble families, including the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Briens, MacCarthys, and Burkes, in an effort to obtain Henry's favor did acknowledge him king of Ireland and head of the church. They promised to substitute English for Brehon Law. But progress in Anglicization among other Irish families was slow.

To replenish the English Exchequer, perennially depleted by Henry's wars, the Irish were subjected to the heavy tax burden that had led to riots among the English. Lands of native Irish rulers were confiscated through the use of misleading contracts by which false claimants to territories would be supported by English soldiers in civil wars, until the actual chief was exiled or yielded the land to the king's ownership. But since in Irish traditional Brehon law chiefs had no power to give away the people's land, such practices led to rebellion by the common people.

Confiscation and "Plantation"

Actual confiscation of lands from Irish landowners and settlement of English colonists, called plantation, did not take place until the reign of Mary I, Henry VIII's daughter. The experiment proved ruinously expensive, however, since many troops were needed to repel the exiled chieftains. Colonization of Ireland continued on a larger scale under her half sister, Elizabeth I.

Elizabeth I and Ireland

Queen Elizabeth considered Ireland "an unwelcome inheritance." Unrest in Ireland consumed 10 percent of the royal budget, as large numbers of troops were needed there. Society was highly militarized. English landowners outside the towns and the inner Pale were forced to live in defended tower houses (while their tenants and many Gaelic clansmen lived in wattle-and-daub cabins). And the English in Ireland, called Anglo-Irish, continued to become more assimilated into Irishness, increasingly speaking Irish Gaelic rather than English. They resented the "new English" colonists and troop captains almost as much as the Gaelic Irish did.

Ireland seemed to be a quagmire with no good solution to the problems it posed the English monarchy. Wholesale withdrawal would be an unacceptable blow to Tudor prestige. Moreover, Ireland was a "side door" through which the Catholic powers of France and Spain might become dangerously close. On the other hand there was little glory or profit in conquering the Gaelic part of Ireland, to the English mind of the time a wilderness inhabited by savages. Conquest, although feasible, would require a substantial army to drive the Irish out of their woods and bogs, and an enormous effort subsequently to hold the country with garrisons and colonies.

An interim solution to the endemic warfare and unrest caused by the age-old competition for power among the old Irish chieftain families was the establishment in Connacht and Munster in 1569–70 of regional councils (or presidencies), along the lines of those in Wales and the English north, aimed at providing a counterweight to the chieftains that would convince the Irish of the benefits of English rule. Some of these became successful,

self-financing bodies that allowed a measure of local self-government to commoners.

Experiments in colonization, notably in east Ulster in 1572–73, and the Munster plantation from 1584, however, went awry as troop captains such as the half brothers Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, following the example of Spanish conquistadors in the Americas, saw their service in Ireland as a chance to make their fortune by goading the Irish into hopeless rebellion and then seizing their land. After the rebellion of the Desmonds in Munster, for example, Gilbert subjected the province to a reign of terror on a par with what is known today as ethnic cleansing, and Munster was left a wasteland.

The wreck of ships of the Spanish Armada on the coast of Ulster in 1588 had turned English attention there, as castaways from the fleet were given shelter by Irish chiefs, who repelled an army of Lord Deputy William FitzWilliam attempting to slaughter all Spaniards in Ulster. This led to confiscation and plantation in Ulster.

The Plantation of Ulster

King James I continued these efforts. They were attended with the same violence and rebellion aroused by heavy-handed behavior of soldiers and officials on the ground in Ireland, leading to more confiscation and widening of plantation and to bloody massacres. The vicious cycle continued for decades.

The plantation of Ulster was more resolutely Protestant than earlier plantations had been; James was much more committed to the spread of Protestantism than Elizabeth. Under his successor, King Charles I, Puritan forces in the English Parliament continued this trend; the lord deputy levied strict "recusancy" fines on Gaelic Irish lords for nonattendance at established Church services.

The Effects of the English Civil War

As the English Civil War between the Royalists and the Puritan-influenced Parliamentarians broke out in 1642, most of the Catholic Old English in Ireland declared themselves for King Charles I; at the same time they had in effect joined the rebellion of the Gaelic Irish of Ulster. A confederation of Irish Catholic lords and clergy was set up as an alternative government. Their rebellion was crushed, however, in 1649 (the same year Charles was executed by order of the English Parliament), when Oliver Cromwell, as commander in chief and lord lieutenant of Ireland, stormed Dogheda and Wexford.

During the 1650s after almost a decade of conflict famine swept the island and wolves so increased in number that rewards were paid for killing them. Hundreds of people were executed, around 12,000 were transported to the West Indies, and millions of acres were confiscated. Only those landowners who could prove "constant good affection" to the parliamentary cause were not punished. All Catholic landowners disappeared in Ulster; many obtained smaller estates in Leitrim as compensation.

At the accession of Charles II in 1660 the ban on Catholic worship ended in Ireland and a period of economic recovery set in. By 1682, for example, county Armagh produced a significant agricultural surplus, in part brought about by improved farming techniques and land recovery through drainage.

William of Orange and the Williamite Wars

The accession of James II, a Catholic, in 1685 ended the peace as Catholic and Protestant were once more in conflict. James's inept government led to his exile and replacement by William III of Holland. Once again Ireland acted as the side door to the British Isles from the mainland, as James landed with a large French army and marched to Dublin in 1688, intent on regaining his crown.

During the Williamite Wars of 1689 to 1691 Ireland became the center of European power politics, as Louis XIV of France fought William of Orange for domination of western Europe. William's victories over the French armies were a severe blow to the French king's ambitions. So complete was William's victory that Ireland was at peace for the ensuing century. The island prospered and the population grew, but the gulf between the privileged and the poor was enormous.

Catholic Penal Laws

The Irish Parliament after 1691 almost exclusively represented the landed interest of members of the Church of Ireland—that is, the Anglican Church. The Protestant elite were determined to keep Catholics in subjection. The first penal code, enacted in 1695, prevented Catholics from bearing arms, educating their children, or owning any horse above five pounds in value.

Catholics could not vote or buy land; estates had to be divided equally among sons, preventing the aggregation of wealth; and Catholics could not have leases running for more than 31 years. Although Catholic worship was not forbidden, the legal profession, the

army, and all public offices were closed to Catholics, and Catholics could not be members of Parliament or of municipal corporations nor sit on grand juries. Jesuits, monks, and friars were expelled in 1698. Catholic churches could not have bells or steeples, and clerical garb could not be worn in public; nor could Catholics have their own schools.

Even so Irish Catholics circumvented the laws by embarking on pilgrimages and establishing outdoor schools ("hedge schools") or educating their children abroad, especially in Belgium, France, and Spain.

The Enlightenment in Ireland: Hope for Religious Tolerance

The Enlightenment was influential in Ireland, particularly among descendants of Scots Presbyterians in Antrim and Down in Ulster, perhaps because of the importance of Scots thinkers such as David Hume, whose writings were crucial to Enlightenment thought. The new faith in reason, as opposed to revealed religion, as a primary force for good led to a general increase in religious tolerance, reflected in the repeal of most of the Penal Laws against Catholics in 1778, 1782, and 1792–93. Yet in some regions overpopulation among the lower class and competition for scarce resources caused Catholic-Protestant rivalries to flare. An increase in sectarian violence occurred in county Armagh during the 1780s and 1790s among weavers in the linen trade. Meanwhile Protestants and Catholics formed armed gangs that grew into large, organized forces. By 1782 40,000 Protestants had enlisted in a long-standing group called the Volunteers. At first a militia group that formed only in wartime the Volunteers began to make political demands, inspired by the American Revolution. One of these was greater legislative freedom from Parliament in England for the Dublin Parliament, which was granted in 1782. The Parliament was made up of Protestants only, because of the Penal Laws.

United Irishmen: The Rebellion of 1798

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 inspired a group of Protestants, members of the educated class, to form the Society of United Irishmen in Belfast in October 1791. The organization sought equal representation of all the people, including Catholics, and radical reform of the legislature. The movement became secret and revolutionary in 1795 when Defenders, a Catholic militia group, joined in great numbers. They were determined to spark an armed revolt, and one of their members, Wolfe Tone, successfully obtained the promise of help from the French Revolutionary government. Once again Ireland had become Britain's side door opened to political forces from the Continent. A major French expedition sailed from Brest in 1796 but, beset by storms in Bantry Bay in December, made no landing. The sight of French warships caused many more people to enroll in the society, however. The government seized many of the leaders, singling out the Defenders to be hanged or transported. The Society of United Irishmen decided on rebellion to begin on May 23, 1798.

The rebels were able to deal government forces some humiliating defeats, and through June the end was still in doubt. The rebellion was most formidable in county Down, where Presbyterians rose in impressive numbers. The tide began to turn in June, however, as government forces began to prevail, even though French troops, which had landed at Kilally in August, won a decisive victory. They were later defeated in another battle. A French naval force was overwhelmed in Lough Swilly in November, and Wolfe Tone was captured and committed suicide in prison shortly after.

Union with Great Britain

During the rebellion the English prime minister, William Pitt, decided that the Irish Parliament should be dissolved and that Ireland should be governed directly from Westminster. Since legislative independence had been granted in 1782, the Irish Parliament had to vote itself out of existence. Great efforts were made to convince Irish Parliamentarians to do so. Catholics, who had been promised full emancipation from the remaining provision of the Penal Laws, the right to become a member of Parliament, were generally in favor of union, but many Protestants were not. Nevertheless the Irish Parliament passed the bill in 1800 and union went into effect on January 1, 1801.

Pitt, however, needing Protestant votes, had failed to win emancipation for Catholics before the union and spent much of his political capital trying for it afterward. The effort led to a new mass movement created by Daniel O'Connell, a Catholic lawyer, who in 1823 created the Catholic Association, in which ordinary people could become members by paying a farthing a week. O'Connell held large outdoor rallies but was a committed pacifist. Because of support for it by the prime minister, Arthur Wellesley, first duke of Wellington, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829,

but by that time the majority of Irish Catholics were opposed to the union.

O'Connell decided to work to repeal the union and launched a campaign called Monster Meetings; one of his meetings, on the Hill of Tara, drew a million people. After this meeting the government issued a ban on further gatherings, with which O'Connell complied. Meanwhile Protestants opposed repeal because a restored Dublin Parliament would inevitably have a Catholic majority.

Economic Instability and the Potato Famine

During the first part of the Industrial Revolution Ireland saw the emergence of successful enterprises, especially in cotton and linen manufacture, though the lack of coal made it hard to compete with English industries. After 1815 agricultural prices fell steadily because of imports from the Americas, and destitution in the Irish countryside increased. By 1845 one-half of the population was dependent on the potato for survival. Potatoes from a single acre of ground could support a family for a year. The land system encouraged having large families. Scraps of land, sublet from tenant farmers and freeholders, were rented by verbal agreement to individuals from year to year. Poor, landless parents relied on having numerous children who would take these rentals as a way of providing them with some security in old age. Thus a large proportion of the population led a subsistence existence whose basis was precarious.

This was demonstrated with devastating completeness in the late 1840s, as successive outbreaks of a potato blight, the fungus *Phytophthora infestans,* destroyed the means of subsistence of more than one-third of the population for four or five years in a row.

The response of the British government to the disaster was sporadic and incomplete, though the main accusation often levied against the government—that it continued to force the exportation of Irish wheat desperately needed at home—is only partly true, since the amount of Irish wheat grown in the first years of the famine would not have alleviated it. Three times as much wheat was imported into Ireland during the famine years as exported. The problem was distribution, and the British government's management, based partly on ideological biases, was inadequate.

Prominent among these biases was the economic doctrine of laissez-faire and minimal government interference in the free marketplace. The theological underpinning of this was the Protestant evangelical belief in divine providence, which unfolded in the unfettered operations of the market economy; therefore it was considered evil to interfere by giving the Irish too much aid or to halt wheat export. Finally the British harbored a deeply rooted ethnic prejudice against the Catholic Irish.

The potato blight continued until 1852; meanwhile epidemics of typhus struck thousands weakened by hunger. At the same time the indigency of those unable to function or work caused eviction by landlords; as many as 500,000 people were evicted in the years from 1846 to 1854. It is estimated that 1 million people perished in the famine and, combined with emigration, almost 20 percent of the entire population of Ireland was lost.

The Famine and Nationalist Aspirations: The Fenians

The famine reignited revolutionary nationalist aspirations, but such movements were ineffectual for many years. A movement begun in the United States among militant exiles was called the Fenian Brotherhood. The corresponding movement in Ireland, officially called the Irish Republican Brotherhood but better known as the Fenians, spread rapidly among laborers, shopkeepers, and others hard hit by successive harvest failures of the early 1860s. After the end of the American Civil War some among the many Irish who had served in the war returned to Ireland intending to take part in the rebellion, but because of disorganization the rebellion came to nothing.

Tenants' Rights and the Land League: The Boycott

In 1879 a group called the Land League formed; it resorted to nonviolent means to fight for tenants' rights, and their tactic of organizing farmers in a mass refusal to work for a landlord named Captain Boycott coined a new word. As a result of their pressure the prime minister, William Ewart Gladstone, drafted in 1881 the Land Act, which gave tenants new rights and set up courts to control (and generally reduce) rents. The Land League failed, however, in its aim to have the landlords removed altogether.

Gladstone and Home Rule

Gladstone's declared mission was to pacify Ireland, and he had done much for the country by disestablishing the Church of Ireland in 1869 and by increasing the rights of tenant farmers. He announced support for Home Rule for Ireland in 1885 and the next year introduced a

bill to establish a parliament in Dublin with limited powers, which, however, was defeated.

The introduction of the bill and its defeat sparked Protestant-Catholic violence, especially in Ulster, where Home Rule was equated with "Rome Rule." The teeming city of Belfast, which had absorbed people from the countryside, most of them from mid-Ulster, where sectarian tensions were severe, was the most violent in Ireland. Immigrants took with them their memories of past wrongs and their resentments and subdivided themselves in ghettos along sectarian lines.

In Parliament the cause of Home Rule was weakened by division in the Irish Parliamentary Party brought about by the involvement of its charismatic leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, in a scandalous divorce case and his refusal to step down. This led to the defection of many party members to other parties opposed to Home Rule.

New Militancy in the Struggle for Home Rule: The Easter Uprising

In 1914 the pro-unionist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was mobilized with masses of smuggled weapons that it hid in dumps all over the countryside, ready for resisters to Home Rule.

World War I postponed resolution of the Irish question; both the Nationalists and the Unionists pledged the support of their volunteers to the Allies. However, one group of Nationalist militants, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, saw England's distraction with the war as an opportunity. They staged the Easter Rebellion in Dublin in 1916. It was put down because of lack of support, but the brutal reprisals against the rebels, including the execution of the leaders, gained public support for the movement.

Sinn Féin

In 1918 Sinn Féin (meaning "ourselves"), an umbrella separatist political party formed in 1917, overwhelmed the Irish Parliamentary Party, capturing most of their seats and ending with a larger representation in Parliament than any Irish party had ever held. Meanwhile Unionist seats had also increased markedly. Unionist leaders had decided to stop resisting Home Rule but instead to insist, in the event Home Rule was granted, on partition of the six most Protestant counties in northeastern Ireland from the rest of the country. For their part the Sinn Féin members of Parliament refused to take their seats at Westminster and instead met in Dublin, claiming to be the government of Ireland. They named their assembly Dáil Eireann.

War of Independence: The Irish Republican Army

On the same day as the Dáil met in January 1919 members of the Catholic militia group the Volunteers attacked unarmed policemen at Soloheadbeg in county Tipperary, the first in what became a groundswell of incidents growing into a full-blown war of independence. By 1920, the government had suppressed the Dáil. But columns of Volunteers, who called themselves the Irish Republican Army (IRA), were conducting effective guerrilla warfare in the countryside.

Government of Ireland Act and a Divided Ireland

With the Sinn Féin members absent the British Parliament passed without difficulty the Government of Ireland Act in December 1920, which partitioned Ireland as the Unionists wanted, with the grouping together of six Protestant counties into the Republic of Northern Ireland, guaranteeing that no Nationalist group could take power. Sinn Féin rejected the scheme out of hand and continued to support the IRA in its military campaign for a united Irish republic. Catholics in Northern Ireland deeply resented their exclusion from the Irish Free State formed in the act and feared the treatment they might receive from the Protestant majority. In local government elections in 1920 the Unionists lost control of Londonderry Corporation and a majority of councillors pledged themselves to the Irish Republic proclaimed by Dáil Eireann. Tensions erupted into pitched battles in Londonderry and also in Belfast as elements of the UVF and the IRA clashed. As many as 11,000 Catholics were driven out of workplaces in Ulster cities. By 1921, however, the IRA sought a truce; negotiations resulted in the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which created an Irish Free State with dominion status within the British Empire.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

Farming Prehistoric domestic artifacts have rarely been found by archaeologists in Ireland. Rotary quern stones have been found and also a wooden plow that would have been pulled by oxen. On analogy with Britain, dairying would have been common in Ireland, as well as growing of grain crops such as corn, oats, barley, wheat, and rye. Almost all farming was probably subsistence-based, and there was very little trade in food.

Trade By about 2000 B.C.E. a flourishing metal industry had developed and bronze, copper, and gold objects were exported widely to Britain and the mainland.

Traders in the Bronze Age were first attracted to the British Isles because one of the few sources in Europe of the tin needed to make bronze was in Cornwall. The tin trade there was soon augmented by trade in other metals from other regions in the area, among the most notable gold from Ireland. Gold was transhipped from Ireland to southwestern Britain; an important port was Mount Batten in Devonshire.

After the establishment of Christianity in Ireland a modest trade with the eastern Mediterranean in exotic pottery came into being. Trade items included wine and oil jars, perhaps for use in Christian worship. Irish received Roman and Germanic glass as well.

The Viking presence in Ireland introduced new overseas trading activity to Irish culture. As in England the Vikings fostered the development of large trading settlements. It has been said that the Vikings founded the first towns in Ireland—towns in the modern sense of open entrepots or "free markets" where "socially neutral" economic transactions can take place. In this they differed from the monasteries, which certainly functioned as nuclei for economic activity but nevertheless were in essence closed social entities—as their primary reason for being was the service of God.

The symbol of the free marketplace is the mint, and a mint was established at Dublin in 997 C.E. The coins produced at Dublin were exact copies of contemporary English silver pennies and were intended for use in trade with England. Dublin's natural east-facing harbor gave it great potential for long-distance trade, linking it with the Scandinavian lands, with western France, and with the Mediterranean via the Irish Sea. Archaeological excavations in Dublin have revealed the extent of its activities as a manufacturing and trading center. Dublin had specialized craftsmen, especially bronze smiths, comb makers, and leather workers. Imported items show the extent of Dublin's overseas trading contacts. Sometime after the middle of the 11th century the fine metalwork from Dublin began to be traded to the Irish interior. By the end of the 11th century Scandinavian styles and tastes had become highly influential on native artisans at centers such as Clonmacnoise.

Government and Society

The Irish in the Bronze and Iron Ages had a society very similar to that in Britain and across a broad region of Europe. The heroic tales of Irish mythological literature bring to life a world suggested by the material culture that, aside from contemporary accounts by non-Celts, is all we know about the Celts of mainland Europe. The elaborately worked arms and armor, the chariots and horse gear, the great cauldrons and drinking cups and other accoutrements of feasting bear silent witness to this world. Notable among the heroic Irish epics is the *Ulster Cycle,* which tells of the exploits of the hero Cu Chullain. Once thought to be historically unreliable, these stories for all their exaggeration give a glimpse of life in Iron Age Ireland and across much of Celtic Europe.

The protagonists of Irish mythological literature are usually one of two character types: kings and heroes. The principal role of kings was guardian and protector of the people or tribe, whether in war or as judge and lawgiver. Kings also interceded with the gods on behalf of their people. Coronation rituals bear this out; in them prospective kings engaged in a symbolic "marriage" with a goddess who was the personification of the land or territory. In another type of ceremony the king would climb naked into a cooled cauldron of broth in which a foal had been boiled, then climb out and crawl beneath the foal's mother, as though reborn as her son, thus ensuring the favor of the horse goddess for his people. (Cauldrons are thought to have represented the womb in Celtic mythology.)

In general kings are positive figures, in contrast to heroes, who are much more ambivalent in their relationship to society. Cu Chullain, for example, could be immensely destructive when in his battle rage; in one tale he had to be tricked into letting himself be doused in two cauldrons of cold water until he was restored to normal. On the other hand he loyally served and protected Chullain, replacing Chullain's hound, whom he had killed, hence his name, which means "Hound of Chullain."

Brehon Law Brehon law was a body of traditional law codes that governed Irish life in some regions until the 17th century. It derives its name from the Irish word Breitheamh (genitive Breitheamhan, pronounced "Brehoon" or "Brehon"), which means "judge." These codes consist of the digests or compilations of generations of such lawgivers; some may date from early in the first millennium C.E. or earlier.

According to Brehon law Ireland was governed by a ruling class called kings, of different grades, the highest being the high kingship of Ireland, until about the 10th century—a large-

ly hollow, ceremonial title. Kings were normally elected from among males who could trace chieftainly descent back at least four generations. Kings were often selected after victorious combat with rival claimants. A candidate had also to be of good legal standing, be physically unblemished, and be a man of property.

Below kings were the nobles or princes called in Irish *flaith* (pronounced like "flah" or "floih"). In all there were, including kings and *flaiths,* seven different kinds of *aires,* or nobles. Nobility was not exclusive, and farmers or peasants could attain it. If a farmer or peasant possessed twice the wealth of the lowest of the seven ranks and had held it for several generations, he could become an *aire,* or noble, of the seventh, or lowest degree. Under ancient Irish law the land did not belong to the king or the chief or the landlord, but to the tribe, and the lowest of the free tribesmen had as much right to his share as had the chief himself. Over time parts of the tribal territory appear to have become assigned more permanently to specific subtribes or families. The chief, who had administrative authority over some aspects of land use, appears to have had certain specific portions of the tribal land allotted to him for his own use and for the maintenance of his household and relatives. He was in no sense, however, a landlord exacting rent from tenants or serfs as in the seigneurial system of the Middle Ages, although over time the power of chiefs increased at the expense of their tribes and vassals, a process that occurred all over Europe during the latter part of the first millennium C.E.

Kings, too, of aggressive dynasties, such as that of the Ui Néills, attempted to widen their sphere of influence and assume to themselves overlordship of kings of lesser status, as attested by the numerous claims to the high kingship of Ireland. The kings' principal roles were those of war leader and judge; in the Irish annals kings appear as protectors of the tribe, their warfare carried out more for that purpose than for personal glory, which instead was the province of heroes such as Cu Chulainn.

By the later Celtic period Ireland was ruled by a series of perhaps 100 to 200 kings, each ruling a small kingdom or *tuath.* The three grades of kings were the *rí túaithe,* ruler of a single kingdom; "great king," or *ruiri,* who ruled over a number of local kings; and "king of overkings," or *rí ruirech,* who was a king of a province. Each province had a royal site, a place where important events took place.

According to the surviving law tracts the people who had the most important status were the poets. For many years even beyond the Anglo-Norman invasion of the 12th century poets enjoyed the rich patronage of the wealthy families. They were held in the highest esteem but were also feared because people believed that their satire could wound or even kill.

Relatively little is known archaeologically about the life of common folk in Ireland. For most of the civilian population by analogy with most of Celtic Europe life was spent in small farmsteads consisting of wooden or wattle-and-daub houses within a circular enclosure. Most would have had access to common land on higher ground on which to graze animals.

Ceremonial Capitals For the ancient Irish ceremonial capitals held special significance. In the *Ulster Cycle* epic Emain Macha (from Emain, perhaps meaning twins, and Macha, the name of the local goddess) was portrayed as the headquarters and sacred place of a military dynasty, the so-called Red Branch knights, ruled by Conchobar mac Nessa, who was advised by the Cathbad, a Druid, and championed by Cu Chulainn.

An earthwork excavated by archaeologists, called Navan Fort (in the mistaken belief that it was a hill fort), has been identified as Emain Macha. Navan Fort is a large circular earthwork consisting of a ditch and external embankment surrounding the summit of a glacial hill. East of the hill is a small lake where a votive deposit of four large horns or trumpets and a number of human skulls was unearthed in the 18th century. The earthwork encloses two monuments on the hilltop, a ring barrow (an Iron Age burial site) and a large mound. Excavations in the 1960s revealed that the mound was a composite structure built in 94 B.C.E. at the end of a long sequence of earlier activity. Artifacts from earlier periods include a bronze socketed sickle and ax similar in form to implements made in Hallstatt in Austria during the phase known as Hallstatt C, dating from c. 800 to 500 B.C.E. From the second or third century B.C.E. were the skull and jaw of a Barbary macaque, a North African monkey, an intriguing find indicating both contact with the Mediterranean and the presence of elite inhabitants in Emain.

By far the most remarkable structure at Navan Fort was a large timber building erected, according to dendochronological (tree ring) dating of surviving wood fragments, in the early part of the year 94 B.C.E. The circular building was 121 feet in diameter and had four concentric rings of posts surrounded by an outer wall; in all 275 posts were used in its

construction. It had a conical roof and a single timber, much larger than the others at two feet in diameter, was placed in the center. This was the last post to be erected, and a prominent feature of the building was an aisle precisely fitted to it, suggesting that the introduction and erection of the timber were the climax, or rather, penultimate climax for which the entire structure had been built. For after the wooden part of the building was complete, it was filled with a cairn of limestone blocks eight feet high, and then the outer timber wall was set on fire. After the fire the whole structure was covered with turfs of sod, a layer higher at the center than the underlying stone cairn. This series of constructive and destructive acts may well have been planned out in their entirety beforehand. At Dun Ailinne, county Kildare, in the early Iron Age a series of large circular timber structures were built, partially burned, partially dismantled, and then covered over in apparently ceremonial acts comparable, if not exactly similar in detail, to those at Navan Fort. The conjunction of a circle of uprights surrounding a central cairn perhaps recalls the stone structures of Newgrange and Clava of the Early Bronze Age. The use of the act of construction as ritual has a far longer history, dating to the early Neolithic in the British Isles.

Emain is one of a small number of sites identified as a prehistoric tribal capital in the early sources. Archaeological excavations are corroborating the early annals as they reveal ceremonial structures of Iron Age date in these monuments that are closely comparable with one another.

Feasting and Politics Trade and other links with the Continent fostered in Ireland a society basically similar to that of Celts in other regions. By the end of the second millennium B.C.E. Irish trade in bronze with the Continent, together with a wide range of other commodities less visible in the archaeological record, seems to have intensified. Among the variety of implements and weapons found in Ireland from this time certain items of elite gear stand out as common to most areas, showing a common warrior ethos. Along with circular shields, long swords, and spears were cauldrons, hooks for clawing the hunks of meat out of the stew, and spits for roasting the joint over the fire. These items, often found in warrior burials, show that feasting as well as war was part of the warrior ideal. Feasting formed the focus of gatherings hosted by society's leaders. At feasts bards and poets would celebrate the warriors' deeds, redoubling by reflection their glory.

The distribution of artifacts shows that these same social values were adopted throughout the Atlantic zone of Ireland, the area most affected by trade with Europe. The political symbolism of drinking, particularly the connection between *laith* (Irish for liquor) and *flaith* (Irish for sovereignty or lordship), appears to have endured well into the Middle Ages. Drinking horns, such as those found in Celtic burials in Hochdorf, Germany, are frequently referred to as symbols of authority and kingship in Irish poetry, and as late as the 15th century a 300-year-old drinking horn was cited by the Kavanagh family as the basis for their claim to the kingship of Leinster.

Christianity and Society By the sixth century C.E. Christianity, through the medium of the monasteries, had become an important force in society. In addition to their educational function, by which they opened up to the Irish the knowledge of Greco-Roman civilization, monasteries became a significant counterweight to the political influence of kings. The faith of monks, their devotion to their abbots and their order, united them into a force for communal action to a degree far beyond that of the retainers and warriors of kings. The fact that many monks and abbots were former aristocrats who put their wealth and lands in the monastic fold gave their monasteries added political and also economic clout. This influence allowed monastic organizations to promote conventions for the protection of noncombatants in warfare and of widows and orphans, and the right of sanctuary within monastic precincts. A strong tradition of devoting children to the church emerged.

A concentration of labor under monastic direction resulted. The inhabitants of a monastery included the tenants who farmed monastic lands. Monasteries received lands and other wealth from members of the nobility who had become monks as well as from those people who sought sanctuary. Abbots used this personnel and wealth for land improvement, road building, and the development of groups of specialized craftsmen. In general as elsewhere the church became the conduit by which the kind of socioeconomic organization that had powered the Roman Empire became a powerful force in a land never within the Roman sphere.

Military Practices

Although warfare was fairly common, it most often took the form of cattle raids on neighbors. In general warfare seems to have been a

highly formalized affair only several steps away from a rough sport such as rugby, in which honor and prestige were the most important goals. Common farmers were usually not involved. On occasion though warfare probably took a more serious turn, as when powerful royal dynasties such as the Ui Néills attempted to conquer new territory. Tales such as those of Cu Chulainn's slaying thousands of men, although undoubtedly highly exaggerated, need not be seen as wholly fictitious.

Iron swords have been found in Ireland, as well as spear butts made in a variety of shapes that were attached as counterweights to the ends of wooden spear shafts. Chariots may have been used, but scant evidence of them has been found.

Dwellings and Architecture

Stone Circles A monument type common to the Bell Beaker period is the stone circle, a building style favored at this time in Britain as well, where its greatest expression is Stonehenge. Stone circles may have been made as a reinterpretation or variation on Newgrange-style constructions, and possibly as a means by which the Bell Beaker ideology was made to accord with the potent ritual activity that must have taken place at and within the great tombs. Of the more than 200 stone circles almost 100 are concentrated in the southwestern counties of Cork and Kerry, many of them consisting of no more than five stones. Also in the southwest of Ireland are four stone groupings known as "Four Posters." Another great concentration of stone circles is found in central and southwestern Ulster in the north of Ireland, individual circles often consisting of more stones than in the southwest. The many stone circles seem to represent a dispersal and opening up of ritual activity. A simple stone circle provides a ritual venue open to the many, in sharp contrast to Newgrange, with its dark passageway and inner chamber, within which an elite priesthood may have engaged in secret and esoteric rites.

Newgrange itself has a circle of 12 remaining of an estimated 38 large boulders up to eight feet high forming a ring of about 340 feet in diameter surrounding the central mound. The stone circle probably dates from the Bell Beaker period, another indication of compromise between the Bell Beaker ideal and the older communalism exemplified by the great Neolithic earth-and-stone constructions. This combination of circle and central mound or cairn of stones has only two analogues in the British Isles, both in Scotland: Clava near Inverness and Loanhead of Daviot near Inverurie. The entrance to the central cairn at Clava, as of that of Newgrange, is oriented to the winter solstice sunrise.

Raths and Cashels Compared to those of Britain little is known archaeologically about the normal occupation sites of the Iron Age Irish. The most common dwelling sites in Ireland seem to have been *raths,* or ring forts, small circular earthen enclosures containing single houses, sometimes with an outbuilding. As elsewhere in the Celtic world houses were round until later in the first millennium C.E. Raths were largely self-sufficient in food and in basic ironworking, which was done on site. Some raths show evidence that their owners had accumulated some wealth in remains of exotic Mediterranean pottery. Evidence of high-quality, fine-art metalwork is occasionally found. *Cashels* were stone-built equivalents of raths.

High-status dwellings in the Irish midlands were located on crannogs, houses on artificially built islands. The word *crannog* is from the Irish *cran,* meaning "tree."

In Ireland clear evidence that hill forts were as important as elsewhere in the Iron Age Celtic world has not been found. The dating of those hill forts that exist is obscure. At any rate occupation of them ceased in the early medieval period, but they retained great prestige as places for ceremony.

Churches and Monasteries The earliest churches in Ireland were of wood. By the eighth century C.E. high-status stone churches began to be built, but wood continued in use for others.

Monasteries were built as raths and cashels were, enclosed within an earthen or stone wall. Churches were built slightly off center. The typical dwelling of monks were beehive-shaped huts, one per monk. By the ninth century the standard layout of monasteries included two separate enclosing walls, the outer area where day-to-day activities were carried out and the inner enclosure containing the church, the abbot's house, a round stone tower and, for wealthier monasteries, sculptured stone crosses. A distinctively Irish characteristic of church building was the stone roof.

Other Technologies

Copper and Bronze Ages In the mid-third millennium B.C.E. copper metallurgy appeared in Ireland with great suddenness. Large numbers of tools and weapons were made in southwestern

Ireland in what is now the province of Munster. Other mines on the slopes of Mount Gabriel in county Cork consisted of some 25 mineshafts. A simple form of flat ax was the most common artifact. The metal used was a superior copper containing arsenic, found in the Mediterranean region but not elsewhere in Europe, except in the Alpine region, where the use of this copper was pioneered. A significant addition of arsenic to copper produces better mechanical properties, and higher levels produce a metal of striking silvery appearance. Artifacts with higher levels tended to be high-status objects such as daggers and halberds.

There is evidence that the level of arsenic in the copper was carefully controlled, both in the alpine region where such copper was first mined and worked and in Ireland. The proportion of arsenic in artifacts ranges from less than 1 percent to 7 percent and never more than that, whereas ores can contain up to 30 percent, suggesting that means had been devised to reduce arsenic.

The appearance of this strikingly advanced copper industry coincided in time with that of artifacts of the Bell Beaker culture in Ireland. Evidence found at Ross Island, on the eastern edge of Lough Leane in county Kerry, demonstrates a link between the Beaker culture and the new copper industry. The ore there was not the low-grade copper of Mount Gabriel, the only copper mine previously known in Ireland, but rich arsenic-bearing sulfide ore. At a miners' work camp were numerous early Beaker potsherds, confirming the long-suspected link between the users of the distinctive pottery and the mining of the superior metal.

The Bell Beaker culture is believed to have spread by sea along Atlantic sea lanes to coastal regions of Europe. The trading network may well have fostered the spread of knowledge of copper metallurgy to Ireland as well as knowledge of the presence in Ireland of copper ores superior to those of the Mediterranean region.

The advanced techniques for mixing and controlling the amounts of different materials in metal developed in Ireland and Britain are believed to have contributed to the development of bronze making when tin from Cornwall was discovered. Irish and British bronze, in contrast to the earliest bronze made in Anatolia, where bronze making was discovered, was produced from the beginning with an almost standard composition of 8 to 12 percent tin, ensuring the optimal mix of qualities. Already in 2500 B.C.E. bronze made in the British Isles was the best in northern Europe and may have spread to other regions from there.

Iron Age Irish bronze smiths continued to possess a high level of technical competence and originality in the Iron Age, as attested particularly by the great sheet-bronze trumpets they made, a distinctive Irish specialty. A hoard of late La Tène gold objects found in Broighter, county Derry, constitute some of the only personal ornaments known from the period, but their level of craftsmanship is spectacular.

Horse trappings make up almost half of the surviving metal objects of the Iron Age. Many of them are ornate and show signs of intense wear, showing the importance of the horse as a status symbol. On the other hand almost no evidence of chariots survives.

Art

Visual Art Early La Tène art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. is hardly known in Ireland, which seems to have continued its isolation from continental influences as far back as the early Iron Age. But by the third century high-quality metal objects influenced by the La Tène style were being made. Irish smiths engaged in cross-fertilization with British artisans is stylistic ideas. A prominent characteristic of insular La Tène art is the filling in of areas surrounding motifs in raised relief with "microdesigns" such as cross-hatching, parallel lines, or tiny spirals to give an impression of shading and to set off the raised ornaments.

During the first century B.C.E. while La Tène art on the Continent was in terminal decline, in Ireland it was reaching new heights of vigor and originality. The compass began to be used to create circles and circular spirals. More than ever the "negative" background areas are given equal importance to the figures and motifs they surround. The La Tène art tradition continued uninterrupted in Ireland until it received new influences as a result of the entry of Christianity and contact with the Germanic world.

Christian Art

After the fifth century C.E. while the La Tène style continued to influence Irish visual arts provincial Roman motifs became important. These included palmette derivatives and fleshy C-shaped scrolls called *peltae.* Typical La Tène features that continued to be used were a trumpet-shaped scroll and the bird-headed spiral, which sometimes holds a human head in its mouth. Such motifs can be found even on

crosses. In metalwork sunken areas filled with red enamel often set off raised metal spirals.

New techniques such as gilding and filigree and Germanic-style animal art became influential through contact with the Anglo-Saxons, who flocked to Irish monasteries in great numbers. As with the La Tène style the Irish showed themselves to be imaginative adapters, reinterpreting new elements into a new decorative style of great complexity and refinement. This new style is best known perhaps from the *Book of Kells,* created in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, possibly partly on Iona and partly in Ireland after Viking raids forced evacuation from Iona, but it was as important for metal and stone as for manuscripts. Similarly to Celtic art in the past the style was essentially an art of the surface, linear, and two-dimensional, depending on the rhythm and energy of line and of color relationships rather than the symmetrical and proportional arrangement of mass so crucial to the spatial art of the Greco-Roman world.

The earliest known manuscript in this tradition is a psalter called the *Cathac of St. Columba,* thought to have been created around 600 C.E. (the dating of manuscripts is problematic). In it the integration of Irish and Anglo-Saxon elements is already complete, although in simple form. The monastery on Iona thus seems to have been crucial in the development of this style. A masterpiece of the style is the *Book of Lindisfarne,* possibly created on the occasion of the translation of the relics of St. Cuthbert in 698.

After the St. Columba monastery was transferred to Kells in the ninth century a Pictish tradition carried there, of inscribed standing stones adapted to Christian use by having a picture of a cross on one side and Christian narrative scenes on the other, developed into the large, three-dimensional ringed cross called an Irish high cross. The meaning of the ring centered on the "crux" of the cross, where the vertical and horizontal axes meet, has been variously explained—among other theories as a Celtic Sun symbol or a triumphal wreath celebrating the Redemption.

Literature

The oldest extant Irish texts are inscriptions written in the ogham script, from the fifth century C.E. or earlier. The ogham letters consisted of strokes inscribed on each side of or crossing a stem line; ogham inscriptions were often carved on stones, with the strokes cut along a stem line represented by an edge of the stone. Ogham has been shown to have developed from Latin.

The period from the sixth to ninth century C.E. was marked by the flowering of scholarship and literature in Irish monasteries. For the first time Irish was written, and the ancient mythological tales and historical annals precipitated, as it were, out of the living and flowing oral tradition into solidified texts. Irish literature for the first time felt the influence of Mediterranean civilization, including not only Greco-Roman literature but, perhaps most important, the Old and New Testaments.

Much of that early Irish literature has been lost, and what remains is contained in the few priceless manuscripts that have survived centuries of warfare and invasion. In the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Cattle Raid of Cooley) in the Book of Leinster is a line that suggests that practitioners of the oral tradition took great pains to preserve its integrity: "A blessing on all those who memorize The *Táin* with fidelity in this form and do not put any other form to it."

The earliest Irish manuscript of known date is the Würzburg Codex of 700 C.E., kept and perhaps written in a church in Wützburg, Germany, founded by the Irish monk Killian in 687. The great prose narrative literature is preserved in folio vellum manuscripts of which the oldest is *Lebor na hUidre* (The Book of the Dun Cow), compiled in about 1100. Other important surviving manuscripts from that period include *Lebor Laighneach* (The Book of Leinster), compiled before 1160, and *The Yellow Book of Lecan,* a manuscript from the 14th century.

The Four Cycles Irish tales have been classified as belonging to one of four different cycles. In the Mythological Cycle with its *Book of Invasions,* the chief characters belong to the Tuatha De Danann, the supposedly divine race inhabiting and ruling Ireland before the arrival of the Celts. The sagas of this cycle recount the exploits of hero-divinities such as Lugh the Long Arm (or Lugh Samildánach, the Multitalented), Nuada of the Silver Arm, and the Dagda. A notable poem in this cycle is "The Song of Amergin," which records the first words of the Amergin (called a *fili,* a type of Druid), who accompanied the Milesians, the last invaders, who displaced the Tuatha De Danann, on his arrival on the Irish shore. His song consists of a series of statements about his transformations into animals and birds, even into a wind and an ocean wave. It captures that sense of union with nature and the land, also

unity at the center of multiplicity, that lies at the heart of the spirituality of the ancient Irish.

Tales of the Ulster Cycle (Red Branch) tell mainly of the Ulaid, King Conchabar of Ulster, and the warriors of the Red Branch. The Ulster Cycle also contains the greatest of all Irish sagas, the *Táin Bó Cuailnge,* the Cattle Raid of Cooley, which recounts the exploits of the greatest champion in all early Irish literature, Cu Chulainn, the Hound of Ulster.

The stories of the Fenian Cycle (Ossianic) are about the deeds of Finn MacCumaill; his roving warbands known as the Fianna; his son, Oisín (Ossian); Conán, Goll, Oscar, and other heroes. This cycle is also known as the Ossianic Cycle because most of the poems in it are attributed to Finn's son, Oisin.

Also known as the King's Cycle, the Historical Cycle is a more miscellaneous group of stories celebrating the activities of various high kings of Ireland. It is set between the third century B.C.E. and the eighth century C.E.

Filid Inheritors of the Druidic Tradition Even after the Druidic order was done away with when Christianity came to Ireland, many of their functions aside from religious ones became the province of the poets called in Irish *fili* (a term previously used interchangeably with Druid, suggesting an earlier overlap of function). The most important role of the *filid* (plural, or *filidh*) was to learn and transmit the poetry, tales, and lore of the people. They were in effect the keepers of the historical and genealogical record of their community. Like Druidic bards they underwent long years of training, both to memorize poetry and to learn to compose themselves. Their duties included eulogizing the king and telling of the deeds of his ancestors, satire, and singing at ceremonies or feasts. In *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* (set in pre-Christian times) we find a woman *fili,* known as Fedelm, a *banfili* (woman poet). Queen Medb also refers to Fedelm as *banfáith* (woman prophet).

During Druidic times the *filid* had created their songs and poetry out of what was assumed to be a higher order of vision than that available to ordinary mortals; they seem to have shared some of the qualities of shamans, the wise men of many traditional cultures who were believed to have visions of the immortal otherworld, of spirits, and of the dead, from whom they gained wisdom and supernatural powers. "The Song of Amergin" (mentioned above) suggests the *fili* Amergin possessed shamanic powers, which typically included shape-shifting. *Filid* raise blisters of shame on the faces of their victims and bring about the deaths of kings in *The Cattle Raid of Cooley;* even the Dagda, chief god himself, is forced by Crindbál the satirist to give him the three best pieces of his serving each night. The fact that the *filid* of medieval Ireland were feared for their otherworldly powers, particularly of satire, which people believed could cause physical illness and harms, suggests that even in Christian Ireland poets retained something of their former supernatural essence.

On at least three occasions, according to tradition, the *filid* were banished from Ireland. The last banishment was mediated by the Christian monk Columba on their behalf. He worked out a compromise with the church to the effect that the number of *filid* would be reduced, but that nevertheless the order would be preserved by installing a *fili* to serve each lord of every district throughout the country. In spite of the demands of the *filid* and resulting conflict with their protectors and patrons, their hold on the reverence of a culturally conservative people was such that the order survived in Irish society down to the abolishment of the Gaelic social system itself in the 17th century.

Religion

Bronze Age Burials Wedge tombs seem to have been an Irish reinterpretation of the circular mounds typical of the Bell Beaker culture. Wedge tombs have long, rectangular burial chambers usually roofed with large stones and covered with a long, wedge-shaped mound. Nearly 400 are known, built between 2000 and 1500 B.C.E., and Bell Beaker pottery is often associated with them. Similar tombs also associated with Bell Beaker finds are common in the French region of Brittany, suggesting that Bell Beaker ideas may have entered Ireland from there. Wedge tombs are found throughout northern Ireland, with large concentrations in the west, particularly around county Clare, northern Connacht, and county Cork.

Iron Age Beliefs In Ireland as elsewhere in the Celtic world at the heart of spirituality was an intense concern for nature and for the land and its sacred geography. An important branch of learning in Ireland was called *dindshenchas,* "the lore of famous places," stories to account for hundreds of place-names. Names were given to nearly every discernible feature, hill, mountain, field, river, ford, confluence, or spring. Features near territorial boundaries were especially subject to naming and associa-

tion with the sacred in some way. In common with those of the rest of Celtic Europe natural features, particularly springs, streams, lakes, and bogs, were probably the sites of open-air worship. The Broighter hoard of masterfully wrought gold torcs (torques; metal neck rings) and other ornaments had been deposited in a salt marsh on the edge of a bay called Lough Foyle. The marsh experienced periodic flooding both from an adjacent river (called the Roe, roarer) and from the sea. As Lough Foyle was believed to be the home of the sea god Manannan mac Lyr the hoard was probably an offering to him.

The land as a whole, whether that of a tribe or of the totality of Ireland, was conceived of as a goddess. In one of the tales concerning Lugh, who may be considered the exemplar of sacral kingship, his consort is a woman who represents the sovereignty of Ireland. A goddess named Eriu gave her name to Ireland. Such goddesses also represented the fertility of the land, assured by marriage with the sacred king. It may be deduced from the countless tales on this theme that marriage rituals of this sort, involving a new king and a woman standing as surrogate for the goddess, had two main elements: the offering of a libation by the bride to the new king and sexual union. A paramount figure in Irish myth, Queen Medhbh of Connacht, had a long succession of husbands, and an epithet commonly given to her was "the intoxicating one."

The goddess Brighid, thought to be the Irish equivalent of the Gallic goddess that Julius Caesar called Minerva, was patroness of poetry, learning, healing, and various crafts. She, or perhaps her human representative, was later made a saint and patroness of the great monastery of Kildare, which she was said to have founded and presided over as abbess. She may also have been the tutelary goddess of the tribe of the Brigantes, a powerful tribe in Britain who also had kinsmen in Ireland.

St. Patrick: The Apostle of Ireland

Patrick (British name Succat) was born in about 389 C.E., possibly in Wales, the son of a Romanized Briton by the name of Calpurnius. At the age of 16 he was captured by Irish raiders and sold as a slave to a chieftain named Milchu in the territory of the Dál Riata. He spent six years, most of the time alone, tending to flocks of sheep, an experience that greatly intensified his Christian faith. His master Milchu, according to tradition, was a Druid, who taught Patrick about his Celtic gods, from whose "bondage" Patrick would one day free the Irish.

According to tradition, after a prophetic dream in which a ship awaited him Patrick went to the mainland to study for the priesthood. He spent time at the monastery of St. Martin at Tours and at Auxerre under the guidance of St. Germain, before he was sent by the pope back to Ireland in the early 430s. He began to win followers, the first supposedly a chieftain whose arm had become numb when he had attempted to slay Patrick. A legendary incident occurred at Tara, reportedly on Easter, when Patrick encountered Leoghaire, the high king, and his chieftains and Druids, who were there to take part in a special religious ritual involving the putting out of all fires in the kingdom and the ritual rekindling of a sacred fire by the Druids. The fire was to be distributed throughout the land. Before the Druids could light their fire, Patrick kindled one of his own, which burned despite attempts to extinguish it.

During his career Patrick codified traditional Irish laws according to Christian values and developed the Celtic abbot-bishop system. He wrote two Latin works, *Confessio,* a spiritual biography, and *Epistola,* a letter to Coroticus, a British king of Strathclyde, that recounted British mistreatment of Irish Christians. He also introduced the Roman alphabet to Ireland and supposedly established the shamrock as an Irish national symbol of the Holy Trinity.

Patrick retired to Saul in present-day northeastern Northern Ireland in 457 and died there about four years later. Saint Patrick's traditional feast day is March 17, the date he supposedly died.



St. Patrick does battle with serpents in this 1872 lithograph. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-2901])*

Tara Tara was a place of coronation of Irish kings and had been a ritual site since at least the Late Neolithic, when a passage grave was built there. By the first centuries C.E. kings aspiring to the status of high king of Ireland, no matter where their territory, seem to have taken pains to be inaugurated at Tara. There are a number of earthworks at Tara, most probably dating from the Iron Age. They include ditch and bank enclosures, mounds or tumuli, a pair of linear earthen walls probably used as a processional way, and traces of other routeways. The largest feature is an earthen rampart enclosing an interior ditch (not a defensive structure), a construction type also found at the royal sites of Emain Macha in county Armagh and Dun Ailinne in county Kildare. Tales from the ancient Irish annals suggest that significant tribal rituals were enacted here in which the sacred king engaged in a symbolic marriage with the Earth to fructify crops and animals.

The five provinces of Ireland mentioned in the annals—Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connacht, and Midhe—have a mystical, cosmological aspect. In particular the middle province of Midhe, with Tara at its center, seems to have

been the embodiment or symbol of the doctrine of a unity that transcends tribal differences. Other cultures have had the concept of the sacred center, where the changes and the divisions of the world are dissolved in mystical union. Such concepts give a sense of the meaning of the rituals that took place at Tara.

Christianity The conversion of the Irish to Christianity was primarily carried out by Britons. Christianity in Britain was well established by the fourth century C.E., and by 431 a Christian community, apparently of limited scope, existed in Ireland, proved by the papal order that sent a missionary to assume episcopal rule over those Irish "believing in Christ." But by far the most successful early missionary to the Irish was Saint Patrick (see sidebar p. 441).

Patrick was raised in a Romanized Briton. In the early fifth century when he was 16 he was kidnapped by Irish raiders and enslaved as a herdsman near the territory of the Dál Riata, in the present-day county Antrim, or possibly in Connacht. Patrick eventually escaped to the mainland. Choosing a religious path, he was ordained into priesthood by St. Germain at Auxerre, and sometime after 431 he was appointed successor to St. Palladius, the first bishop in Ireland. But his main effort to further Christianity in Ireland occurred, fittingly enough, at Tara, where he converted Leoghaire, the high king, with his chieftains and Druids, after which he converted many of the Irish tribes.

In Ireland a distinct type of Christianity emerged; it differed from that of the church based in Rome primarily in the importance of monasticism and the primacy of abbots. For the Roman Church bishops were the foundation of authority, beginning with the pope, the bishop of Rome. Another matter of bitter dispute between Celtic and Roman churches was the method of calculating the date of Easter.

Irish Martyrdom and Missionaries Martyrdom was an all-important element of early Christianity, in emulation of the first Christians who were persecuted by Rome. The newly converted Irish learned about this legacy through reading books about the lives of martyrs and saints, although the Christianization of Ireland had been attended by little bloodshed. In all probability many warrior nobles who had embraced Christianity were as eager to prove their spiritual prowess as formerly they had their prowess as warriors. Denied what they called the "Red Martyrdom" of physical suffering and death, they created the concept of "Green Martyrdom," which consisted of leaving ordinary human society and retiring to remote places deep in forests, perhaps in memory of the Celtic order of Druids and their sacred groves, on mountaintops or one of the many rocky, storm-girt islands off Ireland's coasts, such as Skellig Michael, where in braving physical adversity they could draw closer to God. Green martyrdom led some monks to go on long sea voyages in search of solitude. Saint Brendan was one of these travelers in the sixth century. During such voyages Irish monks discovered Iceland and settled there, until driven away by pagan Viking settlers.

In many cases these holy hermits soon attracted followers and disciples, and hermitages grew into monasteries, many of which became centers of learning that attracted thousands of students, from all over Ireland and also from abroad. In addition during the sixth century monks and scholars from all over Europe, fleeing the repeated waves of Germanic tribesmen who were laying waste to the remains of the Roman Empire, found refuge in "transmarine places like Ireland, bringing about a great increase in learning"—and no doubt many books—"to the inhabitants of those regions," according to a contemporary account. The copying of these books by innumerable Irish scribes preserved for the future a substantial part of the intellectual legacy of the Greco-Roman world.

However, for heroic Irish monks like Saint Columba of the sixth century, the learned monastic life was not a sufficient martyrdom; they substituted for it what was called the White Martyrdom, which consisted of leaving Ireland to spread the Gospel elsewhere.

The islands of Ireland and Britain, so similar in climate and geographic position, provided for both peoples a combination of isolation from and participation in influences from mainland Europe. But the relative smallness of Ireland and its greater isolation led to a different experience. The Romans did not occupy much if any of it. The fact that the Vikings contented themselves with only a limited amount of Irish territory allowed the natives to withdraw to the west and continue their Iron Age way of life.

The arrival of the Normans was the start of dramatic change: Individual Norman nobles were inextricably entwined in a large and powerful mechanism—the feudal system—and

Ireland was moving into an era during which individual peoples and cultures were far less important than institutions. Increasingly peoples would be absorbed, or crushed, in the juggernaut of the large socioeconomic forces that the new more powerful kings, the church, and legislative bodies could set in motion although not necessarily control. The subsequent history of the Irish became one in which such forces, largely in the control of foreigners—in particular the English—swept over them with destructive force again and again. Nevertheless the Irish left an incaluable legacy for the world in their preservation of ancient cultural traditions.

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Irish: nationality (people of Ireland)

GEOGRAPHY

The island of Ireland is situated in the Atlantic Ocean and separated from Great Britain by the Celtic Sea, St. George's Channel, the Irish Sea, and the North Channel. The Isle of Man, part of the United Kingdom, lies in the Irish Sea between Ireland and England.

Ireland consists of highlands in the north, west, and south and a large, fertile central plain extending to the Irish Sea in the east. The main ranges are the Caha Mountains in the southwest, the Nephin Beg Range in the west, the Boggeragh Mountains in the south, and the Wicklow Mountains in the east. There are numerous lakes in Ireland and wide stretches of rivers known as loughs. The Shannon and the Erne are the two largest rivers. The Lagan, Bann, and Foyle are important rivers in Northern Ireland. Off the west coast are many small islands, including the Aran Islands, the Blasket Islands, Achill, and Clare Island.

The Republic of Ireland is 26,600 square miles; Dublin, located on the Irish Sea, is its capital. Northern Ireland is 5,452 square miles; Belfast, on the Belfast Lough, an inlet of the North Channel, is its capital.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The ancient and early medieval Irish maintained their independence for most of their history, despite raids by Vikings.

In 1171 C.E. King Henry II of England invaded Ireland with the approval of Pope Adrian IV, an Anglo-Norman. In 1315 Edward Bruce of Scotland invaded the island with intent to weaken English influence. In the early 16th century King Henry VIII of England annexed Ireland, intending to secure the Church of England; he was proclaimed the "king of Ireland" in 1541. Charles II ascended the throne in 1660, ending the ban on Catholicism. At the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 an activist Protestant group in Belfast called the Society of United Irishmen formed, instigating rebellions. The Irish Parliament was dissolved, and Ireland was governed from Westminster, England, establishing a union by 1801. Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone supported Home Rule for Ireland and enacted a bill establishing limited Parliament in Dublin in 1886.

In 1918 Sinn Féin, a separatist political party, formed in Dublin as the government of Ireland. The British Parliament passed the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, separating

IRISH: NATIONALITY

nation:
Ireland (Republic of Ireland; Northern Ireland)

derivation of name:
Legendary migrants to Ireland, the Erainn, supposedly called their new home Eueriio, which later evolved through Old Irish Eriu to Eire, and from Eire to Ireland.

government:
Republic

capital:
Dublin

language:
Both English and Irish (Gaelic) are spoken, English by a majority of the population, and Gaelic by about one-fourth, mostly along the western seaboard.

religion:
About 85 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; others are Anglican or other denominations of Protestant.

earlier inhabitants:
Pre-Celtics; Irish (Celts); Vikings; Normans; British

demographics:
Ethnic groups include Celtic and English; few minorities have gained citizenship status in Ireland.

Irish: nationality time line

C.E.

late seventh–early eighth century *Book of Kells* is written, containing Four Gospels, fragment of Hebrew names, and Eusebian canons.

700 Würzburg Codex, manuscript containing examples of much earlier Irish literature, is compiled, possibly in Würzburg, Germany, where the Irish monk Killian founds a church and converts the local nobility and common folk.

1160 *Lebor Laighneach* (*The Book of Leinster*) is compiled; it contains *The Cattle Raid of Cooley,* greatest of all Irish epics, featuring exploits of hero Cu Chulainn.

1171 England, under King Henry II, invades Ireland.

11th or 12th century *Aislinge Mac Conglinne* (*The Vision of MacConglinne*) by anonymous author satirizes monastic life.

1315 Edward Bruce of Scotland invades Ireland, intending to weaken English colony.

15th century Norman family, the Geraldines, controls southern Ireland.

1534 Henry VIII is acknowledged as head of church and state of Britain; Catholic religion is banned in Ireland through penal laws.

1541 Henry VIII is crowned king of Ireland.

1592 Citizens of Dublin obtain charter from Queen Elizabeth to found Trinity College.

16th century Geoffrey Keating writes religious works and historical study of Ireland, which lay foundation of modern Irish literature.

1642 Gaelic Irish of Ulster rebel during English Civil War.

1649 Oliver Cromwell crushes Irish rebellion.

1650 Archbishop James Ussher publishes *The Annals of the Old Testament,* which includes chronology giving supposed date of Creation, calculated based on biblical genealogies, as October 23, 4004 B.C.E.

1689–91 During Williamite Wars, Ireland becomes center of European power politics.

17th century "D'Aithle na Bhfileadh" (*The High Poet Are Gone*) by poet Dáibhí O'Bruadair laments suppression of Gaelic language and literature by English rulers of Ireland; poet Aogán O'Rathaille writes several poems personifying Ireland as beautiful maiden waiting for her male rescuer.

1710 Philosopher George Berkeley publishes *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge,* laying out his theory in support of philosophical tradition known as idealism.

1726 *Gulliver's Travels,* novel by Jonathan Swift satirizing British society, is published.

1756 *The Vicar of Wakefield,* novel by Oliver Goldsmith, is published.

1778–93 Most of the penal laws against Catholics are repealed.

1782 Protestants and Catholics form armed gangs.

1798 Society of United Irishmen initiates rebellion.

1801 Great Britain and Ireland are united to form the United Kingdom.

1804 Composer John Field plays his First Piano Concerto in St. Petersburg, Russia; in 1812 he invents term *nocturne* for type of piano piece and style.

1829 Catholic Emancipation Act is passed; nevertheless, Irish Catholics oppose union.

1845–54 Potato Famine leads to great emigration.

1857 Natural History Museum opens in Dublin; it later becomes part of National Museum of Ireland.

1869 Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone establishes Protestant Church of Ireland; in 1885 he announces support for Irish Home Rule.

1877 National Library of Ireland is founded in Dublin.

1884 Anglo-Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw founds socialist Fabian Society; in 1925 he wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1890 Dublin Museum of Science and Art opens; it later becomes part of National Museum of Ireland.

1895 Oscar Wilde writes successful comic play *The Importance of Being Earnest;* same year, he is sentenced to two years' hard labor in prison for crime of sodomy.

1898 Playwright John Millington Synge first visits remote Aran Isles, where his study of Irish language still spoken there and Hiberno-English dialect (which combines English vocabulary with Irish sentence structure) and his acquaintance with people inform his plays for Abbey Theatre, including *Playboy of the Western World* (1907).

1899 Poet and playwright Isabella Augusta, Lady Gregory, along with poet William Butler Yeats and others, found Irish Literary Theatre (later Abbey Theatre) with goal of promoting Irish nationalism through appreciation for Irish language and literature; she writes and directs many plays for theater in subsequent years; in 1923 Yeats wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1914 Pro-Unionist Ulster Volunteer Force rebel.

1916 Easter Rebellion, staged by Irish Republican Brotherhood, erupts in Dublin.

1918 Sinn Féin, separatist political party, wins majority of Ireland's parliamentary seats; in 1919 representatives form assembly known as Dáil and declare independence.

1920 British Parliament passes Government of Ireland Act, forming Northern Ireland and Irish Free State; it is not accepted in south.

1921 After negotiation of Anglo-Irish Treaty creates Irish Free State, dominion status in British Commonwealth of Nations is ratified.

1922 *Ulysses,* novel by James Joyce, is published.

1923 Sean O'Casey's play, *The Shadow of a Gunman,* is produced at Abbey Theatre; it is first play in his Dublin trilogy, which helps rescue theater from financial ruin.

1936 Fourteen-year-old Brendan Behan joins IRA, leading to his arrest and three-year confinement in reform school in England; this experience forms basis of his masterpiece, *Borstal Boy* (1958).

1937 New constitution declares Irish Free State, henceforth known as Eire, independent democracy.

1939–45 During World War II southern Ireland remains neutral while north is attacked.

1940 Playwright Samuel Beckett, author of *Waiting for Godot,* joins French Resistance against Nazi occupation; in 1969 he wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1945 Northern Irish nationalists form Irish Anti-Partition League.

1949 Eire becomes Republic of Ireland, detached from British Commonwealth.

1950 Publication of *Nuabhéarsaíocht,* edited by Sean O'Tuama, introduces new generation of lyric poets writing in Gaelic.

1972 Irish Republican Army (IRA) carries out attacks known as "Bloody Friday."

Poet Seamus Heaney leaves his native northern Ireland because of sectarian violence there, moving to Republic of Ireland; he wins Nobel Prize in literature in 1995.

1973 Ireland joins European Community (EC).

1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed.

1990 Mary Robinson becomes first woman president of Ireland.

1993 Ireland becomes one of 12 original members of European Union (EU).

Neil Jordan's movie *The Crying Game* about Irish Republican Army provisional wins 1993 Academy Award for best screenplay.

1998 Belfast Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) is negotiated by Irish and British government; independent government is established in Northern Ireland in 1999.

1999 British government formally transfers power to new provincial government in Northern Ireland.

2005 IRA orders its members to end military activity and pursue democratic process through peaceful means.

Northern Ireland from the Irish Free State. Civil War began in 1923 over negotiations of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. In 1949 John Aloysius Costello declared that the Irish Free State would henceforth be Eire, the Republic of Ireland. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) regarded London rule as worse than Belfast rule and carried out acts of violence, notably in 1972, on "Bloody Friday." The Ulster Defense Association (UDA), a Protestant group in favor of British rule, carried out acts of violence against Catholic interests. Violence intensified on both sides in the early 1990s until finally on Good Friday 1998 all the main parties, with the exception of the Democratic Unionist Party, announced a peace agreement.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Modern Irish cultural identity is impossible to understand without consideration of the dire economic plight of the country brought on by British rule. Beginning in the 17th century rule by Britain prevented the Irish economy from developing freely, as economic measures taken in the country were wholly for the benefit of Britain, such as the ban on the Irish export trade of cattle, milk, butter, and cheese to England in the 17th century, in order to benefit English farmers, and the destruction of the Irish woolen industry because it competed with that of England. Over time the majority of Irish were reduced to a subsistence existence based mainly on agriculture.

The Irish, many already impoverished, were especially hard hit when the potato blight destroyed crops, first in 1845. Widespread famine soon resulted, eventually leading to some 1 million deaths from starvation, disease, and exposure, when tenants unable to work were callously evicted by landlords. Immigrants poured by the thousands into the United States, where many were subjected to injustice, mistreatment, and prejudice.

The British harbored a deeply rooted ethnic prejudice against the Catholic Irish that came to the fore during the famine; historians have recently given it the name *moralism*. Moralism ascribed to the Irish "national character" fundamental moral defects. Some British leaders actually considered the famine a stroke of Providence that laid bare the deep root of social evil in the Irish people, although the British government did take steps to supply food to Ireland.

After the Irish state won its independence from Britain, its economy, crippled by centuries of distortion by British policies, had to face the general economic downturn after World War I. The Irish thus lived in the deepest poverty, while maintaining the custom of having large families, which the Catholic Church, with its steadfast opposition to birth control and abortion, did nothing to alleviate. Only by the 1950s, as a result of policies of the Irish government, did the economy begin to grow.

In the 1990s institutionalized scandals began to be revealed and investigated, reluctantly, by the Irish government. Two of the most notable of these were the Magdalen laundries and the industrial schools. The Magdalen laundries were institutions run by nuns founded in the 19th century to house prostitutes. They soon evolved into homes where young women and girls who had become pregnant out of wedlock were admitted, often against their will. Other girls, often of illegitimate birth or in families unable to care for them, who had been placed in convents in infancy, were transferred to a Magdalen laundry for showing signs of flirtatiousness or for being too attractive. Girls and women in these institutions, which typically did the laundry for an entire town or neighborhood, were subjected to appalling conditions of overwork, undernourishment, lack of sleep, and systematic humiliations to purge them of sin. Deprived of their own names (and thus kept incommunicado from families), forbidden to talk or form relationships with fellow inmates, kept in total ignorance of current events, many were unable to function in the outside world even when given the chance to leave. It has been estimated that some 30,000 women were admitted to the Magdalen laundries during the 150 years of their existence (some continued in operation late into the 20th century), and some spent their entire lives there. The public was first made aware of this tragedy when one of the convents running a laundry sold some land where the remains of 155 bodies of women buried in unmarked graves were found. Meanwhile, industrial schools were established to care for the orphaned and abandoned children, of whom, because of large families, there were many. They were run by religious orders and funded by the public and reached a peak in 1900 of 71 schools housing some 7,000 children. Meanwhile industrial schools were mismanaged on a large scale, with inmates systematically underfed, inadequately housed and clothed, and subjected to many forms of sometimes horrific abuse. Conditions in both the Magdalen laundries and the industrial schools have been called "Dickensian" (from social conditions described

in Charles Dickens's novels), throwbacks to the worst abuses of the early 19th century.

These and other examples of great rents in the social fabric of Ireland underlie the more overt history of rebellion and resistance to British rule and bespeak one aspect of Irish cultural identity, characterized by dark pessimism of many Irish about themselves and their fate as a people. The darkly sardonic songs and poems about, for example, an Irish propensity for drink and inability to face up to reality reveal this aspect of deep self-denigration. The Irish have in some cases reacted to their harsh colonization by Britain in ways analogous to, if on a lesser scale than, the civil wars and genocides in other parts of the world. The extreme Puritanism of the Irish Catholic Church, as illustrated by the schoolroom lecture in James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), which describes in obsessive and gruesome detail the torments of hell that awaited those guilty of the most minor infractions, can be seen as a form of spiritual self-genocide.

The Irish have to some extent been able to triumph over their vicissitudes through their music, poetry, and literature. The heritage of learning and poetry that had its beginnings with the Druids survives to the present and continued through all the travails of Irish history. Mysticism was of central importance to the poet W. B. Yeats, who for many years held séances with his wife in which she performed automatic writing under the guidance, they believed, of spirit helpers called "Communicators." His purpose in doing this was to formulate for himself a philosophical/mythic framework for his poetry.

Poetry and literature—in a word, the word—has permeated Irish life, from that taught to Irish children in the hedge schools of past centuries (founded to flout the Penal Laws forbidding Catholics to teach and held outdoors in the shelter of walls or hedges), where Gaelic brehons (storytellers and musicians) taught Irish history and traditions and told tales of the Irish children's ancestry, to the works of the great writers. The oral traditions of the Druids live in the Irish mastery of conversation—storytelling, poetry recitations, and meteoric displays of wit.

The pub is the institution where these delights can be tasted along with Irish ale, stout, and porter, and where the renaissance of traditional Irish music has to a great degree been carried out. The traditional band of the Irish pub consists of the fiddle, the tin whistle, the bodhran (drum), flute, Irish harp, "squeeze box" (button accordion), and uilleann pipes (Irish bagpipes). Another form of traditional musical gathering is the *ceili,* in which people meet to sing and dance. The greatly popular Irish dance production called *Riverdance,* which set the feet of audiences all over the world moving to the infectious rhythms of Irish step dancing, can also be said to symbolize the recovery of the Irish from their tragic past.



An Irish man and woman pose in front of their house in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-107621])*

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An early 20th-century Irish woman smokes a dudheen. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-124344])*

ITALIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Italy (Italia); Italian Republic (Repubblica Italiana)

derivation of name:
Possibly from *viteliu,* an Oscan word for "calf," which became the name of a town notated as Vitellio (formerly Corfinium); the name has also been translated as "son of the bull god."

government:
Republic

capital:
Rome

language:
Official language is Italian; German, French, Slovenian, Ladin, Albanian, Catalán, Greek, Sardinian, Croatian, and Friulian are also spoken.

religion:
About 98 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; religious minorities include Protestants, Muslims, and Jews.

earlier inhabitants:
Pre-Italics (Etruscans; Ligurians; etc.); Italics (Romans, Samnites; etc.); Illyrians; Greeks; Celts; Visigoths; Vandals; Ostrogoths; Lombards

demographics:
Majority of the population are Italian; peoples with German, French, and Slovenian ancestry are found especially in the north, and those with Albanian and Greek ancestry in the south. Friulians and Ladins are other groups.

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Irminones *See* HERMINONES.

Istaevones (Istaeones; Istwaeoni)

According to the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. the Istaevones were the most westerly proto-Germanic tribe or collection of tribes. In his account they lived along the Rhine and Weser River systems in present-day west-central and southern Germany, by the first century B.C.E. By the early first century C.E. a number of tribes emerged from this region, such as the CHATTI, FRANKS, and HERMANDURI, perhaps descendants of Tacitus's Istaevones. Tacitus refers to three early groups, descended from Mannus, son of the Earth-born god Tuisto, and according to legend the founder of the Germanic nation. From his three sons the INGAEVONES supposedly emerged near the ocean in the north and the HERMINONES to the east and south and the Istaevones to the west and south. Tacitus reports a second mythic version of the origins of GERMANICS in which Mannus has more sons who founded other tribes.

Italians: nationality (people of Italy)

GEOGRAPHY

Italy borders France to the northwest, Austria and Switzerland to the north, and Slovenia to the northeast. The Italian Peninsula, making up more than half of Italy, is flanked by the Adriatic Sea to the east, the Ionian Sea and Mediterranean Sea to the south, and the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Ligurian Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. The total area is 116,341 square miles. Elba, Sardinia, and Sicily, islands of the Mediterranean, also belong to Italy.

The Alps form Italy's northern border, where lies Italy's highest elevation. The Apennine Mountains run southward from the Gulf of Genova, through the center of the peninsula, to the toe of Calabria. The Maritime Alps, part of the Northern Apennines, run along the northwest coast of the Gulf of Genova; Monte Corno (9,554 feet), the highest peak of the Apennines, is in the eastern mountain district.

About one-third of the country consists of plains, notably the Plain of Lombardy to the northeast, which is used for agriculture. The northeast coasts along the Adriatic Sea are sandy and low with shallow waters; Venice is among the few commercial ports. Marshlands stretch south along the west coast, including Campagna di Roma, the Pontine Marshes, and the Maremma. Important commercial ports and cities are situated along the western coastline.

An active volcano, Mount Etna, measuring 10,902 feet, is found in Sicily and another on Stromboli, a Lipari Island. Principal rivers include the Po and the Adige in the north and the Arno and the Tiber along the peninsula.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Before and after the final defeat of the ROMANS in 568 C.E.—and the end of the Western Roman Empire—Italy was invaded and divided time and again. The Holy Roman Empire, established in 962 and dissolved in 1806 by Napoleon I Bonaparte, along with various foreign powers, especially France, Spain, and Austria, played a part in the changing regimes and shifting borders. Numerous and often competing states were created. The unification of Italy as a constitutional monarchy under the constitution originally adopted by Sardinia in 1848, with Victor Emmanuel as king and an elected parliament, marked the beginning of modern Italy. Moderate political and social reforms were enacted over the next years.

Italy fought World War I (1914–18) on the side of the Allies. According to the terms of the Paris Peace Conference, Italy obtained south Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, part of Carniola, and the Dalmatian Islands. Italy under the Fascist dictatorship of Benito Mussolini (1922–43) formed an entente with Germany and sided with Nazi Germany in World War II (1939–45). In 1946 Italy voted to abolish its monarchy and establish a republic. The peace treaty of 1947 defined Italy's present-day borders, with France, Yugoslavia, and Greece gaining former Italian territory. In 1948 a constitution officially established Italy

as a democratic republic with a bicameral elected parliament, and a president elected by parliament.

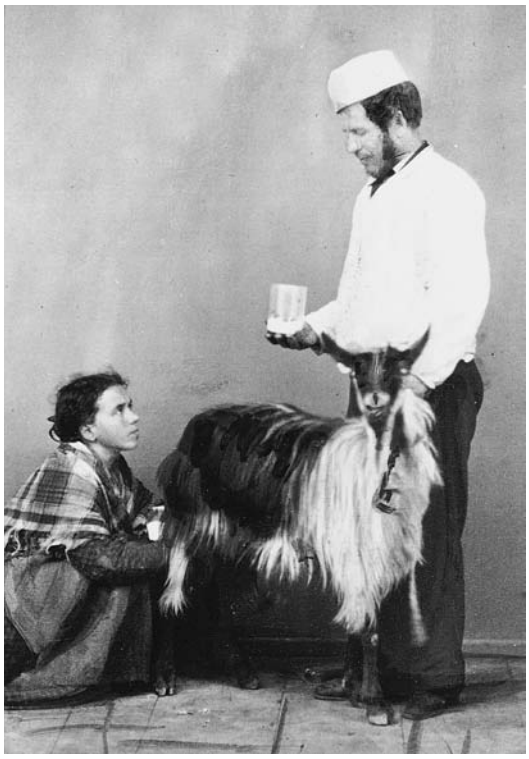
CULTURAL IDENTITY

Until less than a century ago Italians lived in a highly traditional agricultural society. The great geographical diversity of Italy, where the central mountain chain produces considerable climatic differences, as well as highly disparate cultural heritages derived from many different peoples, have led to strong regional diversity, evident in persistent local dialects, which until the 20th century were mutually unintelligible, and in holidays, festivals, songs, and regional cuisines.

Political unification of Italy occurred late, in 1861, and regional identity remains strong. It is something of an irony that the very concept of nationhood was born in the work of an "Italian"—the ancient Roman poet Virgil, whose depictions of the Italian landscape evoked a sense of belonging to the land as part of a nation beyond Rome or any one city. For Virgil the land of Italia was *patria,* the fatherland of all those sharing a history and ancestry played out there.

The concept of Italian nationhood that informed political unification in the 19th century was to a large extent a self-conscious intellectual construct. Its ideal was the cultural and social fabric created by the Italian city-states of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, with their towering artistic achievements and the civic social and economic order, made possible in large part by the active participation of wealthy patrons. Florence of the Medicis was the model. This concept based on only one region of Italy placed other regions at a disadvantage, particularly southern Italy (the Mezzogiorno),which, because of its different society and economy came to be seen as backward. Northern Italians came to regard southerners with contempt. This "southern question" has plagued Italian economic, political, and cultural life from unification to the present, and southern Italians have accused northerners of falsification of history in ascribing the reasons for southern economic woes—frivolity, laziness, and even immorality—and of neglect.

In a sense modern ideas of Italian nationhood, like those of ancient Romans, contain a strong element of coercion, imposition by a dominant people on all the rest. The experience of unification has become a controversial point of reference for 21st-century Italy. The experience of the Fascist dictatorship (whose icon, the *fasces,* a bundle of sticks meant to symbolize how individuality with all its frailty when bound together in a union becomes strength) has also cast a shadow over the idea of a unified Italian nation.



Neapolitan peasants milk a goat in 1869. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-122544])*

In recent years the Italian government has made progress in developing the Italian economy and stabilizing society, in the south as well as the north, and resentments have lessened to some degree.

In spite of regional differences, Italians do share certain fundamental traits and a basic outlook. The latter places high value on what has been called *la dolce vita*—the good life—an insistence on the importance of achieving a balance in life, for example, between work and play, with both regarded as essential. Many Italians believe it is a mistake to take matters too seriously and often use irony and humor to deflect the unpleasant aspects of life. Although Italians are famous for their volatile emotional outbursts, the fact that these are usually brief and quickly followed by tranquility underscores a certain ironic self-consciousness in them. (This ironic detachment and control of powerful emotions are characteristic of Italian music. A composer such as Gioacchino Antonio Rossini of the 19th century in his comic operas will whip up emotions to the

Italians: nationality time line

C.E.

11th century Florence and Milan become independent city-states; southern Italy is dominated by foreign rule.

1321 Dante completes *Divina commedia* (*Divine Comedy*).

1334 Giotto becomes chief architect of Duomo in Florence.

1341 Petrarch is crowned poet laureate in Rome.

1353 Giovanni Boccaccio publishes *Decameron,* which helps lay foundation of classic Italian prose.

1425 Fra Angelico becomes friar, soon beginning work as painter.

c. 1430–35 Donatello sculpts *David.*

1436 Leon Battista Alberti defines laws of perspective in *Della pittura,* based on work of architect Filippo Brunelleschi.

1494 Italian city-states are conquered by French armies; France and Holy Roman Empire compete to control Italy.

1503–06 Leonardo da Vinci paints *Mona Lisa.*

1508–12 Michelangelo decorates Sistine Chapel ceiling in Rome.

1515 Painter Raphael becomes director of all excavations of antiquities in and near Rome.

1516 Titian is named official painter of Venetian state.

1527 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, conquers Rome and wins control of Milan and Sicily from France.

1559 After Italian Wars of 1495–1559 Hapsburgs control most of Italy.

1592 Giordano Bruno is arrested by Inquisition for promoting Copernican cosmology and burned at stake eight years later.

c. 1595–1606 Caravaggio works in Rome; his paintings include scenes of life of St. Matthew.

c. 1605 Sculptor Petro Bernini moves to Rome.

1609–10 Mathematician and scientist Galileo Galilei constructs refracted telescope and makes astronomical discoveries, such as that moonlight is reflected light, Jupiter has four moons, and sunspots move across surface of sun.

1684 Opera *Pompeo* by Alessandro Scarlatti is performed in Naples.

1720 Piedmont, Savoy, and Sardinia are united as Kingdom of Sardinia.

1725 Antonio Lucio Vivaldi composes concerto *Four Seasons.*

1754 Painter Giovanni Battista Tiepolo becomes director of Venetian Academy.

1794 Physician and physicist Luigi Galvani announces experiments establishing presence of bio-electric forces in animal tissue.

1796 Napoleon I Bonaparte conquers most of northern Italy, establishing Italian republics.

1797 Cispadane and Transpadane are united as Cisalpine Republic by Treaty of Campo Formio; renamed Italian Republic in 1802.

1804 Napoleon unites northern Italy as Kingdom of Italy.

1806 Holy Roman Empire ends.

1814 After Napoleon's defeat Italy divides into Papal States, Austrian duchies, Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

1816 Opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (*The Barber of Seville*) by Gioacchino Antonio Rossini is performed in Rome.

1848 Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples create constitutions; people of Milan expel Austrians; Venice, Rome, and Tuscany establish republics.

1849 Austria regains control of most of Italy.

1851–53 Three operas by Giuseppe Verdi, *Rigoletto, Il Trovatore,* and *La Traviata,* receive public acclaim.

1859 Austria begins war with Kingdom of Sardinia; Sardinia and France drive Austrians from northern Italy, although not from Venice.

1860 Northern Italy, except Venice, becomes part of Kingdom of Sardinia; Giuseppe Garibaldi conquers Bourbon rulers in Sicily then captures Naples.

1860–61 The Kingdom of Italy including entire peninsula except Rome, Venice, and San Marino, is formed under Victor Emmanuel II.

1866 Italy annexes Venice.

1870 Italy occupies Rome.

1871 Rome becomes capital of Italy.

1876 National Central Library of Rome is founded.

1882 Italy joins Austria-Hungary and Germany in Triple Alliance.

1884 Giovanni Verga's stage version of his novel *Cavalleria Rusticana* is performed.

Giacomo Puccini writes his first opera, *Le Villi* (*The Witches*).

1906 Painter and sculptor Amedeo Modigliani settles in Paris; poet Giosuè Carducci wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1911 Italy declares war on Ottoman Empire.

1912 Italy wins war against Ottoman Turks and acquires Libya and Dodecanese Islands.

1914 Despite Triple Alliance Italy sides with Allies when World War I begins.

1920 Painter Giorgi De Chirico cofounds magazine *Pittura Metafisica.*

1922 Benito Mussolini, Fascist leader, becomes prime minister of Italy.

1926 Novelist Grazia Deledda wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1929 Lateran Treaty establishes normal relations between Italian government and Vatican.

1934 Playwright Luigi Pirandello wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1936 Rome-Berlin Axis, agreement of common policy, is signed by Mussolini and Hitler; Mussolini conquers Ethiopia.

1937 Italy withdraws from League of Nations.

1939 Italy annexes Albania.

1940 Italy enters World War II, siding with Germany.

1943 Italy surrenders to invading Allies; government overthrows Mussolini; Italy declares war on Germany; in 1945 World War II ends.

1945 Roberto Rossellini films *Città Aperta* (*Open City*) during Nazi evacuation of Rome.

1946 By free election Italians vote to abolish monarchy and establish republic.

1947 Vittorio De Sica's film *Ladri Di Biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thief*) helps bring world renown to neorealism in cinema.

Architect Pier Luigi Nervi becomes professor at University of Rome.

1950s Filmmakers Federico Fellini, Michelangelo Antonioni, Luchino Visconti, and Pier Paolo Pasolini gain international acclaim.

1955 Italy joins United Nations (UN).

1957 Italy joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).

1959 Poet Salvatore Quasimodo wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1975 Poet Eugenio Montale wins Nobel Prize in literature.

(continues)

Italians: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1992	Political corruption begins period of arrests and investigations.
1993	Italy becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).
1994	Freedom Alliance, enforcing neo-Fascist elements, is led by Silvio Berlusconi; coalition falls apart; Berlusconi resigns as prime minister.
1997	Playwright Dario Fo wins Nobel Prize in literature.

brink of collapsing into chaos, then with a turn of phrase restore all to normal.) Italians will let their emotions loose temporarily in order to discharge them and restore balance. All this distinguishes Italians from Europeans in the north, particularly in Germany and Scandinavia, who tend to view work as an end in itself and to be reticent about expressing their emotions. A recent poll found that Italians spend roughly half their time in non-work-related activities such as eating, cleaning, and grooming. Food especially is an important element of Italian life. Work patterns in the country revolve around the midday meal.

Belief in the importance of family, religion, and one's homeland is also shared by most Italians. Central to Italian life is the tradition of the family as a guiding force, a focus of loyalty, and a bulwark when times are hard. The Catholic Church also has long been central to the life of Italians, and many attend Mass every day. The experience of emigration abroad has demonstrated that Italian émigrés maintain closer ties with their homeland (especially the family) than do many other European immigrants.

Given the diversity of Italian society, it is not surprising that, unlike other European literatures, contemporary Italian literature lacks a major work of fiction representing the nation's cultural identity. Rather, Italian literature consists of a kaleidoscope of brief narratives that express the complexity of Italian culture. In the variety of their forms and genres—realistic novels and philosophical short stories, memoirs, and literary essays—as well as in that of their subject matter such works provide a good entry into the multifaceted and contradictory identity of Italy as a nation.

Further Reading

Spencer Di Scala. *Italy: From Revolution to Republic, 1700 to the Present* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1998).

Christopher Hibbert. *Garibaldi and His Enemies: The Clash of Arms and Personalities in the Making of Italy* (London: Viking, 1989).

George Holmes, ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Denis Mack-Smith. *Modern Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

Frederic Spotts and Thedor Wieser. *Italy, a Difficult Democracy: A Survey of Italian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Italici *See* Villanovans.

Italics (Italic peoples)

The term *Italic,* applied by linguists, is used variously. In its broadest sense it refers to cultural characteristics relating to all the peoples of ancient and modern Italy, regardless of language. Yet it is most often applied to an Indo-European language family, which includes Latin and related ancient languages, as well as modern languages descended from Latin (although some scholars reserve the term Italic for the ancient languages only). And even when applied in its narrow sense—that is, relating to a language family of peoples on the ancient Italian Peninsula, there is disagreement, because of limited texts and inscriptions, as to what languages should be included and how they relate to one another. Some of the dialects of ancient Italy, such as Etruscan, seem pre-Indo-European and unique. Others, such as Venetic, seem to be related to Illyrian, spoken on the Balkan Peninsula.

The Italics described in this book include the Romans (whose historians provide many of the sources about the other Italic peoples) as well as the Adriani, Aequi, Aurunci, Brutii, Campani, Faliscans, Frentani, Hernici, Latins, Lucani, Marsi, Marrucini, Paeligni, Palmiensi, Praetutii, Sabines, Samnites, Umbrians, Vestini, and Volsci. These groups as listed in this book are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The Romans are a subgroup of Latins, the people who dominated the Italian Peninsula. The Sabines are considered a parent group to others. Ancient writers classified some of the tribes as Samnites. As regions were reorganized

and resettled by the Romans, the meaning of the names evolved.

Many other tribal names appear in the ancient historical record, some of them perhaps alternate names of the same groups, some subtribes, but others that formed a distinct political identity for a time but about whom little is known. Some among them apparently pre-Indo-European—CARPENATI, ENOTRI, LIGURIANS, OPICI, and VILLANOVANS—are not grouped with the Italics in this book, although they are part of the story of ancient Italy. The ETRUSCANS are thought to have migrated to Italy about the same time as the Italics, but it is not known from where. Other peoples, such as the IAPYGES (APULI, MESSAPI, and PEUCETI) and VENETI, are grouped as ILLYRIANS. Some of the tribes included in the list of Italics, such as the Frentani, Marrucini, Paeligni, Palmiensi, and Praetutii, may have originally been Illyrian-speaking peoples who fused with the Italics. The language of the PICENES is not known. The affiliations of the ELYMI, SICANI, and SICULI on the island of Sicily are also unknown (although the Siculi may have spoken an Italic dialect). Some of the peoples listed may actually be descendants of indigenous pre-Indo-European people who spoke Italic dialects. Another group on the Italian Peninsula were the GREEKS, who colonized Sicily and southern coastal areas, beginning in the eighth century B.C.E, sometimes referred to as Italiotes.

ORIGINS

The origins of the various Italic peoples are largely hypothetical. Evidence about them is taken from tribal names, place-names, ancient inscriptions, works of ancient writers, and archaeological discoveries. Ancient historical accounts are written by the Greeks as well as Romans, who used often-unreliable sources based in mythology and who wrote from their own nationalistic bias.

The timing of the arrival in Italy of speakers of an Indo-European language or languages ancestral to the Italic languages is uncertain, since archaeological evidence rarely provides direct information about language. This uncertainty is compounded by the fact that the timing and place of origin of the Indo-European language family itself are in doubt, with hypotheses ranging from the earliest Neolithic Age, with the first farmers in Europe, to the later Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age. In addition the mechanism of the spread of a proto-Indo-European language—whether by the movement of populations or of ideologies—and their concomitant practices, is still debated. The weight of current thinking is against population movements, at least on any large scale. Hypotheses from different disciplines are converging on a picture of proto-Indo-European as emerging during the fourth millennium B.C.E. or somewhat before as part of the slow adoption of a more mobile, pastoral lifestyle in southeastern Europe facilitated by the arrival of wheeled transport and an important change in farming practice. Proto-Indo-European may have begun as a sort of pidgin or creole dialect used by different peoples to communicate with one another, or it may have been a language chosen to be a lingua franca for the same purpose.

The implications of this picture for the arrival of an Indo-European language in Italy derive from the idea that the makers of the Corded Ware culture, which appeared in central Europe soon after these innovations in about 3500 B.C.E., began the spread of proto-Indo-European over a wide area. The Corded Ware culture did not reach Italy. Only after the evolution of the Corded Ware complex into the Early Bronze Age Bell Beaker culture in about 2500 B.C.E. did Italy come into contact with this tide of cultural change. The appearance of Bell Beaker artifacts in Italy around this time may signal the arrival of a variant of proto-Indo-European, possibly introduced by small groups of warriors and adopted by natives who emulated the Beaker lifestyle or used it as a "trade language"—for trade was an important means by which the Beaker lifestyle spread. Thus the first Indo-European-speaking migrants would have crossed the eastern Alpine passes into the plain of the Po River sometime around 2500 B.C.E. when the Beaker

ITALICS

location:
Italy

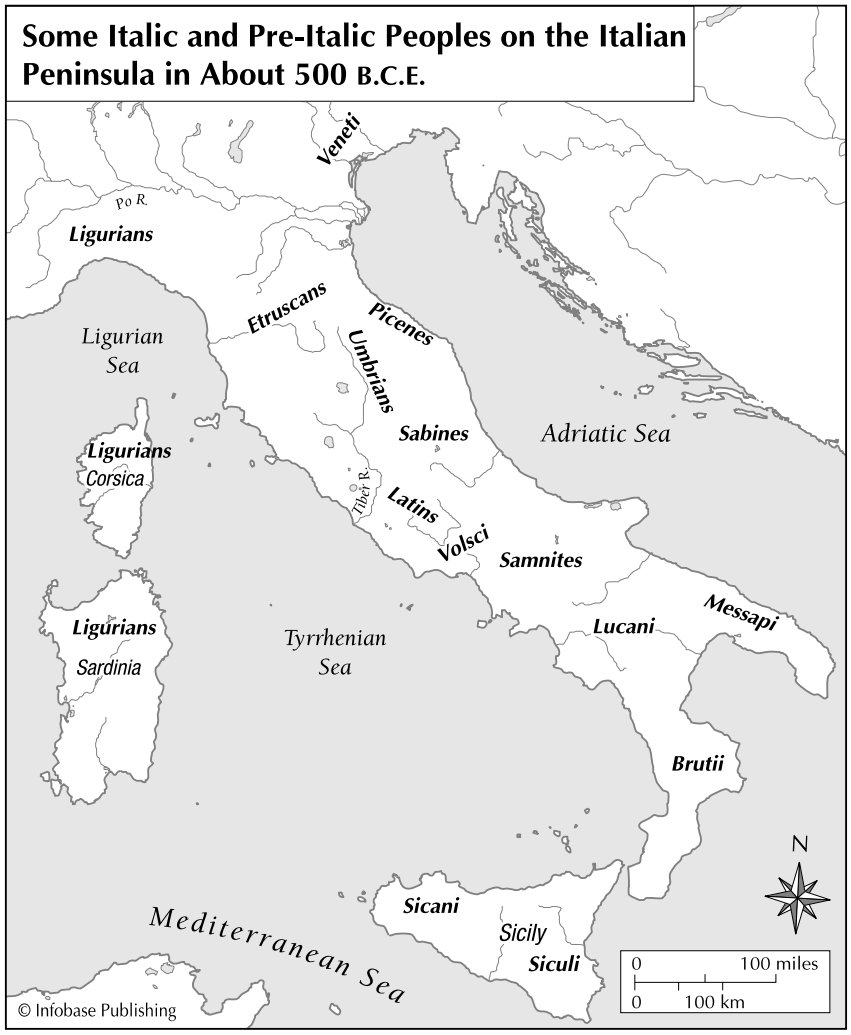
time period:
13th to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Italic

Italics time line

B.C.E.	
753	Legendary founding of Rome
509	Rome becomes republic.
343–341	First Samnite War
341–338	Revolt of Latin League
326–304	Second Samnite War
298–295	Third Samnite War
90–88	Social War
90–87	Italics granted Roman citizenship.
82	Romans invade Samnium and disperse Samnites.



artifacts begin to appear there and then spread. Later Indo-European groups may have migrated from elsewhere in about 1200–1100 B.C.E. during the Late Bronze Age, when many peoples were on the move in the Mediterranean region, and settled other regions of the Italian Peninsula. They could have commingled with, displaced, or absorbed pre-Indo-European peoples, such as the Ligurians and Villanovans; a combination of all these processes is likely.

Other groups, perhaps non-Italic speaking, such as the Carpenati, Enotri, and Picenes, developed into distinct cultures in later centuries, perhaps indigenous or migratory, influenced by the Italic-speaking peoples. Various Illyrians are assumed to have migrated to the eastern Italian Peninsula from the western Balkan Peninsula across the Adriatic and to have commingled with the Italics. The Veneti, perhaps an Illyrian people, held territory in the northeast contiguous with that of the Balkan Illyrians. Many of the peoples of Italy started to become Hellenized in the eighth century B.C.E., and Celticized and Romanized from the fourth century B.C.E., making it even more difficult to determine origins. (The Italian Iron Age, during which many of these changes occurred, is said to have begun about 900 B.C.E. and to have lasted until 580 B.C.E., although while the Romans and Etruscans progressed from the tribalism of the Iron Age into the Archaic and Early Republic periods when writing began to be used and cities grew, other peoples can be said to have maintained an Iron Age society and way of life over the next centuries.)

LANGUAGE

The Italic language is divided into two branches: Romance and non-Romance. The modern Romance languages are descended from Latin, such as Italian, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Sardinian, Moldavian, and Romanian. The non-Romance branch is variously organized by different linguists. One system lists two major subgroups: Latino-Faliscan (or Latinium-Faliscan or Latinian), including various dialects of Latin and Faliscan; and Osco-Umbrian, including various dialects of Oscan and Umbrian. Within the Oscan classification is sometimes grouped a subfamily known as Sabellian or Sabelic (leading to use of the name Osco-Sabellian for Oscan); Sabellian dialects include Aequian, Marrucinian, Marsian, Paelignian, Sabine, Vestinian, and Volscian. Other tribes spoke related dialects, about which less is known.

Various scripts were used to write these various languages, among them Greek, Latin, Etruscan, and five other alphabets, some of them derived from the others: Faliscan, Oscan, South Picene, Umbrian, and Venetic. Other inscriptions have yet to be classified.

HISTORY

Conflicts and History

The historical period of the Italics coincides with the rise of the group that became dominant among them, the Romans, before that period much is hypothetical because of limited archaeological evidence. Moreover the history of the Italics relates to neighboring non-Italic groups, such as the Etruscans. Italic peoples, especially the Romans and the mountain people known as the Samnites, were caught up in the struggle for dominance of the Italian Peninsula. The wars among ancient peoples, and alliances developing out of them, are typically documented by Roman (and Greek) historians. (In fact, here were other tribal groups on the Italian Peninsula

about whom little is known because they did not have direct conflict with the Romans.) In addition to non-Italic peoples inhabiting Italy peoples from other regions also were involved in the conflicts in the centuries B.C.E., such as the CELTS in the north and the Greeks and CARTHAGINIANS in the south.

Founding and Early Expansion of Rome

The date applied to the founding of Rome by people identified as Latins and Sabines is 753 B.C.E. The actual events surrounding this are not known; legend mixes with fact, and the emergence of Rome as a state is thought to have occurred several centuries later. In their early stages the Etruscans, living in the northwest in the present-day region of Tuscany, exerted political influence on the native inhabitants, and Rome was ruled by kings. By 509 B.C.E. the Romans had rid themselves of outside rule and developed a republican government. In 493 B.C.E. they joined the Latin League, an alliance of some 30 tribes and villages, and were one of many city-states vying for power in the region of Latium (part of modern Lazio). In 358 B.C.E. the league was reorganized under Roman leadership. In 341 B.C.E. the other members of the Latin League rebelled against the growing power of Rome. The Aurunci, Campani, Sidicini, and Volsci joined them. After suppressing the rebellion Rome dissolved the league in 338 B.C.E., its garrisons now imposing Roman will on neighboring cities.

Romans and Samnites

In the meantime in 343–341 B.C.E. the Romans had become embroiled in a conflict to the south between the Samnites and the Campani and their allies, the SIDICINI, sometimes referred to as the First Samnite War, which erupted when the Samnites attempted to expand from the region of Abruzzo (modern Abruzzi) into Campania. The Campani appealed to the Romans for help and they drove back the Samnites.

The Samnite power was far from broken, however, and competition between the two most powerful Italic peoples erupted in two wars, known as the Second (or Great) Samnite War of 326–304 B.C.E. (with the great Roman defeat at Caudine Forks in 321 B.C.E.) and the Third Samnite War of 298–295 B.C.E. (with the Roman victory at Sentinum in 295 B.C.E.).

To rule their territory the Romans build a system of roads, the most famous the Via Appia, or Appian Way, built in 312–264 B.C.E. and originally connecting Rome with Capua. It was later extended to Beneventum (modern Benevento), Tarentum (modern Tarento), and Brundisium (modern Brindisi). Branch roads led to Neapolis (modern Naples) and other ports.

The Social War

After the Third Samnite War the Italics were generally pacified and increasingly Romanized, at least in the cities and towns, where Roman garrisons were stationed. The various peoples of Italy, as dominated by the Romans, were known as *socii,* meaning "allies." In the third and second centuries B.C.E. they helped the Roman army in its increasingly wide-ranging campaigns. They were also trading parties. Many of them used Latin as much as their native dialect. Yet they were not Roman citizens and did not have the same property, travel, trade, and marriage rights and were subject to the will of Roman-appointed magistrates.

The various Italic peoples had distinct traditions and cultures. Moreover many of their towns were autonomous (and the people were known by the town name rather than a tribal name). Yet in the first century B.C.E. many of them, especially in the south, became united in a single cause, attaining equal rights as Roman citizens. Among the participants were the Frentani, Lucani, Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, Samnites (including their subtribe, the Hirpini), and Vestini, many of them mountain people. Other peoples were also involved, such as the Picenes, who were perhaps Italics in origin, and the Iapyges (except the Messapi) descended from Illyrian-speaking peoples, although, by this time, having commingled extensively with Italics. The inhabitants of Pompeii, referred to in some texts as Pompeiani (many of them Samnites), and of Venusium (modern Venuso), referred to as Venusini, also participated.

In 91 B.C.E. Marcus Livius Drusus, the tribune of the Roman people, proposed granting citizenship to the *socii.* His assassination that year, arranged by his opponents in the Senate, prompted the revolt known as the Social War or Italic War. Chief among the opponents were the Marsi (hence still another name for the conflict, the Marsic War). Fighting began in 90 B.C.E. with the massacre of Romans at Ausculum, the principal city of the Picenes (its inhabitants referred to as the Asculani). Various tribes began organizing a confederacy independent of Rome. The capital of the Paeligni, Corfinium, south of Paelignian Sulmo (modern Sulmona), became the rebel capital. Its name was changed to Vitallio, as indicated by inscriptions on the coins struck there in 90

B.C.E. to honor the hoped-for Italia Republic, with equal rights for all Roman citizens (the name Vitallio is the Oscan version of Italia). They also issued a special coinage and placed some 100,000 men in the field under the Marsians Quintus Pompaedius Silo and Caius Papius Mutilus. The allied force had some early successes and, in view of the threat of other peoples joining them, the Roman consul Lucius Julius Caesar managed to convince the Senate to pass a law granting citizenship to noncombatants before the end of the year. This undercut the alliance, and the Romans won victories under Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo in the north and Lucius Cornelius Sulla in the south. Nevertheless with the Samnites still undefeated, the Romans granted citizenship to all peoples south of the Po Valley in 87 B.C.E.

Organization of Italic Lands

With Rome ever wary of the Samnites in 82 B.C.E. Sulla invaded Samnium and massacred and dispersed its inhabitants. Territorial expansion abroad would accelerate in ensuing years. In 27 B.C.E. the republic collapsed and Rome was ruled by emperors, the first of whom was Augustus.

Augustus divided Italy into 11 regions based on ancient regions and many of the names relating to tribal names: (1) Latium and Campania, from the mouth of the Tiber to that of the Silarus (Sele) River; (2) Apulia (Puglia) and Calabria, comprising the "heel" of Italy in the south; (3) Lucania and Bruttium, bounded on the west coast by the Silarus River, on the east by the Bradanus (Bradano) River, comprising the "toe" of Italy); (4) Samnium, bounded on the south by the Tifernus (Biferno) River and on the north probably by the Matrinus (Piomba) River; (5) Picenum, bounded by the Aesis (Esino) River and Matrinus River; (6) Umbria, bounded by the Upper Tiber, Crustumius (Conca), and Aesis Rivers; (7) Etruria, bounded by the Macra (Magra) and Tiber Rivers; (8) Gallia Cispadana, limited by the Po River, from Placentia (modern Piacenza) to its mouth, and by the Crustumius River; (9) Liguria, bounded by the Varus (Var), Po, and Macra Rivers; (10) Venetia and Istria, between the Po River and the Alps in the northeast; and (11) Gallia Transpadana, bounded by the Alps and the Po and Addua (Adda) Rivers, in the northwest. Other than slight modifications this system of organization was retained until the late fourth century C.E. and the reorganization by Emperor Diocletian.

CULTURE (*see also* ROMANS)

Economy

Farming Stock rearing was an important component of Italic agriculture. The products obtained from cattle and sheep, including leather and wool as well as meat and milk, formed part of the basis of Italic economy.

Trade Crete, the islands of the Aegean, and the southern Greek mainland formed natural way stations for trade between the urban civilizations of the Near East and the western Mediterranean. Knowledge of bronze making had spread from the Near East to Italy early in the Bronze Age, sometime after about 2500 B.C.E., reflecting at least intermittent contacts at this time. Material evidence for this trade is slight in its earliest stages and depends mostly on the rare Bronze Age shipwrecks that have been found. Pottery from the MINOANS of Crete entered Italy. By the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. trade between the MYCENAEANS and southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia had greatly increased. Metals, particularly copper and tin, formed an important part of this trade, part of which the Mycenaeans, acting as middlemen, transshipped to the Near East, where high-grade copper was scarce; bronze implements were also traded, made by the accomplished smiths of Italy and Britain, Armorica, and elsewhere in northwestern Europe. European cut-and-thrust swords, axes, and spearheads found in Greece probably entered there by way of Italy via the Po River valley.

Contacts with Inland Europe and Mycenae After the arrival of Beaker users and their ideology Italy had more contact with peoples to the north. Northern Italy became part of a circum-Alpine province, as Alpine passes began to be used more regularly, both for trade and for grazing of animals in the summer; this practice of transhumance led to contacts with people in present-day Slovenia, Switzerland, and France. Concentrations of rock carvings are found along transhumance routes. From this time bronze workers in Italy were kept abreast of technical developments elsewhere by imports, as elites acquired the latest weapon styles. Fortifications with timber-laced ramparts began to be built, similar to those built in regions to the north. Central Italy had a stock-rearing economy with a less rich material culture, while in the south and Sicily Mycenaean contacts caused substantial changes in society.

Minoan and Mycenaean traders did not create a trade network in the western Mediterranean but rather established contacts

with an already-existing one. It was probably here that the amber found in 16th century B.C.E. Mycenaean sites was obtained, after being imported to Italy via Beaker networks. During the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E. trade with the Mycenaean world continued to increase, but the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in about 1200 B.C.E. brought this to an abrupt end.

Renewal of Trade Links with Greeks and the Eastern Mediterranean The trading networks established in the western Mediterranean by the Greeks after 800 B.C.E. fostered the manufacture of goods in Italy, such as pottery, and the cultivation of wine, especially after the Greeks began trading with the Celtic Hallstatt culture in western Germany and France. This trade carried increasing quantities of slaves to Italy, a major resource of the northerners.

Government and Society

Arrival of Bell Beaker Warrior Culture in Italy After 2500 B.C.E. artifacts of the Bell Beaker culture began to appear in northern and central Italy. In contrast to that in other regions of Europe, from Britain to Iberia, there is clearer archaeological evidence in eastern France and the Alpine region that this warrior culture was spread by actual migrations of small groups of mounted warriors along the Upper Rhine and Rhône Rivers. Burials in Italy at this time contain remains of horses, rare for this period. The characteristic beakers of this culture, used to drink mead or possibly other alcoholic beverages, have been found on Corsica, Sardinia, and western Sicily, where they were decorated with paint in the local style. The Beaker culture was also borne by traders, and the start of inter-island trading in the western Mediterranean on a significant scale may have received its initial impetus from the Beaker trade networks.

Mycenaean Influences Mycenaean influences in Italy are shown by the palatial building constructed in Sicily in the 14th century B.C.E. with corridors and suites of rectangular rooms. Although not on the scale of Mycenaean palaces, this edifice demonstrates the existence in Sicily of an increasingly complex socioeconomic situation and the rise of elites. Elsewhere in southern Italy settlements for the express purpose of trading were built during this time.

Given the lack of sophistication of the Italian pottery of the 13th century B.C.E. found on Crete, compared to highly accomplished ware made by the Mycenaeans themselves, it is possible that people from Italy had settled on Crete, taking their pottery with them, somewhat before the series of disasters and dislocations in 1200 B.C.E. that would end Cretan and Mycenaean civilization.

One of the causes of the disappearance of Minoan-Mycenaean civilization appears to have been a series of devastating attacks on Mycenaean power centers. The identity of the attackers is unknown and has long been debated. A clue is provided by Egyptian accounts and depictions of SEA PEOPLES who attacked that country at the same time. The Egyptians called them the Shardana and the Shekelesh, and these names have been associated with Sardinia and Sikelia (Sicily), although whether the raiders originated in these places or settled there after their raids is still uncertain (the latter is the favored view).

The founding myth of the Romans may contain elements common to the founding myths of other Italic peoples, in part because they had absorbed so many of them into their society. The legend of Aeneas's fleeing the burning city of Troy, stopping at Carthage in North Africa, then settling on the banks of the Tiber, and founding the dynasty that would produce Romulus, founder of Rome, may have derived from oral histories of the Sea Raiders' sacking all over the eastern Mediterranean cities and then sailing to Italy to settle.

After 1000 B.C.E. trade expansion and political changes begun under Mycenaean influence continued to lead to the state societies that emerged in Italy in the mid-first millennium B.C.E.

Resurgence of Greek Influence Colonists and traders from Greece began to impact Italy once more from 800 B.C.E. as rapid population increases in Greece strained the capacity of local resources. New colonies and trading emporia were established; one of the earliest known was created on the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples, an ideal site for trade with the metal-rich Etruscans (in modern Tuscany). Greeks created this and numerous other settlements in southern Italy and Sicily; by about 650 the region was known as Magna Graecia (Greater Greece). Meanwhile traders from among the PHOENICIANS were penetrating the northern coast of Africa and the southern Mediterranean, including western Sicily and southwestern Sardinia.

Increasing competition among Greeks, Etruscans, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians on the North African coast caused increasing con-

flict, which eventually led to the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264 B.C.E. All of these events resulted in the militarization of societies in Italy, which competed with each other for dominance, the process that would lead to the rise of Rome.

Dwellings and Architecture

The early dwellings of the Italics were roundhouses with mud walls, tapering sides, and a conical roof supported by external posts. After 1300 B.C.E. as elsewhere across a wide region of Europe the Italics began building settlements on hilltops, constructing large, walled compounds where people lived and farmed. It is not certain whether these hilltop settlements (or *oppida*) were built for defense or for reserving of arable land for farming and grazing. The city of Rome began as an *oppidum* on the Palatine Hill.

Other Technologies

From the early Bronze Age metalworkers in Italy maintained contact with technological developments elsewhere in Europe and created their own styles. Iron was increasingly used in this transitional period on the Italian Peninsula from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

Art

Beads of amber were used to decorate fibulae in the Bronze Age. Amber remained an often-used medium into the Iron Age. Small amber carvings of natural and mythic animals, stylized thunderbolts, and human heads were suspended from necklaces or decorated belts and fibulae.

Italic artists made sculptures of bronze and stone. Many bronze figurines of warriors have elongated bodies and limbs. Stone carvings include menhirs, upright slabs inscribed with two-dimensional figures, usually of warriors, which were first made in Bell Beaker times, and relief sculptures used for tomb slabs. Italic artists were influenced by the Etruscans and by Mycenaean and Minoan art.

Religion

The early Italic peoples worshipped spirits, called Numina, instead of gods. Numina dwelled in rivers and trees, groves, fields, and buildings. Some of the gods worshipped by Romans and other Italic tribes in later times may originally have been Numina. The Romans' household gods, the Lares and Penates, protectors and nourishers of each family, probably had their beginnings as Numina. Belief in a multitude of spirits surrounding humankind on every level, which each person encountered by day or night, waking or sleeping, gave rise to the complex system of rituals of placation that pervaded every aspect of Roman life, even after the tribal past had been left behind. Romans were guided in their every action by the principle of *pietas* (duty), probably derived from the ancient worship of Numina. Duty consisted of proper worship and sacrifice to the gods, in return for which the gods would provide good fortune.

Although some of the gods worshipped in Rome in republican and imperial times were introduced from abroad, others must have existed among the Italic peoples from much earlier times. The worship of Ceres, the goddess of grain, probably had its roots in placation of the spirits of growing things. The homegrown nature of the offerings due to Ceres as described by the Roman poet Ovid in his *Fasti* (*Festivals*) suggests their antiquity. He advises worshippers to offer Ceres spelt, a kind of grain used by early peoples, a little salt, and grains of incense tossed onto the flame of an old hearth. If they lacked incense, pine resin would do, as it had for the rustic Italic peoples unacquainted with the essences of the Near East—frankincense and myrrh.

Another goddess who had probably been worshipped by Italic peoples was Pales, goddess of flocks, herds, and herders. Ovid describes her festival, the Palilia (or Parilia), held on April 21, as a rustic feast amid the sheepfolds, with sheep driven through fires of sulfur to purify them of spirits that could cause disease. Millet and milk was offered to Sylvan ("of the woods") Pales with prayers for protection of the flocks.

Ovid's prayer to Pales gives an idea of early peoples' sense that they were surrounded by spirits and deities of all kinds and of the need to maintain one's *pietas* (spiritual loyalty) with regard to them. He asks forgiveness if he mistakenly trod on holy ground or sat under a hallowed tree; if he interrupted the half-goat god Pan and his nymphs at their revels; if he desecrated a holy copse by cutting boughs, or suffered his flocks to foul a sacred spring with their hooves.

The thunder god Jupiter, Vulcan, god of smiths, and some other deities of the later Roman pantheon probably had their beginnings among the Numina worshipped by the different Italic tribes.

The absorption of the many Italic tribes into the Roman state is a classic example of the cen-

tralizing tendencies that come into play as societies become increasingly militarized, a process that tends to become self-perpetuating and that, because of the range of human ability, tends to bring about the emergence of powerful war leaders, whose abilities and success in battle gain them more followers and thereby more victories. Power thus eventually resides in ever fewer hands. A countertendency in such societies is the expansionism caused by war leaders' continuing need to engage in further wars to gain spoils and territory with which to reward their expanding corps of followers. These tendencies play themselves out on the level of societies as a whole, as well as on the individual level. This was the way in which Rome emerged as the eventual victor among the Italic tribes. The trajectory of victory carried Roman arms beyond the Italic territories and eventually beyond Italy itself to fulfill the needs of the growing economy and of generals for ever expanding fields of endeavor.

Further Reading

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Iuthungi (Iutungui; Juthungi)

The Iuthungi are classified as Germanics. They lived around present-day Augsburg (the former Roman colony of Augusta Vindelicorum from 14 B.C.E.) in southern Germany, having displaced or absorbed the Hermunduri.

In the 250s–270s C.E. a number of Germanic tribes crossed into present-day Italy. In 271 C.E. the Iuthungi crossed the Alps and carried out raids in northern Italy. The Romans under Emperor Aurelian defeated them and drove them back north, part of his campaign to restore the Danube as a border with Germania. He also had a wall built around Rome. For his victories he became know as Restitutor Orbis, or "restorer of the world."

In the fourth century the Iuthungi eventually became part of an Alamanni confederation yet retained some autonomy. In 430 a force of Iuthungi were defeated by a Roman force under Flavius Aetius, after which surviving tribal members lost their political identity.

IUTHUNGI

location:
Southern Germany

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Iverni (Eurerni; Iberni; Iberi; Juerni; Uterni; Uterini)

The Iverni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day county of Cork in southern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Irish. Their name, recorded by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy, is thought to be related to Greek names for Ireland, Ierne and Hibernia. They are associated with the legendary people known as Erainn (or Fir Bolg).

Izhorians (Izhora Ingrians; Ijores; Lyds)

The Izhorians are a Finnic-speaking people, classified among Finno-Ugrians. They lived mostly in the present-day St. Petersburg region near the Gulf of Finland in northwestern Russia. Since their homeland was formerly known as Ingria, they are sometimes referred to as Ingrians, as are the Votes, their neighbors near the gulf, and the Ingrian Finns, who migrated to the region from Finland. Unlike the other peoples, however, the Izhorians are considered a subgroup of the Karelians living to the north.

The Izhorians are mentioned in the historical record from the 12th century C.E. when their homeland was along the Neva River, which runs from Lake Ladoga into the gulf. Early in their history, at least by 1270, they were tributary to the Slavs of Novgorod and forced to serve in their military. They were under Swedish rule in the 17th century and Russian rule in the 18th century.

Izhorians living along the coast were known as fishermen, and as carpenters in between fishing seasons; inland they were known more as smiths and iron founders. Izhorians in eastern villages were renowned for weaving. Unlike the Ingrian Finns, who later practiced Lutheranism, the Izhorians under Russian rule largely converted from their pagan religion to Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

IZHORIANS

location:
Near Gulf of Finland in northwestern Russia

time period:
12th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

The 20th century proved a time of hardship for the Izhorians, during which the Soviet Union (USSR) forced deportation and collectivization on native peoples. In the 1930s an Izhorian written language based on the Latin alphabet was created, allowing the collection of traditional folk songs.

See also FINNO-UGRIANS; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

J

Jatvinians *See* YOTVINGIANS.

Jazyges *See* IAZYGES.

Jews (Hebrews; Israelites)

The Jews are a Semitic people tracing descent to common ancestors from ancient Israel (known formerly as Canaan, then Judea, then Palestine, then Israel) in Asia or, by another definition, adherents of a religion known as Judaism. Although they never established a political entity in Europe, the Jews have played a part in the history of all European nations from ancient times to the present.

ORIGINS

The Jews are a Semitic people, related to other Semites of the Middle East, such as PHOENICIANS and Arabs. According to tradition as related in the Bible the first Jews migrated to present-day Israel from Mesopotamia (part of present-day Iraq). Descendants perhaps spent time in Egypt before returning to found the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Yet over the centuries many Jews began to live away from their homeland, their dispersion known as the Diaspora. The Jews who settled in Europe and elsewhere tended to assimilate economically but not culturally, continuing to practice their traditional religion and keep their community intact. Their descendants are thus believed to have a high percentage of Jewish ethnic ancestry. Yet some modern Jews are descended from peoples in other lands who converted to Judaism. In reference to ancient peoples the names Hebrews and Israelites are used synonymously with Jews; the name Israelis refers to citizens of the modern-day nation of Israel. (The name Jews is derived from Judah, a kingdom; the Hebrew word for Judeans was *yehudi,* and the Greek *ioudaios*.)

LANGUAGE

The original language of the Israelites was Hebrew, part of the Canaanite branch of the Semitic family (which includes the extinct language of the Phoenicians). Other branches are Akkadian (which includes extinct Babylonian and Assyrian), Aramaic (languages of Syria), Arabic (of the Arab world), and Ethiopic (of Ethiopia). Hebrew survived the ages in its written form. The nation of Israel, founded in 1948, revived it as an official language. The Jews who settled in other countries spoke other languages. Jewish scriptures were translated into Greek and Latin. The extant Yiddish, which evolved from the German of the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe and spread elsewhere, includes many Hebrew and Aramaic words. Judezmo (or Ladino), a combination of Hebrew and Spanish, developed among Jews living on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and was spoken by their descendants into the 20th century.

JEWS

location:
Greater Europe

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Semitic

language:
Hebrew; Yiddish; Judezmo (Ladino); plus languages of settled countries

Jews time line

B.C.E.

c. 1000	Judah founded under David.
772	Assyrians conquer Kingdom of Israel.
586	Start of Babylonian Captivity and dispersion of Jews.
540	Persians gain control of Kingdom of Judah.
332	Alexander the Great conquers Judah.
167	Maccabees revolt.
63	Romans establish Palestine.

C.E.

early fourth century	Christianity becomes official religion in Roman Empire.
1478	Spanish Inquisition persecutes Jews.
1492	Jews expelled from Spain along with Moors.
1881	Attacks on Jews condoned by authorities in Russia, the first pogrom.
1897	Movement of Zionism founded.
1938	Kristallnacht, a night of violence against Jewish lives and property, occurs in Germany.
1939–45	During World War II millions of Jews lose their life in Holocaust.
1948	State of Israel founded from part of ancient Palestine.

HISTORY

Legendary Wanderings

On the basis of tradition the Jews trace their lineage to the Israelite patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Jacob's fourth son, Judah. Abraham supposedly traveled from Mesopotamia to present-day Israel, and for a time Jacob and his 12 sons lived in Egypt. Their descendants departed Egypt, led by Moses—as related in the biblical book of Exodus. After years of wandering in the Sinai Desert, according to their belief, God revealed to them the Ten Commandments, the basic rules and principles of Jewish life. Finally they returned to Canaan, which they called Eretz Israel (the land of Israel). They formed a tribal confederation, of which Saul reportedly became the first king. He eventually was defeated by Philistines, a non-Semitic people who migrated to Palestine from the Aegean (probably Crete) in the 12th century B.C.E., a time when the eastern Mediterranean region was experiencing devastating wars and other destructive forces that are poorly understood, leading to widespread depopulation of some areas and migration of peoples. The Philistines built cities and had a tight political organization that made them formidable foes of the people of Israel.



Ancient Jews crafted this seal. *(drawing by Patti Erway)*

Early Kingdoms and Invasions

According to the Bible David was leader of the tribe of Judah who defeated the enemies of the Israelites. On the basis of other sources as well as the Bible he is believed to have ascended to power in at least a small kingdom in about 1000 B.C.E., with Jerusalem as his capital. His son, Solomon, succeeded him and ruled over a period of expansion and peace. After Solomon's death in about 920 B.C.E. a period of disruption followed, and two kingdoms formed, the 10 tribes in the kingdom of Israel in the north, and two tribes in the Kingdom of Judah in the south. In 722 B.C.E. the Assyrians under Sargon II conquered Israel and exiled most of the Israelites, the basis for the legend of the Lost Tribes of Israel. In 586 B.C.E. the Babylonians out of Mesopotamia conquered Judah and destroyed the Temple at Jerusalem. During the subsequent 50-year-long period of their rule known as the Babylonian Captivity many Jewish leaders were exiled. This and subsequent scattering of the Jews are known as the Diaspora. At this time large Jewish communities in Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt developed. Some of them became centers of learning of Jewish history and culture. Without significant political power Jewish communities were increasingly led by scholars and rabbis.

The Persians gained control of Judah in about 540 B.C.E. and allowed Jews to return as well as granting a degree of self-government. Alexander the Great of the MACEDONIANS conquered the region in 332 B.C.E., and afterward the various states of his surviving empire were ruled by monarchs, influenced by Hellenism, that is, based on traditions of the ancient GREEKS. Yet Judah continued to have some autonomy. Jews traveled widely during the Hellenistic period and sought to add to their numbers through an active policy of conversion (the word *proselyte* originally referred to a Greek who had converted to Judaism). Some foreign communities used a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures known as the Septuagint, and Judaism evolved to varying forms.

Because of later attempts to impose Greek religion on the Jews in their homeland in 167 B.C.E. they revolted under the leadership of a family known as the Maccabees—including Mattathias and his son, Judas Maccabeus—and successfully created an independent Jewish kingdom ruled by the Hasmonaean dynasty (after an ancestor, Hashmon) from 165 to 63 B.C.E.

In 63 B.C.E. the ROMANS under Pompey conquered Judah and established the province of

Palestine, with Judea as the southern division. The Romans sometimes ruled through Jewish kings and sometimes through Roman military governors. Pontius Pilate, who repressed the sect of Judaism that evolved into Christianity and himself presided over the crucifixion of Jesus, was a military governor. The Temple of Jerusalem was once again destroyed in 70 C.E. During Roman occupation many Jews traveled to other parts of the Roman Empire, because of repression but also for economic opportunities. Some became citizens of other countries.

The Continuing Diaspora

During the Roman period the Jews suffered varying degrees of repression. After a Jewish revolt led by Simon Bar Kokhba in 131–135 C.E. Jews were refused entrance to Jerusalem. Yet the polytheistic Romans were more concerned with political and economic domination than religious conversion. This condition changed when the Emperor Constantine made Christianity the official Roman religion in the early fourth century C.E., after which many Jews were persecuted for not accepting Jesus Christ as the son of God.

The GERMANICS, who seized control of much of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century C.E., as well as the BYZANTINES, the rulers of the Eastern part of the divided empire, also made life hard for the Jews. After their conversion to Catholicism in the sixth century the VISIGOTHS launched attacks on Jewish communities in Spain and southern Gaul. Meanwhile Jews in Byzantium were barred from holding public office, building new synagogues, or engaging in certain businesses.

Sephardim and Ashkenazim

The rise of Islam in the seventh century C.E. and the subsequent rise of the FRANKS led to a period of new opportunity for Jews in Europe. After the MOORS occupied the Iberian Peninsula in 711 they allowed economic development among Jewish and Christian peoples, whom they taxed. Jews in Muslim Spain developed new centers of learning and in part because of creative interaction between Jewish and Islamic culture enjoyed what is considered a golden age of literature. Even in those regions that Christians recaptured over the centuries some Jews, because they had mastered Arabic, remained in positions of influence.

The Jews in Spain and Portugal became known as Sephardim, from the Hebrew word for Spain, Sefarad. They practiced Babylonian rather than Palestinian Jewish ritual traditions and later spoke Ladino.



Ashkenazim (German Jews) pose for a photograph in 1876. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-100149])*

The Franks meanwhile had encouraged Jewish settlement in Provence in present-day southern France and in the Rhineland, territory west of the Rhine River in present-day western Germany, to further the economic development of those regions. Since the Jews were not a military threat and depended directly on the rulers for protection, the Franks and later Holy Roman rulers could trust them not to attempt to expand territory.

The Jews of the Rhineland, along with their Jewish neighbors in France, became known as Ashkenazim, from the Hebrew word for Germany, Ashkenaz. They practiced their own synagogue traditions, known as German rites, and spoke Yiddish.

The Crusades

The Crusades, the military expeditions undertaken by European Christian powers from the late 11th century through the late 13th century to recover the Holy Land in the Near East from the Muslims, meant new hardship for the Jews as they, too, experienced religious hostility from crusading armies or local mobs, especially in the

Rhineland, where populations of entire villages were massacred and homes destroyed. Some of these peoples fled eastward into territory held by the SLAVS, especially in present-day Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Russia.

Expulsion and Inquisition

In many parts of Europe during and after the Crusades Jews were forbidden ownership of land and most occupations other than trading and moneylending. In some places Jews were even expelled—Naples in 1288; England in 1290; France in 1306; Spain, partially, in 1391; and Germany periodically in the 15th century. The Jews were blamed for the bubonic plague—by poisoning wells—in Europe in the 14th century, known as the Black Death, by some among European Christian society. Some Jews chose to convert rather than leave their home. A number converted in name only. Those in Spain who continued what was known as *judaizing*—that is, practicing Judaism—were called Marranos. In 1478 to ferret out this practice and other forms of heresy against the Catholic Church, the Spaniards launched the Spanish Inquisition, during which some Jews were executed.

In 1492 when King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella I conquered the last Moorish kingdom in Spain they expelled the rest of the Jewish population. In the course of these expulsions many Ashkenazim joined earlier established Jewish communities in Poland. Some Sephardim from Spain went to other parts of Europe. Portugal was a place of refuge until 1497, when King Manuel I ordered the forced conversion of Jews. Sephardim spread throughout the Mediterranean world, many to lands in Europe and Asia controlled by the Islamic Ottoman TURKS. Some joined communities of Oriental Jews in North Africa and Asia (many of whom spoke Arabic) founded in ancient times. The expulsions of the 15th century were the last for the Jews until the 20th century.

Growing Tolerance and Opportunity

By the 16th century European Jews had developed thriving communities, typically urban, with increasing mobility among them. The Polish-Lithuanian Jewish community became a major center of scholarship in the 16th century. In the 17th century Jews began to return to western Europe. Holland, after gaining its independence from Spain in 1648, became a commercial center. The city of Hamburg in Germany drew a great number of migrants for its economic opportunities. England readmitted Jews in 1654. Economic opportunities grew, and Jews in the economic centers of western Europe gained prominence and wealth in businesses such as finance, importing and exporting, and shipbuilding.

During the cultural period of the 18th century known as the Enlightenment philosophers and writers developed the concept of human rights held by all peoples regardless of race or creed. In accordance with this principle during the French Revolution in 1789–99 French Jews were granted emancipation, in which legal restrictions and other inequities applied specially to Jews were abolished, Jews were recognized as equal to other citizens, and they were granted the rights and duties of citizenship. The Revolutions of 1848 led to the emancipation of the Jews in Germany and Austria as well. By 1871 every European country except Russia had emancipated its Jewish inhabitants.

In the meantime some Jews adopted the languages and clothing of the dominant cultures in a secularization movement countering the age-old religious tradition of cultural isolation, which for some Christian advocates of emancipation had been its main purpose, including the wearing of clothes that set them apart from other peoples. During the period from the mid-18th to late 19th century Jewish society became fragmented, and various sects formed throughout Europe, following different interpretations of Judaism.

Some European Jews had great success in business, such as the family banking dynasties, including the House of Rothschild in Germany. Mayer Amschel Rothschild, the founder, began as a moneylender at Frankfurt am Main in the late 18th century and became an agent of the British in subsidizing European sovereigns in the wars against the French under Napoleon (*see* BRITISH: NATIONALITY; FRENCH: NATIONALITY).

Pogroms and Migration

Emancipation did not prevent persecution, however, as the liberalizing tendencies of the Enlightenment dissipated during the Napoleonic Wars and Europe became more politically conservative. Assimilated as well as unassimilated Jews proved easy targets for other groups, because they tended to marry among their own people and maintain their ancient religion. The growing political and economic power of Jews caused anxiety among adherents of the nationalistic movements that had arisen during the 19th century, particularly in Germany, where the French occupation under Napoleon caused both a backlash against the liberal measures

established by the French and a movement glorifying German ethnicity and patriotism that fueled the backlash. In many countries members of the laboring and artisan classes who were suffering from the effects of the massive economic restructuring taking place as merchant capitalism replaced the economics of the ancien regime opposed the 1848 revolution because it was a product of the bourgeoisie (middle-class businessmen) who were bringing about this restructuring. Seeing Jews as prominent players in the creation of this new order, disaffected laborers took advantage of the turmoil during the revolution to attack them. In the late 19th century anti-Semitism became a political stance, as anti-Semites categorized Jews as a separate race from the supposed dominant Aryan race, and sought to segregate and disempower them.

Jews became scapegoats in many historical incidents, with authorities sometimes inciting anger against them. The assassination of the Russian czar Alexander II by revolutionaries in 1881 prompted the first pogrom—a Russian term for devastation referring to mob attacks on Jews and their property, condoned or even sponsored by authorities. After an attempted revolution in 1905 against the czar Jewish communities in some 600 cities and villages suffered attacks, with thousands killed. During the period of unrest after the Russian Revolution in 1917 numerous pogroms were carried out, especially in Ukraine. The antireligion policy of the Bolshevik government suppressed Jewish religion in the Soviet Union (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). At this time more Jews migrated to Poland, which became a center of Jewish cultural activity.

In response to persecution and pogroms the Jewish movement of Zionism, founded in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, advocated the return of Jews to Palestine (the hill Zion, where the ancient Temple stood, is a holy site in Jerusalem), which some families chose to do. Many more migrated to the United States—an estimated 2.5 million from the time of the first pogrom to the start of World War I in 1914.

The Holocaust and the Founding of Israel

In 1933 the Nazis (National Socialists) gained power in Germany under Adolf Hitler, who used Jews as scapegoats for the economic depression in gaining support for his policies. He rescinded rights of Jews granted in the emancipation, purging the civil service and educational institutions of Jews and establishing boycotts of Jewish businesses. When in 1938 a German diplomat was killed by a Jew, the Nazis launched a pogrom known as the Kristallnacht (German for Night of Broken Glass), a night of violence against Jewish lives and property. Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 started World War II (1939–45). During the war the violence against the Jews turned horrific when the Nazi Germans (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY) and their collaborators used concentration camps to gather and exterminate Jews in Hitler's "final solution." Nearly 6 million Jews in Germany itself, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, and elsewhere—almost two-thirds of all European Jews—lost their life in the episode of history known as the Holocaust. Moreover Jewish European subcultures were dispossessed, and great works of literature, especially in Yiddish, were lost.

After the war great numbers of Jews from Europe and elsewhere sought refuge in Palestine. David Ben-Gurion led the movement for independence, and in 1948 the state of Israel, with Judaism as its official religion, was established from part of ancient Palestine.

European Subgroups

In addition to Ashkenazim and Sephardim there are a number of Jewish subgroups who developed distinct cultural identities around the world, many still extant. Among those in Europe are the KHAZARS, a Turkic-speaking people, who created an empire centered on the Eurasian steppes to the northwest of the Caspian Sea in present-day southwestern Russia and southeastern Kazakhstan in the eighth to 10th centuries. Many Khazars, including the nobility, were converted to Judaism when in the eighth century large numbers of Jews fled the Byzantine Empire, where repressive measures had been instituted against them. The Khazar leadership, which until now had practiced a form of shamanism, adopted a simplified form of Judaism differing from that practiced by most Jews, in which they erected a tent for a tabernacle and offered sacrifices. Khazars are believed by some scholars to have been the ancestors of many Eastern European Jews.

The Romaniotes, Greek-speaking Jews living in the Balkans from the Hellenistic era until modern times, have traditionally practiced Judaism. When numerous Sephardim settled in Ottoman-controlled Greece, some of the Romaniotes were assimilated into their groups, but others preserved their language and identity. Those still in Greece live mainly in the region of Ioánnina near the Albanian border.

Another group are the Juhurim, or Mountain Jews (also called Dagchufuts) of

Dagestan, a republic in the northern Caucasus region of southwestern Russia and surrounding regions. They settled in the highlands on the west coast of the Caspian Sea as early as the fifth century and eventually moved to the coastal lowlands. An agricultural people, they specialized in cultivating rice, tobacco, and vineyards and raising silkworms. Their wine became popular among other peoples. They spoke an Iranian dialect and lived and dressed similar to Indo-Iranian and Caucasic peoples (*see* CAUCASIANS) around them. Although the Communist government attempted to assimilate them, they clung to their religion and now are active culturally, with theatricals and concerts celebrating their identity.

Krymchaks, or Crimean Jews, on the Crimean Peninsula of present-day Ukraine began forming a community and distinct identity in the 13th–14th centuries, Jews who perhaps had settled the region in ancient times. Over the centuries both Ashkenazim and Sephardim settled among them. In close contact with the Turkic TATARS they began to speak a dialect known as Crimean Tatar. They also developed their own rituals. They were nearly exterminated during World War II. Descendants now live mostly in Feodosiya, Kerch, and Sevastopol.

CULTURE

Government and Society

Religious Foundations Judaism, or at least for secular Jews the history of Judaism, is central to Jewish identity. The religion has been categorized as both the religion and the civilization of Jews. Even those Jews who have assimilated in other cultures have drawn on their religion and the idea of a covenant—a special relationship with God—in defining themselves as a people. The foundations of Judaism are the written law as found in the Bible's Old Testament and the oral law as recorded in the Talmud, which, in their surviving written forms, date at least to the early centuries C.E. The first five books of the Old Testament, known as the Torah, contain the fundamental laws of moral and physical conduct, including the Ten Commandments supposed to have been handed down to Moses on Mt. Sinai (the term Torah is sometimes used to refer to all teachings of Judaism). The Talmud comprises 63 books of writings by ancient rabbis defining proper Jewish life. Its two divisions are the Mishna, the text of oral law, and the Gemara, the interpretation of that law. The legal section is known as the Halakah; the laws relate to family, civil, and criminal matters; work; agriculture and food; clothing; festivals and fasts; and rituals. Poetical digressions in the text, including legends, parables, allegories, and anecdotes, are known as Haggada. In traditional Judaism spiritual leaders are known as rabbis, and places of worship are known as synagogues. In many synagogues a *hazzan* (cantor) leads the congregation in prayer and sings or chants liturgical music. Throughout the history of the Jews rabbis have also taken on political roles, and synagogues have served as communal centers.

Clothing and Personal Habits

Judaism, in its Orthodox form, calls on Jews to set themselves apart from other peoples by wearing certain hairstyles—*peot* (earlocks) for men and *sheitels* (wigs) for women—and certain clothing, such as garments with *tzitzit* (fringes) and *yamilkes* (skullcaps) for men. Food is supposed to be kosher, that is, sanctioned by Jewish law. Circumcision is a rite performed on male infants as a sign of inclusion in the Jewish religious community. Yet throughout history various branches of Judaism have reinterpreted ritual observances, allowing, for example, the wearing of the clothing of other peoples to prevent discrimination.

Religion

Literature Many different interpretations of Judaism have developed over the centuries. The Cabala is a form of Jewish mysticism, which holds that every word, letter, accent, and number of the Bible contains meaning. The earliest extant cabalist work, dating possibly to the sixth century C.E., is the *Sefer Yezirah* (Book of Creation). The *Sefer ha-zohar,* or Zohar (The Book of Splendor), was written in the 13th century by Moses de León (although he attributed it to a second-century rabbi named Simeon ben Yohai).

Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra, born in Toledo, Spain, traveled widely throughout Europe and North Africa, and Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), born in Córdoba, Spain, attempted to reconcile rabbinic Judaism with Arabic and Greek teachings.

The German Jewish philosopher centered in Berlin Moses Mendelssohn (Moses Desau) sought a modern perspective on traditional texts and advocated tolerance and assimilation.

Religious Movements In addition to philosophies various sects formed in response to societal pressures. The Hasidim (or Assideans) formed between 300 and 175 B.C.E. to resist the growing Hellenism among Jews. Hellenistic

leaders required them to sacrifice to the Greek gods and eat pork. The Hasidim played a part in the early stages of the Maccabean revolt, and many of them were killed.

An antirabbinical sect was founded in Persia in about 765 C.E. by Anan ben David, who wrote *Sefer ha-mitzwot,* which interpreted the Bible even more literally than presented in the Talmud. Followers of his beliefs came to be known as Karaites (or Caraite) and the movement as Karaism. Their written studies in both Hebrew and Arabic flourished in the 10th century. Although the movement declined in the 12th century, it survives in Israel and the Crimea. Members of this group, such as among the KARAIMS, refer to themselves as Karaites, not as Jews, and a Karaite spiritual leader is known as a *hakham* (wiseman), not a rabbi.

In the 17th century a messianic movement arose around Shabbetai Tzevi (Sabbatai Zebi). Born in Turkey he traveled throughout the Near East proclaiming himself the Messiah. Word spread and he gained adherents in North Africa and Europe as well. In 1666 he was arrested in Constantinople (modern Istanbul), whereupon he converted to Islam to save his life, and the movement died out.

In the 18th century Hasidism, as founded by the Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel Ben Eliezer) in the region of Podolia (part of modern Ukraine), taught that God could be reached not just through Talmudic study, as rabbinical Judaism maintained, but through purity of heart and joyous expression, such as in music and dance as well as in the everyday activities of working and eating. Although the Hasidim leaders, known as *rebbes,* aroused great opposition among traditional rabbis, the movement gained followers throughout eastern and central Europe, especially among the uneducated, and is still active today around the world.

In the 19th century along with the push toward emancipation there developed the Reform movement of Judaism. The movement started as the Haskalah, as had been proposed by Moses Mendelssohn and others, which encouraged the secularization of Jewish life and acculturation to modern societies while preserving the ethical content of Ashkenazic Judaism. The movement became generally known as Reform Judaism, and it is one of the main branches of contemporary Judaism, as an alternative to Orthodox Judaism. Another branch of Judaism, known as the Conservative movement, which evolved out of the theology known as positive-historical Judaism founded by Zacharias Frankel in the mid-19th century, can be viewed as a compromise between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. It has retained some traditional elements while discarding others; in recent times, for example, it has allowed the ordination of women as rabbis.



It is estimated that 2.4 million Jews of some 14 million worldwide live in Europe. Those nations with large Jewish populations include Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Russia, and Ukraine. The different interpretations and multiplicity of Jewish identities make it difficult to determine exact population figures. Some people consider themselves part of an ethnic and religious group; others define themselves as part of an ethnic group yet lack religious affiliation; others consider themselves Jewish because they practice Judaism; still others manifest a strict adherence to the ancient Jewish law that states that Jewishness is determined by female descent or the conversion to Judaism in accord with tradition. The state of Israel has a broader Law of Return, which holds that anyone who has a Jewish grandparent or who has converted to Judaism is Jewish. Despite the varying beliefs and ways of life in a broad sense Jews—whether "religious Jews" or "secular Jews"—represent a peoplehood.

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JUTES

location:
Jutland Peninsula in Denmark; Britain

time period:
Fifth to seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Jutic (Germanic)

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Jutes (Jutae; Eotan)

The Jutes, a Germanic tribe, originally occupied territory on the Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark, named for them. They, along with the ANGLES, FRISIANS, and SAXONS, were among the GERMANICS who in the fifth and sixth centuries settled in Britain and eventually became known as ANGLO-SAXONS.

ORIGINS

In the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. Jutland became part of an important north-south trade route to the northern Carpathian Mountain region and beyond; the most important Jutish trade product was amber. This far-ranging trade had relatively little impact on the Jutes, however, until the Romans expanded their empire north and east to the Rhine in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Trading activities accordingly expanded far beyond anything that had been seen in the region before. The Romans had a great demand for slaves, on which their agricultural economy was based, and for leather to equip their armies, both of which the Jutes and the other Germanic tribes began to supply to them in great quantities. The Jutes, being the farthest from the Roman border, were least affected by the trade and seem to have preserved a more archaic barter economy with less social stratification than developed in the tribes to their south and west. But the Roman presence fostered the warrior elite in Jutish society, who would spearhead the migration of many Jutes to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. The name Jutes is thought to be derived from the Old Norse Iotar, originally applied to the tribe.

LANGUAGE

The now-extinct Jutish dialect of German is known as Jutic. It was similar to the Angle and Saxon dialects, grouped with them in the Low German branch. After these tribes migrated to Britain, their dialects grew grammatically closer to one another; out of them English emerged.

HISTORY

According to a traditional story recorded by Gildas, a Briton, and Bede, an Anglo-Saxon, writing in the sixth century and afterward, Vortigern, a king of the BRITONS, invited the Saxons to Britain, along with the Angles and Jutes, to help fight the PICTS. The time frame given for their arrival is 446–454 C.E., although Germanics had migrated there earlier after governance by the ROMANS ended in 410 and groups continued to arrive in the sixth century. The first Jutes to arrive, Hengist and Horsa, sons of one Wihtgils, reportedly landed at Ebbsfleet on the Isle of Thanet. After helping defeat the Picts the Jutes supposedly rebelled against the Britons, who were eventually driven west to Wales. Horsa was killed in battle in 455. Hengist ruled his people from Kent. The kings of Kent trace their direct descent from him and through his son, Oeric (or Oisc), after whom the Kentish royal house, Oiscingas, is named. Other tribal members settled in southern Hampshire and on the Isle of Wight. The tribe Eotan mentioned in the Old English epic poem *Beowulf,* probably from the eighth century, is thought to refer to the Jutes.

The Jutes, Angles, Frisians, and Saxons collectively became known as the Anglo-Saxons as early as the seventh century. By the eighth century the name Jute was no longer used in Britain. Those Jutes in Jutland who did not migrate were later absorbed by the VIKINGS, who established the kingdom of Denmark, comprising most of the Jutland Peninsula.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

In the Bronze Age Jutish amber was traded south along the Rhine and Upper Danube to the northern Carpathian region, where there was a flourishing bronze industry. New forms of swords, spears, and other objects were introduced to Jutland by peoples of the Carpathians. Jutish amber also found its way into the maritime trade routes of the Atlantic coastal zone.

At Drengsted in Jutland evidence of the effect of trade with the Romans has been found in the large scale of iron making carried out there in the third century C.E., far in excess of local needs. The Roman trade indirectly caused an increase in local trading as well, as wealth flowed into Jutland. Stocks of luxury goods such

Jutes time line

C.E.

fifth-sixth century Jutes occupy parts of Britain.

sixth century Jutish kingdom of Kent is first Anglo-Saxon polity ot rise to dominance.

eighth century Jutes assimilated into English with other Anglo-Saxon tribes.

as glassware have been found. At the same time farmsteads began to differentiate in size, an indication of social stratification. Often a single farmstead in a locality would dominate the rest; such sites yield concentrations of Roman items such as Samian Ware, bronze vessels, and beads.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Jutes of the first millennium C.E., as did other northern Germanic peoples, continued to live in longhouses little changed from those built from the beginning of the Neolithic Age thousands of years before. The roofs of these longhouses were supported on centrally placed rows of timbers, usually two rows on either side of the roof ridge. A fifth-century B.C.E. house at Grøntoft in Jutland had three aisles of supporting timbers.

Clothing

Examples of Jutish Bronze Age clothing were recovered from a burial mound at Egtved in southern Jutland. The woman in the grave wore a short-sleeved woolen shirt, a string skirt, and a woven belt with a large disk-shaped bronze belt ornament with a central spike. She was laid on fur and wrapped in a coarse woolen blanket, with a birchbark cup. Her coffin was a single hollowed-out log.

Other Technologies

A distinctive technique of bronze working based on casting was developed in Jutland in the mid-second millennium B.C.E. in response to new styles arriving there from the Carpathian region. Weapons were decorated with spirals, and women's collars and large disk-shaped belt ornaments were made.

Art

One of the finest examples of northern Germanic art consists of a pair of gold horn-shaped objects unearthed in Gallehus in Jutland. Dating from about 400 C.E. they are among the largest gold artifacts ever found in Denmark. They bear runic inscriptions and numerous enigmatic figures, including warriors and other human figures hard to interpret, most notably a three-headed woman, horses, deer, and other unidentified mammals, snakes, fish, a centaur-like creature, and horned naked men. The style of decoration differs from the Celtic La Tène style predominant in much of contemporary Europe. The use and meaning of these horns have not been satisfactorily explained, although the runes give the name of their maker, one Hlewagastir.

Religion

Ritual Deposition in Bogs During the Iron Age in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. people in Jutland followed the practice, similar to that of Celtic peoples during the same period, of depositing objects, animals, and human bodies in bogs. This was probably a religious ritual, an offering to the gods. A number of the human bodies had clearly been sacrificed. For example, "Tollund man," named after the village near which he was found—so well preserved by the peat in which he had been buried that his stomach contained the remains of his last meal—had been fed a gruel of many different kinds of wild and domesticated vegetables and seeds, some of them rare and hard to find, growing only in the vicinity of the spring near his burial place, suggesting it was a ritual food, like the *polyspermia* (many-seeded soup) of the GREEKS. After eating this gruel Tollund man was stripped naked except for a cap and belt and strangled with a leather rope, then buried in the bog. The composition of his gruel suggests that he was killed in late winter or early spring, since some of the ingredients would have been available only then. Thus his sacrifice may have been part of the Germanic festival of Eostre. Many similar bodies have been found in Jutland.

The Gundestrup Cauldron Among the most famous archaeological finds ever made in Jutland was from a ritual deposit in a bog: the second-century B.C.E. Gundestrup Cauldron, a large, elaborately decorated silver vessel. Instead of providing evidence of a distinctively Jutish culture, however, the Cauldron underscores the relative fluidity of cultural identity in the Iron Age, for its strongly Celtic character, in terms of motifs, shows it was probably made for a Celtic chieftain (*see* CELTS). But the style of its ornamentation makes it nearly certain the maker was of the THRACIANS. And it depicts the Celtic god Cernunnos with knees bent in the yogic "lotus" position, perhaps reflecting the shamanic use of tantric yoga from India among the Thracians and the eastern Celts. It is thought to have reached Jutland as booty carried there by a member of the Germanic CIMBRI, who had left the German Baltic coast in the second century B.C.E. and raided south as far as Thracian territory before returning to settle in Jutland.

Many of the Germanic tribes whose names have been recorded in written historical accounts seem to have had only a fleeting exis-

tence as distinct peoples. Their names are used for several centuries and then disappear. The Jutes are one of these, whose name had long been forgotten by the end of the first millennium C.E. This impression given by written records is largely illusory, of course. In the case of the Jutes people of Jutish descent continued to occupy Denmark and England down to the present, whatever they called themselves. The fact that so many Germanic tribal names come and go in history may point to the fact that tribal allegiances were relatively fluid, and cultural similarities among them predominated over the differences that separate names seem to imply.

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Juthungi *See* Iuthungi.

K

Kalmyks (Kalmucks; Oryats; Oirats)

The Kalmyks are a Mongolian people, living mostly in Kalmykia, a republic along the northwestern shore of the Caspian Sea and west of the lower Volga River in southwestern Russia. Subgroups include Buzawa, Dorbet (Derbet), and Torgut. Their language belongs to the Oryat (Oirat), or western, branch of the Mongolic language. The name Oryat is derived from a confederation of western MONGOLS known as the Dörben Oyrat, meaning "Four Allies," various tribes united against the eastern Mongols.

In the early 17th century C.E. these ancestors of the Kalmyks migrated westward from Chinese Turkestan to the southern Ural Mountains. From there they moved farther to the west to the lower Volga. In the 18th century their territory became part of the Russian Empire, and in 1771 the majority of Kalmyks living east of the Volga attempted to return to China but suffered attacks by Russian SLAVS, Mongols, and TURKICS en route, and many perished. The word Kalmyk in Turkish means "remnant," in reference to those who stayed in the west.

The Kalmyk homeland became a region of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1920 and then a Soviet Socialist Republic. Kalmykia is now part of the Russian Federation. In 1945 just after World War II the Kalmyks were deported to Siberia for aiding the Nazis against the Russians, but they were allowed to return to their homeland in 1956.

Many Kalmyks have maintained their traditional nomadic way of life and still move about seasonally with their herds and live in a type of tent known as a *ger,* their word for a yurt. Others have adopted a more sedentary agricultural way of life and live in permanent dwellings. Most are Tibetan Buddhists but practice some shamanistic rituals unique to then. Some Kalmyks are Muslims.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Karachay (Karachai; Karachayevs)

The Karachay are a Turkic-speaking people, that is, TURKICS, living mostly in Karachay-Cherkessia in southern Russia in the northern Caucasus Mountains along with the Cherkess, a subgroup of the Caucasic-speaking CIRCASSIANS. Their language, related to that of the BALKARS and known as Karachay-Balkar, is of the Turkic Northwestern (Kipchak) group.

With the arrival of the MONGOLS in eastern Europe in the 13th century C.E. the Karachay took refuge in the northern Caucasus Mountains, migrating from southern Ukraine; others migrated there in the 15th century. The Karachay are sometimes grouped with the TATARS.

Karachayev, traversed by the Kuban River, became part of the Russian Empire in 1828, although the Karachay continued to resist Russian rule into the 1860s, and many of them emigrated to the Ottoman Empire to escape Russian oppression. Their homeland was first

KALMYKS

location:
Northwest Caspian Sea and Lower Volga River regions of southwestern Russia

time period:
17th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Mongolian

language:
Mongolic

KARACHAY

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Karachay-Balkar (Turkic)

KARAIMS

location:
Southwestern Russia; Ukraine; Lithuania; Poland; Romania

time period:
Eighth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Karaim (Turkic)

KARELIANS

location:
Northwestern Russia; Finland

time period:
Ninth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

KASHUBES

location:
Baltic Sea coast between Oder and Vistula Rivers in northern Poland

time period:
Seventh century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Kashubian (West Slavic)

organized as a region in 1920 and merged with the Cherkess region in 1922.

Traditionally an agricultural people, the Karachay have developed mining and industry in their homeland.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Karaims (Karailar; Karaite)

The Karaim are a Turkic-speaking people, their dialect of the Northwestern (Kipchak) language family also known as Karaim. They live in the North Caucasus region of southwestern Russia, in Ukraine, in Lithuania, as well as in Poland and Romania and in Asia in small numbers.

In the eighth century C.E. the Karaim adopted Judaism as part of a sect known as Karaism. The name Karaim is probably derived from the Old Hebrew *qâráim* referring to readers of Holy Scripture. Hebrew, in which their sacred texts have been written since the Middle Ages, became a second language for many Karaim. From the eighth to the 10th century tribal members were subject to the KHAZARS, also TURKICS, but managed to preserve their Jewish religion.

From the 11th to the 18th century most Karaim lived in the mountainous central part of the Crimea. Their traditional activities were farming, crafts, and trading.

Most Karaim now live in urban areas. With the Karaim dispersed and many of their young people adopting the languages of the nations where they live, their native language is on the verge of extinction.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Karantanians

See CARANTANIANS.

Karelians (Carelians; Karjalaiset; Karjalazhet; Korlaks)

The Karelians are a Finnic-speaking people living in both Finland and Russia. In Finland they are classified as one of the major tribal groups of FINNS, a subgroup of FINNO-UGRIANS, in the historic record since the ninth century C.E. Their homeland comprised central and eastern regions of FINLAND. The Karelians gave their name to the Russian Federation's Republic of Karelia to the north of St. Petersburg; the largest Karelian population is found in the province of Tver, southeast of St. Petersburg. The IZHORIANS, who live around St. Petersburg in Russia, are considered an offshoot of the Karelians, as are the Kainulaiset (or KVENS), who migrated from Finland to Sweden and Norway. Among the other subgroups of the Karelians in Finland and Russia are the Ludes, Olonets, and Tvers. Karelians who moved to Siberia are known as Korlaks. On the basis of their language, which has Estonian elements, a connection is made to the ESTHS, also Finnic speaking, but whether the Karelians ever lived in present-day Estonia or when they settled their homeland is not known.

The name Karelia first occurs in Scandinavian sources in the eighth century C.E. A later report by the VIKINGS to King Alfred of the ANGLO-SAXONS places the Karelians on the southern Kola Peninsula and White Sea in the ninth century C.E. From the ninth to the 12th century the southern part of Karelia was ruled by the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality. In the 12th century the Karelians were subservient to Novgorod and were converted to Eastern Orthodox Christianity. From the 13th century Sweden and Russia battled over Karelia; in 1323 the Russian-Swedish border divided the Karelian territory.

The Karelians traditionally have been fishermen, hunters, farmers, and lumberjacks. They have lived in large family groups. Karelians have always followed the Finnic practice of creating story songs, often with magical lyrics. Most of the famous Finnish *Kalevala* songs originated in Karelia, but very few Karelian language books have ever been published. The earliest example of the Karelian Balto-Finnic language is written on birch bark and was discovered in Novgorod in 1957. The document dates from the 13th century and represents a pagan prayer for protection against lightning. The writing is in the Cyrillic alphabet.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Kashubes (Kashubs; Kashubians; Kaschubians; Kasubes; Kasubians; Kaszebe; Cassoubs; Cashubians)

The Kashubes are an ethnolinguistic group of POLES, currently living along the Baltic Sea coast between the Oder and Vistula Rivers in northern Poland (formerly the region of Pomerania). They are descendants of the tribe known as POMERANIANS, considered Western SLAVS, who arrived in the region by the seventh century C.E. Their dialect, known as Kashubian or Kaszub, is West Slavic. It resembles Polish more than a related dialect, Slovincian, of Slavic peoples living to the west known as Slovintzi and Kabatki.

In the Treaty of Versailles (1919–20) after World War I Poland was granted a narrow strip

of land along the Baltic, known as the Polish Corridor, west of the Vistula River and between East and West Prussia, where many Kashubs lived. In 1939 the Germans seized the region (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). With the establishment of the Oder-Neisse boundary between Poland and East Germany in 1950, however, the Kashub native homeland again became part of Poland.

Although mostly farmers and fishermen, the Kashubs have maintained little of their traditional folk culture as distinct from that of other Poles (*see* POLES: NATIONALITY). Since the 19th century many have migrated to the United States.

Kauki *See* CAUCI.

Kazakhs (Kazaks; Qazaq; Quazaq)

The Kazakhs are a Turkic-speaking people, who make up nearly half of the people of the nation of Kazakhstan, a small portion of which—west of the Ural River and to the north of the Caspian Sea—is located in Europe. Kazakhs live in other parts of Asia as well, especially in China, Uzbekistan, and Asian Russia, with smaller communities elsewhere. The language Kazakh (or Qazaq) is of the Northwestern (Kipchak; Ogur) family, part of the Aralo-Caspian subgroup.

It is believed that the Kazakh identity came into being in the mid-15th century C.E. after the dissolution of the Mongol Empire. A number of different tribes of TURKICS united, including KIPCHAKS, NOGAY, and Uzbeks; some MONGOLS were presumably among them as well. The Kazakh khanate, extending throughout much of present-day Kazakhstan, was ruled by Kasym Khan in 1511–23. Yet the khanate ultimately consisted of three separate hordes composed of a number of tribes collectively ruled by a khan: the Great or Elder Horde (Ulu Zhuz) in the southeast, the Middle Horde (Orta Zhuz) in the central steppes, and the Little or Lesser Horde (Kishi Zhuz) between the Aral Sea and the Ural River in the west. The hordes united from time to time to defend against invaders, in particular the Mongols living to their east.

In the 19th century the hordes were absorbed into the Russian Empire. In the early 20th century after an unsuccessful revolt against the Russian presence and resulting forced labor, some Kazakhs fled to Sinkiang (the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region) in China. Kazakhstan, after being a republic in the Soviet Union (USSR), became independent in 1991.

About half of the population consider themselves ethnic Kazakhs. Russians make up about a third; the rest are largely other Turkic and Slavic groups. Many modern Kazakhs (also called Kazakhstanis) still live their traditional rural way of life as nomadic herders of yaks on the steppes of both Kazakhstan and China. Most are Muslims.

KAZAKHS

location:
Kazakhstan

time period:
15th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Kazakh (Turkic)

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Kelts *See* CELTS.

Khazars (Chazars; Kavars)

The Khazars, a Turkic-speaking people, created an empire centered on the Eurasian steppes to the northwest of the Caspian Sea in present-day southwestern Russia and southeastern Kazakhstan in the eighth to 10th century C.E. They were unique among the ancient TURKICS in that they made Judaism their official religion.

ORIGINS

The Khazars are thought to have had a distinct identity among Turkic peoples as early as the second century. They were part of the eastern Gokturk Empire of much of central Asia founded in the sixth century C.E. By the seventh century they had established their independence from other Turkic peoples. Their name is thought to be derived from a Turkic word for "wandering."

KHAZARS

location:
Southwestern Russia; Ukraine

time period:
Sixth to 12th century C.E.

derivation of name:
Probably Turkic word for "wandering"

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Turkic

LANGUAGE

The language of the Khazars was related to that of the BULGARS and the CHUVASH. Some scholars have classified it as distinct from Turkic, that is, a separate but related Altaic branch. No written Khazar document or inscription has survived.

HISTORY

South of the Caucasus

The Khazars are known to have had contact with the Persians in present-day Iran in the mid-sixth century. In 628 they were allies of

Khazars time line	
C.E.	
628	Khazars allied with Byzantines against Persians.
685	Khazars drive Arabs from northern Caucasus.
737	Itil on the Lower Volga becomes Khazar capital.
965	Rus defeat Khazars.

the Byzantines under the Eastern Roman emperor Heraclius in his campaign against the Persians. During this period they held territory in Transcaucasia, that is, lands south of the Caucasus Mountains in Asia. Yet Arab expansion northward threatened their homeland. The Khazars resisted, but by the mid-seventh century the Arabs managed to seize territory in the northern Caucasus region, including Derbent on the Caspian Sea in 661. The Khazars drove them back into Transcaucasia in 685 but were themselves forced out of Transcaucasia by the 720s.

The Khazar Empire

In 737 the Khazars made Itil on the Volga delta their capital and a center of commerce. Through both commerce and conquest they expanded their territory westward and north-



ward. They exacted tribute from numerous peoples, such as the ALANS, the Volga BULGARS, the eastern SLAVS, and the GREEKS of Black Sea colonies. By the second half of the eighth century the Khazar Empire had grown from the Caspian Sea and Black Sea (including the Crimean Peninsula) as far north as the Ural Mountains and as far west as the Dnieper River and Kiev in present-day Ukraine. The Khazars maintained a commercial alliance and at times a military alliance with the Byzantines. The emperors Justinian II and Constantine V both married Khazar women, furthering ties.

In the early ninth century three dissident tribes of Khazars, known as Kavars (or Kabars), had joined the MAGYARS. In 965 the RUS under Svyatoslav, duke of Kiev, defeated them. Meanwhile the PECHENEGS were growing in power to their north and west. In 1016 the last known Khazar ruler, Gerogius Tzul, was captured by a joint Rus-Byzantine force. In the following years the KIPCHAKS controlled their homeland. The Khazars were dispersed and absorbed by other peoples. Yet their name appeared in accounts of travelers through the region as late as the 12th century. The name Khazaria also endured for a time in reference to Crimea and the lands beside the Sea of Azov (part of the Black Sea).

CULTURE (*see also* TURKICS)

Economy

The Khazars supported themselves primarily through agriculture and trade. As their empire expanded the collection of tribute also provided revenue. The fact that they held lands along the east-west trade route, linking Byzantium and the Far East, and the north-south route, linking Arab and Slavic interests, also allowed for the collection of duties on goods.

Government and Society

The Khazars were a sedentary people, living in villages with fortresses for defense. A supreme ruler, known as a *khagan* (or *qaghan*), had symbolic more than practical political and religious power. The tribal chieftains, or military commanders, each known as a *beg* (or *bek*), exercised greater day-to-day authority.

Religion

The Khazars originally practiced a polytheistic and shamanistic religion, centered around the sky god Tengri. Although both Christian and Muslim missionaries sought to convert them, the Khazar ruling class converted to Judaism in about 740, possibly as a way of avoiding both Byzantine and Arabic dominance. The Khazar highest court came to consist of two Jews, two Christians, two Muslims, and a follower of traditional Turkic religion. The first Jewish king was named Bulan Sabriel, founder of the Bulanid dynast in the eighth century. A later king, Obadiah of the eighth and ninth centuries, welcomed rabbis among the Khazars and encouraged the building of synagogues. Yet religious tolerance was also encouraged, and many subjects retained their traditional religions, and Judaism spread only gradually among them.

The Judaism of the Khazars had led scholars to seek connections to other Jewish people around the world. Some scholars have maintained, for example, that many Eastern European JEWS—the Ashkenazi—are descended from Khazars. Genetic studies, however, have indicated that the Khazars are not dominant in their ancestry.

The word Khazar has been theorized to be the root of other words, such as *cossack* and *hussar.*

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Kipchaks (Kypchaks; Kimaks; Cumans; Polovtsi)

The Kipchaks were a loose tribal confederation of TURKICS, originally nomads living on the steppes or western Asia and eastern Europe. The westernmost Kipchak tribes who played a significant role in European history were known as CUMANS or Polovtsi. (The name Cumans is used both synonymously with and as a subgroup of Kipchaks.) The name Kipchaks is also associated with a Turkic language group, the Northwestern group, Ogur, or Kipchak group.

The ancestors of the Kipchaks are thought to have lived in western Siberia by the ninth century C.E. and to have migrated from the Irtysh River southwest across Kazakhstan to establish themselves in the steppe country of

KIPCHAKS

location:
Southwestern Russia; Ukraine

time period:
Ninth to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Kipchak (Turkic)

KOMI

location:
The region of the rivers Volga and Kama on both sides of the Urals

time period:
c. 500 C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Permic (Finnic)

eastern Europe—from north of the Aral Sea to north of the Black Sea—in present-day southwestern Russia and Ukraine by the early to mid-11th century. Many of them are thought to have been Kimaks, an Asian steppe people known as fur traders who built underground villages with networks of trenches and large wooden idols surrounded by stone monoliths.

From the late 11th through the 12th century the Kipchaks were the most powerful people on the eastern European steppes. They are closely associated with the MONGOLS, who invaded their territory in the 13th century; in 1237 the Mongols defeated the eastern Kipchak tribes under Bachman, leading to the breakup of the tribal confederation by 1239. (The Mongols themselves, who founded the Kipchak khanate in present-day western Russia, were called Kipchaks although the leaders were of different ancestry and tradition.)

Some Kipchaks remained in Europe as the Cumans; others are thought to be ancestral to the KAZAKHS; others, in their weakened state, became a source of slaves for the Muslim world.

Kizi-Kumuk *See* LAK.

Komi (Syryenians; Zyrians; Zyrane; Zyryani; Serjane; Sirene; Saran; Saran-Jakh; Sanor; Sara-kum; Permyaks)

The Komi are a Finnic-speaking people, classified among the FINNO-UGRIANS. They lived in present-day east-central and north-central European Russia. Their ancestral core territory is considered the region around the Kama River descending from the Ural Mountains. The Komi tribes split into two groups in about 500 C.E. Those who stayed behind in the Kama basin became known as Komi-Permyaks (or Permyaks); their homeland later became organized as Permyakia (the Komi-Permyak Autonomous Okrug). Those who migrated northward to the Vychegda and Pechora Rivers became known as the Komi-Zyrians (or Syryenians); their homeland later became organized as the Kama Republic, a small portion of which is north of the Arctic Circle. Another group migrated southeastward to the Middle and Upper Jazva, part of the Kama watershed, and were known as the Komi-Jazva (or Komi-Yazua or Komi-Yazvas); their homeland is now part of the Perm Oblast. The Komi have since settled in adjoining regions as well.

ORIGINS

According to linguistic theory the Permic branch of the Finnic populations of Russia is considered to have split off from other groups, possibly between 2500 and 2000 B.C.E. It is thought that sometime during the first millennium B.C.E. the Komi tribe separated from the UDMURTS and eventually settled in the Middle and Upper Kama River region. Their name may be derived from the name of the river. Other possible source words are *Kommu,* "homelands"; *kom,* "grayling" (the totem of the Komi); *Kama,* "white."

LANGUAGE

The Komi language is in the Permic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family. The closest linguistic relatives to the Komi are the UDMURTS. The various Komi dialect languages are written with the Russian alphabet, with two extra letters.

HISTORY

In 1187 Russian SLAVS out of Novgorod first traveled to the Ural Mountains to collect furs and taxes, as attested by the first reference to the Perm settlement in Russian sources. Moscow continued to establish its influence over the homeland of the Komi and initiated sporadic military campaigns. In 1463 some Komi began to move to the Upper Vychegda and Pechora River basins. By 1472 Moscow had gained control over their territories, which became a hub for trade with Siberia and later the starting point for the conquest of Siberia by the COSSACKS.

From the 16th century Russians began extensive settlements in the area, and a salt and mining industry was established. Many Komi-Permyaks migrated to Siberia rather than suffer exploitation as cheap labor in these industries. Those who remained in their homeland experi-

Komi time line

C.E.	
c. 500	Komi form two groups; one migrates to Vychegda River basin.
1187	Novgorod Slavs journey to Ural Mountains to collect furs and taxes from Komi.
1379	Saint Stephen of Perm constructs Komi alphabet, and translates religious texts into Komi; subsequently many Komi convert to Christianity.
1463	Komi begin new migration, into Upper Vychegda and Pechora River basins.

enced poverty and a loss of their traditional way of life. The severity of the frigid climate and their inaccessible geographic location kept the Komi-Zyrians culturally isolated until after World War II (1939–45).

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

The traditional economy of the Komi was based on agriculture, breeding, hunting, and fishing. Archaeological evidence also provides evidence of the extensive smelting of copper and bronze. They had trade contacts with neighboring peoples. The economic activities of the Komi now vary significantly: Reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, and lumbering are typical among northern groups, and agriculture, industry, and mining among southern groups.

In 1379 Saint Stephen of Perm out of Byzantium constructed the Komi alphabet, or *abur,* and translated a series of religious texts into Komi. Since about that time the Komi have been nominally Eastern Orthodox Christians, although some of their animistic pre-Christian beliefs and rituals have endured.

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Koriondi *See* CORIONDI.

Kosovars (Kossovars; people of Kosovo)

The name Kosovars refers to people living in the province of Kosovo, situated in the southwestern portion of present-day Serbia and Montenegro. Kosovo was originally inhabited by ILLYRIANS. From the sixth century C.E. SLAVS began migrating to the region. For a time in the ninth century the BULGARS established a presence. In the 12th century Kosovo became the central part of the Serbian Empire under the Nemanjic dynasty. The Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) invaded and defeated the Serbs in 1389 and again in 1459 and maintained control over the region until 1912, when for one year it was part of the newly founded independent state of Albania, until Serbian domination was negotiated. In 1918 Kosovo became a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later renamed Yugoslavia. Kosovo is now politically defined as part of Serbia and Montenegro (*see* SERBS AND MONTENEGRINS: NATIONALITY), although the Albanian inhabitants maintain close ties with Albania (*see* ALBANIANS: NATIONALITY). Conflicts between the occupying Albanians and Serbs influenced government policies and instigated warfare throughout the 20th century.

Krivichians (Krivichi; Krivichy; Kriviches; Crivichi)

The Krivichians were a tribal confederation of Eastern SLAVS, living along the Upper Western Dvina and Dnieper Rivers in present-day northern Belarus and western Russia, centered around the site of present-day Smolensk possibly by the sixth century C.E. They expanded westward toward Lake Peipus and Lake Pskov on the edge of present-day eastern Estonia, where with the founding of the trading town of Pskov in the ninth century they created a point of access to the Baltic Sea. Pskov was linked with Novgorod in a trade network first created by VIKINGS, thought to be involved in the founding of both cities.

In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples, the Krivichians were under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907. With other Slavic tribes in the region—DREGOVICIANS, DREVLYANS, POLOCHANIANS, and RADIMICHIANS—the Krivichians are considered ancestral to modern Belarusians (*see* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY).

Kumyks (Kumuks)

The Kumyks are a Turkic-speaking people, living in the northern Caucasus region of southwestern Russia, mostly in the lowlands of northeastern Dagestan near the Caspian Sea and to the north in Chechniya. Others live in Turkey, Iran, and Syria. The Kumyks consider themselves indigenous to the region. The first historical mention of them occurred in the second century C.E. Yet they acknowledge ancestry and influences from other peoples as well, such as the KHAZARS and KIPCHAKS, fellow TURKICS who lived among them in the fourth to 12th centuries; their speech has elements from the languages of those peoples. They also count HUNS among their ancestors.

The Kumyks adopted Islam in the 11th century. From the 15th century to 1867 they

were united in the Shamkhalat khanate (shamkhal is their word for a prince), after which they were under Russian administration. The Kumyk language was the lingua franca of the region for some three centuries.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917 the Kumyks joined other North Caucasian peoples in the struggle for a North Caucasian Democratic Republic; Dagestan was created in 1920 as a Soviet republic, and cultural identities were suppressed. In 1989 during the First Congress of Kumyk People the Kumyk People's Movement known as Tengelik was founded to preserve cultural traditions and develop the economy. In 1991 Dagestan, consisting of 19 different ethnic groups, became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation.

The Kumyks are traditionally an agricultural people who in the 20th and 21st centuries have worked increasingly in industry, especially in port cities. Traditional Kumyk clothing includes tunic-shaped shirts and pants and quilted coats, often decorated with gold and silver trim. They perform songs and dances accompanied by stringed instruments called *kumuzes,* wind instruments, and accordions.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Kuns *See* CUMANS; KIPCHAKS.

Kurs *See* CURONIANS.

Kuyavians (Kujavians; Kujawianie)

The Kuyavians are classified as a tribe of Western SLAVS. They lived along the central Vistula River in present-day northern Poland by at least the 10th century C.E. Their neighbors to the southwest, the MAZOVIANS, spoke a related dialect. As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS. Along with the POLANIANS, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, the Kuyavians are among the ancestors of the POLES.

Kvens (Kvins; Kvaens; Kwaenes; Kaïans; Kainuu; Kainulaiset; Kainuunmaa)

The Kvens are a Finnic-speaking people, that is, classified among the FINNO-UGRIANS. They can be considered an offshoot of the KARELIANS, in turn a subgroup of the tribal FINNS, and originally lived in present-day northern Finland and later northern Sweden. Kvens currently living in northern Norway maintain their cultural identity (*see* NORWEGIANS: NATIONALITY).

The earliest mention of Kvenland or Cwenland in northern Finland is from the ninth century C.E. It is also mentioned in the sagas of the VIKINGS. Neither its exact location nor the constituent subtribes are known. The name Kven is probably derived from the Old Norse word *hvein* for flat and humid lands and has been used variously over the centuries. Kvens and related names such as Kainulaiset were first used in reference to people who settled along the northern Gulf of Bothnia in northern Finland and Sweden as well as to those who migrated farther north into northern Norway, especially to the present-day counties of Finnmark and Troms in the 18th and 19th centuries.

For a time Norwegians used Kvens with negative connotations in reference to all Finnic-speaking peoples who had settled in Norway. The ancestral Finnics, now grouped as Kvens in northern Norway, have minority status as a distinct group apart from other Finnish immigrants, such as those who settled in Finnskogen in southeastern Norway in the 17th century.

The earliest Kven visitors to the Arctic Sea coast of Norway were probably seasonal fishermen; some settled there permanently. Other visitors were traders, who sought to exchange flour, hemp, iron artifacts, and clothing for dried fish. Farming families migrated north and west in search of new lands. In later centuries many of those who settled in Norway did so to work as commercial fishermen or in the copper mines.

In recent decades the Kvens have increasingly celebrated their identity and culture. The organization Norske Kveners Forbund, founded in 1987, helped bring about the granting of minority status in 1996. Kven newspapers appear in both Finnish and Norwegian; most Kvens are bilingual.

L

Lactorates

The Lactorates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Lectoure in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Lectoure takes its name from the tribal name.

Ladins

The Ladins are people of modern-day Italy, most of whom live in the Trentino–Alto Adige region in the north, especially in the Dolomites, a chain of the Eastern Alps. They are classified on the basis of their shared language known as Ladin, a Rhaeto-Romanic dialect of the Romance branch of Italic languages, probably related to Friulian, which is also spoken in Italy (*see* FRIULIANS). Presently 20,000 Italians speak Ladin, recognized as an official language by the Italian government since 1937. Romansch dialects spoken in Switzerland, such as Engadine, Sursilvan, and Sutsilvan, are closer to Ladin than to Friulian.

CELTS, among them the RAETI, occupied the region as early as the second century B.C.E., whence the name for the language group, but numerous other peoples lived there over the previous and subsequent centuries, among them the ETRUSCANS, ILLYRIANS, ROMANS, and ancient GERMANICS. It is therefore hard to determine the ancestry of the Ladins.

See also ITALIANS: NATIONALITY.

Laks (Lakks; Kazi Kumukh; Kizi-Kumuk; Ghazi-Qumuq)

The Laks are various Caucasic-speaking tribes, living for the most part in the northern Caucasus Mountains of central Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia. About one-third of their number live in Makhachkala, the capital of Dagestan. Their five dialects are classified as part of the North-East (Dagestanian) branch of North Caucasic and are closely related to the dialects of the DARGWAS.

As all other CAUCASIANS, the Laks are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining identity based on language since the second millennium B.C.E. Over the centuries they have been influenced by the many invaders of their homeland from both Europe and Asia. The Ghazi-Qumuq khanate, established in the 14th century, maintained its relative independence and was a place of refuge for other Caucasians as well. In the 15th century it expanded to the northeast, occupying territory of the Shamkhalat khanate of the KUMYKS. The Laks lost power in the 17th century, and many tribal members lived in isolation in the high mountains.

Lak territory fell under Russian rule in the beginning of the 19th century; at that time the Laks were first voluntarily and then forcibly moved from the high country to pasture lands. Their economic life has been organized around herding and farming. They have maintained traditional extended family structures, as well

LADINS

location:
Trentino–Alto Adige region of northern Italy

time period:
After second century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Ladin (Rhaeto-Romanic)

LAKS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Dagestanian (Caucasic)

as a village assembly and council of elders. Islam was introduced in the region by Arabs in the eighth–ninth centuries, but the Laks were not thoroughly converted until the 19th century. The Lak territory has since become the religious center of Islam for Dagestan's Muslims.

In 1991 Dagestan, consisting of 19 different ethnic groups, became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Langobards *See* LOMBARDS.

Laplanders *See* SAAMI.

Lapps *See* SAAMI.

Latgallians *See* LETTS.

Latins (Latini)

LATINS

location:
Latium (present-day Lazio) in west-central Italy

time period:
12th century to 338 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Latin (Italic)

The Latins, classified as a tribe of ITALICS, lived south of the Tiber River in the region of ancient Latium (part of modern Lazio) in present-day west-central Italy. Latin cities included Alba Longa, Ardea, Lavinium, Praeneste (modern Palestrina), Tibur (modern Tivoli), and Tusculum. They are considered the primary ancestors of the ROMANS. Their name and that of ancient Latium are related to the legendary king Latinus.

ORIGINS

The Latins are thought to have settled the valleys and coastal areas of Latium by about 1100 B.C.E., part of the wave of population movements apparently set in motion throughout the Mediterranean region by the collapse of the civilization of the MYCENAEANS.

LANGUAGE

The Latins spoke Latin, part of the Latino-Faliscan branch of Italic. They adopted the Greek alphabet for their writing.

Latins time line

B.C.E.

753	Legendary founding of Rome by Latins and Sabines
c. 493	Romans sign treaty with Latin League.
358	Latin League reorganized under Roman leadership.
341	Revolt of Latin League against Romans.
338	Romans dissolve Latin League.

HISTORY

Alba Longa, considered the oldest city in Latium, was the legendary birthplace of Romulus and Remus, the supposed founders, along with some SABINES, of Rome in 753 B.C.E. Latin territory was reduced in the late sixth century B.C.E. to Apennine lands between the Albanus Mons (the Alban Hills) and the Aurunci Mountains by expansion of the VOLSCI. In the seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E. the ETRUSCANS were the most dominant political force in Latium.

By the fifth century B.C.E. about 30 tribes and villages had formed the Latin League, with Alba Longa as the capital. Rome joined the league in 493 B.C.E., it is thought because of an alliance of Volsci and AEQUI. In 358 B.C.E. the Latin League was reorganized with Rome assuming leadership. In 341 B.C.E. at the end of the First Samnite War the league, in alliance with the AURUNCI, CAMPANI, SIDICINI, and Volsci, rebelled against Rome. In 340 B.C.E. the Romans campaigned through Marsi and Paeligni lands and entered Samnium (modern Abruzzi and part of Campania); then the Romans with auxiliaries from among the SAMNITES descended the Volturno River and defeated the Latins at Suessa Aurunca (modern Sessa Aurunca). In 338 B.C.E. Rome dissolved the Latin League, after which Latin history became part of the Roman story.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

Government and Society

The Latin League was centered at Alba Longa, the religious center of the Latins. The league was a commercial as well as a military alliance. Moreover the citizens of the various Latin city-states shared certain rights, in particular those of *commercium, connubium,* and *migratio.* The right of *commercium* allowed citizens of one town to conduct business and own property in another town; that of *migratio* allowed citizens of one town to settle in another; and that of *connubium* honored marriages of citizens of two different Latin towns. Rome later used these same rights—free trade, freedom of travel, and intermarriage—in its relations with other peoples.

Religion

A temple honoring Jupiter was situated on the Alban Hills. The Latins, similarly to the Etruscans and other peoples living to the north, practiced cremation as a funeral rite. Latin beliefs and cults probably resembled

those of other Italics and endured among the Romans.

Although Rome and the Roman world became a melting pot of many different peoples, the history of Rome begins with the ancestral Latins, who passed down political systems and religious beliefs to the Romans.

Latovici (Latovicii; Latobici; Latobrigi)

The Latovici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived at the confluence of the Breg and Brigach Rivers, tributaries of the Danube, in present-day western Germany. Along with other CELTS—the BOII, RAURICI, and TULINGI—they joined the HELVETII in their migration to the west in 58 B.C.E. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar defeated them at the start of his conquest of the GAULS.

Latvians: nationality (people of Latvia)

GEOGRAPHY

Latvia is flanked by Estonia and the Gulf of Riga to the north, Lithuania and Belarus to the south, and the Baltic Sea to the west. Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia make up the Baltic States. Latvia has an area of about 24,600 square miles. Lowlands and plains make up much of the country. Lakes, streams, marshes, and swamps are scattered throughout the terrain; morainic hills lie in the east. Sandy beaches run along the coastline. Principal rivers include the West Dvina (Daugava), Gauja, Venta, and Lielupe.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The Germanic military and religious order Brothers of the Sword invaded the region in the early 13th century C.E. and attempted to convert the region's tribes, both BALTS, such as the LETTS and CURONIANS, and FINNO-UGRIANS, such as the ESTHS and LIVS. In 1270 the Germans formed the state of Livonia. Russian invasions set off the Livonian War in 1558, and by 1561 the Livonian Order disbanded. Livonia was then divided and controlled as a duchy under Polish-Lithuanian suzerainty. The northern provinces became part of Poland, while western Livonia formed Courland, a duchy.

Sweden gained control of Riga from Poland-Lithuania, although it was forced to relinquish Latvian territories to Russia after the Great Northern War (1700–21). Russia controlled all of Latvia by 1795. After Russia's collapse during the Russian Revolution (1917), Latvia declared itself an independent republic in 1918. The Latvian-Russian treaty of 1920 forced Russia to respect Latvian autonomy. Upon the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Germany and then the Soviet Union (USSR) occupied Latvia, forming the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). Latvia declared full independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

During the 20th century Latvians found themselves in what has been called a demographic crisis, under both the Nazi and Soviet Russian regimes. The country lost some 40 percent of its ethnic Latvians during and after World War II. Hundreds of thousands of people were deported to Siberia during the years of forced Russification, many more were conscripted into the army, and the wealthiest Latvians meanwhile escaped to the West. These events virtually destroyed the Latvian middle class. In many Latvian cities the indigenous population became a minority, as many Russians took



This photograph shows a scene from the Latvian city of Riga. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-85298])*

LATVIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
(Latvia (Latvija); Republic of Latvia (Latvijas Republika)

derivation of name:
Possibly from Latve, the ancient name for a river; the people were known as Latviji; Finnic-speaking Livs modulated the name to Latvis, meaning "forest clearers"; the German version became Lette.

government:
Parliamentary democracy

capital:
Riga

language:
Official language is Latvian, a Baltic language; Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish are also spoken.

religion:
Most Latvians practice Lutheranism, Roman Catholicism, and Russian Orthodoxy.

earlier inhabitants:
Tribal Balts (Curonians; Letts; Selonians; Semigallians); tribal Finno-Ugrians (Esths; Livs; Votes)

demographics:
More than 50 percent of the population are Latvians, descendants of Baltic and Finnic peoples; about 30 percent are Russian; minorities include Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles, and Lithuanians.

Latvians: nationality time line	
C.E.	
1201	Germans, led by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden, found city of Riga.
1237	Brothers of the Sword unite with Teutonic Knights.
1270	Germans found Livonia.
1297	People of Riga rebel against Teutonic Knights.
1558–82	Poland, Russia, and Sweden dispute over Livonia in the Livonian War, afterwards dividing it.
1629	Livonia is conquered by Sweden.
1638	First Latvian (and German) dictionary, by Georgius Mancelius, is published.
1644	First grammar of the Latvian language, by Johann Georg Rehehausen, is published.
1685	First Latvian translation of Bible is published.
1721	Part of Latvia is ceded to Russia.
1783	*Lettische Grammatik,* grammar of Latvian by G. F. Stender, is published.
1806	A book of verse by Indrikis the Blind, *Ta Neredziga Indrika Dziesmas* (Those songs of Indrikis the Blind), is published.
1812	Fearing attack by French under Napoleon I Bonaparte, Riga defensively burns down its own suburbs.
1816	Serfdom is abolished.
1856	Juris Alunans book of verse *Dziesminas* (Little songs) begins tradition of modern Latvian verse.
1879	First major Latvian novel, *Mernieku laiki* (The times of the land-surveyors) by Reinis Kaudites and Matiss Kaudzites, is published.
1888	Epic poem *Lacplesis* (Bear slayer), by Andrejs Pumpurs, based on Latvian folk stories, is published.
1889	Latvian Historical Museum is founded in Riga.
1898	*Purva bridejs,* novel by Rudolfs Blaumanis, is published; he later dramatizes it as play.
1905	Janis Rainis's play *Uguns un nakts* (*Fire and Night*) is produced, drawing on Latvian folklore.
1918	Latvians declare independence, repelling Russian and German military with aid of Great Britain and Estonia.
1919	University of Latvia is founded in Riga.
1920	Latvia's independence is officially recognized; lands of German nobility are redistributed to peasant population to alleviate country's poverty.
1922	National Library of Latvia is founded in Riga.
1925	Rainis Museum of the History of Literature and Arts is founded in Riga.
1941–44	During World War II Latvia is occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.
1991	Soviet rule collapses and Latvia regains independence.
1999	Latvia elects its first woman president, Vaira Vike-Freiberga.
2004	Latvia joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU).

advantage of the demographic vacuum. In the countryside prosperous farms were destroyed through forcible collectivization. Because of this systematic attempt to annihilate the identity of the Latvian state and nation, part of the Latvians' cultural identity is the consciousness of their own fragility.

Latvia's national epic, *Lacplesis* (Bear slayer—written in 1888 by Andrejs Pumpurs), based on traditional Latvian folk stories, demonstrates how cultural identity, far from being a static substrate that emerges once and for all fully formed, never to change, instead evolves through time in response to the exi-

gencies of history. Lacplesis, son of a man and a female bear, a mighty hunter, is actually atypical of Latvian folklore, in which humans more usually appear tolerant and pantheistic. *Lacplesis* was written at a time when the struggle for Latvian independence was reaching a crescendo; he was thus a hero for his times.

The modern Latvian poet Imants Ziedonis has written that cultural identity is such an elusive entity that it is hard to define; he prefers rather to list cultural elements particular and peculiar to a people. Taken together they can indicate something of a people's essence. Storks, one such element, are now ubiquitous in Latvia. People treasure them and help them find nesting sites. But they were not part of the landscape in the past. Part of the reason for this seems to be the pollution and environmental degradation in neighboring countries, whereas Latvia preserves great biological diversity and a healthy ecology. Other Latvian characteristics include the use of the affectionate diminutive in folk songs; the huge Latvian song festivals that take place on an unprecedented scale, with choirs of up to 20,000 singers under the guidance of world-class conductors; the great number of landscape variations in one square kilometer of Latvian land; the Midsummer Night's festival (St. John's Eve, or Janu Naktis), with its unique melodies and fertility rites. There is also the Latvian custom of drinking birch sap in spring and making beverages from it to be consumed in the months of summer heat. A large book-publishing enterprise produces huge editions of poetry books for such a small nation. The music of the Latvian Women's Choir, founded in the dark days of 1947, is a strong symbol of Latvian identity. And there is the *Latvju Dainas,* eight volumes of some 400,000 Latvian folk songs that embody the essence of the values that build the Latvian character.

The ideal for Latvians is indicated by the word *raženais,* used to denote "a man of culture." *Raženais* has a whole range of meanings: "strong, fertile, rich, effective, controlled, persistent." Besides all these qualities, which apply to a single individual, *Raženais* has significance to the relationships between people. It is a principle of guidance, empathy, and assistance.

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Laudani

The Laudani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Laon (formerly Laudanum) in northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Laon takes its name from the tribal name.

Ledzianians (Ledzians; Ledzianie; Ledziane; Lecsyans; Lendites; Lendizi; Lenthans; Lendians; Lendzanenoi; Lendzeninoi; Lachs)

The Ledzianians were a tribe of Western Slavs, living between the Upper Vistula River and its tributary the Western Bug around present-day Sandomierz in central Poland. One of their important fortified strongholds in the eighth century C.E. was Chodlik. The Ledzianians were under the domination of the Rus in the ninth century, and then of the Czechs in the 10th century. Along with the Polanians, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, they are among the ancestors of the Poles, who expanded into their territory.

Lemkos (Lemko; Lemkians; Lemaky)

The Lemkos are a Slavic people currently living in Transcarpathia, that is, the Carpathian Mountains and surrounding regions. Their lands are in southwestern Ukraine. To their east are the Boikos and the Hutsuls. All three groups of Slavs, speaking distinct dialects, are among the people known as Rusyns, or Carpatho-Rusyns. The Lemkos speak an East Slavic dialect known as Lemko.

Lemkos also now live in Poland and Slovakia, where they once held more territory. Slavs lived in the Carpathian region as early as the late fifth century C.E.; the exact time the Lemkos assumed a distinct identity is not known.

LEMKOS

location:
Carpathian Mountains in southwestern Ukraine

time period:
After fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Lemko (East Slavic)

As have their Carpathian neighbors, the Lemkos have preserved traditional farming culture in terms of rituals, tools, architecture, and clothing (such as the characteristic woolen mantles known as *chuhy*). Their music has been influenced by both Slovak and Czech songs.

See also UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Lemovices (Limovici)

The Lemovices are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Limoges in central France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Augustoritum on the site of Limoges became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Limoges takes its name from the tribal name.

Lendites *See* LEDZIANIANS.

Leponti (Lepontii)

The Leponti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived north of Lake Maggiore in present-day southern Switzerland and northern Italy in the region of the southern Lepontine Alps by the second century B.C.E.; the ROMANS classified them with other CELTS among the GAULS. The name of a branch of the Celtic language spoken by tribes in the region is Lepontic.

Letts (Lette; Lettish; Letis; Letygola; Lettigallians; Lettigallions; Lettgalions; Latgallians; Lattgalls; Latgalli; Latgalians; Latgale; Lalvis; Letgola; Letygola)

LETTS

location:
Eastern Latvia; western Russia; western Belarus

time period:
Ninth to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Latvian (Baltic)

The Letts were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe. Their homeland was in the eastern part of present-day Latvia along the Western Dvina (Daugava) River and its tributaries, especially in the Latgale Upland and the East Latvian Lowland. Along with the CURONIANS, SELONIANS, SEMIGALLIANS, and assimilated Finnic-speaking peoples (such as from among the ESTHS, LIVS, and VOTES), the Letts are among those peoples considered ancestral to contemporary Latvians (*see* LATVIANS: NATIONALITY). Before the 19th century Latvia was known variously as Lettland, Lotygola, Leththia, Lothwa, and by similar names, thought to be derived from Latve, an ancient name for a river; Lette is the Germanic version.

ORIGINS

In about 3000 B.C.E. ancestors of various Finnic-speaking peoples had settled the region of Latvia. In about 2000–1500 B.C.E. proto-Baltic peoples had arrived in the area. They were pushed farther east and north by the expansion of SLAVS in the seventh century C.E. Identifiable tribes had coalesed in the region by the ninth century. By the 12th century the Letts had reached the region known as Livonia (part of present-day Latvia and Estonia). This northward movement did not lead to the withdrawal of the Finnic Votes. The Votes gradually merged with the Baltic-speaking peoples, adopting their culture and language, although vestiges of the Votes language were adopted by the Balts. The Letts were mentioned in written sources in the early 12th century under the name Letgola and variations. In a second written source from the same era describing the same location appears the tribal name Neroma. It is thus possible that the Letts were the people the Greek historian Herodotus called Neurida in the fifth century B.C.E.

LANGUAGE

Latvian has three dialect groups: East (or High) Latvian, West Latvian, and Central Latvian. The earliest texts in Latvian, a Roman Catholic catechism and a Lutheran catechism, were recorded in a Gothic script in the 16th century. The modern literary language was developed by the late 19th century, and a modified Latin alphabet was adopted in 1922. Along with Lithuanian Latvian is one of the two surviving Baltic languages.

HISTORY

Since the Letts and the Selonians to the south inhabited rugged interior regions, they had minimal encounters with the VIKINGS, unlike their neighbors to the west, the Curonians and to a lesser extent the Semigallians. They also suffered comparatively fewer losses against Germans invading the region in the late 12th century, yet they also were under Germanic influence and later in their history Polish and Russian influence as well (*see also* GERMANS: NATIONALITY; POLES: NATIONALITY; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). In 1201 the city of Riga was founded by Germans from Bremen and Hamburg, the beginning of a long period of Germanic influence. The military and reli-

gious order the Brothers of the Sword in the north, founded the next year, campaigned against the pagan peoples of the region. The Brothers of the Sword pacified the Letts in 1214.

Unlike in Lithuania, where a confederation of tribes was established in the mid-13th century under the rule of King Mindaugas, there was no unified state in Latvian territory governing ancient tribes, but alliances were formed by various communities and castles. In 1270 the Livonian Order and the Catholic Church founded the state of Livonia, a loose political union of territories in present-day western Latvia and southern Estonia. Livonia, also known as Livland, was probably named after the Finnic-speaking Livs.

Letts time line

C.E.	
ninth century	Identifiable Baltic tribes coalesce.
1201	City of Riga founded in Latvia by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden.
1202	Bishop Albert establishes military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.
1214	Brothers of the Sword defeat Letts.
1270	Germans found state of Livonia.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

The Western Dvina River was central to the economy of the region. In addition to general transportation, the Letts used it to float wood to Riga in Semigallian territory.

Over history the variations of the name Letts, originally applied to the tribe, became associated with all Latvians.

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Leuci

The Leuci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Toul in northeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. Tullum on the site of Toul became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul.

Lexovii (Lexobians)

The Lexovii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Lisieux in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Noviomagus on the site of Lisieux became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Lisieux takes its name from the tribal name.

Lezgians (Lezgi; Lezghi; Lezgins; Lezghians; Lesghins; Kurins; Kyurins)

The Lezgians are various Caucasic-speaking tribes, living for the most part in the northern Caucasus Mountains of central and southern Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia; others live south of the Samur River in the nation of Azerbaijan (in Asia). Their Lezgian-Samur dialects are classified as part of the North-East (Dagestanian) branch of North Caucasic. The Cyrillic alphabet is used in the written form. Among the peoples considered part of the Lezgian linguistic family are the Lezgians proper, as well as the Aguls, Archis, Kryz, Rutuls, Tabarascans, Tsakhurs, and Udis—each tribe with its separate traditions. As are other CAUCASIANS the Lezgians are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E. The traditional life of all Lezgian peoples has revolved around the raising of livestock and farming. They have been forced over the centuries to contend with many invading peoples in their homeland from both Europe and Asia. Islam was introduced in the region in the eighth–ninth centuries C.E.; but the Lezgians remained primarily animist in their religion until the 15th century. Now they are primarily Muslims.

When the Russian Empire reorganized its administrative structure in 1860, the homeland of the Lezgians, Lezgistan, was divided along the Samur River; that division led to the creation of Dagestan in Europe and Azerbaijan in Asia. In 1990 Sadval (Unity), a democratic movement for a unified Lezgistan, was founded. In 1991 Dagestan became a republic within Russia and subsequently a member of the Russian Federation, while Azerbaijan declared its independence, and

LEZGIANS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
(Dagestanian) Caucasic

Lezgians still have to cross an international border to visit one another.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Libici

The Libici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day northwestern Italy in the early centuries B.C.E. They and their neighbors, the INSUBRES, also CELTS, are thought to have descended from the GOLASECCANS, the first Celtic-speaking people in the region.

Liechtensteiners: nationality (people of Liechtenstein)

GEOGRAPHY

Liechtenstein is landlocked by Austria to the east and by Switzerland to the south, west, and north. The total area is 62 square miles. About 45 percent of the mountainous land is forested. The Alpine foothills cover nearly the entire country, rising to 8,000 feet in the south. Principal rivers are the Rhine, which forms the western border, and the Samina.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

When the Carolingian Empire of the FRANKS was divided in the late ninth century C.E., present-day Liechtenstein was split into the states of Vaduz and Schellenberg. The Viennese prince, Johann Josef Adam of Liechtenstein, acquired Schellenberg in 1699 and eventually Vaduz. The two states were united in 1719 as Liechtenstein, an independent principality of the Holy Roman Empire. The Napoleonic invasion in the early 19th century dismantled the country. After the of French withdrew, Liechtenstein regained its independence and joined the newly formed German Confederation (1815). When the confederation collapsed in 1866, Liechtenstein renewed ties with Austria and by 1868 declared

LIECHTENSTEINERS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Liechtenstein; Principality of Liechtenstein (Fürstentum Liechtenstein)

derivation of name:
Meaning "light stone"; named after the Liechtenstein dynasty

government:
Hereditary monarchy

capital:
Vaduz

language:
German is the official language; the dialect Alemannish is often used; French and English are also spoken.

religion:
About three-quarters of the population are Catholic; Protestants, Muslims, and those who adhere to no religion make up the remaining Liechtensteiners.

earlier inhabitants:
Gauls; tribal Germanics (Alamanni etc.); Romans; Franks

demographics:
About 60 percent of the population are Liechtensteiners; about 15 percent are Swiss and Italian; Austrians and Germans are the other minorities.

Liechtensteiners: nationality time line

C.E.	
814	At Charlemagne's death Liechtenstein is divided into Vaduz and Schellenberg.
1699	Johann Josef Adam of Liechtenstein, prince from Vienna, acquires Schellenberg.
1712	Johann Josef Adam of Liechtenstein acquires Vaduz.
1719	Vaduz and Schellenberg become Liechtenstein, independent principality of Holy Roman Empire, ruled by Liechtenstein family.
1799	Napoleon I Bonaparte conquers Liechtenstein.
1806	Liechtenstein becomes part of Confederation of Rhine.
1815	Liechtenstein regains independence and joins newly formed German Confederation.
1852	Liechtenstein and Austria agree on customs treaty.
1866	German Confederation terminates when Seven Weeks' War ends; Liechtenstein becomes independent with ties to Austria.
1868	Liechtenstein disposes of army and declares neutrality.
1919	Austro-Hungarian monarchy ends; Switzerland replaces Austria as representative of Liechtenstein's foreign affairs.
1923	Liechtenstein and Switzerland make customs union.
1930	Liechtenstein Postal Museum is founded in Vaduz.
1954	Liechtenstein National Museum is founded in Vaduz.
1961	Liechtenstein National Library is founded in Vaduz.
1968	Liechtenstein State Art Collection is founded.
1984	Women are permitted to vote in national elections, although not local elections.
1990	Liechtenstein joins United Nations (UN).
1991	Liechtenstein joins European Free Trade Association.
2000	Liechtenstein Museum of Fine Arts, branch of Liechtenstein State Art Collection, receives new building in Vaduz.

its neutrality in all future wars. With the fall of the Hapsburgs at the end of World War I (1914–18), Liechtenstein formed its present ties with Switzerland.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Because of its small size Liechtenstein has never been a self-contained cultural area. A remnant of the territory of the ancient Germanic tribal confederacy called the ALAMANNI (in some areas Alemannish is still spoken), it was part of Hapsburg Austria for centuries. Ties with Switzerland, part of which was settled by the Alamanni, have also been important. A vibrant cultural exchange throughout the entire region has taken place for centuries. Through membership in international organizations cultural collaboration has developed far beyond the boundaries of the country.

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Liganiens

The Liganiens are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Lower Rhône in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Ligurians (Liguri; Ligurii; Ligures)

The Ligurians were a pre-Indo-European people, perhaps a collection of peoples of varying origins, living from the mouth of the Arno River in present-day northwestern Italy, along coastal southern France, to the mouth of the Ebro River in present-day northeastern Spain, and on the island of Corsica, by the first millennium B.C.E. During the historic period the name became associated primarily with tribes living in Italy in the regions of Liguria, Piedmont, Tuscany, and part of Lombardy; it is probably derived from the early Greek Ligyes, applied to all peoples west of Greece. With the arrival of the CELTS in their homeland in the fourth to third centuries B.C.E. a shared culture developed between the peoples, leading to the designation Celto-Ligurians, or Celtoligures.

LIGURIANS

location:
Northwestern Italy; southern France; Corsica

time period:
Second millenium to c. 150 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown; later part Celtic

language:
Ligurian (affiliations unknown)

ORIGINS

It is unknown whether the adoption of farming practices in what would later be Ligurian territory involved incomers who brought them there or indigenous peoples who took them up; a combination is likely. (Modern archaeologists use the name Ligurian, or Ligures, for a stratum of Neolithic remains from northeastern Spain to northwestern Italy, but this is a term of convenience and not related to the Ligurians of the historic period.) The Late Bronze Age was a time of widespread population movements brought on by massive systems collapse as the civilization of the MYCENAEANS came to an abrupt end around 1200 B.C.E. In northern Italy the Golasecca iron-making culture, perhaps with ancestral ties to the Ligurians, developed with some traits similar to those of the Halstatt culture to the north (*see* GOLASECCANS).

LANGUAGE

The original Ligurian language was probably pre-Indo-European. In its later stages it seems to be related to both Italic and Celtic; some scholars maintain it holds an intermediate linguistic position between them. What little is known about the language is derived from place-names, tribal names, and a few classical writings.

HISTORY

The various tribes that are described as part of the Ligurian tradition had early contacts with the coastal trading posts of the GREEKS, such as Massilia (modern Marseille in southeastern France), founded in about 600 B.C.E. The expansion of Celtic tribes around that time meant a reduction of Ligurian territory, with tribal members retreating into the back country of the Alps.

Ligurians time line

B.C.E.	
c. 600	Trading contacts with Greeks
c. 500	Etruscan expansion into Ligurian homeland
480	Ligurian mercenaries serve with Carthaginians against Greeks in Sicily.
c. 400	Celtic expansion in Ligurian homeland in Italy
218–201	Ligurians support the Carthaginians against Romans in Second Punic War.
180	Romans resettle 40,000 Ligurians in Samnium.

The expansion of the ETRUSCANS and invasion of the BOII and other Celts over the next centuries meant a further loss of lands, and some Ligurian tribes moved south of the Apennines, founding a confederation. They are referred to as the Apuan Ligurians. The Etruscans controlled Corsica for part of their history.

The Ligurians were viewed by the ancients as a warlike people, valued as mercenaries. In 480 B.C.E. they served with the CARTHAGINIANS under Hamilcar against the Greeks in Sicily. They also served under Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, in Sicily against the Carthaginians and elsewhere in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C.E. In the Second Punic War of 218–201 B.C.E. the Ligurians openly supported the Carthaginians under Hannibal against the ROMANS. By this time many of the Ligurians had been Celticized. The Greek historians Diodorus Siculus and Strabo in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. described the Celticized Ligurians as a troublesome people who carried out acts of piracy on commercial shipping.

After the Second Punic War the Romans began campaigning against the Apuan Ligurians, who blocked access to the north from Rome. In 180 B.C.E. the Romans deported some 40,000 of them to the region of Samnium in the south (modern Abruzzi and part of Campania), settling them near Beneventum (modern Benevento). That same year the Romans founded Luca (modern Lucca) and Luni on the sites of Ligurian towns in Tuscany; Luca would be the chief town of Tuscany before the rise of Florence. Genua (modern Genoa), on the coast of the Ligurian Sea in Liguria, also became A major trading post in Roman times. By mid-century the Romans had pacified the independent Ligurians.

CULTURE

The Ligurians were an agricultural people who established trade contacts with their neighbors. They also practiced piracy in the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian Seas. According to some source, they passed navigational techniques to the Romans.

The Ligurians crafted statue-menhirs, representing male figures, holding Iron Age swords, axes, and lances. Stelae, carved or inscribed stone slabs, have also been found among their ruins. Neolithic petroglyphs have been found in their homeland.

The Ligurians generally buried their dead except during the Golasecca and part of the Celtic period, when cremation was practiced for at least a warrior class. A large circle of 46 stones, about 78 yards in diameter, at Piccolo San Bernardo near the border of Italy and France is assumed to be a sacred site.

In addition to the region of Liguria the Ligurians gave their name to the Ligurian Alps, the Ligurian Apennines, and the Ligurian Sea.

Limovici *See* LEMOVICES.

Lingones (Lingons; Longones)

The Lingones are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Langres in northeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were neighbors of the more powerful TREVERI, who also consisted of some GERMANICS. A Celtic tribe with the same name, thought to be a branch of the same people, lived in present-day northeastern Italy toward the end of the first millennium B.C.E. Andematunnum on the site of Langres became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Langres takes its name from the tribal name.

Lithuanians (Litva; Liluanians; Letuvininkai; Aukstaiciai)

The Lithuanians were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe. Their homeland was in present-day eastern Lithuania—in the Middle Lithuanian Lowland as well as the Baltic highlands (one of their names means highlanders). Along with other Baltic peoples of the region, especially the SAMOGITIANS, classified as a subtribe of Lithuanians by some scholars, the tribal Lithuanians were ancestral to inhabitants of the modern nation of Lithuania (*see* LITHUANIANS: NATIONALITY). They are sometimes referred to as Lithuanians proper to distinguish them from other tribes ancestral to modern Lithuanians, such as the SAMOGITIANS.

ORIGINS

Baltic-speaking peoples migrated westward to the Baltic Sea region by about 2000 to 1500 B.C.E. Although the Lithuanians perhaps coalesced as a tribe by the ninth century C.E. the first reference to the Lithuanians by name was in 1009 C.E. in a medieval German manuscript, the *Quedlinburg Chronicle*.

LANGUAGE

Lithuanian and Latvian are the only two Baltic languages still spoken. Lithuanian is considered the most archaic of all surviving Indo-European languages, that is, preserving more characteristics of the original language ancestral to all Indo-European languages, Aukstaitich (from the tribal name Aukstaiciai for highlanders), or High Lithuanian, is one of the two major speech patterns of the Lithuanian language; the other is Samogitian, or Low Lithuanian. Between the 16th and 19th centuries three Lithuanian dialects developed: a Low Lithuanian dialect in the west near the Baltic Sea, an East High Lithuanian poetic dialect, and a West High Lithuanian dialect, used primarily in the southern region bordering the region that became known as East Prussia. The modern standard literary language, written in a 32-letter Latin alphabet, is based on the West High Lithuanian dialect.

HISTORY

Lithuanians and Germans

Because they lived inland, much of their territory rugged terrain, the Lithuanians proper had fewer contacts with outside peoples, such as the VIKINGS, who, from the ninth century, traded with and carried out raids on coastal regions. The arrival of German missionaries in the Baltic Sea region in the late 12th century C.E. and the founding in 1202 of the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands had a greater early impact on coastal peoples as well. In 1229 the Brothers of the Sword began raids in Lithuania, although without great success. The Lithuanians, along with allies among the SEMIGALLIANS, triumphed under the nobleman Vykintas at Saule (near modern Siauliai) in 1236. The next year the Brothers of the Sword united with the Teutonic Knights.

Mindaugas became the most powerful leader, uniting other nobles under him in 1236–38. In 1251 he chose to be baptized as a Christian to gain the backing of Christian interests; in 1253 he was crowned grand duke of Lithuania under the authority of Pope Innocent IV. His capital was at Trakai. In 1259–61 Lithuanians defeated the Teutonic Knights in a series of battles. In 1261 because the Germans continued their aggression despite his being baptized, Mindaugas returned to paganism. Two years later he was assassinated, and Treniota, a Samogitian, succeeded him as Lithuania's ruler, at which time Lithuania officially reverted to paganism. Treniota was assassinated the next year, but Christianity would not take hold in Lithuania for more than another century.

Lithuanian Expansion

Over the next years the Lithuanians expanded into Slavic lands to the southwest, including the region of Volhynia, present-day Belarus, and present-day northwestern Ukraine. The grand duke Gediminas established Vilnius as the new capital in 1323. As joint rulers his sons, Kestutis and Algirdas, defeated the Teutonic Knights in 1360, then expanded the Lithuanian domain east toward Moscow and south to the Black Sea, where they defeated the Golden Horde (*see* MONGOLS) in 1362–63. In 1386 Grand Duke Jogaila joined Lithuania in a dynastic union with Poland through marriage to the Polish queen Jadwiga (*see* POLES). Jogaila accepted Christianity, becoming a Roman Catholic, and was crowned Wladyslaw II Jagiello, king of Poland. In 1410 he and his cousin, Vytautas, grand duke of Lithuania since 1392, decisively defeated the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (modern Stebark) in northern Poland.

As of 1447 the king of Poland also ruled Lithuania, and the various peoples who then identified themselves as Lithuanians went through a period of Slavicization.

LITHUANIANS

location:
Lithuania; western Russia; Belarus; Ukraine

time period:
Ninth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Lithuanian (Baltic)

Lithuanians time line

C.E.	
ninth century	Identifiable Baltic tribes coalesce.
1009	Lithuanians are recorded by name.
1202	Military and religious order Brothers of the Sword is founded to Christianize Baltic lands.
1229	Brothers of the Sword begin raids in Lithuania.
1236	Lithuanians and Semigallians defeat Brothers of the Sword at Saule in northern Lithuania.
1236–38	Mindaugas first unites Lithuanian nobles.
1251	Mindaugas converts to Christianity.
1253	Mindaugas becomes grand duke of Lithuania with capital at Trakai.
1316	The pagan archduke Gediminas expands Lithuania and moves capital to Vilnius.
1360	Grand Dukes Algirdas and Gestutis defeat Teutonic Knights.
1386	The Lithuanian archduke Jogaila marries Jadwiga and pledges loyalty to Catholic Church.
1410	Lithuanian-Polish army defeat Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg.

LITHUANIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Lithuania (Lietuva); Republic of Lithuania (Lietuvos Respublika)

derivation of name:
Possibly a Latin form of Lituae, or from the Latin word *lituus,* meaning "crooked," in reference to wooden trumpets; or from *lietava,* "small river"; or from *lietus,* "rain" or "land of rain"

government:
Democratic republic

capital:
Vilnius

language:
Official language is Lithuanian, a Baltic language; Russian, Polish, and English are also spoken.

religion:
More than 80 percent of the population are Catholic; Lutherans and Eastern Orthodox Christians make up religious minorities.

earlier inhabitants:
Balts (Jotvingians; Lithuanians; Nadruvians; Samogitians; Skalvians)

demographics:
About 80 percent of the population are Lithuanian; minorities include Russians, Poles, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, and Jews.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

Art

Over the centuries Lithuanian women developed weaving as an art form. Their fabrics for male and female garments, table cloths, bedspreads, towels, sashes, and ribbons are notable for originality. The basic materials are linen and wool. The fabrics are decorated with national ornaments—mostly geometrical—such as checks, crosses, stars, stripes, and conventionalized leaves. The color pattern is based on contrast; Lithuanian weavers have traditionally contrasted red and green, orange and blue, yellow and violet, black and white.

Religion

Before the introduction of Christianity the Lithuanians worshipped the forces of nature and had many gods and goddesses. The chief god was Perkunas, the thunder god. The ancient Lithuanians worshipped their gods in sacred groves and forests where a holy fire was kept, guarded by *vaidilutes* (the Lithuanian equivalent of vestal virgins). The will of the gods was expounded by priests called *kriviai,* headed by the principal priest, *kriviu krivaitis*. Lithuanian burials included numerous ornaments and tools. Many graves contained a horse's head and feet.

The Lithuanians and Samogitians have the distinction of speaking the most archaic of Indo-European languages as well as being the last European people to practice paganism officially.

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Lithuanians: nationality (people of Lithuania)

GEOGRAPHY

Lithuania is flanked by Latvia to the north, by Belarus to the east and south, by the Baltic Sea and Russia's Kaliningrad Oblast to the west, and by Poland to the southwest. Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia constitute the Baltic States. Lithuania has an area of about 25,200 square miles; low-lying plains cover the majority. Uplands lie in the south and east, and marshes and swamps are found in northern and western Lithuania. A long sandbar extending from Lithuania's Baltic coast forms the Courland Lagoon, shared with Russia. Lithuania has many rivers—the Nemunas is the largest—and more than 3,000 lakes.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

In the 13th century C.E. the LITHUANIANS, SAMOGITIANS, and other tribes resisted invasions of the Germanic Brothers of the Sword and Teutonic Knights by forming a unified state under Mindaugas. Pope Innocent IV recognized him as grand duke of Lithuania in 1251. Throughout the 14th century Lithuania expanded southward to include present-day Belarus and the Black Sea territories, and eastward, encompassing Moscow. Lithuania united with Poland in 1386 by marriage, and in 1569 the Treaty of Lublin formed a political union, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After the partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) Lithuania was annexed by Russia.

At the end of World War I (1918) Lithuania declared independence. It was briefly occupied by Poland in 1920. Two years later Lithuania approved a new constitution, establishing an independent republic. Soviet troops invaded Lithuania in 1940, making Lithuania a constituent republic of the Soviet Union (USSR), the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Lithuania won full independence in 1991.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The crux of Lithuanian cultural identity lies in the variety of its antecedents. Lithuanians sometimes point to their centuries-long textile tradition as a metaphor for Lithuanian society, woven of many colored threads in a unique pattern. Indeed Lithuanian culture consists of an unusual integration of many colorful traditions, values, and forces. Among the cultural elements that are interwoven are pagan mythology with Christianity. Another interweaving occurred in the Renaissance period and later, when Lithuanian high art emerged and absorbed a great influence from western Europe. Moreover productive contact between Lithuania and the rest of Europe during the independence period of the 20th century were an enormous contribution to the development of modern Lithuanian culture.

Lithuanian cultural variety is rooted in the multiethnic heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Thus people who maintain a Lithuanian cultural identity live beyond the limits of the original Lithuanian ethnic territory. Today Lithuanian culture exists in Poland,

Lithuanians: nationality time line	
C.E.	
1253	Mindaugas is crowned grand duke of Lithuania.
1323	Grand Duke Gediminas establishes city of Vilnius.
1386	Monarchical union of Lithuanian grand duke and Polish queen ends paganism.
1392–1430	Lithuania-Poland expands territory to Black Sea.
1547	The first book in Lithuanian, *Catechismus,* is prepared by Lutheran priest Martynas Mažvydas.
1569	Under Union of Lublin Lithuania becomes commonwealth of Poland.
1579	Vilnius University is founded.
1795	After Poland's partitions Lithuania is annexed by Russia.
1818–25	Poem "Metai" (The year) by Kristijonas Donelaitis is published, depicting life of Lithuanian peasants.
1832	Russian czarist government closes Vilnius University.
1845	Writings by historian Simonas Daukantas are published, first about Lithuanian history in native language.
1860–85	Lithuanian revolts fail to achieve independence.
1866	Drawing school is founded in Vilnius.
1907	Composer Mikalojus Ciurlionis gives up music to devote himself to painting.
1915–18	During World War I Germany occupies Lithuania.
1918	Lithuania declares independence.
1919	Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania is founded; Vilnius University reopens; first Lithuanian professional theater opens in Kaunas.
1920	Under Treaty of Moscow Soviet Russia recognizes Lithuania's independence; Kaunas becomes Lithuania's temporary capital.
1922	Lithuanian University is founded in Kaunas.
1936	Maironis Lithuanian Literature Museum is founded in home of poet Maironis (Jonas Maciulis).
1939	Nazi Germany invades region of Klaipeda; World War II begins.
1940	Lithuania becomes part of Soviet Union (USSR).
1941–44	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Lithuania.
1944	Soviets reclaim Lithuania.
1967	Ciurlionis Museum, honoring composer and painter Mikalojus Konstantinas Ciurlionis, opens in Kaunas.
1987	Anti-Soviet revolt breaks out.
1989	Lithuanian Communists vote for independence from Soviet Party.
1990	Lithuania declares independence.
1991	Lithuania joins United Nations (UN).
1992	Lithuania establishes new constitution; presidency and coalition government are formed.
1994	Lithuania joins the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and signs friendship treaty with Poland.
2004	Lithuania joins European Union (EU).

Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, the United States of America, and many countries of western Europe.

At the same time as they were absorbing influences from abroad Lithuanians were persistent in preserving elements that form the identity of their traditional culture. A notable example of this is the Lithuanian style of folk music called *sutartine* (the name originating



A Lithuanian woman mends a fishing net in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-91799])*

from the word *sutarti*—to sing in unison). It is a polyphonic style of two or three voices singing either in heterophony (with the themes rising and falling independently of one another), in parallel (with the themes moving in parallel motion, rising and falling together, although beginning on different tones), or canonically (with themes imitating one another but beginning at different times, as in a round) as well as in free imitation. One of the most outstanding phenomena of traditional Lithuanian culture, the tradition of cross crafting, that is, making wooden crosses, originated in the pre-Christian times. Crosses are embellished in geometrical and floral decorations that have symbolic meanings. Paganism is now recognized as an important part of the Lithuanian tradition in that Lithuania was the last part of Europe to maintain the pagan tradition in its resistance to the Christian crusaders.

A century-old celebration—a national song and dance festival held every four years—is one of the major cultural festivals in Lithuania. This is the most universal manifestation of Lithuanian national, cultural, artistic, public, and political identity nationwide. It has become a link between the ancient heritage of folklore culture and contemporary national culture as well as professional art.

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Lituians *See* Veletians.

Livs (Livonians)

Livs, or Livonians, a Finnic-speaking people, lived in coastal regions of present-day southwestern Estonia and northwestern Latvia around the Gulf of Riga, including coastal Courland, a region of Latvia. They are classified as Baltic (or Western) Finnics, a subgroup of Finno-Ugrians, as distinct from the Volga (or Eastern) Finnics. To the north were the Esths, also Finnic speaking; to the south, the Baltic-speaking Curonians; and to the east, the Baltic-speaking Letts. Along with the Letts the Livs are considered ancestral to modern Latvians (*see* Latvians: nationality).

ORIGINS

Balto-Finnics perhaps reached the Baltic region as early 3000 B.C.E. It is theorized that the Livs were the first tribe to separate from other Balto-Finnics, but this idea has not been confirmed archaeologically.

LANGUAGE

The Livonian language is in the Balto-Finnic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family and is closely related to Finnish.

Modern dialects include East and West, with a number of subgroups. The Livonian written language is based on the East dialect, with some Latvian vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar.

HISTORY

The first written mention of the Livonians in the Baltic region dates from the 11th century C.E. In the mid-12th century German merchants started entering coastal regions. Father Meinhard arrived on Liv territory in the 1160s. As an enticement to conversion of the indigenous population, he built a castle to protect them. In return he induced the Livs to be baptized in the Western Dvina River. After the castle was completed, the local population returned to the river, this time to wash off their baptism. Angered, Father Meinhard convinced Pope Innocent III that a more aggressive approach was needed. In 1198 Pope Innocent II sanctioned the first Baltic crusade.

Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden of Bremen arrived in 1199 and founded Riga to the south in 1201. The next year he founded the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize local peoples. The Brothers of the Sword pacified the Livs by 1207, thereby creating a new tax base for the Catholic Church and creating soldiers for the conquest of the remaining tribes. The Livonians had to take part in subsequent military campaigns, including those against the Esths. The Esths and Letts started to settle in the sparsely populated Livonian areas in present-day Latvia. In 1237 the Brothers of the Sword united with Teutonic Knights, who held lands to the south in present-day northern Poland; they became known as the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights. Livonian interests continued to develop their own state, however. In 1282 Riga joined the Hanseatic League of northern Germany—a group of merchants in the Baltic region—and assumed a central role in east-west trade and control of trade with local tribes over the next centuries.

The Great Livonian War

A dispute in 1557 over the tribute to be paid Czar Ivan of Russia by the diocese of Dorpat in Livonia was among the reasons for the Great Livonian War. This was followed by a pact of mutual aid between the Germanic knights and Polish king Sigismund II, ruler of a dynastic union of POLES and LITHUANIANS against Russian incursions. Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) used the failure to pay tribute and the pact as justification for military action against Livonia and its allies, probably to acquire a seaport on the Baltic. The Great Livonian War lasted from 1558 until 1582. Ivan was at first successful but later was defeated by Poland and Sweden. The Livonian Order disbanded, and Livonia was partitioned in 1561. The dynastic union of Poland and Lithuania absorbed the provinces of Latgale and Vidzeme to the north of the Western Dvina (Daugava) River; the provinces Kurzeme and Zemgale to the west and south became Courland, an autonomous duchy under Polish-Lithuanian sovereignty.

Modern Livs

Most Livs had merged with the Latvians by the 19th century. During World War I (1914–18) German troops occupied Courland, and many Livs departed their villages in Courland, never to return. In the two decades after the war a cultural renaissance occurred, with attempts to revive the language in schools and publications. In 1940 Latvia was annexed by the Soviet Union (USSR), and ethnic culture was suppressed. During World War II (1939–45) many Livs again had to flee their home. Latvia became an independent republic in 1991. The Livonian Union (formerly the Livonian Cultural Society) has since attempted to preserve the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Livs.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

The ancient Livs had a well-developed trading organization and were also farmers, breeders of livestock, and fishermen. Livs living along the

LIVS

location:
Latvia

time period:
11th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

Livs time line

C.E.	
11th century	Livs mentioned in the historic record as living in Baltic region.
1198	First Baltic crusade sanctioned by Pope Innocent III.
1201	City of Riga founded in Latvia by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden.
1202	Bishop Albert establishes military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.
1207	Brothers of the Sword defeat Livs in southern Estonia.
1219	King Valdemar II of Denmark defeats Esths in northern Estonia.
1270	Germans found state of Livonia.
1558–82	Great Livonian War

LOMBARDS

location:
Elbe River in Hungary and eastern Austria; Italy

time period:
First to 11th century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic; Latin

Western Dvina River were part of a trade network of Kievan Rus, Finland, and the Swedish island of Gotland.

The present situation of the Livs, with few people identified as direct descendants of the ancient tribe, demonstrates that language is critical to cultural identity. Few people speak their Finnic tongue; the majority of surviving Liv descendants now speak Latvian, a Baltic language. As a result few other traditions are preserved.

Lobetani (Lobetanos)

The Lobetani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Lombards (Langobards; Longobards; Langobardi)

The Lombards, a tribe from along the Elbe River in central Germany, held lands on the Italian Peninsula for two centuries, from 572 to 774 C.E., longer than any of the other GERMANICS. Their name, also written as Langobards or Longobards, is derived either from "long halberds," a type of axe, or "long beards."

ORIGINS

It is theorized that the Lombards emerged as a tribe from the Lower Oder River (the boundary between modern Germany and Poland near the Baltic Sea). Conflicts with VANDALS living to the east may have led to their tribal formation and migration. By the first century C.E. they had settled along the middle Elbe River in central Germany, near the CHAUCI and CHERUSCI, the latter of whom they absorbed. The SAXONS, who absorbed the Chauci, eventually lived to their north.

LANGUAGE

The Lombards originally spoke a dialect of German ancestral to what is known as Low German, typical of the tribes of northern Germany. Probably sometime in the fifth century the Lombards adopted the dialects of the Germanic peoples of southern Germany—known as High German.

HISTORY

The Lombards (known at this time as Langobardi) were allied with other Elbe River tribes, among them the MARCOMANNI and QUADI. With the Marcomanni they were among the first Germanic tribes to attempt to migrate into the Roman Empire, following by a few years the first recorded Germanic incursion by the CHATTI in 160 C.E. The Lombards participated with them in raids to the south, crossing the Danube into transdanubian Hungary, among the actions that provoked the Marcommanic Wars of 166–180 between Germanics and ROMANS. They attempted to invade the province of Pannonia (modern Hungary and surrounding areas) but were repelled.

By 300 they were situated farther south, east of the Upper Elbe; meanwhile their southern neighbors, the BURGUNDII, were moving west across the Elbe toward the Rhine and Gaul. The Lombards did not take part in the general westward movement of a number of Germanic tribes at this time.

In the 480s with new territorial competition among European peoples caused by the onslaught of the HUNS, the Lombards sought out new homes, especially to the south in northern Austria, where they entered into conflict with other peoples on the move, a complex mix of competing tribes that had been dominated first by the GOTHS, then by the Huns. Among the strongest of these tribes were the HERULI, former allies of the Goths, then of the Huns after they were subdued by them, and the GEPIDS, the Huns' chief Germanic allies until the death of Attila.

After the defeat of the RUGII, a Germanic tribe who had been allied with the Gepids when they turned against the Huns, by the Heruli and SCIRI, the tribe of the powerful leader Odoacer in 487, the Lombards moved into their territory in Noricum (roughly mod-

Lombards time line

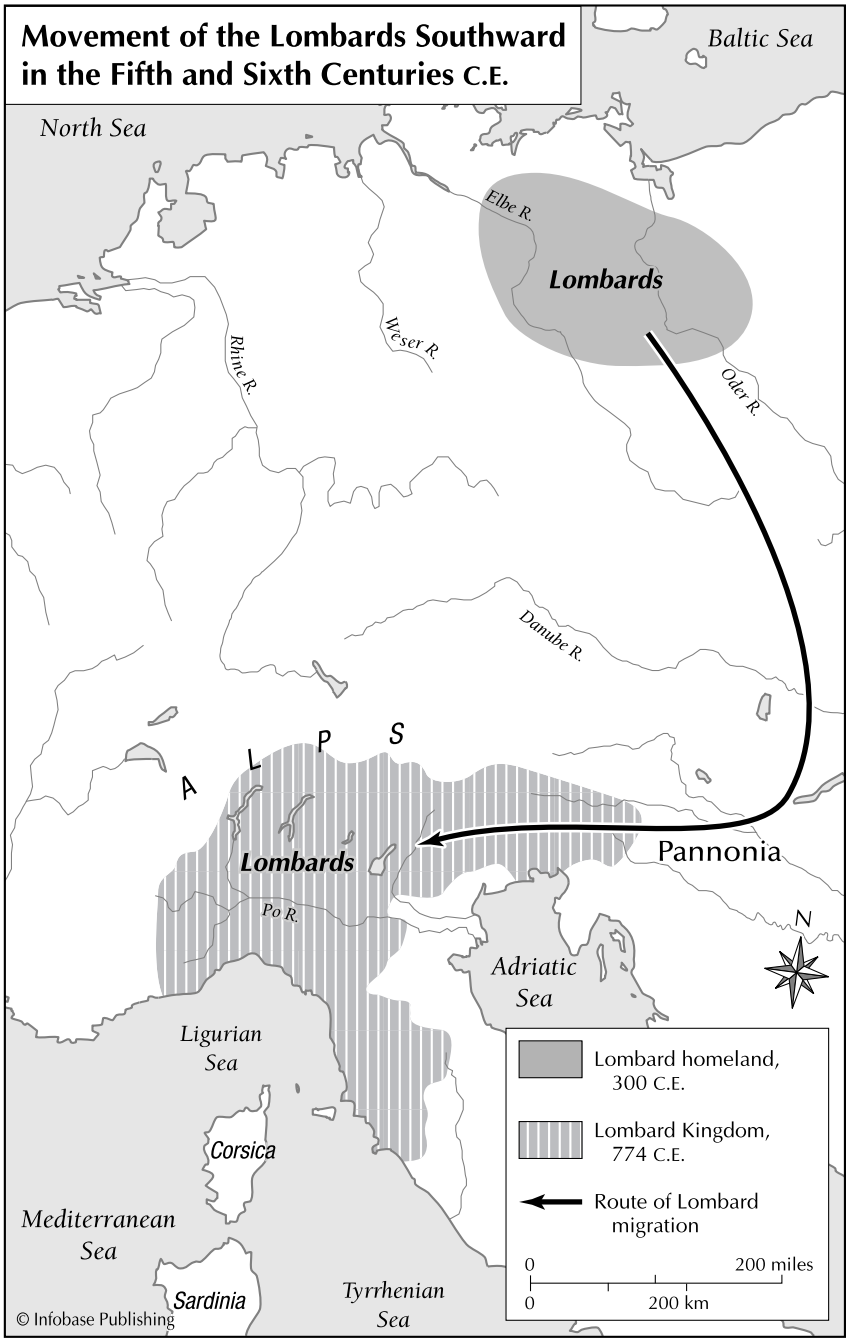
C.E.	
first century	Lombards living along Elbe River
508	Lombards defeat Heruli.
547	The Byzantine emperor Justinian I grants Lombards permission to settle in Pannonia and Noricum.
568	Lombards invade Italy.
572	Alboin founds Kingdom of Lombardy.
773–774	Franks under Charlemagne defeat Lombards.

ern Austria), perhaps displaced by the growing power of the THURINGI to the northwest. In about 505 the Heruli forced them to move—it is thought to the east onto the Hungarian plain between the Danube and the Tisza (Theiss)—and pay tribute. Three years later the Lombards rose up and defeated the Heruli. The Lombards were thus emerging from the seething mass of tribes as among the most powerful.

In 526–527 the Lombards invaded Pannonia, becoming a dominant force in the region. Their king at this time, Wacho, maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the Eastern Roman Empire and with the FRANKS through royal marriages.

In 547 the Eastern Roman emperor Justinian I, as a counterbalance to the Gepids, who also held lands in Pannonia, granted the Lombards more lands in Pannonia and Noricum. Many of the Gepids were soon driven out of Pannonia and dispersed. In 552 the Lombards aided the Byzantines in their last campaign against the OSTROGOTHS in Italy. This acquainted the Lombards with the attractions of this region, of interest because their territory in Pannonia was under increasing pressure from the AVARS, steppe people out of Asia with an expanding empire from the east.

In 567 the Lombards under Alboin, their ruler since 565, with the help of the Avars, who were allies of the Byzantines at the time, defeated the remaining Gepids under Kunimund in a battle somewhere between the Danube and the Tisza. After their victory they departed Noricum, as a result of an agreement with the Avars and BYZANTINES.



Invasion of Italy

Between 568 and 572 Alboin, recognizing that his people's hold on Pannonia would be increasingly contested by their erstwhile allies the Avars, determined that Italy held a more promising future for them. Accordingly he led a large army consisting of the Lombards and allies from among the Gepids and other Germanic tribes, SARMATIANS, and even BULGARS, across the Alps in an invasion of Italy. The power vacuum these groups left behind them in Pannonia and the northern Balkans was soon filled by Avars and Slavs, respectively. Italy at this time was under the control of the Byzantines since the defeat of the Italian kingdom of the Ostrogoths in 552.

Alboin's army swept through Italy, meeting limited resistance from the Byzantine forces. Within a year they controlled many of the northern cities and much of the fertile Po valley. With limited siege skills the Lombards did not try to capture walled Italian cities, such as Rome, Naples, or Ravenna, instead plundering the remaining rich estates of the Italian countryside. Their behavior in Italy contrasted sharply with that of the Ostrogoths in the previous century. They were not federates of the empire but invaders, and for some 30 years they made no attempt to establish a stable government using Roman institutions or any others, instead dissolving into war bands under *duces* (chiefs), some 36 in all, who raided freely. Their central monarchy was destroyed when Alboin and his successor, Clyph, were murdered only a

few years after the invasion. The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento had complete independence. Legend has it that the daughter of the king Kunimund, Rosamund, was forced to marry Alboin and drink from the skull of her slain father and in revenge arranged the murder of Alboin. In 584 the Lombards united again under Clyph's son, Authari, to strengthen themselves against the papacy, the Byzantines, and the Franks.

By the end of the Lombards' long looting spree the Roman landed order had been largely destroyed, with former Roman estates now held by Lombards. Pope Gregory the Great called them "unspeakable" for burning churches. The Lombard kingdom in Italy was far more Germanic in character than Theodoric's Ostrogothic one.

The Lombard-held territory consisted of northern and central Italy and part of southern Italy, with Pavia on the Ticino River, a tributary of the Po River, as its capital. Their holdings in the north included inland Liguria (formerly known as Cisalpine Gaul) and Venetia; in central Italy, Tuscany and a stretch of land along the Apennines that became the Duchy of Spoleto; and the present-day province of Campania, which became the Duchy of Benevento. The east coast of the peninsula remained imperial holdings for the most part. The Lombards continued their expansion of their control over territory in the seventh century under the united monarchy.

Later Centuries

For nearly two centuries the Lombards were a primary force on the Italian Peninsula, with shifting territories. Effective rulers included King Rothari, who captured Genoa in about 641. He is also known for issuing a Lombard code of criminal and civil law based on Germanic principles in 643. The next century King Liutprand gained control of Spoleto and Benevento, thus consolidating the Lombard kingdom.

However by the eighth century their dominance in Italy attracted the attention of the greatest Germanic power of the day, the Franks. Lombard pressures on the city of Rome and the church gave the rising Frankish Carolingian family an opportunity to gain the gratitude of the papacy and its help in their dynastic ambitions.

When King Aistulf finally captured Ravenna in 751 and threatened Rome, his actions led Popes Zacharias and Stephen II to seek the help of the Franks under their de facto but not yet de jure ruler, Pépin III. Pépin defeated the Lombards and gave control of Ravenna to the pope (the Donation of Pépin). In return for this and other aid Pépin obtained the pope's permission to depose the Frankish king and establish his own royal dynasty.

King Desiderius renewed the Lombard threat against Rome, however. In 773 Pope Adrian I, fearing the fall of Rome to the Lombards, again requested help from the Franks, now led by Charlemagne. The Franks defeated the Lombards and captured Pavia the next year. Charlemagne received the "iron crown" of the Lombard kingship on his own head, proclaiming himself the new king of the Lombards (a highly unusual proclamation when one Germanic king conquered another). Desiderius was taken to France as a prisoner, and died in captivity. Lombard lands were reorganized as the Papal States, all but the duchy of Benevento, which remained in Lombard hands until conquered by the NORMANS in the 11th century.

Those Lombards who remained near the Elbe River were absorbed by the Saxons.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

Place-names and Lombard cemeteries on the Italian Peninsula indicate the location of their settlements; places where cemeteries are near hilltop strongholds, such as Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino in the duchy of Spoleto, were contested territory, obtained probably in land taking in the seventh century. The region was of strategic importance since it lay near the road linking Rome and Ravenna. Nocera Umbra contains the graves of several high-ranking warriors. Castel Trosino has evidence of contemporary Roman and Byzantine influence on jewelry, even in the seventh century, an indication that the community was more mixed.

Several cities in northern Italy were important in the Lombard polity. A cemetery outside Cividale in the northeast contains the graves of Lombard men and women who by their age must have been part of the original invasion of 568. There were noble burials within the walls of Cividale, including one within a church.

It is often difficult to assess archaeologically relations between invaders and invaded in a territory; many of the latter often fall to the lowest levels of society and leave little in the way of material remains, while both invaders and invaded usually exchange cultural influences after a very short period, so that distin-

guishing them by their possessions—weapon or jewelry styles and the like—becomes problematic. The written records in Lombard Italy show little participation in affairs by the indigenous population, but it is thought they were neither exterminated nor expelled. Evidence for this hypothesis is derived from craft articles, which show a mingling of influences, and also loanwords from the Lombard language to Italian—the Lombards seem to have given up their own language by the end of the seventh century. The Lombard loanwords are of ordinary, day-to-day objects and things. The evidence suggests that they integrated rapidly into what remained of Roman society.

The chief historian of the Lombards was the eighth-century Paul the Deacon, who had served as a councilor to Desiderius and had become a member of Charlemagne's palace school. From his work *Historia Langobardorum* (*History of the Lombards*) of the late eighth century we derive information about the Lombards in Italy. A Lombardian law code survives from the same period (the law code of Rothari).

Military Practices

The Lombards adopted some of the military techniques of the steppe horsemen. They never developed a navy, however, and were therefore at a disadvantage in capturing port cities.

Religion

Sometime in the fifth century most Lombards converted to Arian Christianity.

In about the mid-seventh century (after the reign of King Rothari, the last Arian king) the Lombards converted to Roman Catholicism and adopted Latin as their primary language. A noble Lombard family was buried in the Church of San Stephano around the year 600.

The Lombards' tenure in Italy lasted longer than that of any of the Germanic peoples. However, the lack of sophistication of their political organization, as compared to that of the Goths or Franks, meant that their rule was based on armed might alone and could not last. They made little attempt to take advantage of Roman institutions, instead mostly sweeping them away. For these reasons they became vulnerable to the armed might of the Franks, much stronger than their own because the Franks' more evolved political system, in part influenced by the Romans, helped them to assemble large, disciplined, well-provisioned, and well-equipped armies, while the fighting forces of the Lombards had not progressed much beyond the mob of independent war bands of the Germanic past. In a sense the Franks were a Roman legacy nurtured in a backwater of the empire, who were able to defeat the Lombard holders of an Italian homeland mostly bereft of the last vestiges of Roman civilization. The region held by the Lombards in northern Italy, Liguria, now bears the name Lombardy. The iron crown of the Lombard kings is kept at Monza in Lombardy. The name of the modern town of Bardowick near Lüneburg, Germany, is also derived from the tribal name.

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Longones *See* Lingones.

Lopocares

The Lopocares are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the Tyne valley of present-day northern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Britons. They are considered a subgroup of the Brigantes.

Lucani (Lucanians)

The Lucani are classified as an Italic tribe. They inhabited the Apennines in present-day southern Italy by about 500 B.C.E. Their homeland,

LUCANI

location:
Basilicata and Calabria in southern Italy

time period:
Sixth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

LUSITANI

location:
Between the Douro and Tagus Rivers in central Portugal and western Spain

time period:
Third to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Iberian

language:
Lusitanian (Iberian)

known as Lucania, corresponds to present-day Basilicata and part of Calabria. An earlier name for the region was Oenotria, the homeland of the non-Indo-European-speaking ENOTRI. Some scholars group the Lucani with the SAMNITES, who also spoke Oscan dialects of Italic. Lucanian cities included Atena Lucana, Grumentum, and Teggiano.

The Lucani were allies of the BRUTII living to their south and made war on colonies founded by GREEKS. In about 400 B.C.E. the Lucani captured Paestum, a Greek city on the Gulf of Salerno (where elaborately painted Lucanian graves have been found).

The Lucani became allies of the ROMANS in 298 B.C.E. but opposed Rome in later conflicts. In the Pyrrhic War of 280–275 B.C.E. they supported Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in the Second Punic War of 218–201 B.C.E. they supported the CARTHAGINIANS under Hannibal; in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E. they allied themselves with other Italic-speaking tribes. After being Romanized, Grumentum became a flourishing commercial center. *See also* ITALICS.

Lugadii

The Lugadii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived near Dingle Bay in the present-day county of Kerry in southwestern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Lugi

The Lugi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Scotland and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E.

Lugii (Lugians; Lugier; Lygians; Lygier)

The Lugii are classified as a Germanic tribe of GERMANICS, possibly with some tribal members from among the CELTS. They lived between the Oder and Vistula Rivers in modern-day northern Poland. They are thought to have eventually allied themselves with the MARCOMANNI living to their south in the early first century C.E. They are associated early in their history with the VANDALS, perhaps from the same ancestral group, and in 406 C.E. crossed the Rhine into Gaul with them and eventually lost their tribal identity among them.

Lusatians *See* WENDS.

Lusitani (Lusitanii; Lusitanians)

The Lusitani are generally grouped among IBERIANS, although some scholars have classified them as CELTIBERIANS, because they manifested cultural traits of both Iberians and CELTS. Their unique language, referred to as Lusitanian, makes them the hardest of all the indigenous people of the Iberian Peninsula to classify. They lived in present-day central Portugal and western Spain between the Douro and Tagus Rivers.

The Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. described them as the most powerful of Iberian peoples. Hannibal of the CARTHAGINIANS used them as mercenaries in his invasion of Italy in the late third century B.C.E. They offered resistance to the ROMANS in the second and first centuries B.C.E., with organized revolts in 195–190 B.C.E.; in 154–150 B.C.E.; in 147–139 B.C.E. under Viriathus, in 80–73 B.C.E. under the Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorius. They were pacified by troops under Julius Caesar in 61 B.C.E. Lusitania, including much of present-day Portugal and the Spanish provinces of Salamanca and Cáceres, later became a Roman province; all the people of the region were referred to as Lusitanians.

In addition to stone statues, depicting warthogs, pigs, bulls, and sheep, three inscriptions have been found on rocks in Lusitanian territory in a Latin alphabet reproducing an undeciphered language, apparently referring to animal sacrifice.

Lusones

The Lusones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived north of the Sierra del Solorio in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Luticians *See* VELETIANS.

Luxembourgers: nationality (Luxemburgers; people of Luxembourg)

GEOGRAPHY

Luxembourg borders Belgium to the north and west, France to the south, and Germany to the east. The country's area is 998 square miles. Luxembourg, along with Belgium and the Netherlands, forms part of the Benelux countries. The Ardennes plateau lies to the

Luxembourgers: nationality time line	
C.E.	
963	Luxembourg is founded as fief in Holy Roman Empire.
1308	Count Henry VII of Luxembourg becomes Holy Roman Emperor.
1354	Luxembourg is made duchy by John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia.
1443	Luxembourg is conquered by Phillip III the Good of Burgundy (his possession confirmed in 1451).
1684	Luxembourg is conquered by France.
1697	Luxembourg falls under Spanish control.
1714	Luxembourg becomes part of Austria.
1794	France incorporates Luxembourg into First French Republic.
1815	Luxembourg is self-governed as grand duchy under control of Netherlands.
1839	Belgium annexes western Luxembourg
1847	First Letzeburgisch (Luxembourgish)/German-French dictionary is published.
1867	Luxembourg declared neutral territory.
1868	Large-Ducal Institute is founded; its collection become basis of National Museum of History and Art.
1890	Luxembourg breaks away from Netherlands; Duke Adolf of Nassau becomes grand duke.
1899	National Library is founded.
1912	Law allowing women to rule passes; Marie Adelaide becomes grand duchess.
1914–18	Germany occupies Luxembourg during World War I.
1929	Fiscal legislation favors banks and holding companies, making Luxembourg international financial center, with some 1300 investment funds and 200 banks.
1933	National Orchestra of the Duchy of Luxembourg is founded.
1940–44	Nazi Germany occupies Luxembourg during World War II.
1946	Luxembourg joins United Nations.
1948	Luxembourg joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
1950–54	Grand-Ducal Institute publishes a five-volume dictionary of the Letzeburgisch (Luxembourgish) language.
1957	Luxembourg joins European Economic Community (EEC), which evolves into European Community (EC).
1980	National Cultural Council is founded; in 1982 National Cultural Fund is established and charged with task of receiving, administering, and using grants and gifts on behalf of public and private beneficiary institutions, among them Grand-Ducal Institute, Luxembourg University Center, National and Communal Museums, National Library and municipal libraries, and Department of National Sites and Monuments, in order to promote arts and cultural affairs.
1985	German-Moselle-Frankish dialect of Letzeburgisch becomes official language.
1993	Luxembourg becomes one of 12 original members of European Union (EU).

LUXEMBOURGERS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Luxembourg; Luxemburg; Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (German, Grossherzogtum Luxemburg; French, Grand Duché de Luxembourg)

derivation of name:
Meaning "little castle"; from the Celtic root *lucilem,* "small," and the Germanic root *burg,* "castle"

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Luxembourg

language:
Official language is Letzeburgisch (Luxembourgish) (Germanic); French and German are administrative languages; English is also spoken.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population are Catholic; Protestants, Jews, and Muslims make up the remaining percentage.

earlier inhabitants:
Gauls (Celts); Germanics; Romans

demographics:
About three-quarters of the population are Celtic, with French and German backgrounds; minorities include Portuguese, Italians, Slavs, and other European guest workers and residents.

north, where Luxembourg's highest point, Buurgplaatz (1,834 feet), is found. The Bon Pays, a rolling tableland, dominates the south. The Luxembourg–Lorraine iron-mining basin is in the southwest. Principal rivers include the Alzette and the Sûre.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Once inhabited by tribes of GAULS and GERMANICS, Luxembourg was founded as a fief of the Holy Roman Empire in 963 C.E. and became a duchy under John of Luxembourg, the king of Bohemia, in 1354. Over the cen-

turies it was alternately controlled by European powers, including Spain, Austria, and France until Napoleon I Bonaparte's defeat in 1815, at which time the Congress of Vienna declared Luxembourg a grand duchy under William I of the Netherlands.

In 1839 Belgium annexed western Luxembourg while the remainder formed an independent state in a personal union with the Netherlands and the German Confederation. When the German Confederation dissolved in 1866, William III of the Netherlands attempted to sell Luxembourg to France. At the London Conference in 1867 Luxembourg was declared a neutral territory. In 1890 Duke Adolf of Nassau became grand duke of an independent Luxembourg. Its neutrality was violated during World Wars I and II in the 20th century and occupation by Germany, but it regained its independent status in 1946.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The cultural identity of Luxembourgers has been strongly impacted by the number of foreign powers that have ruled it, including the House of Burgundy, Spain, France, and Austria. It is now nestled among Belgium, France, and Germany. Yet despite the input from other cultures, the people of Luxembourg take pride in their distinct historical identity and have maintained their independent state of mind, embodied in the national motto: *Mir wëlle bleiwen wat mir sinn* (We want to remain what we are). This motto has gained vast symbolic importance each time the people of Luxembourg have resisted and withstood an attempt by invaders to overpower them and has been inscribed on historical landmarks throughout its capital city, also known as Luxembourg.

People who consider themselves Luxembourgers also live outside the country, notably in Belgium. Even today more than 150 years after the Luxembourg Province of Belgium was created many of its inhabitants still consider themselves Luxembourgers. Many Belgian-Luxembourgers speak Letzebuergesch, the native language of Luxembourg, and continue to observe the Luxembourg National Holiday on June 23.

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Lyds

See IZHORIANS.

M

Macedonians

The ancient Macedonians were the people of Macedon on the Balkan Peninsula who created a state in the seventh century B.C.E. that lasted until the second century B.C.E. The name of the kingdom, Macedon, is sometimes cited as Macedonia; it is perhaps derived from the name of a ruler, Makedon, or from the Greek word *makedos* or *makednos* for "tall man." The latter form is more applied to a historical region encompassing the present-day region of Macedonia in northern Greece (defined administratively as Central Macedonia, Western Macedonia, and Eastern Macedonia and Thrace); the present-day nation of Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia); and a small portion of Bulgaria and Serbia. The Greek portion of the historical region (Greek or Aegean Macedonia) is about half of the total area; the Macedonian portion (Vardar Macedonia), about 40 percent; and the Bulgarian portion (Pirin Macedonia), about 10 percent. Macedon (or ancient Macedonia) is also at times discussed as Macedon proper, constituting the coastal plain north of the Chalcidice (Khalkidikhi) Peninsula in Greece, and as Upper Macedon to the west and the north of the plain. Prior to the fourth century and expansion under its most powerful rulers Philip II and his son, Alexander III (Alexander the Great), Macedon was roughly equivalent to Greek Macedonia or Macedon proper.

ORIGINS

The region of Macedonia has been inhabited for millennia. By the third millennium Indo-European-speaking peoples first arrived and intermingled with indigenous Neolithic peoples. In the late second millennium B.C.E. the region that would be Macedonia was impacted by movements of people from the north and east and momentous events occurring in the eastern Mediterranean. Civilizations there, including those of the Egyptians and MYCENAEANS, were undergoing a period of widespread destruction. The identity of the attackers is not known with certainty, but some of them appear to have come from the north and must have traveled through the Balkans to southern Greece and beyond. Probably in the form of war bands, peoples ancestral to those later to be identified as DORIANS and IONIANS, subgroups of GREEKS, passed through the Balkans; some of these may have remained in the area of Macedonia or returned there during the Greek Dark Ages when large population movements took place, driven by the shock waves of the Mycenaean collapse. Peoples may have also come from the region to the east at this time, judging from the fact that historic peoples such as the DACIANS and ILLYRIANS had characteristics linking them with Thrace and the adjacent Pontic (Black Sea) steppe lands. By the eighth century B.C.E. the Greeks had founded colonies along the shore. In about 700 B.C.E. Perdiccas I, from the city of Argos in Greece, founded a kingdom and a

MACEDONIANS

location:
Macedonia; Albania; northern Greece

time period:
Seventh to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic; Illyrian; Thracian

language:
Greek (Doric); Illyrian

Macedonian time line

B.C.E.

late second millenium	Peoples from lower Danube region and Thrace move through Balkans, some settling there.
seventh century	Macedonian state emerges.
sixth century	Macedon becomes tributary to Persia.
495	Macedon regains independence under Alexander I.
400	Pella becomes Macedonian capital.
338	Philip II defeats allied Greek city-states.
336–335	Alexander III (the Great) consolidates rule in Greece.
334	Alexander the Great first crosses into Asia.
332	Alexander founds Alexandria in Egypt.
323	Death of Alexander and division of his empire
315	City of Thessalonica founded.
215–205	First Macedonian War with Romans
200–196	Second Macedonian War with Romans
171–168	Third Macedonian War with Romans
149–148	Fourth Macedonian War with Romans
146	Macedon becomes province of Rome.

dynasty uniting the diverse elements in the population. The Macedonians controlled territory in the Greek part of Macedonia and the Bitola district in the present-day Republic of Macedonia and over the centuries increased in influence in the region and began to compete with Greek city-states to the south.

LANGUAGE

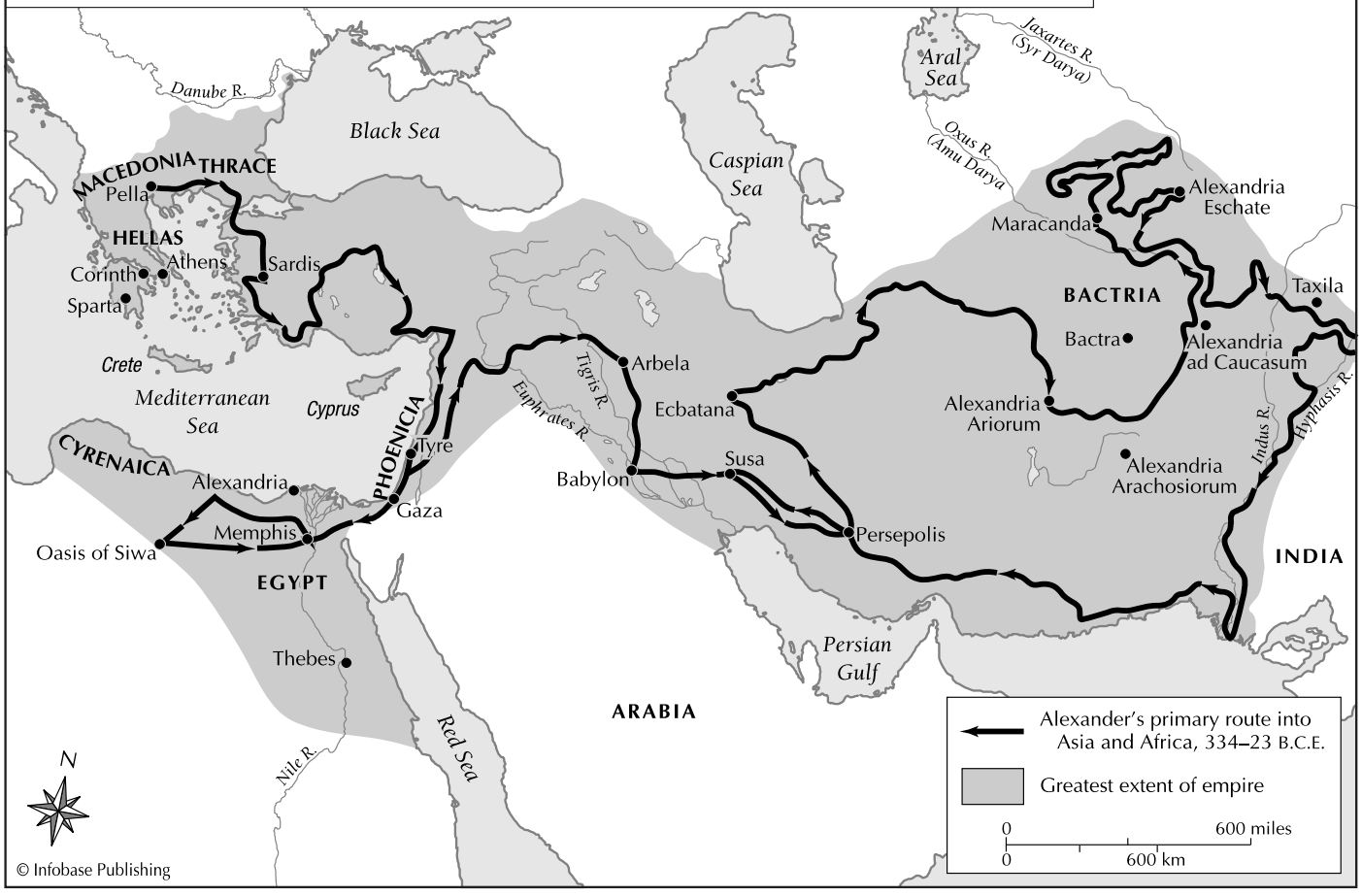
By about 400 B.C.E. if not before the kingdom of Macedon had adopted Greek as its official language in both speech and writing (archaeological finds at Aiani have confirmed this fact). It can be assumed, however, that some inhabitants of the region, especially more isolated groups in the mountains, continued to speak their native tongue, especially Illyrians.

HISTORY

Kingdom of Macedon

In the late sixth century under Amyntas I the fifth ruler in descent from Perdiccas I, the kingdom of Macedon became tributary to the Persians of present-day Iran. During the rule of

The Empire of Alexander the Great in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 334–323 B.C.E.



his son and successor, Alexander I, the Persians and Greeks engaged in what is known as the Persian Wars (500–449 B.C.E.). Alexander, the first Macedonian ruler to engage significantly in Greek politics, managed to keep Macedon out of the conflict. With Greek victories and a weakening Persia, Macedon gained its autonomy during Alexander I's reign. Over the next century Hellenic influences increased. In about 400 B.C.E. Pella became Macedon's capital.

During the growth of Macedon tribal clans to the north retained much of their autonomy, though they were nominally under Macedon's rule, and controlled mountain passes in the Rhodope Mountains and other ranges.

Philip of Macedon

In about 367 B.C.E., while he was a teenager, Philip, son of Amyntas II, became a hostage in Thebes, then the most powerful city-state in Greece. During his two years there he observed Theban military techniques, in particular the use of close, deep ranks in the phalanx formation. In 359 B.C.E. after briefly serving as regent for his nephew, Amyntas III, son of his brother Perdiccas III, he usurped the throne as Philip II and began reorganizing Macedon's military. Within two years he had defeated his rivals, including Illyrian factions to the west, and, in 357 B.C.E. he launched a campaign of conquest eastward, attacking the Athenian colony of Amphipolis in Thrace (the region to the east of Macedon comprising modern northeastern Greece, southern Bulgaria, and European Turkey). In 356–355 B.C.E. he captured other towns, including the Thracian town of Crenides, which he renamed Philippi and would soon flourish. Among his conquests were the Thracian gold mines, control of which enabled him to finance additional campaigns southward into Greece.

Philip's continuing success, including victory in the region of Thessaly in 353 B.C.E., led the renowned Athenian orator Demosthenes to deliver the first of his *Philippics* in 351 B.C.E., orations in which he warned the Athenians about the threat of expansionist Macedon. By 348 B.C.E. Philip had annexed the Chalcidice Peninsula, including the city of Olynthus, an ally of Athens. In 346 B.C.E. he made peace with Athens. The Thebans also requested an alliance with the Macedonians against Phocis in a dispute over control of the Delphic oracle. Upon victory Philip became a member of the Delphic council, and Macedon replaced Phocis in the Amphictyonic League; in 338 B.C.E. the council appointed Philip commander of the league's forces. When Philip's forces occupied more of Thrace, the Athenians, at Demosthenes' urging, united with the Thebans against the Macedonians. Philip defeated the combined Athenian-Theban army at the Battle of Chaeronea, after which he moved into the Peloponnese and completed the conquest of Greece. In 337 B.C.E. he organized the League of Corinth. In 336 B.C.E. during preparations for an invasion of Persia Philip was assassinated by a Macedonian youth, who had probably been hired for the task.

Philip's consolidation of the Greek Peninsula, plus his creation of a powerful military with talented generals, made possible the

Alexander III: Known as the Great

Alexander, the son of the Macedonian king Philip II, was born in Pella, the ancient capital of Macedon, in 356 B.C.E. His early years were spent under the tutelage of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, who exposed him to philosophy, literature, and the sciences.

In 336 B.C.E. Philip was assassinated, and Alexander, then 20 years old, assumed the throne and took control of his father's nascent empire. In 336–335 Alexander defeated rebel elements, including the Thracians and Illyrians as well as Greek rebels in Thessaly and Thebes, consolidating his rule over the region. He then embarked, as his father had planned, on a military campaign against the Persian Empire to the east, leading an army across the Hellespont (the modern Dardanelles) into Asia in 334 B.C.E. He defeated a Persian force at the Granicus River near the ancient city of Troy. He proceeded along the east shore of the Mediterranean Sea, then inland into Asia Minor, where, according to legend, he cut the intricate Gordian Knot with his sword rather than attempting to untie it, thus foreshadowing his ascent to rule Asia. In 333 B.C.E. at Issus in present-day northeastern Syria Alexander defeated the main Persian army under King Darius III.

Alexander and his army headed southward into present-day Lebanon, and in 332 he captured the Phoenician city of Tyre. He continued southward along the north coast of the Sinai Peninsula into Egypt, which he conquered with little resistance. That same year he established Alexandria on Egypt's northern Mediterranean shore. This city became the commercial, literary, and scientific center of the Hellenistic Greek world. He crossed the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers and in 331 defeated Darius once and for all.

In subsequent years until his death in Persia in 323 B.C.E. probably of malaria, Alexander expanded his domain eastward as far as the Jhelum River in India, founding other cities along the way. His army traversed a total of some 20,000 miles of territory, founding cities as they progressed.

The conquests of Alexander the Great began what is called the Hellenistic Age. Macedonian rulers considered themselves part of the Greek tradition and furthered Greek culture throughout his empire.



This gold stater, showing Alexander the Great, was used by Macedonians in the mid-fourth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



Alexander the Great consults the Delphian Oracle in this 1898 painting. *(Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-46320])*

creation of an empire on three continents by his son, Alexander.

Alexander the Great

Alexander III (see sidebar, p. 503) succeeded his father, Phillip II, to the throne at the age of 20. During his first years of rule he consolidated his power over Macedonian rivals, the Greeks. In 334 B.C.E. he embarked on an invasion of Persia, as his father had planned, and conquered much of Asia Minor. In 332 B.C.E. his Greco-Macedonian forces defeated the PHOENICIANS at Tyre on the eastern Mediterranean Sea and subjugated the Egyptians. That same year he founded the city of Alexandria in North Africa. Over the next years Alexander pushed eastward into Asia, conquering territory and founding other cities. By 327 B.C.E. the Alexandrian Empire stretched from the Greek Peninsula and Egypt as far east as the border of India. Alexander withdrew from India to Persia in 325–324 B.C.E. He died in 323 B.C.E. while planning a sea voyage around Arabia.

After Alexander

After Alexander's death his generals carved up his empire and founded their own states. Among them were two dynasties that held power through much of the eastern Mediterranean world—the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucids in Syria—until the ascendancy of the Romans. With this continuing spread of Hellenism (Greek culture), Koiné Greek (common Greek) became an international language.

Macedon, one of the divisions of the new order, with Greece as a dependency, went through a series of power struggles over the next centuries. On the death of Antipater, Macedon's first ruler after Alexander, Cassander, Antipater's son, defeated a faction led by Polyperchon and married Alexander's half sister Thessalonica. In 315 B.C.E. he refounded the seaport city of Therma as Thessalonica (or Salonika). In 305 B.C.E. Cassander proclaimed himself king of Macedon.

Cassander's death in 297 B.C.E. began a period of short-lived reigns until Antigonus II rose to power in 276 B.C.E. Among the problems facing the Macedonians just before and during Antigonus's reign were invasions of the GALATOI (the Greek name for CELTS), which began in about 279 B.C.E. Antigonus, who ruled until 239 B.C.E., was also forced to contend with uprisings of the Greek city-states. He defeated Sparta and Athens in the Cheremonidean War of 267–261 B.C.E. and managed to maintain Macedonian control over the Aegean Sea and reestablish Macedon as an economic power. Yet unrest continued, and his nephew, who rose to power in 229 B.C.E. as Antigonus III, continued the restoration of Macedonian hegemony throughout the Greek Peninsula during his eight-year reign.

Wars with Rome

The new threat to Macedonian power was Rome, expanding from the west. Antigonus's successor, Philip V, who gained power in 221 B.C.E., had success in the First Macedonian War in 215–205 B.C.E., seizing Roman territory in Illyria while the ROMANS were fighting Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS on the Italian Peninsula in the First Punic War. In the Second Macedonian War of 200–196 B.C.E. Philip V was decisively defeated by the Romans and their Greek allies in the Battle of Cynoscephalae, after which he was forced to pay an indemnity and give up much of the Macedonian navy, as well as control of territory outside Macedon proper. After restructuring the Macedonian economy accordingly, he turned his ambitions northward with campaigns in the Balkans in 184–181 B.C.E.

Philip's successor, Perseus, who attained power in 179 B.C.E., aroused Roman concern by making alliances with Greek city-states, and Rome initiated the Third Macedonian War of 171–168 B.C.E. After a decisive victory at Pydna the Romans took Perseus as a captive to Italy and divided Macedon into four republics. A pretender to the throne, Andriscus, claiming to be Perseus's son, tried to revive a Macedonian king-

dom, leading to the Fourth Macedonian War of 149–148 B.C.E. The Romans easily suppressed the rebellion, executed Andriscus, and in 146 B.C.E. annexed Macedon, thus establishing the first Roman province. With its continuing expansion into the Balkans Rome incorporated northern and eastern parts of greater Macedon into the province of Moesia in 15 C.E.

Later Macedonia

The region of Macedonia fell under the rule of the BYZANTINES after the division of the Roman Empire into Western and Eastern parts in 395 C.E. Various peoples invaded the region over the centuries—the HUNS, OSTOGOTHS, VISIGOTHS, AVARS—but none of these peoples established a permanent presence. The SLAVS, who entered in waves in the sixth–seventh centuries, settled in northern Macedonia. In the ninth century the BULGARS controlled central Macedonia and by the 10th century extended their holdings briefly to the coast. As the centuries progressed the Bulgarians and Serbs in the north, the Greeks in the south, and Byzantines in the east continued to contend over the region until the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) made it part of the Ottoman Empire. The present borders of the modern Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, whose peoples are mostly of Slavic ancestry, were defined in 1913 (*see* MACEDONIANS: NATIONALITY).

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS)

Ancient Macedonian culture has its basis in the Hellenic culture of the Greeks. In its early stages the kingdom of Macedon depended on local agriculture, which thrived on the fertile and cattle-rich coastal plain. Silver mines in eastern Macedonian were also developed. With conquest the gold mines of Thrace also provided wealth. Macedon also became a trading empire through control of the Aegean Sea. Macedonian society, with its strong ruling family and rulers who had multiple wives, resembled the palace culture of the MYCENAEANS more than that of the classical Greek city-states. Later in its history Macedon became increasingly Romanized. Rome built a number of roads through the region, the course of which modern roads still follow.

The ancient Macedonians, occupying a region that was a crossroads and melting pot of many peoples, can be said to be less a people with a distinct tradition than inhabitants of a political entity that was the kingdom of Macedon. The story of Macedon, in the apparent identity of its founders and in its creation of a vast empire spreading Hellenistic civilization, can be said to be part of that of ancient Greece.

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Macedonians: nationality (people of Macedonia)

GEOGRAPHY

Macedonia is landlocked by Serbia and Montenegro to the north, by Bulgaria to the east, by Albania to the west, and by Greece to the south. It has an area of 9,928 square miles. Deep valleys, fertile steppes, mountains, and hills mark the terrain. The Rhodope Mountains lie to the east, where Mount Korab (9,068 feet), the republic's highest peak, is found. The Babuna Mountains divide the Bitola plain in the south from the Skopje plain in the north. The Vardar River, the republic's largest river, bisects the country. Principal lakes include the Doiran, Ohrid, and Prespa.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

When the Roman Empire was divided into the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire in the fourth century C.E., Macedonian lands fell under the rule of the BYZANTINES. SLAVS settled the region around the seventh century, and Bulgaria seized Macedonia from the Byzantines in the ninth century. Macedonia was restored to the Byzantine Empire in 1261 and then conquered by Serbia in the 14th century. Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) invaded Macedonia and it fell under their control in the late 14th

MACEDONIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Republika Makedonija); FYROM; Macedonia (Makedonija)

derivation of name:
From ancient Macedonians; possibly after the leader Makedon, "son of Zeus," or from the Greek *makedos* or *makednos* for "tall man"

capital:
Skopje

government:
Parliamentary democracy

language:
Majority of the population speak Macedonian (Slavic); Albanian, Turkish, and Serbo-Croatian are also spoken.

religion:
Orthodox Christians make up about 70 percent of the population; about 30 percent are Muslim.

earlier inhabitants:
Illyrians; Thracians; Macedonians; Greeks; Romans; Slavs; Bulgars; Byzantines; Turks

demographics:
About 67 percent of the population are Macedonian Slavs; Albanians constitute about 23 percent; minorities include Turks, Rroma, Serbs, and Greeks.

Macedonians: nationality time line

C.E.

395 Macedonia is part of Byzantine Empire.

seventh century Slavs settle Macedonia.

ninth century Bulgars conquer Macedonia.

1014–18 Emperor Basil II of Byzantium recovers and rules Macedonia.

c. 1346 Stephen Dušan, czar of Serbia, conquers Macedonia.

1495 Serbian empire falls; Ottoman Turks control Macedonia.

1816 *Duhovno ogledalo* (Spiritual mirror), manual for clergy by Kiril Pejcinovic, is published.

1822 Southern Macedonia revolts in Negus Uprisings.

1828–78 Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria attempt to occupy Macedonian territories, known as "Macedonian Question."

1874 *Failed Merchant or a Death Sentence,* play by Jordan Hadzhi Konstantinov-Dzhinot, opens in Veles.

1878–79 Eastern Macedonia rebels against Turks in Krersna Uprisings.

1900 *Makedonska krvava svadba* (Macedonian bloody wedding), play by Vojdan Chernodrinski, opens.

1912–13 Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria help defeat Turks in Macedonia.

1913 Treaty of Bucharest, ending Second Balkan War, divides Macedonia among Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria.

1914–18 During World War I Bulgaria, siding with the Central Powers, occupies Vardar Macedonia.

1939 *Beli Mugri* (White dawns), book of verse by Kosta Apostolov Racin, considered among first works of Macedonian literature, is published.

1939–45 During World War II Fascist Bulgaria occupies Vardar and Aegean Macedonia.

1944 National and University Library (St. Kliment Ohridski) is founded in Skopje; Macedonian Philharmonic Orchestra is founded in Skopje.

1945 Macedonia becomes part of Yugoslav Socialist Federation.

1946 Bulgaria recognizes Macedonia as nation; Pirin is attached to People's Republic of Macedonia.

National Museum is founded in Skopje; it later becomes three separate institutions, Archaeological, Ethnological, and Historical Museums.

1947 Writer's Association of Macedonia is founded.

1960 Pece Atanasovski is hired as director of orchestra for folk instruments at Radio-Televizija Skopje.

1961 Struga Poetry Evenings, honoring hometown 19th-century poets, brothers Konstantin Miladinov and Dimitar Miladinov, are inaugurated; Ohrid Summer Festival including drama and music is inaugurated.

1967 Poet Blaze Koneski is elected president of Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences (MANU).

1986 Playwright Goran Stefanovski founds playwriting course at Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Skopje.

1991 New constitution declares Macedonian independence.

1993 Macedonia joins United Nations (UN) as Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

1994 Independent Writers of Macedonia is founded.

1995 Milcho Manchevski's film *Before the Rain* about Macedonian history receives Academy Award nomination for best foreign-language film.

century, remaining part of the empire for five centuries.

The Treaty of San Stefano, ending the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), temporarily gave Macedonia to Bulgaria; Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece all claimed ethnic rights to Macedonia. The treaty was nullified by the Congress of Berlin in 1878, again placing Macedonia under Ottoman control.

During the Balkan Wars (1912–13) Macedonia was split among Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. During World War II (1939–45) Bulgaria occupied Macedonia; the Bulgarian armistice treaty of 1944 established Macedonia's prewar boundaries, confirmed in the 1947 peace treaty. By 1945 Macedonia became part of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito, forming the People's Republic of Macedonia, later known as the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. It declared itself an independent republic in 1992—becoming known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).



This photograph shows a Macedonian family in 1900. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-118864])*

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The cultural identity of the people of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedon (as opposed to peoples in the other parts of the region that comprises greater Macedonia) has been an issue of contention and confusion since the nation was formed in 1991, seceding from the former Yugoslavia. From the start the new republic aroused antagonism in Greece, which objected to its use of the name Macedonia, a Greek word, since the people of the FYROM are ethnically and linguistically Slavic. The proposed flag of the FYROM, which had the 16-pointed star of Vergina associated with Alexander the Great, further affronted the Greeks, since Alexander of the ancient MACEDONIANS drew culturally from the GREEKS. Nationalists among the Slavic Macedonians of the FYROM assert that when Slavs entered the region in the seventh century C.E., they became so closely intertwined with the natives (whom nationalist scholars have termed "Old Macedonians") that they established a "biological compromise" in which a new ethnicity, which could claim the Old Macedonian heritage to be as much its own as its Slavic heritage, was born. Thus Slavo-Macedonian nationalists of the FYROM regularly claim as part of their cultural identity architectural and artistic artifacts from the classical Greek period and earlier.

Greeks resist this identification, since the most notable of the ancient remains in Macedonia (which the Slavo-Macedonians are claiming as part of their heritage) are stylistically Greek; the reason for this is that the kingdom of Macedon was founded by Perdiccas I, a Greek from Argos, and that the Macedonian kingly line, including Philip and Alexander the Great, descended from him. The Macedonian nobility was Greek, culturally at least, as their material culture demonstrates, and the culture of the native peoples of the region—ILLYRIANS, THRACIANS, and those of other descent—who were peasant farmers, left less in the way of culturally identifiable remains. Greeks see the people of the FYROM as for the most part Slavic in ethnicity and believe that their claim to an Old Macedonian heritage is an attempt to co-opt what is essentially Greek. By the time Slavs entered the Macedonian region, this Greek culture was long gone, and the peoples with whom the Slavs joined and intermarried had little more claim to the Macedonian Greek heritage of classical and Hellenistic times than had the incoming Slavs.

Meanwhile the Albanian ethnic minority in the FYROM (themselves descended from the ancient Illyrians, who may have lived in the Balkans from as early as the late second millenium B.C.E.) began lobbying for more recognition, feeling that their minority status was preventing full participation in the country. When in 1995 Albanians tried to found an Albanian language university, the University of Tetovo, it was declared illegal by FYROM authorities because a state university cannot, under FYROM law, be established by private individuals outside state channels. Its founding caused clashes between police and demonstrators that resulted in the death of one Albanian. The university has since maintained a tenuous existence, holding classes in stores, private

MAGYARS

location:
Western Russia, Hungary, and surrounding regions

time period:
Fifth century to 1000 C.E.

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian; Turkic

language:
Hungarian (Ugric)

homes, and sometimes mosques. Albanians support the university by a voluntary tax.

The history of the FYROM thus far demonstrates how tenuous is the cultural identity of its Slavo-Macedonian majority, as the very existence of the nation has come under great threat by events in neighboring Bosnia, where SERBS, CROATS, and Muslim Bosniaks (*see* BOSNIANS AND HERZOGOVINIANS: NATIONALITY) engaged in bloody and protracted civil war that caused thousands of refugees to flee to the FYROM, and in Kosovo in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, where Serbian authorities and Albanian separatists also engaged in armed struggle.

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Maeatae

The Maeatae are classified as a Celtic tribe or confederation of tribes. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Scotland and are discussed as CELTS or SCOTS. The BORESTI, VACOMAGI, and VERTURIONES were possibly part of this group, which formed by about 200 C.E.

Magyars (Ungarii; Hungarians)

The Magyars, originally a steppe people from Asia, are the founders of Hungary. They are known also as Hungarians, although modern Hungarians are an ethnic mix. The terms Magyar and Hungarian are used interchangeably, although in modern usage Magyar is sometimes used to distinguish the Hungarian-speaking population of Hungary from other minorities. (Sometimes the Magyars are referred to as HUNS; although they may have had some ancestors from among the Huns, the two peoples had a different tradition.)

ORIGINS

The nomadic proto-Magyars were related to FINNO-UGRIANS living in the western Ural Mountain region of western Siberia. By the fifth century C.E. they roamed southwestward to the region of the Caspian Sea and had considerable contacts with Turkic KHAZARS. It was under the influence of the Khazars that the "crystallization" of Magyar identity took place. Among their early rulers were elites from among the TURKICS. At some point they too adopted a nomadic way of life on the steppes. By 830 they had reached the west bank of the Don River in Europe (present-day western Russia), about which time they formed a tribal confederacy of seven related clans: the Kari, Kasi, Kurt-Djarmat, Magyari (Madjary), Nyék (Nyak), Taryán, and Yenö. In the early ninth century three dissident clans of Turkic Khazars, known as Kavars (Kabars), joined them. The 10 tribes formed the On Oghur (Ten Arrows) confederation (the name of which has been theorized to be the source of the name Hungary).

LANGUAGE

The Magyar language, generally called Hungarian, belongs to the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family. It contains many ancient Turkic words, especially relating to animal husbandry and political and military organization.

HISTORY

The Magyars along the Don River were under pressure from the Turkic PECHENEGS. In the late ninth century the Magyars, under Árpád (see sidebar), became involved in the competition for control of eastern Europe when the BYZANTINES under Eastern Roman Emperor Leo VI paid them to attack the Turkic BULGARS, led by Simeon I. Although they had initial success, they suffered losses when Simeon in turn hired Pechenegs as mercenaries. With continuing pressure from the Pechenegs the Magyars relocated to the Hungarian plain, the territory known in ancient times as Pannonia (roughly

Árpád: National Hero of Hungary

Árpád was born in 869 C.E. According to legend he was elected chieftain of the Magyar tribe at the ceremonial sacrifice of his father, whose blood was then shared among the Magyar leaders. Árpád ruled an alliance of seven Magyar tribes and three Khazar tribes, chosen to lead them to a new homeland across the Carpathian Mountains because of pressure from the Pechenegs. In the course of their migration they encountered Byzantines, Bulgars, Vlachs, and Slavs, including the Moravians, before settling on the Hungarian plain. Árpád died in 907; after his death dukes of the house of Árpád ruled what would evolve into modern Hungary. Stephen I became the first king of the Árpád dynasty in 1000, and Andrew III, who died in 1301, was the last. Árpád's children were Tarhos (Tarkascu), Jeleg, Jutas (Jutosca), and Zolta (Zaltasz).

Árpád appears in many Hungarian legends and folklore as a brave leader on the battlefield against the Magyars' enemies.

modern Hungary), in about 895. There they campaigned successfully against VLACHS and against SLAVS, among them the MORAVIANS, whom they defeated in 906 or 907.

After Árpád's death in 907, dukes of the Árpád dynasty ruled the Magyars. Over the next years the Magyar horsemen carried out raids in central and western Europe—including Bremen in present-day northwestern Germany, Orléans in present-day central France, and Constantinople in present-day Turkey. They did not suffer a major defeat until 955, when King Otto I of Germany (later the Holy Roman Emperor) defeated them on the Lechfeld, a plain along the Lech River in Bavaria.

Géza, a duke of Hungary, encouraged Christianity among his people. His son, Stephen, succeeded him, he was anointed as King Stephen I in 1000, which can be considered the beginning of modern Hungary (*see* HUNGARIANS: NATIONALITY). He was later canonized as a saint.



Magyars time line

C.E.

830 Magyar and Khazar clans unite in tribal confederation.

c. 895 Magyars under Árpád settle in Hungary.

906 or 907 Magyars defeat Moravians.

955 Magyars defeated by Germans on the Lechfeld.

1000 Stephen I anointed first king of Hungary.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS; TURKICS)

Economy

Until migrating to central Europe the Magyars lived a nomadic way of life similar to that of other steppe peoples. Their warriors fought with bow and arrows from horseback, as did most steppe warriors, such as the Huns and AVARS. They had a stratified society, in which elites owned huge herds of cattle and sheep that were herded for them by peasants. Magyars traded in Islamic silver and horses.

An account by the Jewish traveler Ibrahim ibn Yaqub mentions Magyars (whom he calls Turks) trading in the city of Prague in Bohemia (present-day Czech Republic). He says they traded goods (perhaps horses and cattle) and coins for slaves, tin, and various kinds of fur.

Government and Society

After the creation of the Hungarian state in the reign of Géza elaborate public buildings were erected, and other trappings of civilization were adopted, as Magyars made a rapid transition from a steppe warrior to an early medieval society. Stephen abolished tribal divisions among his people and did away with pagan customs involving dynastic succession. Magyar ethnicity became dominant, with Slavic elements subsumed into the new Hungarian identity.

Technology and Art

The material culture of the early Magyar state (called the Bialobrdo culture after a site in Croatia) combined many influences, including Slav-Avar (a mixture of Slavic and Avar styles), Magyar, and Moravian. Its metalwork is characterized by plaited wire jewelry, sheetwork pendants, snake-headed bracelets, and S-shaped temple rings (rings suspended from a headband). Motifs of this style survived into the late Middle Ages and have been used in recent folk costumes.

Religion

Conversion of the Magyars to Christianity was spearheaded by Otto I, emperor of Germany. In 972 Prince Géza accepted the new faith while, however, retaining the old, as he continued to sacrifice to pagan idols despite reprimands from Otto's missionaries.

King Stephen, to avoid German influence, adopted Christianity directly from the pope. He worked to convert other Magyar leaders in part to establish his overlordship and subsume them under his rule.

The Magyars settled in territory that became parts of other modern nations, especially Croatia, Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Serbia. Those Magyar descendants in Romania, living mostly in the area of the former Magyar Autonomous Region, are called Székely (Szeklers), meaning "frontier guards." The name was applied to them because they had been sent to Transylvania to protect Hungary's eastern frontier region.

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Maltanese: nationality (Maltese; people of Malta)

GEOGRAPHY

Malta is made up of a small cluster of islands in the Mediterranean Sea, south of Sicily. The total area of the islands (Malta, Gozo, Kemmuna, Kemmunett, and Filfla) is 122 square miles.

Coralline limestone plateaus make up much of the terrain. Malta's highest point reaches 784 feet. Malta's natural resources are limited, with no rivers or lakes; much of the country's water supply is from desalination plants.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

After being controlled by various powers in ancient times, including the GREEKS, CARTHAGINIANS, ROMANS, and BYZANTINES, Malta was under Arab rule imposed by the SARACENS from 870 C.E. until 1090. In that year NORMANS from Sicily seized control. It existed as a fiefdom of Sicily and of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1530 Emperor Charles V passed Malta to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. The Knights resisted Ottoman Turk (*see* TURKICS) invasions throughout the 16th century.

In 1798 Malta surrendered to the French under Napoleon I Bonaparte. After British occupation in 1800, the Treaty of Paris of 1814 made Malta a British colony. In 1921 under British rule Malta was granted a constitution and a locally elected legislature in return for aid in World War I (1914–18). A series of constitutions were enacted and revoked throughout the early 20th century until a constitution granting self-government was reinstated in 1961. By 1964 Malta gained full independence; 10 years later it was declared a republic.

Maltanese: nationality time line

C.E.	
870	Saracens invade island, part of Byzantine Empire.
1090	Norman king of Sicily conquers country.
1523	Ottoman emperor Suleiman I grants Knights Hospitaller island of Malta.
1530	Holy Roman Emperor Charles V cedes Malta to Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.
1565	Suleiman I of Ottoman Turks fails to capture Malta despite seige.
1647	Giovanni Francesco Abela writes about Maltese history.
1732	Manoel Theater holds its first show, Scipione Maffei's classic tragedy, *Merope.*
1776	National Library of Malta is founded.
1798	Napoleon I Bonaparte expels Knights of Malta; Maltanese revolt.
1800	British capture Malta; Treaty of Paris of 1814 makes it British colony.
1849	Malta establishes council of government under British rule.
1923	Poet Dun Karm (pseudonym, Carmelo Psaila) writes lyrics of national anthem, *Innu Malti* (Hymn of Malta).
1933	Malta is reaffirmed as colony of United Kingdom.
1939–45	During World War II Germany and Italy bomb Allied bases on island.
1945	Playwright and novelist Francis Ebejer begins writing career.
1947	United Kingdom grants Malta self-rule.
1959	Autonomy is revoked.
1964	Malta declares full independence.
1965	Malta joins United Nations (UN).
1974	Malta becomes republic.
	National Museum of Fine Arts is founded in Valletta.
1983	Folklore Museum is founded in Gozo.
1994	Composer Charles Camilleri uses folk themes in oratorio *Pawlu ta' Malta.*
1995	John Schranz and Ingemar Lindh launch interdisciplinary research program at University of Malta, known as Questioning Human Creativity as Acting (xHCA).
2002	Cultural Heritage Act of 2002 establishes Heritage Malta as national agency entrusted with management of national museums and heritage sites.
2004	Malta joins European Union (EU).

MALTANESE: NATIONALITY

nation:
Malta; Republic of Malta (Repubblika ta' Malta)

derivation of name:
From Phoenician *MLT* or "refuge"; possibly related to the Greek and Latin word *melitta,* "honey"

government:
Democratic republic

capital:
Valletta

language:
Official languages are Maltese (Semitic) and English; Italian is also spoken.

religion:
More than 95 percent of the population are Catholic.

earlier inhabitants:
Phoenicians; Greeks; Carthaginians; Romans; Byzantines; Saracens; Normans

demographics:
About 96 percent of the population of Malta are Maltese; minorities include British, Arabs, French, Normans, Spanish, and Italians.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Despite Malta's geographical location between Europe and Africa as well as the fact that Maltanese speak a Semitic language, the Maltanese identify themselves culturally with Europeans. The Maltanese have shared the same religion and culture with Europe for centuries; the Catholic religion has played, and still plays, a leading role in the molding of the culture. Moreover, because Europeans colonized Malta for a thousand years after the Saracens surrendered the islands to the Normans in 1090, most Maltanese feel culturally closer to Europe.

In a survey carried out in 1995 the Maltenese were asked which of the following they felt most part of: their village or town, their district, their country, the countries of the Mediterranean, Europe, the West, or the world. The results were then compared to the results of a similar survey held in Spain. According to the survey most Maltanese (65 percent) see themselves primarily as citizens of their country and only 6 percent of Maltanese and 2 percent of Spaniards think of themselves as citizens of Europe. Whereas 22 percent of Spaniards identify with the Mediterranean region, only 2 percent of Maltanese do so.

The word *ghana* (pronounced "an-ney") refers to Maltese indigenous singing, and *ghannejja* (pronounced "an-ney-ya"), to the singers. *Ghana* has changed both stylistically and in content over the years; it has become associated largely with three highly stylized genres, in particular with the genre of *spirtu pront* (or quick spirit, a ritualized, improvised song duel). Current versions are variously viewed by different segments of society. The middle and upper classes tend to regard it as quaint folk singing, practiced by working-class men, and consider the forms tainted by the partisan political use made of them by their present "low" practitioners. Its working-class practitioners have seized upon the attention awarded *ghana* by intellectuals to see it as being somehow part of Maltese cultural identity, a pure entity that they are preserving. By preserving *ghana* the *ghannejja* consciously see themselves as "guardians of folklore" and in this role use *ghana* as a vehicle for statements about cultural traits in Maltese society.



A Maltese woman hangs laundry in the 1940s. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-70798])*

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Manapii *See* MENAPII.

Mandubii (Mandubians; Mandurii)

The Mandubii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around the town of Alesia on Mont Auxois, about 32 miles northwest of present-day Dijon in eastern France, and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. It is assumed they were allies of the AEDUI. A number of tribes under Vercingetorix made a stand against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar at Alesia in 52 B.C.E., and the town eventually fell. The Mandubii were not one of the tribes listed as part of the Gallic alliance.

Manx (Manxmen; people of the Isle of Man)

The Manx are people of the Isle of Man (also known as Mann and Ellan Vannin). They are descended in large part from the CELTS. The island, with its strategic position in the Irish Sea and mild semitropical climate, was a focus of competition for territory between the IRISH and WELSH and later the VIKINGS, especially Norse from Norway, during the first millennium C.E. As a result the Manx culture can be characterized as Hiberno-Norse, a mixture of mostly Irish Celtic and Viking influences. Hiberno-Norse building styles and Norse folk

beliefs contributed to Manx culture. The most important contribution of the Vikings to the Isle of Man however, was the Tynwald, the Manx legislative body or parliament.

ORIGINS

The Isle of Man has been inhabited since 7000 B.C.E. in the Mesolithic Age, by which time the climate had improved enough from earlier Ice Age conditions to allow subsistence. By 4000 B.C.E. people on Man had become farmers. As elsewhere in the Atlantic coastal zone the arrival of farming was accompanied by the practice of building megalithic monuments. Around 2000 B.C.E. the Bronze Age Beaker culture appeared on the Isle of Man.

The chronology of finds in the area of Billdown north of Castletown is typical of Manx prehistory. It is extremely rich in Neolithic constructions and artifacts, the former represented by a causewayed enclosure, stone circles, standing stones, and round cairns. After 1000 B.C.E. ritual use of the area had ceased and intensive farming began, possibly suggesting the arrival of newcomers. A number of roundhouses built there during the first millennium B.C.E. show that people were living an Iron Age Celtic lifestyle.

LANGUAGE

Manx is related to the Gaelic (Goidelic) branch of the Insular Celtic languages, which includes Irish and Scots Gaelic. The Manx language, however, has an overlay of Norse words. The last native speaker of Manx died in 1974, but a revival movement is under way to teach children Manx.

HISTORY

Between the fifth and ninth centuries C.E. possession of the Isle of Man was contested by the Dalriadic SCOTS of eastern Ireland and western Scotland and the Welsh. In 625 Edwin, king of Northumbria of the ANGLO-SAXONS, conquered Welsh Anglesey and the Isle of Man. Anglo-Saxon control of Man was brief, and at Edwin's death it reverted to the Scots and again, in about 825, to North Wales.

Vikings and Manx

The Vikings who most strongly impinged on the Isle of Man were from the settlements on the east coast of Ireland, especially Dublin. They made Man a prime staging ground for forays elsewhere around the rim of the Irish Sea during the ninth century and later. The island for the first period of Viking raids seems to have been subject either to the Norwegian kings of Dublin or to independent Viking chieftains. During the 10th and 11th centuries the Viking earls of Orkney laid claim to Man, as did chieftains loyal to the Crown of Norway, but in the 12th century the king of the Island swore fealty to King John of England. Thereafter the English Crown continued to assert the right to fealty from the kings of Man—a right that did not become a reality, however, for 200 years. Scottish kings fought against the Viking Norse on Man and the surrounding islands, and in 1265 what was known as the Kingdom of Man and the Isles was transferred to Alexander III of Scotland. In 1290 the people, voting in their Tynwald or parliament, voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Edward I of England.

After this the island became a prize contested between Scotland and England, with control passing time and again from one to the other. In 1405 Henry IV of England finally defeated the Scots and made the English Crown's sovereignty over Man a reality. It has never, however, been a part of the United Kingdom in terms of ceding the self-governing powers of the Tynwald to the English Parliament.

During the late 17th and early 18th centuries as a result of its strategic position in the Irish Sea the island became a center of extensive smuggling into the United Kingdom. To curtail this the island was placed under the almost complete control of the imperial government. In 1866 Westminster restored some of its self-governing powers to the Tynwald. The island's current status is that of a Crown dependency with a royal governor, the queen's representative, appointed every five years.

MANX

location:
Isle of Man in the Irish Sea, located midway between Britain and Ireland

time period:
1000 B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Primarily Celtic

language:
Manx (from the Gaelic branch of Insular Celtic) and English

Manx time line

C.E.

fifth–ninth centuries Possession of Isle of Man contested by Dalriadic Scots of eastern Ireland and western Scotland and by Welsh.

ninth century Viking raids begin; Viking Norse begin settlements, establish Tynwald.

1265 Kingdom of Man and Isles transferred to Alexander III of Scotland.

1290 Tynwald votes to place Isle of Man under protection of Edward I of England.

18th century Isle of Man put under almost complete control of British government.

1866 Westminster restores some self-governing powers to Manx; Tynwald becomes a popularly elected assembly.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

The Isle of Man's semitropical climate and fertile soil have long made agriculture an important part of the economy; more than half of the land is farmed. The many good harbors contributed to fishing; in the Middle Ages the island had a major herring fishery. Viking settlers in the ninth century C.E. established trading towns and included Man in their overseas trading networks. Man's location off the coast of Britain made it ideal for smugglers. Vast amounts of commodities, including spirits, wines, tea, coffee, tobacco, and East India goods, were imported to Man during the 17th and 18th centuries and then smuggled to England to avoid duties.

Government and Society

With their Tynwald (from the Norse Tingvollr, "assembly field"), the Manx claim the oldest continuously running parliament in the world. The Norse kings who ruled Man after the ninth century C.E. introduced the Norse system of legislation and open-air assemblies, where laws were promulgated (read aloud to the people), where the ruling elite's authority was displayed, and where wrongdoers were punished. During the time of the later Norse kings the Isle of Man formed the center of a large maritime kingdom, together with the Scottish Hebrides, called the Kingdom of Man and the Isles. This kingdom was ruled by a Tynwald with 32 members: 16 from the Isle of Man and 16 from the Isles of Lewis, Skye, Mull, and Islay. During the 12th century the Isles of Mull and Islay (and their eight representatives) were lost to the Argyll Scots, and the Tynwald was reduced from 32 to 24 members.

Because of this early establishment of the Tynwald the development of democracy on the Isle of Man at times was more advanced than in England. With the House of Keys election bill (referring to the building in Castletown where the Tynwald long met) in 1866 the Tynwald became a popularly elected assembly.

Literature

Little literature has been written in Manx over the centuries. Aside from translations of religious works, including the 1610 English Book of Common Prayer, there are ballads and what are known as *carvals,* a form of Christmas carol. The Bible was not translated into Manx until the 18th century.

Religion

The Isle of Man is named for a Celtic sea god called Manannan Mac y Leir, who figures in Irish as well as Manx mythology. In Manx belief Manannan, although he had left the Isle of Man, dwelled on an island nearby under the sea and continued to cast his protective mists over Man. From time to time his island rose out of the sea, letting him look on his namesake land.

Christianity was introduced to the Manx from Ireland in the sixth century C.E. by Irish monks. Many Manx churches are dedicated to Irish saints. Cross slabs, some with ogham inscriptions, which almost certainly date to the period between the sixth and 10th centuries, are in the tradition of the Irish high or ringed cross, which had its origins in the standing stones of the PICTS. In the ninth century chapels called *keeils* were built, with associated burial grounds; the ruins of these are found throughout the island. Many holy wells on Man still commemorate the names of early Celtic saints. After the Norse on Man became Christian, they created some of the finest stone crosses on the island.

Inhabiting an island that is in some ways a microcosm of the larger islands of Britain surrounding it, the Manx have contrived to chart an independent course from the other insular peoples and with their Tynwald have been in the forefront of the political evolution, undertaken eventually by all the European nations, to democracy.

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Marci (Marcians; Marsi; Marsians)

The Marci are classified as a Germanic tribe. They lived east of the Rhine near the BRUCTERI,

CHATTI, CHERUSCI, and SUGAMBRI in present-day western Germany. Little is known about them; they are mentioned by the Greek geographer Strabo (first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.) and the Roman historian Tacitus (first–second century C.E.) in connection with campaigns of the ROMANS against GERMANICS east of the Rhine in the late first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E. They are associated with the Chatti and Cherusci and supported the Cherusci leader Arminius in his revolt against Rome in 9 C.E. Some Marci reportedly merged with the Sugambri.

Marcomanni

The Marcomanni are classified among those GERMANICS known as SUEBI. In the course of their history, they lived in present-day Germany, Czech Republic, and Austria. Along with other Germanic tribes, they battled the ROMANS in what is referred to as the Marcomannic or Marcomannian Wars in the second century C.E.

ORIGINS

The Marcomanni are thought to have settled along the Main River, a tributary of the Rhine, in present-day south-central Germany by the first century B.C.E. In 8 to 6 B.C.E., they settled along the upper Elbe and Moldau Rivers in the region of Bohemia in present-day Czech Republic. The QUADI, Marcomanni allies, settled to the west in the region of Moravia. The Marcomanni eventually held territory in present-day northern Austria as far south as the Danube.

LANGUAGE

The Marcomanni spoke a Germanic language. Little is known about the different Germanic dialects until about the fourth century C.E., by which time the Marcomanni had largely disappeared as a distinct group.

HISTORY

An early mention of the Marcomanni in Roman texts mentions how, in 8 to 6 B.C.E., Emperor Augustus planned a pincer operation from the Rhine to the Danube in order to entrap the Marcomanni, Quadi, and allied tribes under King Marobodus considered a threat to Rome. The Romans called off the campaign because of unrest elsewhere. Texts also refer to a defeat of the Marcomanni by the CHERUSCI under Arminius in 17 C.E. It was Arminius's annihilation of three Roman legions in 9 C.E. and subsequent unsuccessful Roman attempts to regain control of the territory east of the Rhine forced the Romans to roll back the imperial frontier to the Rhine itself, a situation that would determine relations between the Romans and Germanic tribes for centuries.

The Marcomanni were among those peoples whose movement across the Danube into present-day Hungary in the second century C.E. made the Romans aware of the changes happening deep in the Germanic interior, probably caused in part by population pressures and in part by the growing level of conflicts among peoples who had become militarized by their participation in the Roman slave trade and whose societies had been destabilized by increasing socioeconomic differentiation both between and within tribes. Conflict with some of these tribes may have catalyzed the Marcomanni, who by this time had become more peaceful under Roman influence. In particular they were affected by the expansion of power of the Gutonen, the tribe that would later form the kernel of the GOTHS, from their base along the Vistula River in present-day Poland.

The Marcomannic Wars

In the second century the Marcomanni and allied tribes successfully raided southward, crossing the Danube into the Roman provinces of Pannonia (modern Hungary and surrounding regions) and Dacia (roughly modern Romania). They are thought to have numbered around 6,000. In 167 C.E. the Marcomanni, along with the Quadi and the Iranian IAZYGES, began an even more massive movement to the head of the Adriatic Sea, where they raided the cities of Aquileia and Oderzo, close to present-day Venice.

In addition to the Marcomanni and Quadi other Germanic peoples were part of the

MARCOMANNI

location:
Germany; Hungary; Czech Republic

time period:
First century to 500 C.E.

derivation of name:
Old German for "men of the march"

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Marcomanni time line

B.C.E.

8–6 Romans strategize against growing Marcomanni threat.

C.E.

17 Cherusci defeat Marcomanni.

166–180 Marcomannic Wars between Marcomannic Confederation and Romans.

late fourth century–453 Marcomanni under rule of Huns.

Marcomannic Confederation. The exact number of tribes is not known. During negotiations with the Romans after the first invasion in 167 C.E. King Ballomarius of the Marcomanni spoke for at least 11 tribes, and perhaps even more were involved. Among them were the Germanic LOMBARDS and VANDALS and Iranian SARMATIANS living in present-day Hungary at the time. (There is archaeological evidence for the presence of northern Germanics at this time in Marcomannic Bohemia and Austria. And Roman arms probably taken as booty have been found in contemporary burials in Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland, and the island of Fyn in present-day Denmark.)

The Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius organized legions, which included Germanic recruits, to move against the invading tribes in 166 C.E., the first year of the Marcomannic Wars, as Roman historians relate. The heavily armed Romans managed to drive back the invading Germanics, who lacked iron armor and helmets and whose iron weapons were few, consisting mostly of iron arrow points and short, single-edged swords. After losing Carnuntum on the south bank of the Danube near present-day Hainburg, Austria, the Romans recaptured it and used it as their base of operations. Despite some Roman defeats by 175. they had killed hundreds of Germanic warriors; destroyed numerous Germanic villages, burning their log-and-thatch huts; and sent women and children (who in some instances killed themselves rather than be captured) into slavery. After visiting Egypt and Athens Marcus Aurelius returned to Italy and further campaigned in the north until his death in 180. Because of his victories Rome announced the founding of two new provinces, Marcomannia and Sarmatia. But Marcus Aurelius's son, Commodus, resumed the policy of maintaining defensive positions along the Rhine and Danube. It can be assumed that some Marcomanni survived the Roman onslaught because they maintained their identity through ensuing centuries, and some continued to raid along the middle reaches of the Danube.

Lost Identity

By the early fifth century the Marcomanni fell under the rule of the HUNS invading from the east. They participated in Hunnic campaigns through the disintegration of the Hunnic Empire in 453. Their identity as a distinct group probably did not survive this period because the Elbe River Germanics were afterward generally discussed as Suebi. Some Marcomanni perhaps found refuge among other peoples, such as the ALAMANNI, RUGII, and VANDALS. Some among them are thought to have settled in present-day Bavaria in southern Germany and were perhaps ancestral to the BAVARII.

As late as 500 a Queen Fritigil is said to have ruled a group of Marcomanni, an indication that remnants did survive, but afterward they disappear from the historical record.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

Although they were not under direct Roman hegemony, the Marcomanni were profoundly influenced by Rome nevertheless, primarily through trade. Their territory lay within what archaeologists have called the "market zone" adjacent to the imperial border, where numerous coin finds indicate that a market economy developed during the first two centuries C.E. Tribes in the market zone developed a basically friendly relationship with Rome; the Marcomanni's neighbors the HERMUNDURI were allowed to make trading trips over the border onto Roman lands without a guard set over them. Roman traders in turn traveled deep into Germanic territory. Roman trade policy with tribes such as the Marcomanni aimed at making them depend on Rome for vital resources such as iron and grain and at developing markets within the tribe for Roman exports such as wine and pottery.

Government and Society

The Marcomanni were actually a confederation of tribes rather than a single tribe made up of clans.

Trade with the Romans had a profound effect on Marcomannic society (and, it is assumed, on that of their allies the Quadi as well). To facilitate trade Romans encouraged the emergence of authoritarian leaders among Germanic tribes with whom they dealt. Such leaders were desirable because they could negotiate trade treaties with Rome and take steps to curb the warlike tendencies of their young men. The Romans helped create such leaders by giving them rich gifts that enabled them to display their status and to bind followers to them in turn by gift giving. But although such developments in the short term made dealing with tribes such as the Marcomanni easier for the Romans, they tended to create tensions between the ruling class and the mass of free warriors. Such tensions increased the

importance of the *comitati,* the informal war bands, who would go off on raids for their own reasons and on their own authority, eventually in some cases leaving their tribe altogether to form a new one. It is not known whether this happened among the Marcomanni in particular, since there is little evidence of the specifics of their tribal structure, but it is highly probable that something of the sort occurred, and that the Marcomannic confederacy was under attack both from within and from without by other tribes destabilized by contact with the Romans.

Archaeological evidence for the increasing Romanization of the Marcomanni consists of structures, possibly villas or fortifications of some kind, made of Roman building materials.

The successful incursions of the Marcomanni and allied tribes onto Roman-held territory represented the second organized Germanic invasion of the Roman Empire, the first that of the CIMBRI and TEUTONES in the late second century B.C.E., which the Romans also repelled. Many more Germanic invasions followed.

Mari (Cheremis; Cheremisses; Cheremissians)

The Mari are a Finnic-speaking people classified among the FINNO-UGRIANS. They live mostly in Mari El, a republic in present-day east-central European Russia. Mari also live in neighboring regions, such as Bashkortostan, Perm, Tatarstan, and Udmurtia (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Classified as Volga (or Eastern Finnics), they were formerly known as the Cheremiss by Westerners; their native name Mari means "human being." Their ancestral homeland is at the confluence of the Volga and Kama Rivers for centuries and, along with the MORDVINS, they are known as the Volga Finnics.

ORIGINS

The Mari are among the few Finnic-speaking tribes who still live in their most ancient known territory. In historic times they were actually organized as three groups, based on geographic differences: the Mari-kuryk (Mountain or Hill Mari), the Mari-olyk (Meadow Mari), and the Mari-ervel (Eastern Mari). The Mountain Mari live on the western bank of the Volga River in the southwestern corner of the Republic of Mari El and are closely related to those Mari living in the Vetluga River basin on the other side of the Volga. The Meadow Mari are those inhabiting the flatlands on the eastern bank of the Volga between the Vetluga and Viatka Rivers. The Eastern Mari live to the east of the Viatka along the Kama River and its tributaries. The Eastern Mari are further divided into several groups, of which four main ones can be identified: Kama, Belaia, Ik-Siun', and Ural Mari.

LANGUAGE

The Mari language together with that of the Mordvins and the extinct MUROMA form the Volgaic group of the Finnic languages. There are two Mari dialects: Mari-kuryk (Mari-Hill or Mari-Hig) and Mari-olyk (Mari-Meadow or Mari-Low). Mari-Meadow is considered the official language (along with Russian).

HISTORY

From about 700 C.E. the Mari had close contacts with the Turkic-speaking CHUVASH, forming an alliance. In the 13th to 16th centuries they were under the dominion of the TATARS and afterward the Russian SLAVS.

The Finnish Mari peoples withstood the pressures of colonization from Russia far longer than most other Finnic tribes. Before and during the Middle Ages the Mari were politically connected with the Turkic peoples; originally with the Volga BULGARS, then with the Tatars of the Kazan khanate. In the 16th century when the Russian conquest of the Volga Basin began most Mari tribes remained loyal to the Tatars. Until 1552 the Mari were still fighting on the side of the Tatars until the ultimate fall of the khanate.

The Mari fought against Muscovite subjugation in a series of uprisings, known collectively as the Cheremis Wars. This unrest continued into the second half of the 16th century, when Mari begin to migrate eastward to escape forced Christianization generated by

MARI

location:
Mari El Republic in western Russia and neighboring regions

time period:
c. 700 C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Volgaic (Finnic)

Mari time line

C.E.

c. 700 Mari and Chuvash become allies.

13th century Mari under rule of Tatars

1552 Fall of Kazan khanate of Tatars; Russians occupy region.

c. 1870 Kuga Sorta (big candle) cult founded.

1991 Mari El becomes republic in Russian Federation.

MARRUCINI

location:
Abruzzi and Campania in east-central Italy

time period:
Third to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

Russian domination. This migration ended by the middle of the 18th century but caused the formation of the Eastern Mari group.

In 1937 the Soviet Union (USSR) initiated a policy of suppression of minorities, which led to relocation and a loss of traditional culture among the Mari. Since 1991 Mari El has been a republic within the Russian Federation. It borders the Chuvash Republic, the Republic of Tatarstan, and the Republic of Udmurtia.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

Economy

The forest has been an important resource for the Mari. Many Mari work in farming and animal husbandry. Beekeeping has become important economically. Other industries that have historically been important to the Mari include metalworking.

Art

The Mari are known for traditional wood and stone carving and embroidery.

Music

The Mari have two musical instruments unique to their culture. One is a many-stringed zither called the *kusle;* the other is a *shyuvr* bagpipe. Their musical traditions include song lyrics that mention the Volga and reflect their love of nature, especially the forest and rainbows.

Religion

The Russian Mari nominally converted to Russian Orthodoxy in the 16th century under pressure from czarist Russia. The isolation of the Eastern Mari communities has enabled them to preserve the Mari religion, which is based on animist traditions rooted in a deep reverence for nature, especially trees. Religious rituals and animal sacrifice are performed in sacred groves called *keremet* and presided over by a *kart,* a priest. A *kart* blessed the president of Mari El at his inauguration in 1992, and a prayer book has been published. The Eastern Mari of Bashkortostan have best been able to maintain their cultural traditions.

In about 1870 a movement arose among them known as Kuga Sorta, "big candle," in which they revived their traditional pagan religion in combination with a belief in the spirit world and in Christ as a prophet. Rituals, including marriage ceremonies, are performed in homes or forests around a large candle. A respect for nature is central to the cult.

Marrucini

The Marrucini are classified as an Italic tribe. They lived at the southern end of the region that was known to the ROMANS as Samnium (modern Abruzzi and part of Campania) in east-central Italy. Their principal city was Teate (modern Chieti) just inland from the east coast.

The fact that the Marrucini lived near the coast to the north of the Illyrian APULI means that their ancestors also may have been related to the ILLYRIANS and branched off from them, migrating from across the Adriatic, later fusing with ITALICS. However at the time of an inscription on what is known as the Bronze of Rapino from the mid-third century B.C.E. they used an Oscan dialect written in a Latin alphabet, not Illyrian; the Marrucinian language was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan branch of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marsian, Paelignian, Sabine, Vestinian, and Volscian.

The Marrucini are mentioned in fourth-century B.C.E. historical accounts as part of a confederacy with the MARSI, PAELIGNI, and VESTINI. Those tribes supported the SAMNITES against the Romans in 309–304 B.C.E. during the Second Samnite War and as a result are sometimes discussed as Samnites. Afterward they were ruled by the Romans. Some among them joined other tribes against Rome in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

MARSI

location:
Abbruzzi in central Italy

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Marsian (Italic)

Marsi (Marsians)

The Marsi, classified as a tribe of ITALICS, lived about the former Lake Fucino (drained in the 19th century) in the Apennines in the present-day region of Abruzzi in central Italy, part of the area known to the ROMANS as Samnium. Their capital was Marruvium on the lake's east shore. As are other ITALICS in the central Apennines they are known through contacts with the Romans. They played a key part in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

ORIGINS

It is not known certainly when the Marsi formed a group distinct from other Italics and settled in the central Apennines. Roman writers refer to them as a distinct people by the fourth century B.C.E.

LANGUAGE

The Marsian language was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan group of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marrucinian,

Paelignian, Sabine, Vestinian, and Volscian. By the first century C.E. Latin was in use among some of the Marsi.

HISTORY

The Marsi, known as a warlike people (and named after the war god Mars), became allies of the Romans in 325 B.C.E. at the start of the Second Samnite War of 326–304 B.C.E. In 309 B.C.E., however, they were part of a confederacy, which included the MARRUCINI, PAELIGNI, and VESTINI, in support of the SAMNITES against the Romans (leading to their sometimes being discussed as Samnites.) With the defeat of the Samnites in 304 B.C.E., the Marsi again became Roman allies, only to revolt again briefly two years later; at that time the Romans punished them by seizing some of their lands.

The Marsi remained loyal allies of Rome until the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E., when various tribes revolted against Rome to achieve equal rights as citizens. Since their warriors were central to rebel efforts under their leaders Quintus Pompaedius Silo and Caius Papius Mutilus (known to history by their Latin names), the Social War is referred to in some texts as the Marsic war (and in others as the Italic war). Although the Romans prevailed on the battlefield, resistance continued until the passage of a law granting citizenship to noncombatants in 90 B.C.E. Three years later citizenship was granted to all inhabitants of Italy south of the Po River.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

The Marsi were known to the Romans as practitioners of witchcraft and magic, with considerable skill in the healing arts, using herbs from the Marsian woods. A principal deity among them was Angitia, a goddess of healing. The Marsi built a temple to her at the southwestern end of Lake Fucino (near modern Luco).

The Greek historian Appian of the second century wrote that the Romans never triumphed over the Marsi or without the Marsi, indicating their value as soldiers.

Marsi time line

B.C.E.

325	Marsi become allies of Romans.
309	Marsi revolt against Romans.
304	Marsi again become allies of Romans.
90–88	Marsi lead Italics in Social War.

Mattiacians

The Mattiacians are classified as a Germanic tribe. The Roman historian Tacitus of the first–second centuries C.E. describes them as living on the Rhine in present-day Netherlands, opposite the BATAVI, other GERMANICS, in the first century B.C.E.

Mauri *See* MOORS.

Mazovians (Masovians; Mazowszanie; Mazovshane)

The Mazovians were a tribe of Western SLAVS, living between the middle Vistula River and its tributary the Western Bug in present-day northern Poland—a region that came to be known as Mazovia—by the early ninth century C.E. Their principal fortified town was located at Plock on the Vistula. Their neighbors to the northwest, the KUYAVIANS, spoke a related dialect. The Mazovians and other Western Slavs were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS. Along with the POLANIANS, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, the Mazovians are among the ancestors of the POLES. Some Mazovians, who settled in the Mazurian Lakes district of present-day northeastern Poland and the forests of southwestern Lithuania, located to the north of Mazovia, became known as the MAZURS (although the names Mazovians and Mazurs are sometimes used interchangeably). The name Mazovians has also been applied to anyone from the historic region of Mazovia, regardless of tribal or linguistic affiliation.

MAZOVIANS

location:
Mazovia in northern Poland

time period:
Ninth to 10th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

Mazurs (Mazurians; Masurs; Masurians; Mazurzy Pruscy)

The Mazurs, a subgroup of POLES, lived in the Mazurian Lakes district of present-day northeastern Poland and to the east in southwestern Lithuania, formerly part of the Duchy of Prussia. They were descendants of the MAZOVIANS, grouped among the SLAVS, and Germans, who had settled the region under the protection of the Teutonic Knights early in the 13th century C.E. They spoke a combination of Polish and German (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY;

MAZURS

location:
Northeastern Poland and southwestern Lithuania

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic and Germanic

language:
Mazurian (Polish and German)

MENAPII

location:
Northwestern France; western Belgium; western Netherlands; eastern Ireland

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish and Gaelic (Celtic)

POLES: NATIONALITY); in later centuries some among them converted to Protestantism. The name Mazur or Mazurians is sometimes used interchangeably with Mazovians. In the 20th century during Communist rule in Poland many Mazurs were forced to relocate; that led to the loss of their traditional culture. Since that time there has been a resurgence in awareness of both Mazur and Mazovian roots.

Mediomatrici (Mediomatricii; Mediomatrices)

The Mediomatrici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around Metz in present-day northeastern France, south of the TREVERI. As are the Treveri, they are discussed as CELTS or GAULS; they probably had some Germanic ancestry as well. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. Some Mediomatrici fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Divodurum on the site of Metz became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Metz takes its name from the tribal name.



Celtic peoples utilized gold coins in commerce. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Medulli

The Medulli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Atlantic Ocean in the district of Médoc in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Midoc takes it name from the tribal name.

Meldi (Meldae; Meldes)

The Meldi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Meaux in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Julius Caesar describes the Meldi as building ships for the ROMANS to attack Britain in 55–54 B.C.E., although their distance from the mouth of the Seine makes this unlikely, and the boat builders may have been a different people.

Meminii

The Meminii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Carpentras in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Memmates

The Memmates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Mende in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Menapii (Menapi; Manapii)

The Menapii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France, western Belgium, and western Netherlands and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Along with the MORINI and other BELGAE they resisted the ROMANS under Julius Caesar longer than other Gallic tribes, driven to spend the winter with the AULERCI and LEXOVII in 56 B.C.E. Castellum Manapiorum on the site of present-day Cassel in France became a *civitas* capital in Gaul during the Roman occupation that lasted until the fifth century C.E.

The Menapii, a seafaring people, traveled to and settled on the British Isles. Their name appears in reference to a Celtic tribe in the present-day counties of Waterford and Wexford in eastern Ireland, who can be classified as Celts or IRISH. One theory maintains that this group migrated there from the mainland by way of Britain. The Menapii of Ireland are associated with a group called MONAIG (or Fir Manach; Fermanagh).

FURTHER READING

Norman Mongan. *The Menapia Quest: Two Thousand Years of the Menapii: Seafaring Gauls in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Isle of Man 216 BC–1990 AD* (Dublin: Herodotus, 1995).

Merovingians *See* FRANKS.

MERYA

location:
Yaroslavl region of western Russia

time period:
Ninth to 11th century C.E.

ancestry:
Finnic

language:
Volgaic (Finnic)

Merya (Meria; Merians; Merja)

The Merya were a Finnic-speaking tribe, living in the southeastern part of the present-day Yaroslav region of east-central European Russia. Their ancestors are considered indigenous to the Volga and Oka Rivers; they are grouped among Volga or Eastern Finnics, a subgroup of FINNO-UGRIANS. The Merya language was probably related to that of the MARI and MORDVINS of the Volgaic group of Finnic languages although, on the basis of placenames, it is known to share elements with the Balto-Finnic language of the VEPS, who lived to their northwest.

The first mention of the Merya in historical texts places them around Nero and Plescheyevo Lakes and a tributary tribe of the Kievan RUS in the 860s C.E. In the second half of the ninth century with various tribes of SLAVS

the Merya were under the suzerainty of the Rus of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

In the 11th century many of the Finnic tribes, including the Merya and MUROMA, became embroiled in the power struggles of the Russian Slavs and were displaced or absorbed.

Meshchera

The Meshchera were a Finnic-speaking tribe, living along the Oka River, a tributary of the Volga, in present-day east-central European Russia. Some of the settlements were near present-day Moscow. On the basis of place-names it is theorized that the Meschera language was related to that of the MARI and MORDVINS of the Volgaic group of Finnic languages, although some scholars classify them among the Ugrians, a separate branch of FINNO-UGRIANS.

The Meshchera along with MERYA and MUROMA are recorded as living in the region since at least the ninth century C.E.; their ancestors, associated with the Oka-Ryazan culture, are considered indigenous to the region. The village of Meshcherka is mentioned in a will in 1358; the territory between the Oka and Klyazma Rivers is known as the Meshchera lowlands.

As were many Finnic tribes the rural Meshchera were fishermen, bronze craftsmen, beekeepers, and hunters. They were capable of cultivating their land but were not avid farmers. They had an animistic belief system and especially revered waterfowl.

Western Meshchera groups had contacts with the RUS and Russian SLAVS; eastern groups had contact with the TATARS. Some Meshchera may have merged with the Mordvins in the 16th century. Those absorbed by the Tatars at about the same time were known for a time as Tatar-Mishers or Misherler.

Messapi (Messapii; Messapians; Messapics; Salentini)

On the basis of their language the Messapi are assumed originally to have been ILLYRIANS who migrated to present-day southeastern Italy from the western Balkan Peninsula, probably by the ninth century B.C.E. or earlier. The Messapic, or Messapian language, is related to Illyrian languages.

The Messapi lived on the heel of the boot of the Italian Peninsula between the Adriatic and the Ionian Seas, as well as to the north in the region of Apulia (Puglia). Their name, with the root *ap,* "water," possibly means "people living between two seas." According to the first-century B.C.E. Roman poet Virgil, however, it means "master of horses," and they were known to raise horses. The fifth-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus mistakenly describes them as people from Crete who were shipwrecked on the coast of Salento, and they are also known by the alternate name Salentini.

The Messapi had extensive contacts with the GREEKS of Tarentum (modern Taranto). Inscriptions found on coins and other artifacts are in the Greek alphabet, and Messapian pottery is often decorated with Greek mythological beings. The ROMANS ultimately controlled their lands. Some among the Messapi joined various tribes of ITALICS against Rome in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E.

The Messapi are sometimes grouped as IAPYGES with the APULI and PEUCETI living to the north, or the name is used synonymously with Iapyges since all these groups spoke Messapic dialects.

Metanastae *See* IAZYGES.

Minoans

The Minoans, named in modern times after the legendary king Minos, were a Bronze Age people of the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea. (As their language has not been deciphered, their name for themselves is unknown.) Their civilization flourished from about 2000 to 1000 B.C.E., although in the last centuries in a state of decline. They are associated with the Greek myth of the Minotaur, a creature with a bull's head. Minoan civilization was one of three archaeologically known highly developed Bronze Age cultures of pre-Hellenic Greece; the other two are those of the CYCLADITES of the Cyclades island group to the north of Crete and the MYCENAEANS on the mainland. All three are discussed as Aegean civilizations as distinct from the later Hellenic civilization of the ancient GREEKS. (The name PELASGIANS has been applied by ancient writers to the earliest peoples of Greece, but this term has not been archaeologically defined.)

ORIGINS

Minoan origins are not known. The earliest peoples on Crete were Neolithic peoples, who

MESHCHERA

location:
Along Oka River in western Russia

time period:
Ninth to 16th century C.E.

ancestry:
Finnic

language:
Volgaic (Finnic)

MESSAPI

location:
Southeastern Italy

time period:
Ninth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Illyrian

language:
Illyrian

MINOANS

location:
Crete

time period:
c. 3000 to c. 1000 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Uncertain, possibly Semitic

Minoans time line

B.C.E.

c. 3000–c. 2200 Early Minoan period

c. 2200–c. 1500 Middle Minoan period

c. 2000–c. 1600 Old Palace period

c. 1600–c. 1425 New Palace period

c. 1628–c. 1627 Volcanic explosion destroys cities on island of Thera (Thira, Santorini); tsunami causes widespread destruction in Aegean, including Crete.

c. 1600 Minoan civilization at its peak; when most palaces are destroyed in earthquakes they are quickly rebuilt.

17th–15th centuries Minoan civilization spreads to islands of Aegean and Greek mainland.

c. 1500–1000 Late Minoan period (Young Palace culture)

c. 1425 City of Knossos is destroyed, but palace is rebuilt.

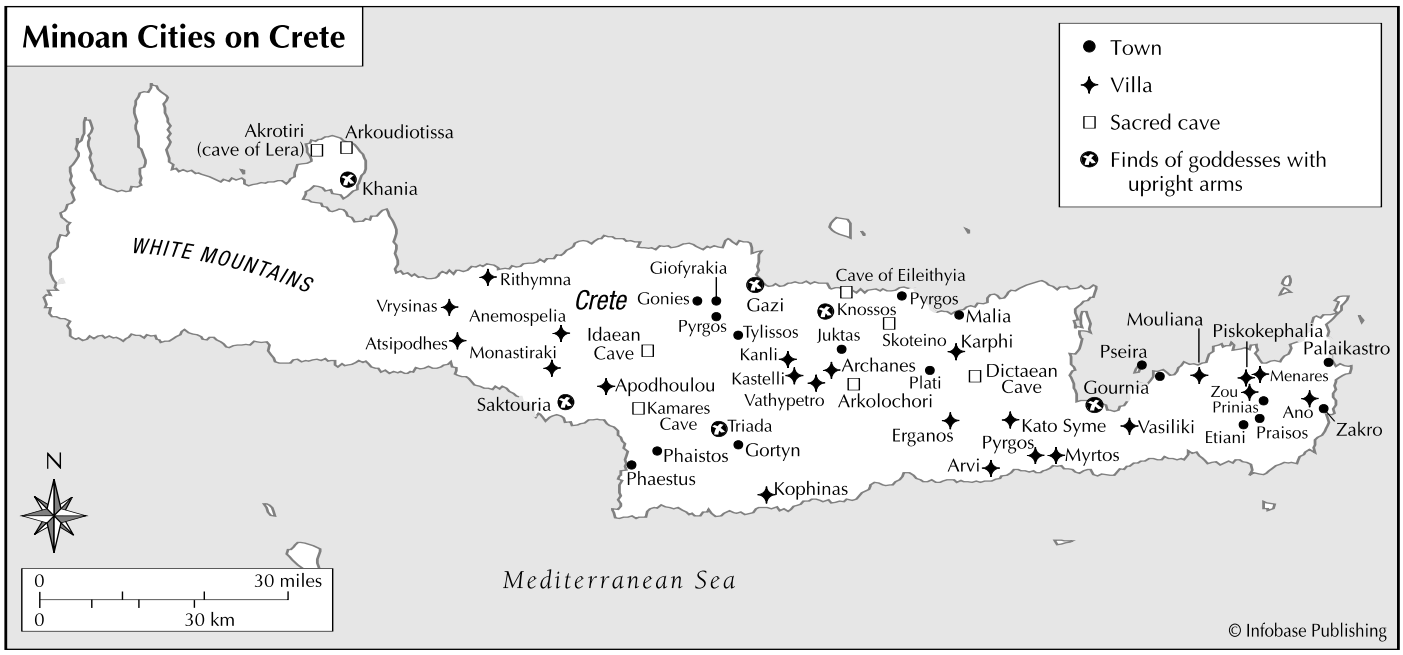
after c. 1400 Mycenaean culture becomes dominant on Crete; palace at Knossos is destroyed by fire (date unknown, possibly 1200).

probably came there from Asia Minor in the seventh millennium B.C.E.

Origin Myth

According to a Greek legend—perhaps derived in part from the ancient sport of bull leaping practiced by the Minoans—Minos was the son of Zeus, the king of the gods, and of the mortal Europa. Poseidon, the god of the seas, helped Minos obtain the Cretan throne. Ruling from Gortyn (Knossos), he expanded his domain to the Aegean islands and rid the sea of pirates. He married Pasiphae, the daughter of Helios, who bore him children. Because Minos did not sacrifice a white bull to Poseidon, as arranged, Poseidon caused Pasiphae to lust after the animal. She mated with it and bore the Minotaur, a monster with the head of a bull and the body of a man. A labyrinth was built to hold the creature. When King Aegeus of Athens killed Androgeos, one of Minos's sons, Minos forced Athens to pay him an annual tribute of seven youths and seven maidens to be sacrificed to the Minotaur. Theseus, the son of Aegeus, joined the victims. Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, fell in love with him and agreed to help him find the Minotaur so as to destroy the creature and save the Athenians. She gave him a ball of thread, which he could unwind as he entered the labyrinth and use to find his way back to the entrance. He then traversed the Labyrinth to its center, where he found the Minotaur and wrestled him to death.

Theseus then sailed from Crete with Ariadne, but when they stopped at the island of Naxos, the god Dionysos appeared to them and demanded that Ariadne remain there with him. Theseus then continued on without her. He had agreed to signal his father that he was successful on his return by raising white sails rather than his boat's black ones. He forgot to do so, and his father, Aegeus, in grief, threw himself in the waters off Athens. The sea where he died became known as the Aegean Sea.



LANGUAGE

Nothing is known of the Minoan spoken language, other than hypothesized relationships to Semitic or Greek dialects, based on written scripts found on some 3,000 clay tablets. Many place-names on Crete and nearby Aegean islands indicate a time when a group of related languages were spoken before the introduction of Greek. The earliest Minoan writing is in the form of pictographs, referred to as Cretan hieroglyphs, and dates from about 2000 B.C.E. The first linear script, known as Linear A, appears on clay tablets dating from 1750 to 1400 B.C.E., was partly pictorial and has been classified as a West Semitic script. In about 1450 B.C.E., Linear A was replaced by Linear B, the script used by the Mycenaeans.

HISTORY

Minoan civilization is organized into three phases, with varying dates as applied by different scholars. The British archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1941), who was the first to uncover the splendors of Knossos 1900–35, applied the following system: Early Minoan (c. 3000–2200 B.C.E.), Middle Minoan (c. 2200–1500 B.C.E.), and Late Minoan (c. 1500–1000 B.C.E.).

During the Early Minoan period the Minoans began importing metals, with a growing use of bronze. What is known as the Palace period—on the basis of archaeological excavations of elaborate palaces all over Crete—developed during the Middle Minoan period from about 2000 to 1600 B.C.E., when most palaces were destroyed following a large disturbance in Crete, probably an earthquake. The Minoans rebuilt their centers, showing the resiliency of their culture and their great wealth. In about 1628–1627 B.C.E. the explosion of the volcano on the island of Thera caused a tsunami that damaged coastal areas.

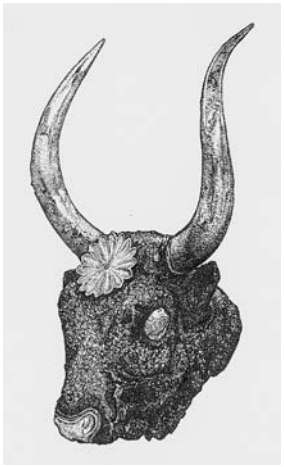
Nevertheless, Minoan civilization was at its peak in about 1600 B.C.E. Knossos in the north, Phaestus in the south, Malia in the central eastern part, and Kato Zakras on the eastern tip were among the many population centers (the ninth–eighth century B.C.E. Greek poet Homer refers to 90 such centers). The Minoans became a maritime power in the Mediterranean Sea and developed an extensive trade network; and excelled in stonework, metalwork, ivory and gem carving, fresco painting and ceramics. By about the 16th century B.C.E. Minoan civilization is known to have spread northward to neighboring islands in the Aegean and to the mainland of Greece. It is thought that Mycenaeans settled among the Minoans; certainly they were much influenced by Minoan culture. New palaces were built at other sites, including Cydonia (modern Khánia) and Gournia.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the city of Knossos was destroyed and rebuilt twice, the second time in about 1425 B.C.E. The date cited by some as the start of the Late Minoan period is 1500 B.C.E., during which the Minoans were less influential in the region. During the 15th century B.C.E. Mycenaeans came to dominate Crete, after which most Cretan cities and palaces went into decline. Knossos endured until about 1200 B.C.E., the probable date of its final destruction by fire. By the mid-13th century B.C.E. the PHOENICIANS had replaced the Minoans as the greatest maritime traders.

It is not known with certainty what caused the decline and eventual disappearance of Minoan civilization. Earthquakes damaged some of their buildings, as did fire. The Minoans may have suffered invasions by the Mycenaeans, particularly as Minoan sea power waned, and perhaps warring seagoing marauders (who may have been precursors of raiders later referred to as SEA PEOPLES).

After the destruction of all the Minoan palaces—except Knossos—by fires in 1425 B.C.E., Mycenaean pottery replaced Minoan on Crete and other Aegean islands, in the Near East, and Egypt; Greek came into use at Knossos for the administrative matters documented on numerous clay tablets inscribed with Linear B script; and mainland style chamber tombs containing weapon burials were introduced on Crete. There is evidence from Linear B tablets that Mycenaean overlords and entrepreneurs engaged in large-scale farming and manufacturing projects (as they were doing on the mainland), particularly of cloth. Lists enumerate large numbers of sheep, and there are accounts of foremen overseeing large gangs of workers weaving cloth.

The cause of the destructive fires of 1425 B.C.E. is still unknown. Although Mycenaean dominance clearly took hold on Crete and throughout the Minoan world soon after this disaster, whether the Mycenaeans brought that destruction about or merely took advantage of it—arriving on a Crete laid low by devastating earthquakes—is still unknown. As noted above, it is now known that the great eruption of the volcano on the island of Thira took place some 200 years earlier than the final collapse of



Minoans crafted this vase, shaped as a bull's head, in about 1550 to 500 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



This Linear A tablet was produced by Minoans in about 1450 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



This Linear B tablet was produced by Mycenaeans on Crete in about 1400 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Minoan civilization, but the ash, which fell on a wide area of the eastern Mediterranean, both on Crete itself and on surrounding islands, including Rhodes, may have had a strong impact on the economy of the Minoan network, destroying crops, including many of the slow-growing vines and olive trees whose products were core elements of that economy. Tidal waves could have caused wholesale destruction of fleets and harbors. These impacts could have weakened the Minoan system for years so that, when disaster struck again only two centuries later, it administered the coup de grâce to a civilization that had lost the resiliency that had allowed it to recover from the destruction of the Old Palace cities in 1600 B.C.E.

CULTURE

Economy

Minoan agricultural products included wheat, barley, chickpeas, figs, olives, and grapes. They also raised livestock, including cattle, oxen, pigs, sheep, goats, and donkeys. Farmers used wooden plows, pulled by pairs of oxen or donkeys.

The dispersion of artifacts, as determined archaeologically, indicates that the Minoans developed extensive trade contacts with other peoples of the Mediterranean region. It is assumed that they coordinated trade throughout an extensive region. Tin was central to that trade. The island of Cyprus, east of Crete, became part of the trading network, with copper mined there and alloyed with imported tin to produce bronze. (Isotopic analysis of the tin in some Mediterranean bronze objects from the period indicates that it originated as far away as Britain, although, without confirmation that the Minoans traveled there, the tin very likely passed through the hands of many different peoples on its way to the Mediterranean region.) In any case, the Minoans used the bronze to craft objects which were used to barter for other goods.

Minoans traded manufactured goods for agricultural products and raw materials, such as obsidian, copper, gold, and silver. They are thought to have traded for grain with farming peoples on the shores of the Black Sea. Olive oil and wine were prime Minoan trade products probably grown on Crete itself and on other Aegean islands over which the Minoans had hegemony. The multiple rows of huge amphorae found at Knossos and other palaces may have been used to store agricultural products, perhaps as a hedge against times of shortage. Minoan artifacts themselves have been found as far west as the Balearic Islands off the east coast of Spain. The Minoans specialized in luxury items, finely carved and polished steatite vases, intricately carved rock crystal and gemstone sealstones, and objects of gold and faience.

Minoan writing apparently underpinned an efficient mercantile bureaucracy. (This can only be inferred, however, since Linear A has not been deciphered. In Sumer in Mesopotamia scripts were first developed as means of documenting lists of trade goods.) Some Linear A writings have been interpreted as documenting a complex system of weights and measures. The extensive records apparently relating to trade indicate the importance of Minoan commercial relationships throughout the Mediterranean. From their wide-ranging travels one can assume that the Minoans were proficient mariners, having a mastery of navigational techniques necessary for Mediterranean travel, perhaps the most advanced maritime skill to that time.

Government and Society

Minoan palaces would indicate that Minoan population centers were city-states that ruled the surrounding rural population. The existence of stone roads among the cities indicates perhaps political relations in addition to economic ones. None of the Minoan cities had defensive walls, and relatively few weapons have been found compared to other ancient societies, indicating peaceful relations among the various population centers. A fresco from Knossos does show a scene of war, with ships, a cohort of soldiers bearing large shields of oxhide, and men overboard. The defensive walls of the Minoans may have been their ships; it seems likely that they were effective at naval warfare because their wealthy trade routes undoubtedly would have attracted raiders. In all probability it was sea power that made possible their centuries long dominance of the Mediterranean.

Dwellings and Architecture

Minoan buildings, typically two to three stories high, were built at the base with stone and rubble, then above with mud brick. Timbers were used to hold flat tiled roofs. Floors were either of wood, plaster, or flagstone. Minoan temples were generally L-shaped. The four-story temple at Knossos, built of cedar, covered some 24,000 square yards and had more than 60 rooms, including a center court.

Clothing

The many depictions in frescoes give a clear idea of how the elite among the Minoans dressed. Minoan men went bare-chested and wore loincloths or codpieces, belts that cinched in their waists, and kilts. Women wore fitted short-sleeved jackets that were tight in the waist and open at the front, leaving their breasts bare, and flounced skirts. Their hair was long and elaborately coiffed into sinuous curls. Men, too, wore their hair in long curled tresses. Clothing was often decorated with geometric designs.

Transportation

Images on stone reveal that Minoans traveled in galley ships, with high sterns and forecastles.

Other Technologies

Minoans produced bronze ax heads and saws as well as other metalwork. They used the saws to cut stone blocks for their roads. Clay pipes were used for water and sewage.

Art

In addition to metalwork Minoan art included stone carvings and ceramics. Some of the most impressive examples of Minoan art are the gold rings with wide bezels wrought with intricate scenes of dance or worship. These and the figures carved on crystal and gemstone seal pendants are remarkable for the realism achieved on such a small scale. Early pottery had mostly geometric designs. Later pottery typically had animal and floral designs. One style of pottery, known as Kamáres ware, has light-on-dark decoration. Minoan frescoes on palace walls display a variety of themes, such as gardens, monkeys, wild goats, snakes, and possible goddesses or priestesses. The sport or ritual of bull leaping, conducted in temple courtyards, is also represented.

The frescoes, like much of Minoan art, have a verve and style appealing to modern taste. One wall painting found in the palace at Knossos (15th century B.C.E.) of a woman with high-piled hair, eye makeup, and richly rouged lips has been dubbed "La Parisienne" for her resemblance to ladies painted by Toulouse Lautrec in the dance halls and theaters of 19th-century Paris. Minoan art often has an atmosphere of gaiety and enjoyment, of joie de vivre that must convey something of the essence of Minoan life.

An artifact known as the Phaistos Disc because it was found in the ancient city of Phaistos in southern Crete has inscriptions in a unique script that has not been deciphered. It is thought to date from about 1700 B.C.E., contemporary with Linear A. It may have been carried to Crete from elsewhere, since no other object like it has been found there. Its origin is speculative: One sign depicts what seems to be a sarcophagus typical of the Lycians of Asia Minor; another depicts a helmet with a crest, typical of the Philistines from coastal Palestine. Because there is essentially no variation (other than weathering) between different versions of the same symbols, it would seem that stamps where used to create them.

Religion

The lack of written evidence of Minoan religion makes interpretation of possible cult places problematic. On the basis of the number of female figures represented in Minoan artwork, many apparently engaged in ritual activity, it is theorized that Minoan religion was predominantly matriarchal. A common form of female figurine, typically represented as holding or having her arms entwined by snakes, was possibly a priestess or herself the goddess of fertility, harvests, and animals, as well as cities and households, and the underworld. The many images of bulls found point to the existence of a bull cult; this is reinforced by the myth of the Minotaur. The monster deep within the Labyrinth may have been the one who caused the Earth to shake. The bull leapers may have been sacrifices to this powerful and feared god, who staved off their eventual deaths by playing and distracting the bull (the god's representative) until he was tired and they were spared to live another day.

Before the New Palace period mountain top sacred sites seem to have been used for worship. Afterward, both religious and political power apparently became more concentrated in the palace-cities and mountaintop worship decreased.

The Minoans buried their dead communally in ceramic jars.



Minoans used this beaked clay jug from Phaestos in about 1850 to 1700 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

The Minoans themselves were remarkable in that they apparently thrived without a sizeable military and without fortified cities. They developed perhaps the most extensive bureaucracy in ancient times and used writing to maintain it. Their technology, architecture, and artwork was highly refined. They traveled widely, mostly for peaceful purposes. It may be

that their control of seagoing raiders pacified the Aegean region, to the benefit of many different peoples living there. Their culture is thought to have influenced later Greek culture, passed along by the Myceneans.

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Moesians (people of Moesia)

The name Moesians refers to people living in the ancient country and Roman province of Moesia, south of the Lower Danube, extending from the Drina River in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Black Sea, originally the domain of the Thracians. Around 75 C.E. Romans first invaded the region, conquering it in about 30 B.C.E. and establishing in 15 B.C.E. a province that was later divided into Moesia Superior (roughly modern Serbia) and Moesia Inferior (roughly modern Bulgaria). Goths occupied the region in the fourth century C.E. and the Slavs and the Bulgars established a presence in the seventh century.

Moesogoths *See* Goths.

Moldovans: nationality (Moldavians; people of Moldova)

MOLDOVANS

nation:
Moldova; Republic of Moldova (Republica Moldova); Moldavia

derivation of name:
After Moldova, a river in Romania; from the Germanic term *molde,* "ditch"

government:
Republic

capital:
Chişinău

language:
Official language is Moldovan (Romanian); Russian is widely spoken; Ukrainian and Gagauz, a Turkish dialect, are also used.

religion:
About 45 percent of the population are Orthodox Christian; about 15 percent are Independent Christian; religious minorities include Muslims, Jews, Protestants, Baptists, and atheists.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Scythians; Celts; Bastarnae; Goths; Ostrogoths; Slavs; Bulgars, Pechenegs; Vlachs; Ottoman Turks

demographics:
About 65 percent of the population are Moldovans; Ukrainians make up about 14 percent, Russians about an equal percentage; minorities include Gagauz, Bulgarians, Jews, Romanians, Belarusians.



Moldovans shop at a fruit-and-vegetable stand in Kishinev (now Chişinău), Moldova, in the 1940s. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105363])*

GEOGRAPHY

Moldova is landlocked by Ukraine to the north, east, and south, and by Romania to the west. The area is about 13,000 square miles. Plains and river valleys make up most of the terrain. The forested Kodry Hills run through central Moldova, where the country's highest point, Mount Bălăneşti (1,410 feet), is found. Of the 3,000 rivers and streams running through Moldova the Prut, along the Romanian frontier, and the Dniester, forming the Ukrainian-Moldovan border, are the largest.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The region that would become Moldova has been occupied by many ancient peoples in the centuries C.E., including Germanics, Slavs, Bulgars, and Pechenegs. In the 13th century C.E. Hungarian expansion forced many Vlachs to relocate south and east of the Carpathians, establishing the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. In 1359 Bogdan I ruled the Moldavian principality, occupying the area between the Carpathian Mountains and the Dniester River; Walachia bordered the territory in the southwest. These principalities were ruled by either Hungary or Poland until their conquest by the Ottoman Turks (*see* Turkics) in the 16th century.

Michael the Brave, who rose to power in 1593, gained independence from the Ottoman Empire and consolidated control over Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia. In 1601, Transylvania fell to Hungarian rule, and the Ottoman Empire regained control over Walachia and Moldavia. Revolts broke out in

the principalities in 1821; Russia established a protectorate over the two principalities in 1821, eliminating Ottoman control. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 ended the wars between Russia and Turkey, confirming Walachia and Moldavia, now united with Bessarabia, as independent principalities paying tribute to the Ottoman Turks.

Moldovans: nationality time line

C.E.	
1359	Bogdan I rules principality of Moldavia.
1457 to 1504	Stephan IV the Great reigns.
16th century	Ottoman Turks dominate principality.
1599	Michael the Brave, Walachian prince, fights Ottomans, uniting Moldavia, Walachia, and Transylvania.
1601	Michael the Brave is assassinated; Ottomans regain Moldavia, Walachia, and Hungary and annex Transylvania.
1703–05	Prince Dimitrie Cantemir writes *Historia Hieroglyphica* (Hieroglyphic history), critical history of Romania.
1774	Under treaty of Kuchuk Kainarj, Ottomans cede Moldavia to Russia, and Austria acquires northern Moldavia, renamed Bucovina.
1812	At end of Russo-Turkish War Russia controls Bessarabia, and Ottomans control western Moldavia and Walachia.
1821	Russia establishes protectorate over Moldavia and Walachia.
1832	Public library is founded in Chişinău; in 1991 its name becomes National Library of the Republic of Moldova.
1853–56	Russia is defeated in Crimean War; Moldavia and southern Bessarabia unite, gaining independence from Ottomans and Russia.
1861–62	Moldavia and independent Walachia unite as Romania.
1878	By Congress of Berlin Ottomans recognize united Moldavia and Walachia as Romania; southern Bessarabia regained by Russia.
1889	National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History (originally Zoological, Agricultural, and Handicraft Museum of Bessarabia) is founded in Chişinău.
1918	After Russian Revolution of Bolsheviks, Bessarabia declares independence.
1920	Bessarabia unites with Romania under Treaty of Paris.
1924	Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is formed with Ukraine, east of Dniester River.
1939	Germany and the Soviet Union (USSR) divide Romania; Bessarabia is annexed by Soviet Union; World War II begins.
1940	Soviet Union unites Bessarabia and Moldovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.
1945	World War II ends; Nazi regime is driven out of Moldavian SSR when Soviet Union regains control.
1987	National Museum of History is founded in Chişinău
1990	Moldavian SSR is renamed Moldova; Gagauz region attempts to declare independence.
1991	Moldova declares independence from Soviet Union, joins Commonwealth of Independent States.
1992	Moldova joins United Nations (UN); revolts break out in Dniester River valley.
1994	Under new constitution Moldova declares neutrality, and Transdniester and Gagauz gain autonomy status.
2001	Vladimir Voronin of Communist Party is elected president.

In 1862 the two principalities united as a hereditary monarchy under the name of Romania; they received international recognition in the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Romania acquired Transylvania from Hungary and officially incorporated Bessarabia at the end of World War I (1914–18). The Soviet Union (USSR) did not accept Bessarabia's unification with Romania and designated the territory east of the Dniester River as the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The Soviet Union won Bessarabia in the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact and occupied Bessarabia in 1940. The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed, including central Bessarabia and the Trans-Dniester region. In 1990 the Moldavian SSR was renamed Moldova. The next year it declared independence from the Soviet Union and became the Republic of Moldova.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Created by Stalin in 1940 out of one portion of the ancient state of Moravia, Moldova lacks ethnic, political, or cultural legitimacy as an independent state and has been continuously torn between competing political projects: as a new European nation, a new colony of Russia, or territory integrated into the Romanian state. From the beginning the Soviet Union instituted policies aimed at drawing Moldova into its own sphere and away from the rest of Europe. This was most evident in the Soviet language policy, which maintained that the language of ethnic Moldovans was entirely separate from the Romanian language. To reinforce this idea the Soviets mandated that the Moldovan language would no longer use the Latin alphabet and would be written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

In recognition that the country lacks a unifying ethnic heritage, Moldova now emphasizes ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity, as well as mutual tolerance and peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups. Moldovan, now fully recognized as Romanian, is an official language of the country to be used in all political, economic, social, and cultural affairs. Russian is considered a language of interethnic communication. The use of Ukrainian, Gagauzian, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Rroma, and other languages of ethnic minorities is not discouraged. In terms of foreign policy the priority is given to upholding ties with the Moldovan diaspora abroad and the development of ties with the ethnic minorities' historical home countries, enhancing cooperation with other countries and international organizations in the sphere of human rights protection.

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Monacans: nationality
(Monegasques; people of Monaco)

GEOGRAPHY

Monaco is an enclave of southeastern France, bordering the Mediterranean Sea. It is situated between the Côte d'Azur (French Riviera) and the Italian border. The French Maritime Alps surround Monaco to the north, east, and west. Monaco is divided into four districts: Monaco, the capital (also known as "the Rock," a headland jutting into the sea); La Condamine; Monte Carlo; and Fontvieille. The terrain includes small clustered hills and a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean Sea.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The region that became Monaco was once the homeland of the GAULS and LIGURIANS. It was also at times controlled by PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, ROMANS, and FRANKS. In 1191 C.E. the Grimaldi family out of Genoa, Italy, seized Monaco. They ruled the principality for over five centuries. During the French Revolution the Grimaldi were overthrown and France annexed the principality. At the fall of Napoleon I Bonaparte the Congress of Vienna assigned Monaco to the protection of Sardinia in 1815. In 1861 a Franco-Monegasque treaty declared Monaco an independent state under French protection.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Monegasque culture is strongly French, although the language of some Monacans, Monegasque, partly derived from Italian, shows the added influence of that country.

Monacans: nationality time line

C.E.	
1297	Monaco is settled by Genoese family, Grimaldi; becomes independent principality.
1793	Grimaldi are dispossessed; Monaco is annexed to France.
1815–60	Monaco is protected by Sardinia.
1861	Monaco is recognized as independent state under protection of France.
1863	Monte Carlo Casino is built.
1892	Garnier Hall, built in 1879 as part of Monte-Carlo Casino, becomes home of Opéra de Monte Carlo.
1909	Louis Notari Library, Monaco's national library, is founded.
1910	Oceanographic Museum of Monaco is founded.
1911	Monaco becomes constitutional monarchy.
1962	New constitution is adopted.
1967	Operations of Monte Carlo Casino are taken over by Principality of Monaco.
1972	National Museum of Monaco is founded.
1979	First permanent orchestra of Monaco, established in 1863, becomes Monte Carlo Philharmonic Orchestra.
1984	Springtime of the Arts festival is first held.
1985	Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo, founded in 1911, becomes official dance company of Principality of Monaco.
1993	Monaco is admitted to United Nations.

MONACANS

nation:
Monaco; Principality of Monaco

derivation of name:
Possibly from the Greek expression associated with mythology, *Herakles monoikos,* meaning "Herakles alone"; or from the Ligurian tribe Monoikos

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Monaco

language:
Official language is French, although the Monegasque dialect, a mixture of French and Italian, is widely used; Italian and English are also spoken.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population are Catholic; 4 percent are nonreligious, 2 percent are Jewish, 2 percent are Protestant, and 2 percent other.

earlier inhabitants:
Ligurians; Gauls (Celts); Phoenicians; Greeks; Romans

demographics:
About 47 percent of the population are French, about 16 percent are Monegasque, and 16 percent, Italian.

Monaco's status as a prime tourist destination, largely due to the gambling casino in Monte Carlo, and its location on the Mediterranean have seemed to give its people a joy of living. Its royal family has been celebrated in popular culture.

As are French and Italians, most Monegasques are Catholic. Religious and civil traditions are an integral and exclusive part of the social, cultural, and moral heritage of the principality. They are sometimes linked: Rites and ceremonies are accompanied by popular festivities, but the former are more firmly anchored in the collective memory of Monegasques than the latter. Saint Dévote is the patron saint of Monaco, and every year on her feast day, January 27, there is a torchlight procession in her honor. A religious ceremony and blessing are followed by the setting on fire of a boat on a pyre decorated with olive, pine, and laurel branches.

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Monaig (Fir Manach; Fermanagh)

The Monaig are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in eastern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Irish. They later became known as the Fir Manach (or Fermanagh) and endured into the sixth century. The Monaig are associated with the Menapii.

Monesi

See Onesi.

Mongols (Moguls)

The Mongols are a modern-day people of east-central Asia, distributed in the nation of Mongolia as well as contiguous parts of Russia to the north and China to the south, east, and west. In the 13th century C.E. various Mongol tribes were united under the leadership of Genghis Khan and his descendants; they created the largest empire known to human history, stretching from Mongolia in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, and from the Pacific Ocean west to the Adriatic Sea in Europe.

MONGOLS

location:
Eastern and central Europe

time period:
11th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Mongolian

language:
Mongolic (Altaic)

ORIGINS

The origins of the Mongols are uncertain. They were indigenous to eastern Asia, originally consisting of nomadic tribes inhabiting steppe and desert country.

LANGUAGE

The Mongol language is known as Mongolic or Mongolian. It is part of the Altaic family, related to Bulgaric and Turkic. Their written language dates from at least as early as the 11th century.

HISTORY

Genghis Khan

In the early 13th century a chieftain of the Yakka Mongols, Genghis Khan, defeated his rivals and united the various tribes. He founded a capital at Karakorum in the northern Gobi Desert, established codes of law, and created a powerful army, consisting of horse-mounted warriors.

Under Genghis's leadership and that of subsequent khans the Mongols seized territory in much of Asia and eastern Europe. Their armies included other peoples, such as TURKICS, who became known collectively as the TATARS or Tartars (a name by which the Mongols were known to some Europeans). The Mongols adopted many of the customs of peoples they conquered, in particular the Chinese, whose capital, Yen-King (present-day Beijing), they occupied under Genghis in 1215.

Batu Khan

Genghis died in 1227, whereupon his son, Ögödei, ascended as supreme khan. Ögödei's brother, Juchi, was granted territory comprising much of present-day Russia. In 1235 Batu Khan, Juchi's son, along with his chief general, Subatai, campaigned in the west. In 1237 the Mongols defeated the Turkic KIPCHAKS, leading to the breakup of their tribal confederation within two years. In 1238 Batu's warriors—referred to in Russia as the Golden Horde because of Baku's golden tent—captured Moscow, and in 1240 Kiev in present-day Ukraine. His razing of Kiev, at the time ruled by the RUS, led to the rise of Muscovite Russia.

The Mongols proceeded westward and within two years had also conquered present-day Hungary and Poland and made military incursions into Germany. The death of Ögödei in 1241 led to Batu's recall to Karakorum in 1242, but Batu had laid the groundwork for the founding of the Kipchak khanate (also known as the Khanate or Empire of the Golden Horde) between the Volga and Danube Rivers in 1243, with a capital first at Sarai Batu near present-day Astrakhan on the Lower Volga and later at Sarai Berke also on the Volga near present-day Volgograd. This had been territory of the Kipchaks. The occupying forces also became known as the Golden Horde and the Kipchaks. Many of the Kipchaks migrated westward at this time into present-day Hungary, where they became known as CUMANS. With Batu's recall further significant Mongol expansion in Europe had ended. Yet the Mongols of the Kipchak khanate continued to control the lucrative trade routes connecting the Black Sea ports with central Asia.

By 1260 the Mongol Empire was subdivided into four khanates, that is, territories ruled by khans, descendants of the royal line founded by Genghis Khan. They included the Great Khanate, comprising all of China and most of East Asia; the Jagatai khanate in Turkestan; a Persian khanate; and the Kipchak khanate in western Russia.

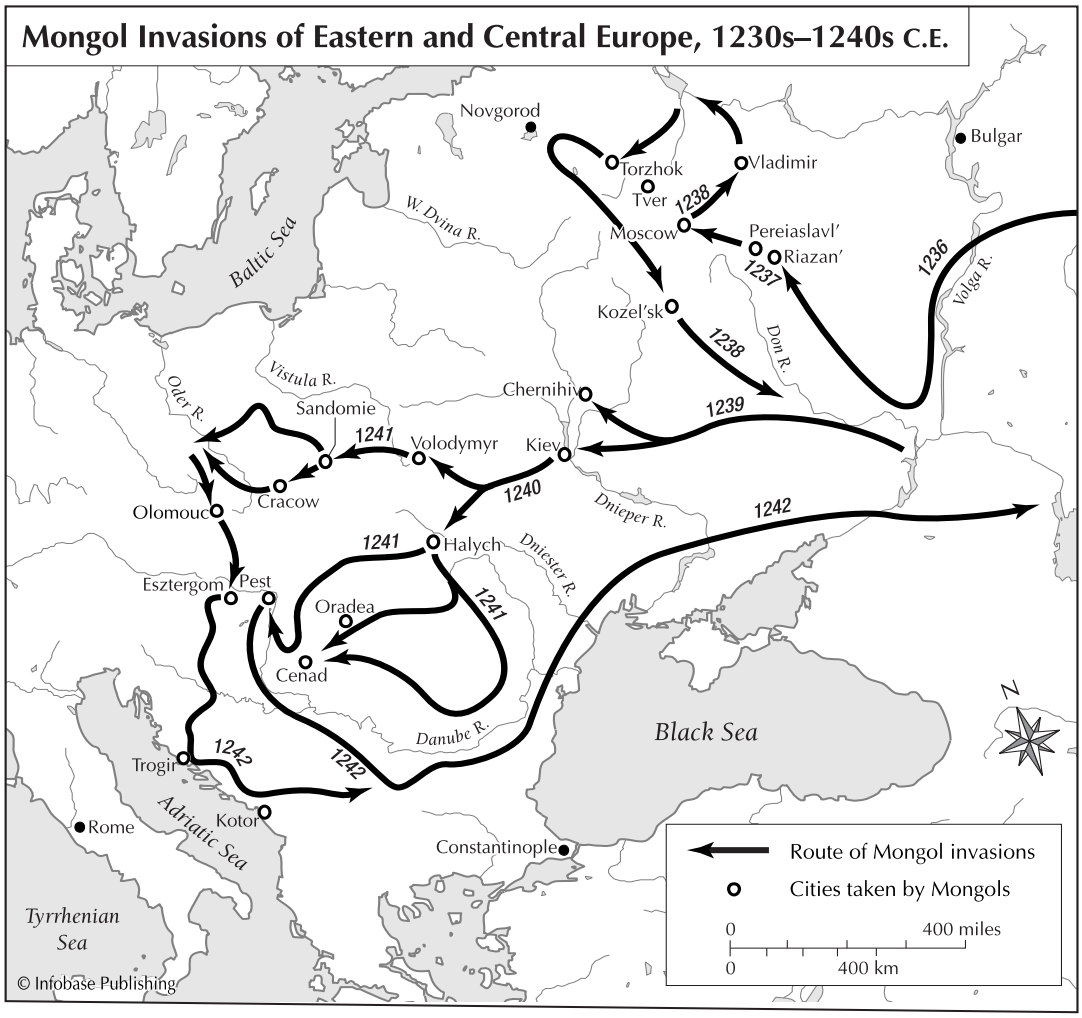
Contacts between Europe and Asia

The Mongol age of conquest led to a new age of contact between Asians and Europeans. The movements of armies and subsequent occupation led to the passing of knowledge between cultures. Routes, including the trade route known as the Silk Road, became secure, leading to increased travel. The khans maintained a system of mounted couriers for communication throughout the empire.

With the Golden Horde (as Mongol and Tatar armies were called) at their doorstep

Mongols time line

C.E.	
1215	Mongols under Genghis Khan occupy Beijing.
1238	Mongols under Batu Khan capture Moscow.
1240	Mongols capture Kiev.
1240–41	Mongols capture Hungary and Poland.
1243	Kipchak khanate is founded.
1260	Mongol Empire is divided into four khanates.
1271–92	Travels of Marco Polo in Asia
1382	Mongols are expelled from China.
1391–95	Turks and Turkic-speaking Mongols under Tamerlane (Timur) capture Mongol holdings.
1440s	Kipchak khanate breaks up into four independent khanates.



Europeans became more aware of Asian issues. Papal and political diplomatic missions were sent out. European traders followed. In 1271–75 the Italian merchants Maffeo Polo, Niccolò Polo, and Marco Polo traveled across central Asia to Cambaluc (present-day Beijing), the new Mongol capital founded by Kublai Khan. Marco Polo in 1275–92 explored on behalf of the khan, traveling throughout the Far East. His book *The Travels of Marco Polo,* with its descriptions of Mongol customs, was influential in Europe over the next two centuries.

End of the Empire

In the 14th century the far-flung Mongol Empire eventually weakened as a result of internal conflicts as well as resistance from conquered peoples. By 1382 the Mongols were completely expelled from China, retreating to their original homeland. Timur (Tamerlane) created a Turkic empire centered in Samarkand in the region of Turkestan (part of present-day Uzbekistan), defeating the Golden Horde in 1391–95 and occupying Moscow. He claimed descent from Genghis Khan, as did Babur (Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad), who founded the Mughal (Mogul) Empire in India in the early 16th century. The Kipchak khanate remained intact until the 1440s, breaking up into four independent khanates.

Modern-Day European Mongols

One group of Mongols who live in Europe—mostly in Kalmykia, a republic along the northwest shore of the Caspian Sea and west of the Lower Volga River in southwestern Russia—are known as the KALMYKS.

CULTURE

Economy

The Mongol economy over the centuries has been based on herds of horses and sheep, with seasonal movement. The Mongols of today are still a pastoral people, maintaining sheep, horses, cattle, camels, and goats and living much as their ancestors did.

Government and Society

The Mongol imperial code, the Yasa (Jasagh), established a system of governmental organization, including the administration of the army, as well as civil, commercial, and criminal codes of law. Many Uighurs, a Turkic people, were employed as bureaucrats to help administer this code.

The four khanates were ruled regionally, but final authority rested with the great khan at Karakorum. In the Kipchak khanate the Mongol overseers allowed the conquered principalities of primarily Russian SLAVS to retain their own rulers and administer themselves internally but collected taxes.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Mongols lived in felt-covered yurts, light circular tents made of felt stretched over a lattice framework.

Religion

The Mongol traditional religion was shamanistic. Many modern Mongols also practice Lamaism, a branch of Buddhism.

The Mongols are among those Asian peoples whose patterns of conquest became part of the European story. They are included among the many peoples who held power for a time in eastern Europe.

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Montenegrins (people of Montenegro)

The name Montenegrins refers to people living in the region of the former kingdom of



Slavs in rowboats net fish in Montenegro in the early 20th century. (*Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-105369]*)

Montenegro (meaning "Black Mountain"), southwest of Serbia on the Adriatic Sea. Evolving out of kingdoms in the region known as Doclea and Zeta, it was founded in 1389 C.E., when SERBS, defeated by the Ottoman TURKS (*see* TURKICS), took refuge on "Black Mountain." Unlike the people of Serbia the Montenegrins maintained independence from the Ottomans. They established ties with Russia in the 18th century to strengthen their position. In 1992 Montenegro joined Serbia to form the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, which became known as Serbia and Montenegro in 2003 (*see* SERBS AND MONTENEGRINS: NATIONALITY).

Moors (Mauri; Mauretanians)

The Moors were Muslims from the Near East and North Africa who held territory on the Iberian Peninsula from the eighth to the 15th century C.E. The term Moors evolved out of the Latin *mauri,* meaning "dark," which was used by the ROMANS in reference to all non-Romanized natives or inhabitants of the ancient North African province of Mauretania, which comprised western present-day Algeria and the northeastern part of present-day Morocco, who were ruled by their own chiefs. The term has also been applied in more recent times to people of the nations of Morocco and Mauritania in North Africa and, by extension, as was the term SARACENS, to Muslims in general, and even to various non-Europeans and non-Muslims (for a time the term *blackamoors* was applied to all Africans). Various pre-Moorish peoples of the Iberian Peninsula who converted to Islam were grouped among the Moors.

ORIGINS

The Muslims who occupied territory in Europe were both Arabs who had migrated westward from the Arabian Peninsula as well as Berber people native to North Africa, mainly tribes from present-day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. They developed as a political entity out of the Islamic movement, which had been founded by the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century C.E. Muhammad, born in about 570, was a native of Mecca in present-day western Saudi Arabia. In 630 he and his Muslim followers conquered Mecca. After Muhammad's death in 632 the new religion spread rapidly through much of Asia and North Africa, largely through military conquest under a succession of caliphs (spiritual leaders of Islam). Those Arabs who conquered lands controlled by the BYZANTINES in North Africa intermingled with the indigenous non-Arabic tribes grouped together as Berbers, who are known to have lived throughout much of North Africa as nomads from at least as early as about 3000 B.C.E. After conquest the Arabs had greater power, but over the century Berber influence grew. Those combined Arabs and Berbers who invaded Europe and became known historically as Moors were originally centered in present-day Morocco and western Algeria.

LANGUAGE

The Moorish language was a combination of Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a related Hamitic language. Berber, primarily a spoken language, comprises about 300 dialects.

HISTORY

Moorish Conquest

In the early eighth century most of the Iberian Peninsula was ruled by Germanic VISIGOTHS. In 710 on the death of King Witiza a struggle ensued over succession to the Visigothic throne. When Roderick, duke of Baetica, assumed power, Witiza's sons appealed to Muslim leaders in Tangier. The general Tarik ibn Ziyad ruled the region, left in charge by his fellow general Musa ibn Nusayr, the Arab conqueror of ancient Mauritania. Tarik seized the opportunity to lead an army of some 7,000 Berbers and Arabs across the Strait of Gibraltar, landing on Gibraltar in May 711. That July Tarik's Moorish army, with support from both Christian supporters of Witiza's sons and

MOORS

location:
Spain (out of North Africa)

time period:
Seventh to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Arabic; Berber

language:
Semitic; Hamitic

Moors time line

C.E.	
711	Arabic and Berber Moors invade Spain.
718	Visigoths under Pelayo resist advance of Moors in northern Spain.
732	Moors defeated by Franks in Gaul.
929	Umayyads found caliphate of Córdoba.
1085	Christian forces retake Toledo.
1086	Almoravids, Berber dynasty, invade Spain.
1094–99	El Cid controls Valencia.
1174	Almohads, Berber dynasty, come to power.
1212	Christian victory over Almohads drives Moors out of central Spain.
1236	Christian forces capture Córdoba.
1492	Christian forces seize Granada, last Moorish kingdom.



Spanish JEWS persecuted by the Visigoths, defeated Roderick's army at an unknown location (referred to as the Battle of Guadalete, after the river). He soon captured the city of Córdoba and the next year occupied Toledo, the capital of Visgothic Spain. Musa ibn Nusayr joined Tarik in 712, with about 18,000 more troops. The two generals were recalled to Damascus in Syria in 714, but the Moors continued their campaign of conquest and by 719 added more than two-thirds of the Iberian Peninsula to the Muslim caliphate. One survivor of the Battle of Guadalete, the Visigothic chieftain Pelayo, founded the kingdom of Asturias in the mountains of northwestern Spain in 718 and held out against Moorish expansion, starting a tradition of a Christian north.

Moors versus Franks

The Moors sought to seize territory to the north and under Abu ar-Rahman al-Ghafiqi crossed the western Pyrenees and invaded lands held by the FRANKS. In 732 a Frankish army under Charles Martel countered their advance. In a battle at a site between Poitiers and Tours the Franks proved victorious; the Moorish leader himself was killed, and surviving Moors retreated to the Iberian Peninsula. With time through commerce the Moors prospered in their new lands and relinquished military campaigns.

Rival Dynasties

Islamic Spain, or al-Andalus, as it was known, was ruled as part of the Province of North Africa, a division of the caliphate, controlled by the Umayyad dynasty centered at the capital in Damascus (in modern Syria). In 750 the Umayyads suffered defeat at the hands of the Abbasids, a rival dynasty. Some of the ousted Umayyads sought refuge in Spain. There Abd ar-Rhman I defeated his rivals and in 756 made himself emir (governor) of an independent

emirate at Córdoba. Under Abd ar-Rahman III an-Nasir in 929 the emirate became the caliphate of Córdoba, which grew in power to become one of the largest cities in the Mediterranean region.

Rivalries continued, however, with Moorish elites challenging the Umayyads. Those Moors descended from Berbers, who made up the majority of the Moorish population on the Iberian Peninsula, resented the ruling Arabic Muslims from Egypt and Asia. Visigothic and other elements of the population, many of whom converted to Islam to increase their influence, constituted another faction.

The last powerful leader of Córdoba was Abu 'Amir al-Mansur, who ruled as regent and was victorious against surviving Christian kingdoms in the north. With time Moorish cities became independent, especially after 1036 and the death of the last Umayyad caliph. Small, independent kingdoms, known as *taifas,* formed at Granada, Murcia, Saragossa, Seville, Toledo, and Valencia in present-day Spain, as well as Lisbon in present-day Portugal. The later rulers of Moorish Spain were after 1086 the Almoravids, a Berber dynasty founded in Morocco by Yusuf ibn Tashuvin, and after 1174 the Almohads, another Berber dynasty out of North Africa, founded by Ibn Tumart.

Christian Reconquest

The *reconquista* is said to have begun with Pelayo in 718, when he defeated a Muslim army at a glen near Covadonga in Asturias in the northwest. Little is known of the actual engagement, and it may have been exaggerated with time. Yet it is known that Alfonso I, possibly his son-in-law, drove the Moors out of the region of Galicia west of Asturias. The conquering Christians evolved out of the Visigothic tradition but can be viewed as the first leaders in the formation of modern Spain (*see* SPANISH: NATIONALITY).

During the reign of Alfonso III in 866–910 the kingdom of Asturias expanded into both Christian and Moorish lands and eventually included most of the northwest and as far south as the Douro River valley. Several new Christian kingdoms emerged in the northeast, including Navarre, where a large population of BASQUES lived, and Aragon. The Franks also held some territory in Catalonia south of the Pyrenees. By the end of the ninth century Christian rulers had gained control of about one-third of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors.

In the mid-11th century Ferdinand I won back territory from the Moors, gaining suzerainty over Muslim leaders of Toledo, Saragossa, and Seville. Yet Christian power was still centered in the north. The first major victory occurred in 1085, led by Alfonso VI, who captured Toledo, the ancient capital of Visigothic Spain, and made it the capital of the kingdom of Castile. Christian Spain now extended south of the Tagus River.

The fall of Toledo prompted a faction of Muslim leaders to invite Yusuf ibn Tashuvin and the Almoravids to Spain. They invaded the peninsula in 1086, seized Muslim kingdoms, and blocked the Christian advance. Seville became their regional capital. They failed to secure the kingdom of Valencia in the east, however, and it was captured by El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar) in 1094. After his death in 1099 Valencia returned to Moorish control, but he became a Spanish national hero for his resistance against the Almoravids.

Splintering Almoravid power led to Almohad gains, including Andalusia and New Castile. In 1212 a coalition of Christian kings, led by Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, defeated Almohad forces near Toledo in the Battle at Las Navas de Tolosa, driving Moorish armies out of central Spain. In 1236 Ferdinand III, king of Castile and León, captured Córdoba in Andalusia in the south. Yet warfare and shifting alliances continued over the next centuries.

The last Moorish kingdom to resist the Christian advance was Grenada. In 1487 after a long siege the coastal city of Málaga was captured by the Spanish forces of Ferdinand II, king of Aragon, and Isabella I, queen of Castile. In 1492 their Christian forces seized Granada. This was the same year Ferdinand and Isabella sponsored Christopher Columbus's first transatlantic voyage.

Despite the expulsion of some of the Moors from Spain in 1492, a Moorish presence continued on the Iberian Peninsula for more than a century. Some converted to Christianity; they are referred to as Moriscos to differentiate them from the Islamic Mudejares. Both groups were persecuted; conflict came to a head under Philip II—the Moors revolted in 1568 and were violently suppressed. In a systematic expulsion in 1609–14 the Moriscos were driven from Spain.

CULTURE

Economy

In general the centuries the Moors ruled Spain were prosperous, except in times of upheaval and warfare. The Moors sought to integrate the

local population—existing landowners and peasants on large estates and small farms—into the new society even as new farmers migrated out of Africa. The Moors also introduced new crops and irrigation techniques to the Iberian Peninsula. Agriculture and commerce expanded leading to agricultural growth. Highly skilled Moorish artisans also produced products that stimulated commerce with other Mediterranean societies.

Government and Society

Under the Moors the power was in the hands of local rulers rather than in a strong central government. They allowed independence among conquered peoples without forced conversion to Islam. One reason was that Islamic law restricted the taxation of the Muslim population by Muslim rulers, making them financially dependent on non-Muslim subjects. Many non-Muslims adopted Arabic; Latin and Hebrew were even written in Arabic script, creating greater cohesion among the diverse population. Muslim universities became great centers of learning.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Moors, known for their great architectural treasures, in particular mosques and palaces in their cities, introduced new styles of architecture to the Iberian Peninsula. As in their ancestral homelands buildings were built facing inward onto a patio. Richly decorated interiors were typically hidden behind unassuming exteriors. The Almoravid and Almohad periods were known for more austere styles of architecture than the earlier Arabic period. Mosques were built with columns for support and tall, massive square minarets. Fortifications had massive gates with low-slung horseshoe arches.

A famous example of Moorish architecture, one of the few surviving medieval Islamic palaces, is the Alhambra hill palace complex at Granada, which evolved over the centuries, probably from the 11th century, with units added on. Behind gates and exterior towers with cupolas are the long Court of the Myrtles, the huge Hall of Ambassadors, and the Court of the Lions, with a lion fountain in the center (water is a main design feature). Off this court are various rooms, including the Hall of the Two Sisters and the Hall of the Abencerrajes. The halls have many windows; light is another recurring architectural feature. Higher on the hill is the Generalife, a summer residence surrounded by gardens with fountains, pavilions, and portico walks. Decoration at Alhambra is executed for the most part in stucco. Calligraphic ornamentation presents poems, some of them celebrating the complex's cupolas as domes of heaven.

Out of a fusion of Moorish and Christian styles a new style of architecture, known as Plateresque, developed during the Renaissance. Moorish-style structures were decorated with Gothic or Renaissance motifs.



A Moorish couple are seated at home in this photograph from about 1876. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-93342])*

Other Technologies

The Middle Ages, from the ninth to the 14th century, were a time of inquiry in the Muslim world, and knowledge in science, mathematics, technology, and medicine was carried to the Iberian Peninsula, where the fields were further developed.

Art

Although western Islamic art is best known for its work in architecture, styles of calligraphy, metalwork, wood inlaid with ivory, and ceramics were also developed. One style of pottery, made with a luster glare, is known as Hispano-Moresque ware; it was created after Muslim rule. The term Mudéjar is used for Muslim-style art made under Christian rule. Mozarabic art, on the other hand, is the artwork of Christians under Muslim rule, as found in illuminated manuscripts thought to be influenced by Muslim miniature painting or book illustration.

Literature

During the Middle Ages there was a wealth of Muslim literature: cosmographies, world geographies, regional geographies, geographies of particular routes, chronologies of nations, and astronomical studies.

Religion

Muslim authorities in Spain manifested religious tolerance, and Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived near one another. According to Islamic tradition Christians and Jews were "peoples of the book," that is, of the Old Testament. But they were required to pay special taxes. Those Christians known as Mozarabic adopted Arabic language and culture and developed Catholic rites different from those of Rome.

Muslims often traveled from Spain for religious purposes, with pilgrimages to Mecca, the holiest city of the Islamic faith as the birthplace of Muhammad (travel to the city became regarded as an essential act of faith, known as the Hajj). Religious research was part of devotion, and Islamic scholars journey throughout Muslim lands to research the *hadith,* oral teachings attributed to Muhammad and his followers.

While the Middle Ages were the Dark Ages for much of Europe, they were a period of enlightenment in Moorish Spain. In addition to their great impact on the history and culture of the Iberian Peninsula, such as in architecture, the Moors had a great influence on the history and culture of all of Europe, providing a continuum of knowledge from ancient Greece to the Renaissance, in that Spanish victories over the Moors and the capture of various universities led to greater access to Muslim scholarship, as well as to Greek scholarship from ancient texts that had been in Muslim hands.

The name of the Moors lives in the names of two countries, Morocco and Mauritania.

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Moravians (people of Moravia)

The name Moravians is used for people living in the ancient state or region of Moravia in the present-day eastern Czech Republic (*see* Czechs: nationality). A tribe known as Marharii gave their name to the Morava River, the heart of an early state founded by Slavs called Greater Moravia, which flourished in the ninth century C.E. The ruling dynasty, from the Marharii, absorbed tribes of Slovaks and Czechs. Greater Moravia at its broadest extent included the present-day countries of Slovakia, Czech Republic, and parts of Poland (Silesia) and Romania (Pannonia; although claims of Moravian annexation of Silesia and Pannonia have come into question) and of Hungary. Moravia was conquered by the Magyars, raiders from the forest zone north of the eastern steppelands, in the early 10th century.

Mordvins (Mordvians; Mordvanians; Mordva)

MORDVINS

location:
Volga-Oka River basin in Mordvinian Republic and neighboring regions of western Russia; also in central Asia and Siberia

time period:
500 C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrians

language:
Volgaic (Finnic)

The Mordvins are a Finnic people, who live in the Mordvinian Republic of present-day western Russia, as well as in the provinces of Samara, Penza, Orenburg, Ulyanovsk, and Nizhni-Novgorod (*see* Finno-Ugrians; Russians: nationality). The Erza (Erzyas; Ersja) and Moksha are two subgroups that maintain ethnic identity and identify themselves by those names as opposed to the general name Mordvins or Mordvinians. The Engushav, Karatay, and Teryukhsn (Terjukhans) are former subtribes. Along with the Mari the Mordvins are known as the Volga Finnics, their ancestral homeland along the Volga and its tributaries, the Oka and Sura.

Mordvins time line

C.E.

c. 300 Mordvins under rule of Ostrogoths

c. 800 Mordvins under rule of Bulgars

1236 Mordvins under rule of Mongols

1552 Mordvins under rule of Russians

seventh century Mordvins separate into Erza and Moksha.

16th century Russian colonization and economic supremacy force Mordvins to move east.

1671 First Mordvin rebellion against Russian rule

1743–45 Second Mordvin rebellion

1804 Third Mordvin rebellion

ORIGINS

Mordvins belong to the Finno-Ugrian tribes who lived in the Volga area and its tributaries, the Oka and Sura.

This area was an early homeland of Finno-Ugrians, but only the Mordvins, in addition to the Mari, still live here. There is evidence, in place-names and also skull types, that Indo-European speakers may have lived here. They may have been related to ancestors of the SCYTHIANS. The area may have received incomers during the Bronze and Iron Ages from both the eastern Mediterranean and Asia. The metal-rich Ural Mountains bordering the territory on the east had attracted traders from the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea regions since the Bronze Age. Some of these perhaps settled in lands adjacent to their trade routes to the Urals. Skull analysis shows that people in the Volga-Kama region have traits from both Europe and Asia. People in the Volga-Oka region displays eastern Mediterranean characteristics.

Greek historian Herodotus of the fifth-century B.C.E. described a people called Budinoi in eastern Volga country; west of them he placed the Androphagoi; then the Melancheles (Black Mantles); and the farthest west, the Neuroi. The name Androphagoi (Cannibals), has the same meaning as the Iranian word Mord-Chvar, from which is possibly derived Mordva and subsequently Mordvin. Such names may be the result of ancient fears and prejudices regarding traditional enemies. The black mantle to which Herodotus referred is still a part of the national costume of Volga Finnics.

LANGUAGE

The Mordvinian language, those of the Mari and the extinct MUROMA, form the Volgaic group of the Finno-Ugric languages. The extinct languages of the MERYA and MESHCHERA were probably also related. Mordvinian is common in the Volga-Kama region and has two literary languages, the larger eastern Erza and the smaller western Moksha. The literary versions of the languages use the same Cyrillic script but are mutually unintelligible.

HISTORY

During the first millennium B.C.E. the ancestors of the Mordvins and other Finno-Ugrians may have been in contact with the Scythians as the Scythians received gold from the Ural Mountains. In the third–fourth century C.E. the OSTROGOTHS controlled Mordvin territory. The BULGARS gained control by about 800. The BALTS seem to have had contact with the Mordvins from the west, for Baltic words are used among Mordvins, who have never lived near the sea.

The Erza and Moksha separation was complete by the seventh century. By the 12th century Erzas and Mokshas had already developed distinct cultures and languages. The next century in 1236 the MONGOLS ruled their homeland, followed by the TATARS the following century.

The Mordvins were farmers and carpenters so, during colonization by the Russian SLAVS from 1562, they were chosen by Ivan the Terrible to build bridges and cut down forests. Many migrated eastward to avoid Russian economic exploitation and conversion to Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Rebellions against the Russians in 1671 and 1743–45 failed. Nesmeyan Vasilyev, leader of the Erza, was burned at the stake in the latter. After a third revolt in 1804 Mordvin resistance ended.

During the 20th century the Mordvins continued to endure hardship. In the years between the Russian Revolution of 1917 and World War II (1939–45) famine led to relocation, and collectivization led to loss of traditional culture. Industrialization in the 1950s also contributed to a weakening of traditional tribalism. The Mordvins are now largely dispersed, and use of their language is decreasing.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

Until the 20th century the Mordvins were primarily an agrarian people. Some of them became renowned as beekeepers and traders in honey.

During the Christian era the Mordvin people became Eastern Orthodox Christians, but Ivan IV the Terrible forced them to become

Baptists. Sun worship, known as Shkay, is still practiced. The Moon, trees, water, thunder, and frost are also still considered integral to religious belief. Many Mordvins still believe that dead family members return briefly on the 40th day after death.

The Mordvin name has endured as an official designation despite the fact that the Mordvins consider themselves two different peoples, Erza and Moksha.

Morini (Morins)

The Morini are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Calais in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. Along with the MENAPII the Morini resisted the ROMANS under Julius Caesar longer than other Gallic tribes, holding out until 56 B.C.E. Some fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans in 52 B.C.E.

Muroma (Muromians; Mouromians)

The Muroma, a Finnic-speaking tribe, lived along the banks of the Oka River, a tributary of the Volga, in present-day east-central European Russia. The Muroma language, together with that of the MARI and MORDVINS, form the Volgaic group of Finnic languages.

The first mention of the Muroma in historical texts places them in the region in the 860s C.E. Their ancestors from among the FINNO-UGRIANS are considered indigenous to the region. In the 11th century many of the Finnic tribes, including the Muroma and MERYA, became embroiled in the power struggles of the Russian SLAVS and were displaced or absorbed.

MUROMA

location:
Along Oka River in western Russia

time period:
Ninth to 11th century C.E.

ancestry:
Finnic

language:
Volgaic (Finnic)

Mycenaeans

The Mycenaeans, named in modern times after the city of Mycenae, which was the first site where Mycenaean culture was recognized, were a Bronze Age people of the Peloponnese (southern Greece). Mycenaean civilization flourished from about 1600 to 1200 B.C.E. and was one of three known highly developed Bronze Age cultures of pre-Hellenic Greece, the other two being the CYCLADITES of the Cyclades island group to the north of Crete and the MINOANS on the island of Crete. All three are discussed as Aegean civilizations as distinct from the later Hellenic civilization of the GREEKS.

ORIGINS

The origins of the Mycenaean civilization are still uncertain. In 1876–77 at the ancient site of Mycenae (from the root word *mukes*)—the city named for a mushroom supposedly found at its site by its legendary founder Perseus—the German amateur archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann located deep shafts containing rich grave goods. Schliemann went on to explore the *tholos* (beehive-shaped) tombs at Mycenae, the ruined palace at Tiryns, and what he believed to be the site of the Greek poet Homer's Troy in Asia Minor, all as part of his obsessive quest to demonstrate that the Trojan War was an actual historical event. The magnificence of his finds convinced him that Mycenaean civilization must have been the society ruled by Homer's Agamemnon and the other heroes of the Trojan War.

Schliemann worked at a time just before a rigorous science of archaeology had been developed to assess the chronology of finds through careful and thorough excavation. By documenting the placement of all artifacts and by examining their context and depth archaeologists can make inferences about relative age (deeper being older) and can reconstruct a "holistic" picture of a site that provides insights into the way people actually lived. This work depends as much or more on commonplace objects such as potsherds as on more glamorous items such as swords and gold face masks. Schliemann's contribution to Greek archaeology, although considerable, was thus a double-edged one, in that he destroyed much evidence that would have yielded worlds of information on Greek prehistory, making the Greek Bronze Age paradoxically less well documented and understood than the same period in many other European countries. For this reason crucial questions about the Mycenaeans, such as the cause of the collapse of their civilization in the 13th century B.C.E., are still far from answered.

Later work has revealed that not only were the artifacts in the shaft graves, including the gold mask dubbed "the face of Agamemnon," centuries older than the traditional date of the Trojan War—the 13th century B.C.E.—but they were made not by Indo-European raiders from the north, as had been thought, but by people who had been living in Greece for centuries. Excavations of earlier burials throughout Greece showed a continuity of development of which the Mycenaean tombs were the culmination and

MYCENAEANS

location:
Southern Greece

time period:
c. 1900 to c. 1200 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Hellenic

language:
Early dialect of Greek

Mycenaeans time line

B.C.E.

c. 1628–27 Eruption of Thera (Santorini) volcano

c. 1600 Earliest burials of Grave Shaft B at Mycenae; all palaces on Crete are destroyed but soon rebuilt.

c. 1425 Palaces on Crete are destroyed by fire.

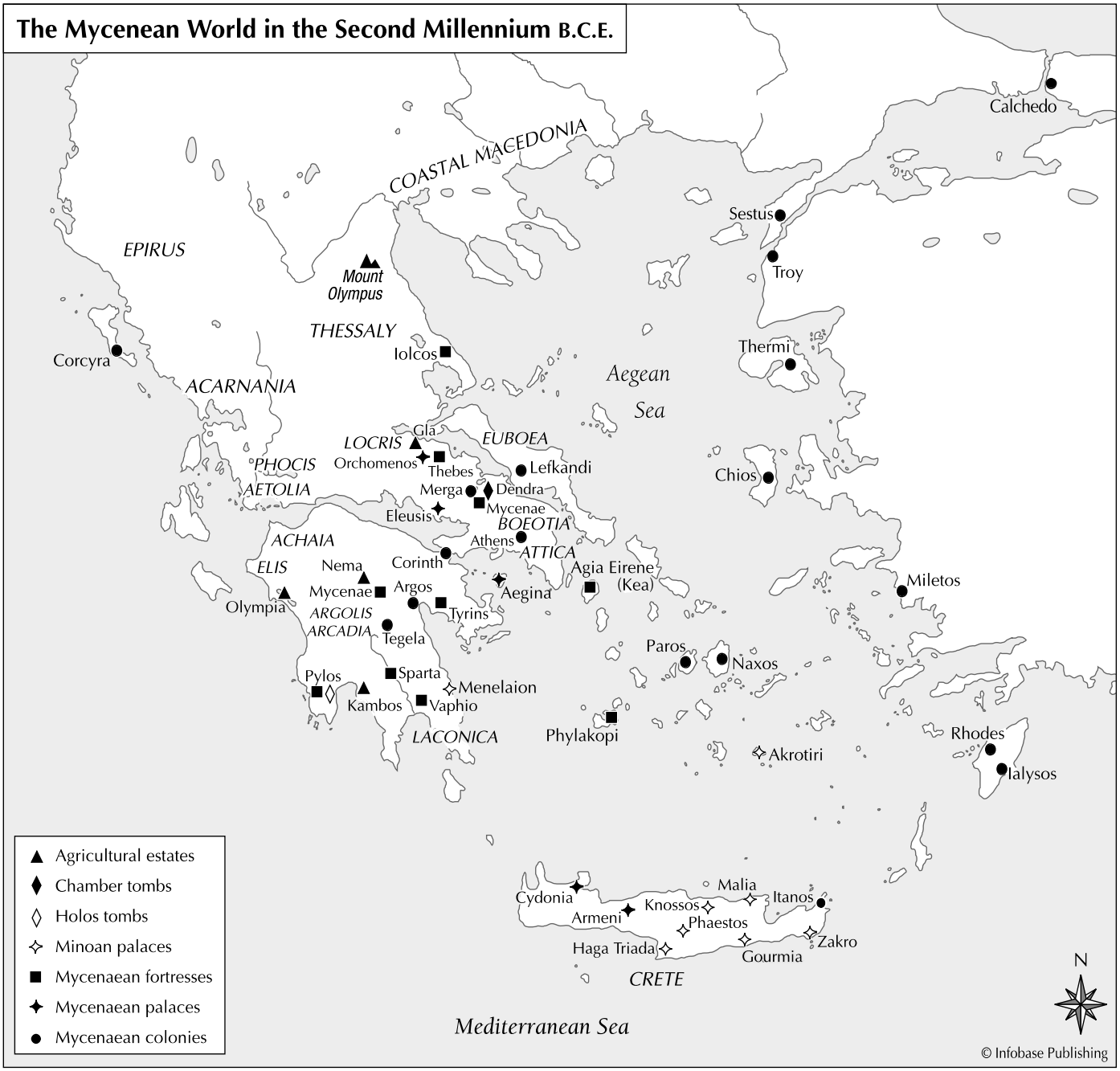
c. 1400 Mycenaeans apparently take control of Crete.

c. 1200 Widespread destruction of Mycenaean palaces leads to demise of Mycenaean civilization; Greek Dark Ages begin.

climax. Although the Mycenaeans had a much richer material culture than did Greeks of earlier periods, and their profusion of weapons, horses, chariots, and Indo-European language conjured up visions of raiders from the north descending on the Peloponnese and gaining their wealth by sacking the cities of Minoan Crete, they clearly were an indigenous people of Bronze Age Greece.

Emergence of Mycenaean Culture

The earliest Mycenaean culture of the early second millennium B.C.E. is found on the



Peloponnese, the southernmost landmass of the Greek peninsula, adjacent areas to the east on the Greek mainland connected to the Peloponnese by the Isthmus of Corinth—Attica (the territory surrounding the future site of Athens), and Boeotia and Phocis, regions northwest of Attica. The settlements in Mycenaean Greece—including Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, and Lerna—were mostly situated near defensible hilltops or promontories, where there were good agricultural land and a reliable water supply; many of these settlements had been inhabited since the early Neolithic Age.

The earliest graves in Grave Circle B at Mycenae, dating to about 1600 B.C.E., give evidence that Mycenaeans still lived a relatively simple warrior lifestyle and had a fluid tribal society in which any successful warrior could rise to the status of chief. From about 1600 B.C.E. onward the graves steadily became more elaborate and rich, perhaps evidence that the Mycenaeans began taking advantage of Minoan weakness in the wake of the huge volcanic eruption in about 1628–27 B.C.E. on the island of Thera (also called Santorini), causing a tsunami that damaged coastal areas of Crete, probably destroying both warships and trading vessels. Such widespread destruction was probably beyond the capability or imagination of Mycenaean warriors at this time, whose warfare probably was on the level of small-scale raiding, but the rise of certain chieftain families after this time to the status of kings by around 1500 B.C.E. could well have come about through Mycenaean takeovers of Minoan trade routes.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Mycenaeans was discovered when the numerous tablets inscribed with a script called Linear B that had been found (so-called because an earlier similar script had been found on Crete, now called Linear A) were deciphered in 1952. Scholars found that they were written in an early form of Greek.

HISTORY

The Spread of Mycenaean Civilization

After the destruction of the Minoan palaces by fires in 1425 B.C.E. Mycenaean pottery replaced Minoan on Crete and other Aegean islands in the Near East and Egypt; Greek began to be used at Knossos for the administrative matters documented on numerous clay tablets inscribed with Linear B script; and mainland-style chamber tombs containing weapon burials were introduced on Crete. The cause of the destructive fires is still unknown. Although Mycenaean dominance clearly took hold on Crete and throughout the Minoan world soon after the disaster of 1425 B.C.E. whether the Mycenaeans brought about that destruction or merely took advantage of it—arriving on a Crete laid low by devastating earthquakes—is still unknown. The volcanic eruption on Thera in 1628 B.C.E. may have caused long-term damage to the Minoan economy and trade networks, leading to social stress and gradual weakening. As noted, it is now known that the great eruption of the volcano on the island of Thera took place 200 years earlier than the final collapse of Minoan civilization, but the ash, which fell on a wide area of the eastern Mediterranean, both on Crete itself and on surrounding islands, including Rhodes, may have had a strong impact on the economy of the Minoan network, destroying crops, including many of the slow-growing vines and olive trees whose products were core elements of that economy. Tidal waves could have caused wholesale destruction of fleets and harbors. These impacts could have weakened the Minoan system for years so that when disaster struck again only two centuries later it administered the coup de grâce to a civilization that had lost the resiliency that had allowed it to recover from the destruction of the Old Palace cities in about 1600 B.C.E.

No direct evidence of the impact of the Minoan collapse on the Mycenaeans has been found on the mainland, and the date of the destruction of Knossos by fire is still in dispute. Arthur Evans, the first excavator of Knossos, thought it was destroyed around 1400 B.C.E. The language of the Linear B tablets found there is similar to that on others found at Pylos on the Peloponnese, which seem to be as much as 200 years later—evidence for a later date for the fires.

The Mycenaeans expanded their influence and exports in the central and eastern Mediterranean in the centuries following the demise of Minoan civilization. Evidence of their presence has been found throughout the Cyclades and beyond, showing that the Mycenaeans not only traded abroad but also settled. A settlement with defensive walls has been found on the Asian mainland at Miletus. Depictions of warriors on a papyrus from Tell el-Amarna in Egypt may represent Mycenaean mercenaries; as many as 20 sites along the Nile have produced Mycenaean pottery. Given the



The Mask of Agamemnon, a gold funerary mask, dates to the 16th century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

lack of sophistication of Mycenaean Ware relative to that of Egypt, these sites may have been settlements of Mycenaean traders or mercenaries, rather than of Egyptians who used Mycenaean pottery. Pottery finds throughout the Mediterranean demonstrate the breadth of the Mycenaean trade network, as far west as Sardinia, Italy, and Malta and as far east as the Levantine coast.

Collapse of Mycenaean Civilization

There is archaeological evidence of rising social instability in the radical change in building programs, which diverted energies and resources from construction of palaces and elaborate tombs in the 13th century B.C.E. to the building of fortifications at the various centers, including Pylos, which hitherto had been the least defended of Mycenaean cities. A defensive wall was built across the Isthmus of Corinth, although whether as a protection against invasion from north or south is unclear.

The strongest evidence of violent activity at this time was that of the so-called SEA PEOPLES, a name given by the Egyptians to warrior armies who attacked them in repeated raids around the turn of the 13th and 12th centuries B.C.E. It seems probable that the Sea Peoples originally were bands of pirates preying on the lucrative trade routes crossing the Mediterranean, similar to the VIKINGS of a later day. By the end of the 13th century B.C.E. they had joined into armies massive enough to attack Egypt, documented in papyri there that show their distinctive horned helmets. Their place of origin is unknown, but they are associated with artifacts found on Sicily and Sardinia, where they probably settled after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization.

The dating of events during the period of destruction that occurred around 1200 B.C.E. throughout the Mycenaean world and beyond is highly uncertain. The attack on the palace at Pylos that caused its destruction seems to have been among the earliest; its former dating of approximately 1200 B.C.E. is now in some doubt and it could have been earlier. The scenario seems more complicated than a wholesale invasion of foreigners on Mycenaean civilization, with a simple equation of invaders against Greeks. Some strongholds were reoccupied after their destruction, then destroyed again. Athens remained largely unscathed, possibly because of the impregnability of the Acropolis (high city), the steep-sided hill on top of which a Mycenaean palace was built. The great powers of the time, the Egyptians and the Hittites, were also under attack, as well as states in Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus, and during the succeeding century there is evidence of widespread population movements throughout the eastern Mediterranean, as well as depopulation and devastation of some regions. In some places there is a sharp break with what had gone before, evidence that a completely different culture replaced the native culture. Elsewhere there are signs of the establishment of new mixed communities who combined elements of previous cultures with new features. In general Greece suffered severe depopulation.

The fragmentary evidence from this period of destruction together with uncertainties of dating have given rise to a number of competing theories and an intensity of debate in inverse proportion to the strength of the data. A view held in the past has been to connect the demise of the Mycenaeans with the invasion from the northwest of a people called DORIANS, an oral tradition preserved in writing by later Greeks. There is some evidence of newcomers to Greece from this time: handmade burnished pottery found on several 12th-century B.C.E. sites, which has been called "Barbarian Ware," and also some bronze weapons similar to types found in Europe north of the Peloponnese, "cut and thrust" swords of the so-called Naue II type. But the finds are too few to document a large movement of peoples. The swords have been found only in Mycenaean tombs as offerings or burial goods and thus suggest that Mycenaeans had adopted this type of weapon, which they had probably obtained through trade.

Some scholars have seen in the so-called Barbarian Ware affinities with pottery made in contemporary Troy (Coarse Ware) and in southeastern Romania. Similar pottery is also found in southern Italy and Sicily, the latter associated with one of the Sea Peoples named by the Egyptians the Shekelesh. Another group called the Shardana by the Egyptians may have originated or lived on the island of Sardinia. In all contexts this pottery appears without precursors and seems to be associated with outsiders. Such pottery found at Korakou, Mycenae, Lefkandi, and a few other sites in central and southern Greece dates to just after the widespread destruction. The Coarse Ware of Troy is also contemporary with its destruction.

The small amount of Barbarian Ware that has been found shows that its makers probably were small-scale raiders and war bands who had found their way to the Mediterranean possibly from the Middle Danube region and who per-

haps would later become part of the armies of the Sea Peoples who attacked the Egyptians. However, such raiders, as would the Vikings, could have had a destructive effect all out of proportion to their numbers. There are signs, as well, that the makers of Barbarian Ware soon began to imitate Mycenaean pottery shapes in their handmade pottery. This is seen at Tiryns, where Barbarian Ware may predate the destruction of the palace, possibly evidence that its makers were mercenaries. Barbarian Ware continued to be made for some time after the collapse of Mycenaean society at Tiryns. Meanwhile the making of large amounts of sophisticated, wheel-thrown Mycenaean pottery also continued for a time. The possibility that outsiders may have quickly adopted material aspects of the more advanced culture of the Mycenaeans may be the reason there is so little sign of them in the archaeological record.

The Sea Peoples may have formed armies in response to defensive efforts of the Mycenaeans and other states. They could have swept into their forces smaller groups of warriors, such as the Dorians; it is equally possible that Dorians had been hired by the Mycenaeans as mercenaries for defense; these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive and could both be true.

It is also probable that the various Mycenaean power centers—Tiryns, Athens, Argos, Mycenae—competed for access to trade routes, each trying to carve out its own sphere of power, even as the city-states of classical Greece did. An early version of the Peloponnesian War played out among different Mycenaean powers may have been the cause of much of the damage that has been found.

Such competition could have intensified in times of climate change. The pattern of destruction could be explained by a prolonged drought in the areas of Crete, the southern Peloponnese, Boeotia, Euboea, Phocis, and the Argolid, where the destruction was greatest that did not greatly affect Attica, the northwest Peloponnese, Thessaly, and the rest of northern Greece, or the Dodecanese (that is, the islands of Rhodes, Kos, etc.), which were largely spared. Meteorologists have shown that such a pattern of drought is entirely likely and has actually occurred in recorded times. Study of tree-growth rings from Turkey suggests that there may have been a drought in central Anatolia, which may be connected with the collapse of the Hittite Empire in about 1200 B.C.E.

After the period of destruction some of the groups that made up the Sea Peoples settled in the Near East; one group, later known as the Philistines, settled in southern Palestine. The majority of European-made swords and knives found in the Mediterranean from this period occur on Cyprus, where a phase of prosperity and cultural flowering took place, in stark contrast to most of the larger region. A bronze statuette of a warrior with horned helmet very similar to those depicted by the Egyptians as worn by the Sea Peoples was found at Enkomi on Cyprus. This find may suggest that one of the warrior groups settled here and was involved in the rebuilding of the main cities. On the other hand on the Greek mainland in places where warrior groups such as the Dorians seem to have taken hold and where Mycenaean culture disappeared no such resurgence occurred; instead a Dark Ages of economic dislocation, depopulation, and disorder ensued. Mycenaean and Near Eastern influences are clear in the art of Cyprus at this time, and later Greeks there spoke a dialect, called Arcado-Cypriot (because it was also spoken in the remote region of Arcadia in mainland Greece), which is more closely related to Mycenaean Greek than any other dialect that survived the Dark Ages. It is therefore more probable that the socioeconomic resurgence on Cyprus involved refugee Mycenaeans—both elites and artisans. The resurgence was probably facilitated by the favorable location of Cyprus for trading, but the dominant group could have been Mycenaeans alone or in conjunction with a Sea People group whom they had hired as mercenaries or with whom they had struck an alliance. The European weapons found on Cyprus could as easily have belonged to Mycenaeans (like those found earlier in Mycenaean tombs) as to barbarian European raiders. In any case the period of recovery on Cyprus was short-lived, and after several disruptions probably caused by further raiding, society there experienced the decline that had happened everywhere else.

CULTURE (*see also* GREEKS)

Economy

Mycenaean Central Planning Evidence of the Mycenaean economy is provided by the Linear B tablets found at Knossos and Pylos. One group of tablets lists thousands of male sheep, probably for use in a wool-making industry on a massive scale. Tablets from Pylos on the Greek mainland also include inventories of massive flocks and document the issuing of bronze to smiths. Pylian tablets document a

perfume industry there, and storehouses for oil and wine have been found. Other tablets from Knossos document land ownership in a hierarchy from the king through a series of lower ranks in feudal fashion. Whether this system existed in the Mycenaean homeland is unknown, but there is evidence of planned agricultural communities. A site in Macedonia where burning preserved stored produce shows that wheat, barley, lentils, bitter vetch, and grapes were grown. There were thousands of workers in Crete, often women, who were organized into gangs, each with a foreman who received their rations.

Government and Society

Rise of Elites Wealthy burials that antedate the emergence of Mycenaean civilization are found in a number of places in southern Greece in addition to those at Mycenae, showing that an elite class had arisen across the region. Other prosperous societies were located at Messenia, Marathon, Argos, and elsewhere. Burials were often grouped and covered with a single mound.

Grave Circle A (c. 1550 B.C.E.) at Mycenae was contemporary with the latest burials of Grave Circle B and was used for another 50 years. It was more exclusive than the earlier circle, having only six shafts, three of which were the deepest of all, and far more lavishly furnished. Men, women, children, and infants were all buried in these, perhaps members of a royal dynasty. Some 200 years after the last burial in Grave Circle A major renovations were done in the area and on the citadel. The citadel wall was extended, and the ground level over Grave Circle A was raised. The original carved stone grave markers were reused, showing that this royal family or group was still remembered.

The last burials of Grave Circle A were dramatically richer than anything known before. Grave goods included five gold masks, a profusion of gold ornaments, dozens of bronze rapier-type swords and heavy spearheads, and five short daggers inlaid with hunting scenes in gold, silver, and black enamel. The style of these scenes shows influence from Crete, but fully reinterpreted in an indigenous manner.

Imported objects and materials indicate wide-ranging contacts. Objects made of exotic materials included a rhyton (horn-shaped drinking cup) made of ostrich eggshell, probably from the Near East or North Africa, and items made of ivory, lapis lazuli, and other luxury materials from afar. There are amber necklaces, the material itself certainly imported from the north, the style of the necklaces showing similarities with necklaces of the contemporary Wessex culture in Britain. There were also necklaces made of beads colored with faience (a blue-green glaze) like examples found in Britain and western Europe.

The Wessex Culture seems to have been a later development of the Bell Beaker Culture, which began in the early Bronze Age around 2500 B.C.E. and at that time spearheaded the development of wide-ranging trade networks throughout Europe, from Iberia to Brittany, Ireland, Britain, and along the North Sea coast to Denmark. Bell Beaker trade routes, which remained important for a millenium and more, were probably the source of the amber that entered the Mycenaeans.

Sources of Mycenaean Wealth The sudden efflorescence of wealth seen in Grave Circle A at Mycenae has yet to be explained with any certainty, a consequence of the treasure-hunting style used by its first excavators, who discarded much material that could have shed light on this question. On analogy with other warrior societies located near flourishing trade routes (the example of the Vikings who preyed on and took part in the lucrative trade in Islamic silver along Baltic trade routes to the Carolingian Empire of the FRANKS in the ninth century C.E. is just one of many) the Mycenaeans probably tapped into the trade between the civilizations of the Near East and the Minoans on Crete, both as pirates and as traders. Wealth and concomitant power probably accumulated in the hands of the most energetic and successful war leaders, whose descendants tended to grow wealthier and more powerful over time in a self-perpetuating cycle.

After the emergence of the wealthy elites from the time of Grave Circle A, consolidation and expansion of Mycenaean influence took place, a process again documented by funerary practices. Going beyond the simple accumulation of expensive objects and materials to furnish grave goods, Mycenaean nobles now marshaled immense labor and building expertise in the building of their tombs. Tombs cut into hillsides were made for the highest levels of society and for apparently lesser nobility as well. Tombs would be used by several generations, reflecting the stability of Mycenaean society at this time.

The artifacts from tombs show clear and strong Cretan affinities; influences seem to run both ways, because the art of both societies

developed in tandem, and it is often impossible to discern whether pieces were made in Minoan Crete or Mycenaean Greece. The location where they were found can tell nothing definitive on this score, since there must have been a great degree of back-and-forth exchange between the elites of the two societies, probably in the form of diplomatic gifts. Intermarriage between Cretan and Mycenaean royalty and aristocracy seems likely.

Few buildings from this period have survived later construction programs; one of the few, the 13th-century B.C.E. palace of Tiryns, demonstrates that Mycenaeans emulated the palaces of Crete. Tiryns had wall paintings of bull leaping, the preeminent ritual-cum-sport of Crete, which are closely similar to those made at Knossos and probably were copies.

Mycenaean Wanax, or King The Linear B tablets contain information on the political order of the Mycenaeans. The king or highest ruler was called a *wanax;* there was another high office, the *lawagetas,* or "leader of the people," probably a war leader. This division of leadership has analogies among other Indo-European peoples. Among both CELTS and GERMANICS the office of war leader was separate from another co-ruler who had a religious significance, as a sort of sacred king. Among the Celts the sacred king at his coronation wedded a priestess who represented the goddess of the land and fertility. The Germanic sacred king or *thiudans* seems to have interceded with the gods for the good of his people. Although it is not known whether the Mycenaean *wanax* had such functions, it seems at least possible that part of his role was to be closer to the gods than any other in his kingdom. There was a series of lower officials, including the *basileus,* which later became the Greek word for "king." In contrast to the classical period, a special class of priests existed, as well as a palace economy with a complex division of labor and numerous slaves.

Mycenaean Influences on Later Greeks When Mycenaean culture was first discovered, it appeared to be almost completely exotic and unrelated to the world of later Greeks, as though the Dark Ages after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization had wiped a cultural slate clean, and the Greeks of Homer's time (ninth to eighth century B.C.E.) and later built a new culture with few ties to the pre–Dark Age past. However, as archaeological discoveries of Mycenaean remains continued, more and more elements corresponding to descriptions from Homer and to artifacts from Homer's time were found. For example the Greeks who took part in the Trojan War as described by Homer worshipped in stone temples in their cities, even as Homer's contemporaries did. Scholars had thought that the Mycenaeans worshipped in simple shrines and that Homer had based his stone temples on those of his eighth-century B.C.E. contemporaries. With the discovery of the temple complex at Mycenae and others at other 13th-century B.C.E. cities it seemed that Homer could have had knowledge of the Mycenaeans after all. Folk memories, perhaps kept alive in the oral poetic tradition, could have preserved details of Mycenaean culture. Numerous details mentioned in Homer have found correspondences in artifacts uncovered by archaeologists, such as silver-studded swords, chariots, tripods, corselets, helmets, and greaves. Even stylistically some of the figurative art of the Greek Archaic Age bears a remarkable resemblance to Mycenaean art, as though the intervening centuries of the Dark Ages had never occurred. The making of any figurative art at all appears to have ceased for some 500 years until about the end of the eighth century B.C.E. In about 700 B.C.E. wheel-made figurines of females—priestesses or goddesses—with upraised arms similar to those of the Mycenaean period appeared again, after a break in continuity of half a millennium.

How these apparent "throwbacks" to a distant past can have been made by later Greeks remains an unanswered question. It is possible that there actually was little or no break in continuity but that artifacts demonstrating that continuity, lost in the disorders of the Dark Ages, have not yet been found. A figurine with uplifted arms from the Dark Ages was found on Cyprus, suggesting that elements of Mycenaean culture were preserved there and could have influenced post–Dark Age Greeks on the mainland. Clearly the social conditions for making monumental stone buildings and accomplished figurative art did not exist during the impoverished Dark Ages, but this does not explain why post–Dark Age Greeks seem to have taken up cultural trends where they left off when Mycenaean civilization ended so long before.

Military Practices

Mycenaean warriors used long spears, swords, and daggers and bore large "man-covering" shields, either straight-sided or of hourglass shape, perhaps suspended by a strap worn over the shoulder (as shown in a hunting scene

depicted on a dagger from Grave Circle A). They were made of bull's hide, often unpainted so that the animal's natural coloring, often white with rufus-colored mottling, could be seen.

Elites wore helmets made of boar's tusks and, probably exceptionally, body armor. The earliest known European suit of armor, made entirely of bronze, was found in a tomb at Dendra in the Argolid. It consisted of a separate neckpiece and hinged shoulder plates over a cuirass made, for flexibility, of three separate plates in front and back that telescoped together. The utility of such armor is questionable, however, and it may have been used primarily for show. The boar's tusk helmets probably afforded more protection.

Dwellings and Architecture

Little architecture (beyond tombs) remains from the early Mycenaean period. One of the few studied is near the Archaic sanctuary of Helen and Menelaos south of Sparta. It had two stories, a central *megaron,* or king's hall, flanked by corridors and small rooms, an outer porch, and an anteroom.

Mycenaean architecture reached a pinnacle with the *tholos* tombs of the 14th century B.C.E., including the Treasury of Atreus near Mycenae, built of a local limestone so hard it could only be dressed with hammer blows and finished by grinding, requiring immense labor. The doorway, flanked by carved half-columns decorated with spiraling rosettes of lapis, features an ingenious technique of relieving the doorway of the weight of the corbelled interior vault. Bronze rosettes were set into the rock walls for decoration. It has a *dromos* lined with massive blocks, the large interior vault, and a side chamber for the body.

After the 14th century B.C.E. the palace of Mycenae was enlarged and its walls extended repeatedly. The famous Lion Gate, a relief of opposed lions facing a pillar set into a niche in the massive blocks of the wall, was built at this time. The motif of opposed lions was also carved on numerous ivories and sealstones, suggesting it had royal and perhaps religious significance for the Mycenaeans as a people. The Lion Gate was flanked on each side by bastions that allowed defenders to rain arrows and javelins from the side on enemies approaching it. This defensive principle was used in many Mycenaean fortifications.

The palace of Tiryns was built of blocks so massive later Greeks assumed they must have been built by the giant Cyclops; hence the term Cyclopean used for massive architecture. The blocks were prised out of the limestone bedrock on which the palace stands, using natural faults and fissures, and levered into place. The walls were up to five meters thick and seven to eight meters high.

Such thick walls were hardly necessary to repel warriors bearing only Bronze Age military equipment, and the primary threat to Mycenaean citadels (in the arid climate of southern Greece) was the loss of a water supply under siege. The citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens apparently depended on springs outside their walls and, late in the 13th century B.C.E., vaulted passages leading to them were built. These water sources were abandoned soon after the construction of the passages, suggesting that the measure was ineffectual or that the citadels were no longer being defended—one of many signs from the time of the imminent collapse of Mycenaean civilization. It is more probable that the Cyclopean walls were constructed to demonstrate the might and glory of Mycenaean rulers, and perhaps to create a kind of psychological warfare, to overawe and daunt the enemy, to convince him that the king must have had divine help in building his fortress.

Mycenaean engineers used their abilities in works of practical applicability impressive even today in demonstrating the vision of their planners and builders. The citadel of Gla was built on an outcrop in the basin of a shallow lake that had been drained for the purpose. It was surrounded by regularly planned buildings and open fields that show every sign that they were part of a single plan to create an agricultural estate, with buildings to house farmworkers and administrators and storage areas within the citadel to protect the estate's produce. The citadel was also large enough to allow flocks to be taken in times of danger.

Clothing

We have a clear idea of Mycenaean dress from the many depictions that remain. Men typically wore only short trousers, leaving the chest bare. Women also were bare-breasted and wore only long, flounced skirts cinched in at the waist, a style that probably originated in Crete.

Art

Attempts to trace the development of Mycenaean art face a number of difficulties. One of them is the close relationship of Minoan art and artisans with their Mycenaean counterparts, so that at times it is difficult to know by whom a

given art object was made—by a Minoan or by a Mycenaean influenced by Minoan art. Even if the object was found on the mainland, it could have been made by an immigrant Minoan craftsman, by a Mycenaean trained or influenced by Minoans, or by a Minoan on Crete and then traded to the mainland or given to a Mycenaean nobleman as a diplomatic gift. Another difficulty is that Mycenaeans seem to have kept objects for a long time as treasured heirlooms; as a result objects found buried in the late Mycenaean period are sometimes in an earlier style, giving the impression that Mycenaean art remained static for centuries. The possibility that an object may be much older than the context in which it was found must always be borne in mind. After the demise of Minoan civilization developments in artistic style increasingly did reflect the work of Mycenaean artists; even then, however, many Minoan artists must have continued to work for Mycenaean patrons. Their work then would have reflected the tastes of these patrons to some extent but not completely, as they, as do any artists, continued to adhere to their own stylistic imperatives.

Sealstones and Seal Rings Mycenaean artists adopted from the Minoans the carving of semiprecious gemstones for use as seals with which to make impressions on lumps of soft clay; these were probably affixed, perhaps with string, to other objects such as amphorae to mark ownership. Gold seal rings were also made. The great numbers of these found, which have survived because of their small size and durability, have allowed identification of general artistic trends that the fragmentary remains of other artworks, such as frescoes, sculpture, and painted vases, does not allow. Even disasters such as the burning of Minoan palaces added to the surviving evidence about the sealstones, because many pieces of clay with seal impressions were baked hard in the fires.

The carving of sealstones reached a very high level of skill and artistry, depicting religious subjects, lions attacking their prey, recumbent bulls, and other animals, such as stags and wild goats, with an amazing realism and vigor, considering their small size and the hardness of the stones used. Seals were made by using agate, cornelian, jasper, rock crystal, amethyst, hematite, and chalcedony. Steatite, a very soft stone, was used to make carved ornaments or amulets that probably were not used for sealing; the lower level of artistic skill and the vast numbers of the carved steatite stones that have been found suggest that they were made and worn by common people.

It is possible to trace the development of Mycenaean-Minoan sealstone carving from a vigorous early style of the 16th–15th centuries B.C.E. (strictly Minoan sealstone carving began centuries earlier) to what is seen by scholars as an increasingly conventionalized, attenuated style just before the final collapse of Minoan civilization. A late seal shows an enormous and bloated bull reclining while a slender bull leaper vainly tries to find room within the oval frame of the picture to leap over him, almost a caricature of a ritual that once must have had a deep religious significance. The carving skill and the artistry of this seal are no less than those of earlier examples, but the life has gone out of the style; the artist no longer knows why he is making this object (or rather, he knows with his mind, but not with his heart). The making of such seals seems to have ceased with the end of Minoan civilization. Yet it is probable that seals and especially seal rings continued in use throughout the Mycenaean period, the great gold rings passed down as markers of royal and noble power. Many have been found in late contexts, just before the end of Mycenaean civilization, but their style shows that they had been made in the early period of seal carving.

Metalwork The artistic quality of the hunting scenes on the daggers found in the shaft graves at Mycenae (c. 1550 B.C.E.) is of the highest caliber. The lively and rhythmic compositions, amazingly realized in a simple medium of inlaid gold, silver, and black enamel, course with energy and have an admirable balance of stylization and realism. One example shows four hunters attacking a huge lion with spears and arrows; one hunter lies slain under the lion's ravaging paws and gape-mouthed roar. Other scenes show leopards hunting birds and lions attacking deer. Gold cups from Vaphio near Sparta show scenes of bull hunting.

Sculpture Ivory carving seems to have evolved in parallel with seal carving, showing a similar development in the anatomical rendering of animals. Lions have manes with the texture of fish gills and bulls have pistonlike legs. Such carvings, as were the seals, were kept throughout the Mycenaean period and are found in late contexts; examples include ivory plaques with antelopes from the Kadmeion at Thebes, the sphinxes from the contemporary House of the Sphinxes at Mycenae, both contexts (the surrounding material remains) dating to around



This Mycenaean terra-cottta figurine, assumed to be of a goddess, dates from the 14th or 13th century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

1300 B.C.E., and the ivories probably made 200 years earlier. Tablets from Pylos document this practice of keeping heirlooms; the very age of the objects adds to their luster and value. Possession of such heirlooms must have demonstrated a person's illustrious and ancient lineage, and the emotions evoked by a fine piece of worked ivory, yellow with age, kept in the family for generations would not be at all strange to us today.

By the later Mycenaean period from 1300 B.C.E. little sculpture was being made; exceptions are the lions and the pillar of the Lion Gate at Mycenae and painted highly schematic terra-cotta figurines of women, some with raised arms.

Painting As seal carving and sculpture faded, artistic energies were redirected to painting. Vases show stylized cows, bulls, and birds traced in two-dimensional line drawing on a white background. Scenes include charioteers, marching soldiers, women standing in buildings, a procession of men in robes or nude with scepter approaching an enthroned figure, and birds accompanying a man playing a lyre. Earlier vase painting from about the 15th century B.C.E. displays a rather undeveloped technique, which gradually improved as painters substituted lustrous for matte-textured paints.

By the late period fresco painting had risen to a high quality. The style shows derivation from Minoan style but has developed along its own lines. At Mycenae in what is known as the Cult Center the frescoes are masterfully drawn. A female figure called the Mykenaia is shown with her face in profile. Her hands are drawn in fine detail and the expression of her face, replete with slight double chin as she looks pensively downward, shows the psychological insight of the artist as he evokes the power of a priestess—or goddess—and perhaps her sympathy for the mortals whose fates she decides.

Details of the technique of the artist can be seen in the paintings in what is known as the Room with the Fresco. Preliminary sketches were done in ocher; red paint was applied in a rather slapdash way, and thick black outlines were used to emphasize the depictions. A woman with a tall, elaborate headdress bearing wheat sheaves is shown in a pillared temple, but her headdress is so tall that part of the temple roof had to be erased to accommodate it, suggesting a rather loose, improvisational way of working.

Large frescoes with numerous figures in the *megaron* (central room) at Pylos depict a feast; on the walls of the vestibule there is a procession of women and men bearing trays, bowls, and amphorae of food and drink; in their midst paces a giant—probably divine—bull, too large himself to be slaughtered for food, but perhaps serving as a symbol of plenty. In the *megaron* itself a feast is in progress, with pairs of men at tables probably drinking and a lyre player providing music; another large bull is in attendance. Flanking the throne are sets of wingless griffins and lions. The living feasts that may have taken place in the *megaron* surrounded by this painted one, with its divine animals, must have taken on an added luster, as the wall murals demonstrated the tradition of feasting within which the living event was to be understood. Women rather than men are depicted seated on thrones and presiding over feasts.

Religion

Evidence of Ritual at Mycenae Knowledge about Mycenaean religion is fragmentary. Because the state of writing at this time was rudimentary—Linear B script is suitable only for labeling and making lists of objects and commodities—we have no literary evidence of gods or ritual, other than votive tablets naming gods and listing offerings. Remains of the "paraphernalia" of religion bear mute and ambiguous witness to what seems to have been an elaborate system of worship.

A group of buildings near Grave Circle A in Mycenae, which has been dubbed the Cult Center, contains the clearest evidence yet found of Mycenaean ritual practice. (Scholars disagree as to how the Cult Center should be interpreted, even as to whether it served as a religious center at all.) One of the buildings, thought to be a temple, contains a main room with a central platform and benches around the walls, inner storerooms, and another room decorated on one wall with a large, elaborate fresco. The Room with the Fresco, as it is called, had an altar and the remains of a cult statue and probably of a throne. A carved ivory lion in crouched position that was found probably decorated an arm of the throne. The superbly carved head of a youth, made from a single piece of elephant tusk, may have had a wooden body that did not survive. The main figures of the fresco stand above the altar that projects outward from the wall and was painted to appear to be part of the building with pillars in the fresco within which the figures stand. The figures are of a woman bearing a lance and of another partially damaged taller figure, proba-

bly a female holding a large sword. The taller figure was probably a goddess and the other, facing her and seemingly presenting the lance, perhaps a priestess. Below these two figures and to the left of the altar is a much smaller woman possibly bearing wheat sheaves, with what resembles an animal at her side. (A goddess of grain, Sitopotinija, is mentioned on a Mycenaean tablet.) A clay bathtub in the room was possibly for purification ritual.

The main room of the temple contained a closely packed deposit of clay figurines, which consist of cylindrical jars or vases with human heads and raised arms molded in clay on top; the gender of many of them is ambiguous as none has obvious breasts, some have hair, and others are bald. Because many of them were in fragments, researchers have conjectured that they were hurriedly stacked in a haphazard pile after an earthquake or other disturbance had broken them. Alternatively they may have been deliberately broken, a practice known from other cultures in which cult figures are destroyed after use to free the spirits with which they had been imbued during the ritual. It seems plausible that they held offerings of food and were used as votaries. Three much smaller figurines that were found are clearly female as their breasts are obvious; one of these was found in a standing position and may have been an object of prayer and worship. The making of anthropomorphic vessels and the use of figurines in ritual have a very ancient history in Greece and the Balkans, dating from Neolithic times thousands of years earlier, evidence that Mycenaean religion, at least in some of its aspects, retained pre-Indo-European traditions.

The main room of the temple also contains clay figurines of tightly coiled snakes, some with bulging eyes and protruding tongue. Gods were sometimes depicted as snakes in classical times, and live snakes were kept in cult places, such as the caves at Eleusis used in the annual festival called the Thesmophoria. (The python that the Greek god Apollo was said to have slain at Delphi may have been one of these.) The style of some of the figurines shows that they probably predate the construction of the temple; these then had probably not been broken deliberately and were sacred objects carefully preserved for use in a new venue. In the final stage in the use of the temple before it was partly destroyed around 1200 B.C.E. as found by archaeologists, a single figurine vase of a woman with upraised arms stood on a bench in an inconspicuous position behind a pillar. Archaeologists who uncovered the temple found the figurine still standing in this position.

Other Evidence of Ritual from Pictorial Art A ring found near the richest grave shafts at Mycenae may give a clue to Mycenaean religion. It shows three women bearing flowers approaching a seated woman holding poppy heads. The poppy was later sacred to the Olympian Greek goddess of grain, Demeter, because poppies usually grow in grain fields in Europe. An opiate derived from poppies could have been used in religious ritual to promote a sense of spiritual awareness.

In most of the Mycenaean cult places that have been excavated depictions of female cult figures predominate. Exceptions are the youth in the Room with the Fresco and a bronze statuette found at Hagia Eirene (modern Ayia Irini) on the island of Kea making a gesture of salute often depicted in Minoan art. Here some 50 female clay figurines have also been found.

The cult building here is notable in that it was used through a number of renovations, including one after an earthquake in about 1440 B.C.E., for a very long period from about the 18th to the third century. After the earthquake some of the rooms in the temple were packed solid with debris to prevent their use (probably because they had incurred the gods' wrath and were unlucky). One of the rooms, however, was only partially filled, leaving the upper parts of several statues projecting through. In about 1050 B.C.E. this room was once more used for worship. In the late eighth century B.C.E. an earthen floor with a packed surface was raised to the neck of one of the earlier statues, and a ring base supported by stone slabs held the extremely worn head erect, an extraordinary demonstration of piety and belief.

Vase paintings of classical times show a goddess rising up out of the Earth with only her upper body showing, or only her head, sometimes aided by Hermes in his role as summoner of souls, and worshipped by prancing satyrs. The scene depicted in such paintings (known from inscriptions on them) is the arrival of Demeter's daughter, Kore, who had been abducted by Hades, god of the Underworld, whose release from underground heralds the spring. A folk custom that continued long after antiquity was to bury in the autumn a doll made of sheaves of corn, which would be unearthed the following spring and found to be sprouting green, a custom that could well date to the Neolithic Age and could

have furnished the seed of the later myth of Demeter and Kore.

But it is not far-fetched to postulate that the visual image of the upper half of a female figure protruding from the ground could have derived from a temple such as that at Hagia Eirene and other earthquake-ruined temples that continued to be used by post–Dark Age Greeks. A number of these paintings show the emerging goddess with raised arms, in one example looking as though pleading for help, in another making a gesture that is hard to interpret. This too could be a depiction of the raised-arm gestures (not used in worship by later Greeks) of Mycenaean figurines and other images, which undoubtedly were well known to later Greeks, because they were uncovered periodically during excavations for building construction and by the plow. Many artifacts of the Mycenaeans that had been buried in earthquakes must have been uncovered by later Greeks by accident in this way or by the opening of new earthquake fissures, revealing what had been buried. (The statues in the temple at Hagia Eirene did not have their arms raised.) On the reverse side of one of the emerging goddess vases a man is shown contemplating a vase with a woman's head, a type never made by post–Dark Age Greeks (a matter of puzzlement for earlier generations of scholars, who knew little of Mycenaean civilization). In Archaic and classical times the Hagia Eirene temple was utilized in the worship of Dionysos, and Dionysos figures in a number of the vase paintings that show the emerging Kore.

Mycenaean Pantheon of Deities Inscriptions found at Knossos and Pylos give the names of many deities, some of which are similar to the names of gods of later Greeks and some of which are not. The name Diwe or Diwijeu probably refers to Zeus, based on the similarity of his name to the Indo-European *Dyeu* (to shine) the root of the word Zeus. The name Diuja also appears in inscriptions and is a feminine form of Diwe. (This name may be the origin of Dione, mother of Aphrodite, a goddess of later times.) Linear B tablets at Knossos refer to a cult place called Diktaiou, and Zeus was said by classical Greeks to have been born in a cave in Mount Dikte on Crete. The Mycenaean Hera was Era. Poseidon was Posedo, the Enesidaone, "Earth shaker." Poseidon was the most frequently mentioned god in the Pylos tablets. A feminine version of his name is also mentioned: Posidaeja. (Feminine versions of Zeus and Poseidon may refer to their wives.) *Pajawo* has been identified with Paian, a title of Apollo; Paian may have been a separate god whose attributes Apollo had appropriated in classical times. The name Atana refers to Athena, and Diwonisojo, to Dionysos. Artemis, Hermes, and Ares all had possible counterparts named on the tablets. A Matereteija (Mother Goddess) also received offerings.

Potnia (Lady or Mistress), spelled on tablets as Potinija, was the name given by Greeks of the Archaic period to a goddess who was mistress of animals, "the Lady of Wild Things," by classical times called Artemis. Thus the Mycenaean goddess, derived from the Minoans, who is depicted with raised hands and accompanied by beasts may be Potinija, although she is not named in her depictions. The Mycenaean mistress of animals is commonly shown with animals both real, often lions and doves, and mythical, often griffins (winged, eagle-headed lions); the Minoan double ax, which is a sacred symbol; and snakes. On Archaic vases from Boeotia Potnia is shown flanked by lions in heraldic poses like those of the Lion Gate at Mycenae. The woman with a lionlike animal by her side depicted in the Room with the Fresco could have been Potinija or her priestess. Mountains and trees were also sacred to the Minoan Mistress of Animals in her aspect as Mother of Mountains, and thus probably to Potinija as well. Icons showing the goddess surrounded by animals gave rise to later Greek myths of Artemis as huntress, an Indo-European reinterpretation that began in late Mycenaean times, when she was depicted wearing a helmet and bearing arms. An epithet applied to her on a tablet from Pylos connects her with bronze smiths. In her armed aspect she was a precursor of the armed Athena, whose Mycenaean name was sometimes spelled Atanapotinija. As was her counterpart, the Minoan Mother of the Mountains, she was probably associated with fertility, suggested by the wheat sheaves borne by the priestess in the Room with the Fresco.

The attributes of Potinija, evidently a potent and important goddess, the protector of nature, vegetation, and fertility, can be said to have been parceled out among three Olympian goddesses, Artemis, Athena, and Demeter (and possibly also Aphrodite, to whom doves were sacred). This division might be a form of the "divide and conquer" strategy of the Greeks of the Dark Ages and later, whose outlook may have become more patriarchal under the influence of the makers of Barbarian Ware who occupied former Mycenaean territories, and their descendants, speakers of Dorian and Ionian Greek.

Of the deity names written on Linear B tablets, the name *Era* (pronounced Hera, the sounded "H" being understood rather than having its own character), while clearly of forerunner of Olympian Hera, long defied attempts by linguists to discern its meaning in terms of Mycenaean Greek. This has led to the conclusion by some scholars that Hera may not have been Greek or even Indo-European at all. Hera seems to be related to a Mycenaean word for "lord, master"—*oros*—that may be derived from or related to the Minoan (non-Indo-European) kingly title, Minos. Thus *Era* and *Hera* may have meant "mistress" and have been used as an alternative to the Indo-European Potinija. An alternative etymology derives *Era* from the Greek *ier,* "year" or "spring," with the addition of the suffix "a" meaning "of the year" or "of the spring."

Scholars use clues from the Homeric epics, both linguistic and mythological, to deduce the pre-Olympian significance of deities and heroes. Another word for spring used in Homer is *Hore,* the plural of which, *Horai,* means "seasons." The Horai in Homer are mythological companions of Hera, keepers of the cloudgates through which she rides in her chariot and keeper of the stable for her horses. From this it would appear that Hera had earlier been a goddess of the seasons and, probably, of the yearly cycle (although by Homeric times she no longer had these powers). Bronze Age sites probably associated with Hera have yielded artifacts illustrating this aspect of hers. On the hill of Euboia ("rich in oxen") midway between Tiryns and Mycenae, a figurine was found showing a female driving a chariot drawn by unidentified quadrupeds; female charioteers have been found elsewhere as well.

In post–Dark Age (Archaic) Argos, an important locus of Hera's worship in historic times, Hera's principal festival, the Hekatombaia, took place at the Argive New Year, in the spring. It seems likely that the Hekatombaia retained many features of Bronze Age ritual. It involved the ritual extinguishment of all fires in the land and the kindling of a new fire from which each household obtained fire for the hearth (a rite common to most New Year rituals throughout the ancient Mediterranean), athletic games, and the sacrifice of 100 oxen (the meaning of Hekatombaia) to the goddess. This, with several features of the myths involving Hera and Argos (which took its name from Hera's oxherd Argos, who saved the people of Arcadia from a ravaging bull) and the fact that her common epithet in the *Iliad* is "Lady Hera with the look of an ox" suggests that Hera was, among other epiphanies, an ox goddess, a characteristic that probably dates from Mycenaean times. Her role as goddess of oxen must have concerned agricultural cycles, sacrifices of bulls, the taming of heifers, and yoking of oxen. Other Argive titles of Hera's were Yoker and Charioteer; a priestess of Hera in another Greek myth was named Hippodameia, "Horsetamer." An important aspect of this festival was the awarding of a bronze shield (*aspis*) to the one who excelled in the athletic contests. The shield was sacred to Hera and an important symbol, for the main Mycenaean citadel at Argos was on the hill called Aspis, the citadel being the "shield" of the people. The citadel embodied the Argive goddess Hera, as the Athenian Acropolis embodied Athena. Mycenaean palace-citadels formed the loci of goddess worship, worship of gods taking place outdoors and in remote places like Zeus's Olympia.

The epithet "Lady Hera with the look of an ox" seems to be an ancient formula long predating the composition of the *Iliad.* It contains a striking metrical irregularity unusual in Homeric verse; this implies that the Homeric poet or poets simply adopted the phrase intact because of longstanding tradition—audiences expected to hear it this way and no other. At the same time, it contrasts with other epithets given to Hera in the *Iliad*—such as "golden-throned Hera," "white-armed Hera," and "wife and sister [of Zeus]"—which are all appropriate for the Olympian Hera, whose principal function is to be wife to Zeus. "Lady Hera with the look of an ox" is not readily explicable in Olympian terms but fits in well with what can be deduced about her Mycenaean persona.

Another important locus of historic Greek worship of Hera was the island of Samos. Evidence of Hera's cult on Samos may help to explain the meaning of the pillar flanked by lions that topped the Lion Gate at Mycenae, for Samian Hera had associations with trees—to which columns make metaphorical reference—and for centuries her cult image consisted of an upright plank or column rather than an anthropomorphic image. In an important annual spring ceremony at Samos, the plank figure, after arriving at a shrine in a procession probably symbolic of the return of new life and fertility in spring, apparently was bound to a type of willow tree called the *lugos,* as though to prevent her from being abducted for the span of the agricultural year (perhaps a variation on the tale of the

abduction of Persephone). She was often represented as associated with and sometimes flanked by lions and other animals in a fashion similar to that of Mycenaean Potinija.

In Mycenaean times Zeus had not yet attained the complete ascendancy over all goddesses that later in classical myth allowed him to rape Hera with impunity to force her to marry him. That Hera was said to have led a revolt of all the Olympian gods against Zeus (foiled when he hung her in chains until she begged for mercy) seems to hint that the evolution of the patriarchal Olympian system did not occur without struggle. And even as the rituals of the Olympian gods developed and elaborated in the urban religion of classical Greece, another class of rituals and festivals honoring what are called the chthonic deities, gods and goddesses of the underworld, continued to be observed, mostly among women. This set of rituals may well have had roots in Mycenaean times.

The Mistress of Animals had a male counterpart, also shown surrounded by animals or accompanied by a griffin. Sometimes a man with a lion is shown bearing a spear and shield. Some authorities see this figure as evolving into other depictions of a man bearing weapons but not accompanied by animals, who may have been a god of war. The name Enualios, known from Linear B inscriptions, is an epithet of Ares, god of war.

Festivals A number of festivals are mentioned on the Pylos tablets. The Preparation of the Couch could have involved a celebration of the sacred marriage of Poseidon and Potnia. Another festival was called "Setting Up of the Throne," although which deity is the subject is unknown. A feast of new wine must have been presided over by a Mater Theia, a mother goddess, rather than Dionysos. Near a throne in the palace at Pylos were found hollows and channels cut into the floor that are thought to have been used to receive libations.

Offerings and Sacrifices Many tablets record offerings made to the different gods; commonly mentioned were gold vessels and "victims," recorded as a man or a woman: "For Zeus, one gold bowl, one man," and "For Hera, one gold bowl, one woman." One tablet mentions four cups, eight bowls, two men, and eight women. It is possible that most of the victims mentioned were figurines, although this is only a conjecture. Alternately they could have been captives in war or slaves offered for service to the god (that may be the meaning of the term *slaves of the god* found on tablets). One tablet offering men and women to a long list of deities appears to have been hastily written, almost as though during an emergency such as an attack on the palace that the sacrifices were intended to avert. Other offerings mentioned include herbs, cattle, sheep, and pigs. On one tablet Poseidon receives offerings of grain, wine, a bull, cheeses, rams' skins, rams, and honey.

Cult Places Although the Mycenaeans worshipped Zeus and other male gods, the cult places that have been discovered have no certain representations of them. It is unknown whether the youth in the Room with the Fresco, which was dominated by the fresco of a goddess and a priestess, was a god later enrolled among the Olympians. Instead goddesses and female figurines have been found, some of them depicted in a style reminiscent of Minoan goddesses. Snakes, too, figure in Minoan religion. It may be that the Indo-European (or non-Minoan) element of Mycenaean religion did not call for depicting its deities; possibly doing so was even taboo; if it was, that might explain the absence of figural art during the Dark Ages, when Indo-European influence may have been stronger than in Mycenaean times.

No word for *sanctuary* has been found in ancient Mycenaean texts; for this reason the only hint the Pylos Linear B tablets give of possible cult centers are place-names listed as the locations where the offerings were made. It may be that for their gods as opposed to goddesses offerings were given out of doors, as exemplified by Nestor, king of Pylos, in Homer's *Odyssey,* who sacrificed bulls to Poseidon on the beach.

The central room or *megaron* of the palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos may have had a ritual function. The *megara* (plural of *megaron*) are enfolded in a series of architectural features, vestibules, passageways, and outer rooms, which guided the views and movements of those who entered there. Even before entering the visitor had arrived at the palace along state-built roads leading to a massive gate—at Mycenae, the famous Lion Gate. Beyond the gate were entranceways and a grand stairway leading to a suite consisting of three rooms: a front porch, a transition vestibule, and the hall, the *megaron* proper. The porch opened off a larger court and, in the case of Pylos, which had a second story, may have supported a balcony.

These liminal and transitional movements may have been intended to give the visitor a

sense of making a journey toward a sacred center through increasingly ritualized and holy spaces.

The narrow vestibule at Pylos was painted with the procession of food bearers surrounding a giant bull described. The *megaron* itself was dominated by a large circular hearth with a shallowly raised rim decorated with metaphoric flames. Over the hearth was a large opening that let out the smoke, at Pylos perhaps surrounded by a mezzanine on the second floor. On the first floor surrounding the hearth were four massive pillars. A throne was placed against the right-hand wall as one entered.

The fresco on this right wall has been interpreted as showing ritual sacrifice and feasting, although some authorities see the scene as more secular, a matter perhaps of difference of degree rather than of kind, for there was a ritual element to all feasting in the Bronze Age (and indeed later) all over Europe.

The placement of the throne, not facing the entrance to the *megaron,* but to the right, has been interpreted as showing that the human ruler deferred to rather than dominated the deity of what was probably the sacred hearth, perhaps the center of attention. The state religions of the Near East and Egypt seem to have been centered on the ruler as in some sense a god, and anthropologists have tended to see religion as the tool of the state. In contrast, for the Mycenaeans the ruler, possibly the *wanax,* may have been the first among his people, the closest to the gods, but more in the sense of the Roman Catholic popes—the leader in ritual. Vessels found resting on a small tripod table beside the hearth at Pylos may have been used for libations, and the channels in the floor beside the throne, used to receive these libations, suggest that the one who sat there performed this rite.

There is argument, however, as to whether or not the occupant of the throne in the *megaron* was the male *wanax.* Iconographical study in recent years has led a number of scholars to argue that it was a woman, queen or priestess, who presided over the rites of the *megaron,* as depicted in the frescoes at Pylos, perhaps in honor of the Mater Theia (Sacred Mother) mentioned in the tablets at Pylos. The primacy of female figures in a number of sacred contexts, notably the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae, supports this view. Again Nestor, the *wanax* of Pylos mentioned in Homer, sacrificed on the beach. Perhaps then the *megaron* with its overtones of hearth, home, and fertility was the province of the goddesses. In classical Greece the hearth symbolized human space. The ritual of the gods, in contrast, probably took place under an open sky, proper for what seem to have been deities of sky (Zeus), of sea, and of earthquake forces that could make the earth ripple in waves as the sea (Poseidon).

"Sacred Workers" There seem to have been a large number of priests and priestesses among the Mycenaeans. They were sometimes rich in terms of the amount of land they held and they were in charge of the "slaves of the god," but which deity they served is never named. Their precise function is not always given; duties mentioned include "guardians of the fire," "sprinklers of the grain," and general "sacred workers."

Burials The wealth and complexity of Mycenaean culture were first recognized by its burials. The deep shaft graves that Schliemann discovered first represent the final product of a long evolution. Earlier graves discovered outside the citadel of Mycenae in a cemetery called Grave Circle B (c. 1600 B.C.E.) were very similar to others that had been made elsewhere in Greece in the preceding period. These were cist graves only about a meter deep; their floors had a surface of pebbles and the walls of some of them were lined with stone slabs. Offerings of pottery, tools, or ornaments were placed beside the body; the cist was then covered with slabs. As time went on the graves in this cemetery became deeper and grave goods richer. The culminating deep shafts of Grave Circle B were large enough to hold two or three burials. A wooden roof a meter above the floor was held by rock ledges or stone walls. The pebble-lined floors show continuity of tradition, but now offerings include jewelry of gold and silver, gold cups, beautifully made Cretan stone vases, weapons, and one electrum face mask. The pottery found in all these graves shows the same clear evolution of style, motif, and technique. Many of the deep-shafted graves had stone markers, some carved with spiral designs, others with depictions of chariots. Thus the emergence of an elite class here antedated the rise of Mycenaean civilization.

Burials of equal wealth from this time are found elsewhere in southern Greece. In Messenia in the southwestern Peloponnese a different kind of tomb was built. Called in Greece *tholos* tombs after their domed beehive shape they are similar to grave mounds or tumuli found elsewhere in Bronze Age Europe in having a burial chamber inside the mound. But they were made not of earth, but of rough

masonry, with corbelled inner chambers, and massive undressed stone blocks forming the lintels above the doorways. *Tholoi* are found at Pylos on the southwest coast of Messenia and elsewhere.

Later tombs were far more elaborately built, cut into hillsides, with long entranceways (*dromoi*), no doubt to furnish the stage for lavish and impressive funeral processions. Corbelled interior vaults were flanked by side chambers for the burial; it is possible that the vaults with their entranceways were used for ritual after the actual funeral.

Survival of Mycenaean Cults in the Dark Age and Beyond The great increase in archaeological evidence in recent decades has considerably modified earlier theories that the collapse of Mycenaean civilization was accompanied by the demise and replacement of their cults, in which goddesses figured so prominently, with the strongly patriarchal religion of the incoming warrior groups, such as those whom later Greeks called Dorians and IONIANS. It has long been known that many sanctuaries of the Geometric period were built on top of Bronze Age sites, but it was assumed this practice constituted a complete takeover of places that continued to have an aura of sanctity, and a replacement of earlier ritual and even deity with those of the conquerors. Some classical Greek myths have been interpreted as allegories of these takeovers. Scholars have postulated that the many myths of Zeus's raping women and goddesses, such as Demeter, are allegories of his usurpation of the shrines of Mycenaean goddesses.

The chronological gap between the Mycenaean use of many shrines and their adoption by later Greeks has been narrowed by new evidence; in some cases cult places continued in use without a break. The cultic activities that were carried out at many shrines are known in much greater detail, and it can be seen that rituals at shrines evolved in a variety of ways as a result of the particular situation at each location and its associated historical contingencies. Developments ranged from preserving continuity of practice to a considerable degree, through various degrees of change, to complete rupture with the past. Rather than resulting from the forcible usurpation of shrines to new uses, changes in ritual, or the apparent abandonment of Mycenaean sites for a period, probably resulted from the socioeconomic disruptions and impoverishment in the first centuries of the Dark Ages, when offerings were unlikely to have been of the sort that survive to be found by archaeologists.

In general the evolution that did take place had more the character of retaining much from the past, such as many of the deities, but giving the old ways and gods a different emphasis. The outdoor rituals of sacrifice and feasting in honor of Poseidon and Zeus seem gradually to have attained greater importance relative to the Mycenaean feast in the *megaron,* as did the accompanying games. For centuries such activities would have left few traces, but the bronze tripod cauldrons dating from the other side of the Dark Ages, which became offerings in great numbers at Olympia and Ithaca, suggest the new emphasis were given to the gatherings. The tripod and cauldron are symbols of the founder of a feast, the chief or lord whose generosity wins him followers. This sort of feasting acts as a cohesive force in tribal societies. The replacement of the hearth of the *megaron* with the portable cauldron as a central symbol for society bespeaks a fundamental shift in viewpoint.

Another feature of post-Mycenaean ritual was the holding of games and feasting in remote locations, such as Olympia and Ithaca, situated at the edge of the Greek world, where elites in their chariots, accompanied by their household, would travel, with distance conferring a certain amount of mystery and prestige. It is not surprising that Zeus, the god of Olympia, who rose to become chief of all gods, was the host of their immortal feasts.

In many ways the history of Mycenaean civilization can be seen as a "dress rehearsal" for later Greek history: the Mediterranean-wide reach of their trade networks, the emergence of cities as power centers, the splendid art and architecture with which they were adorned, and then, possibly, savage and protracted rivalries between cities on a par with those that precipitated the Peloponnesian War, which weakened the Mycenaean system enough to subject it to outside forces (the principal of which in the case of the Greeks would be that of expansionist Rome). Yet the strongly hierarchical, centralized society and economy of the Mycenaeans seem more reminiscent of Egypt; like that of Egypt, too, was their failure to colonize regions with which they had trading contacts. The far-flung colonies of later Greeks and the hoplite citizen armies they developed to protect them helped lead to the creation of the sociopolitical phenomenon that more than any

other distinguished later Greeks from their Mycenaean forebears: namely, democracy.

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N

NADRUVIANS

location:
Russian territory around Kaliningrad, northeastern Poland, and southwestern Lithuania

time period:
Ninth to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Nadruvians (Nadrovians)

The Nadruvians were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe. As are the SKALVIANS living to their north, they are thought to have been linguistically related to the BORUSSIANS to their west, but there is no way to know certainly that their dialects were not closer to those of the LITHUANIANS to their east. Their homeland stretched inland from the Baltic Sea in the southern part of the present-day enclave of Russian territory around Kaliningrad, extending eastward into present-day northeastern Poland and southwestern Lithuania, probably by the ninth century C.E.

Nadruvian territory and that of the Skalvians lay between lands seized by the Germanic military and religious orders, Livonian Brothers of the Sword in the north and the Teutonic Knights to their south in the 13th century. In 1274 the united orders occupied Nadrovia. The Nadruvians eventually became assimilated by the Lithuanians and SLAVS.

Nagnatae

The Nagnatae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day counties of Mayo and Sligo in western Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Namnetes

The Namnetes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Nantes in western France and are discussed as CELTS of GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Portus Namnetum on the site of Nantes became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Nantes takes its name from the tribal name.

Nantuates

The Nantuates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps in present-day France near Lake Geneva between the ALLOBROGES and the VERAGI at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar battled them to open an Alpine pass.

Naristi (Nariscans; Varisti)

The Naristi are classified as a tribe of Germanics grouped among the SUEBI. They lived near the HERMUNDURI in present-day southern Germany by the first century C.E. The ALAMANNI and IUTHUNGI possibly either displaced both groups or absorbed them as part of a new confederation.

Nemetes

The Nemetes are classified as GERMANICS, a tribe grouped among the SUEBI. They are

thought to have lived along the Rhine in present-day western Germany. In 60 B.C.E. they fought under the Suebian leader Ariovistus against the Celtic AEDUI, allies of the ROMANS. The next century some Nemetes reportedly lived in the vicinity of present-day Speyer, Germany.

Nenets (Nenetses; Nentsi; Nentsy; Samoyeds; Samoyedes; Yurak-Samoyeds; Yuraks; Hasaba)

The Nenets are a partly sedentary, partly nomadic people living across a vast area of northern Russia, generally north of the Arctic Circle, stretching from the Kola Peninsula on the White Sea in the west to the base of the Taymyr Peninsula. In Siberian Asia they are centered in the basin of the Ob and Yenisey Rivers. Nenets also inhabit some Arctic Ocean islands, such as Novaya Zemlya. The Nenets were originally known to the Europeans as Samoyeds, but since the 1920s the name of a particular tribe (from the native *n'enay nenyts,* meaning genuine man), the Nenets, has been applied to all of them. Subgroups include the Enets (Entsy; Yenisey), Nganasans (Tavgi), and Selkup. Most of the Nenets' homeland is the treeless plain known as the tundra. In the Ob region their domain extends to forested taiga. The Nenets are one of the many ethnic groups of the modern-day Russians (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

It is thought that sometime before the 12th century C.E. the Nenets moved to northern and western Russia from somewhere to the south in Siberia, perhaps eventually assimilating indigenous inhabitants of the region. On the basis of linguistic studies it is thought that the Nenets are distant relatives of the FINNO-UGRIANS.

LANGUAGE

The Nenets' language, known as Samoyedic, is a branch of the Uralic language family; the other major branch is the Finno-Ugric. There are numerous Samoyedic dialects. That of the Nenet proper, rich in ways of describing nature—such as weather conditions, properties of snow, as well as hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding—has become a kind of lingua franca for northern peoples of Russia. (This is one possible mechanism for the emergence of the ancestral Uralic language: that it emerged as a lingua franca among peoples from Europe and Asia who had migrated north after the last Ice Age and mingled in the Ural region.) West of the Ural Mountains in the European north all the Nenets are bilingual, speaking Russian as well. The Nenets have traditionally used pictographic writing. In 1932 the Nenets written form, using the Bolshaya Zemlya dialect and the Latin alphabet, was established.

HISTORY

Established in their homeland by the 12th century the Nenets in northern Europe were forced to pay tribute to the RUS principality of Novgorod from the 13th to the 15th century. Those in Asia also were forced to pay tribute to the MONGOLS and TATARS. By the end of the 16th century the Russians were expanding their domain, and by 1628 and the building of the Krasnoyarsk fortress on the Upper Yenisey River the various Samoyed tribes were under Russian rule. The Nenets resisted outside control and attacked tax collectors traveling to the north country as well as Russian posts, including Pustozersk, the last time in 1746.

Early attempts by Russian SLAVS to assimilate the Nenets had minimal success. Russian Orthodox Christianity was introduced in the 18th century. In 1824 a Russian Orthodox Christian mission was built at Arkhangelsk at the mouth of the Dvina River on the White Sea. Some assimilation resulted from a growing dependency on Russian merchants for such goods as flour, sugar, tea, tobacco, gunpowder, and liquor. Some merchants, through exorbitant prices, made fortunes in furs, and Nenet families were sometimes ruined. In the 1870s the Russian government relocated Nenets for political reasons, for example, to Novaya Zemlya to prevent NORWEGIANS from settling there.

During the Soviet era collective farms were established among the Nenets, the first in 1929, to dispossess them of their traditional culture. In some areas the Soviets went so far as

NENETS

location:
Northern Russia

time period:
12th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Samoyedic

language:
Samoyedic (Uralic)

Nenets time line

C.E.	
12th century	Nenets have settled in Russian north.
1628	Nenets under Russian rule
1824	Christian mission at Arkhangelsk
1929	First Soviet collective farm among Nenets
1957	Soviets institute program forcing education of Nenets youth at government-run boarding schools.
1991	Dissolution of Soviet Union (USSR) means greater independence for Nenets.

to murder shamans and destroy sacred sites. Some Nenets rebelled, attacking Russian settlements, such as Vorkuta in the northern Ural Mountains. Starting in the 1950s the Soviet government began merging the small collective farms and relocated many families, making it harder for the Nenets to maintain their traditional nomadic way of life. In 1957 the Soviets instituted a program of state-controlled sustenance, in which Nenets youth were in state custody from birth until the end of schooling. They were educated at government-run boarding schools and provided with food, clothing, schoolbooks, and transportation, thus weakening family ties and the ability to earn a traditional living. Reindeer herding was not discouraged, but it was regulated.

Another disruption to the Nenets' way of life has been the industrialization of the north, especially by oil and gas companies, which has resulted in population increases among nonnatives and pollution of their homeland. The Russian north suffers from acid rain, which pollutes the moss and contaminates the human diet through reindeer meat. Nuclear testing on Novaya Zemlya has also created great health risk.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991 and creation of the Russian Federation meant greater independence for the Nenets and freedom of religion, yet their way of life is still under siege as their homelands are transformed. Unemployment has been a growing problem. The life expectancy of Nenets is only 45 to 50 years; alcoholism and suicide have taken their toll.

CULTURE

Economy

Traditional Nenets' economy has revolved around reindeer herds, with a migratory pattern of traveling from coastal regions to the taiga in springtime, then returning in the autumn. Hunting and fishing supplement their diet. A typical herd for a family is 70 to 100 animals. Reindeers provide meat, lard, and blood for food; skins and leather for clothing, tents, harnesses, and lassos; tendons for thread; and horn for tools. In addition to breeding reindeer the Nenets have bred the Samoyed dog to help herd reindeer and pull sleds.

Government and Society

The family unit is the focus of Nenet society, with descent traced through the paternal line and women subordinate. Clans of related families maintain territories, which include common sacred grounds. Special family and clan signs called *tamga* are used to mark property Individuals must marry outside their clan.

Religion

The Nenets' religion is shamanistic. There are several classes of shamans, with specialized abilities.

The total Nenets population is some 40,000 (with the Nenets proper making up about 80 percent). It is estimated that more than half of them still speak their native language, although it is in decline among young people. Reindeer herding is still central to the life of many Nenets. Nenets have one newspaper in their native language, *Nyaryana Ngyrm* (The Red North), published in Salekhard, the capital of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region in Asia.

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Nerusi

The Nerusi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Vence in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Nervii (Nervi; Nervians)

NERVII

location:
Netherlands; Belgium; northern France

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic and Germanic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)

The Nervii are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe, that is, as both CELTS and GERMANICS. They lived in Gaul east of the Scheldt in the present-day Netherlands and Belgium and around Bavay in northern France. They are sometimes grouped among the BELGAE, a subdivision of GAULS. The CEUTRONES, GEIDUNI, GRUDII, and PLEUMOXII were perhaps subgroups. Along with the ATREBATES and VIROMANDUI, the Nervii moved on the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E., but because they had no cavalry and because other allies, the ADUATUCI, did not arrive at the battle in time, they were defeated and virtually annihilated. Some later fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans in 52 B.C.E. Bagacum on the site of present-day Bavay in

northern France became a *civitas* capital in Gaul during the Roman occupation until the fifth century C.E.

Nitiobriges

The Nitiobriges are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Garonne River in present-day southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E.

Nogay (Nogai)

The Nogay are a Turkic-speaking people, living in the northern Caucasus region in southwestern Russia and the Ural region in western Russia, as well as in the Crimea in southern Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Poland, and parts of Asia, especially Turkey. Those living in the Russian republics of Dagestan and Kalmykia are called Qara or Black Nogay; those in the province of Stavropol are the Aq or White Nogay.

Originally nomads the Nogay are thought to be descendants of TURKICS traveling with the MONGOLS in their invasion of Europe in the 13th century C.E.; they are associated with a Mongol general, known as Nogay, who ruled one of the Mongol hordes. Their Aralo-Caspian dialect of Northwestern (Kipchak; Ogur) Turkic is shared by peoples to the east in Siberia.

In 1554–56 the Russian SLAVS under Czar Ivan IV invaded their territory, and the Nogay horde split in two. One group, the Great Horde, settled along the Lower Volga River; the Little Horde occupied lands to the southwest toward the Black Sea. Some among them united with the KAZAKHS. Remnants of the two hordes reunited as TATARS in 1634.

In the 19th century with further Russian expansion the Nogays dispersed for the most part. Most of the Nogay are Sunni Muslims, although some living among the Tatars in western Russia are Russian Orthodox Christians.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Nori (Norisci; Noricae)

The Nori are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the Alps within the kingdom of Noricum in present-day Austria. They were part of a powerful coalition of tribes of CELTS in the second and first centuries B.C.E. with the AMBIDRAVI, RAETI, and TAURISCI. In about 90 B.C.E. a Roman merchant colony was established at Virunum, the capital of the Nori. Noricum was conquered by the ROMANS under Emperor Augustus in 15 B.C.E.

Normans (Northmen)

The Normans were originally VIKINGS (their name a variation of Norsemen or Northmen) from Scandinavia, who settled in the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom—held by other GERMANICS, the FRANKS—in present-day northern France, now known as the province of Normandy. The Viking chief who founded Normandy in the 10th century C.E., Rollo (see sidebar, p. 561), was from present-day Norway, although more of his followers were Danes than Norwegians (or Swedes). The Normans settled other regions as well, including the British Isles, Italy, and Sicily. The name is sometimes applied to peoples of the region of Nomandy in France but is more often used with historical context.

ORIGINS

Viking raids on the territory of present-day France began in the late eighth century C.E. According to the *Royal Frankish Annals* or the *Annales regni Francorum,* an anonymous contemporary account of Frankish political and military history from 741 to 849, the first raid on Frankish lands took place in 799. Raiding had become intense by the mid-ninth century in the Seine basin, beginning with an attack on St.-Wandrill in 841.

By about 900 the Vikings had secured a permanent foothold on Frankish soil in the valley of the Lower Seine River and their raids were crippling the Frankish economy and even the fabric of society. In 911 King Charles III the Simple of the Franks negotiated the Treaty of St.-Clair-sur-Epte with Rollo, who had emerged as a significant personality among the Vikings, ceding him the land around the mouth of the Seine and present-day Rouen.

LANGUAGE

The Normans originally spoke a variety of Scandinavian Germanic dialects. By the second generation of the Vikings in Normandy use of their native tongues, at least among the nobility, seems to have been declining rapidly, because William Longsword, Rollo's successor, had to send his son to Denmark to learn Danish. The Normans spoke dialects based on the languages spoken in the lands they had settled, such as Anglo-Norman (a French dialect

NOGAY

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia and eastern and central Europe

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Kipchak (Turkic)

NORMANS

location:
Normandy (France); British Isles; Italy; Sicily

time period:
911 to 1204 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic; Anglo-Norman; Italian

Normans time line

C.E.	
799	First Norman raid in Frankish lands
911	Founding of Normandy by Rollo the Viking
1066	Battle of Hastings between Normans and Anglo-Saxons; William the Conqueror crowned king of England.
1086	*Domesday Book,* a report on Norman economy, is published.
1092	Normans capture city of Carlisle in Scotland.
1130	Roger II creates kingdom of Sicily.
1169	Normans land in Ireland.
1202	French capture Normandy.

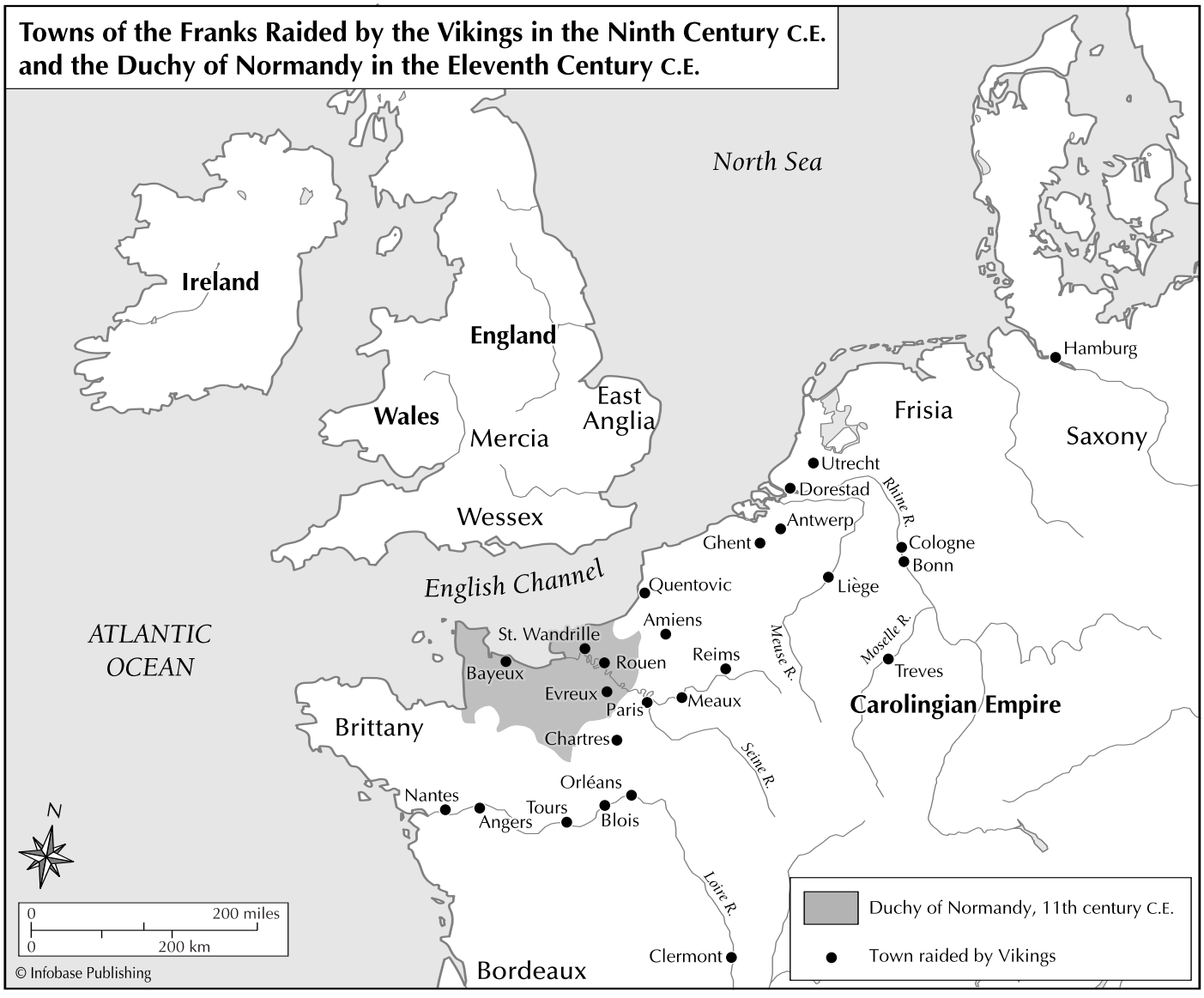
developed in England after the Norman Conquest) and Italian. Anglo-Norman became the vernacular of the court, the law, the church, schools, universities, parliament, and later municipalities and trade.

HISTORY

Normandy

Rollo, the first Norman ruler, set about carving out a much larger sphere of influence for himself, which became known as the Duchy of Normandy. Afterward Normandy experienced little interference from Frankish royalty; Norman rulers acted as kings in their homeland even though they were part of the Frankish domain.

The fact that Scandinavian place-names are scattered throughout Normandy may attest more to Viking administrative control than to actual Viking settlement. Danish place-names predominate in eastern Normandy, the area first ceded to Rollo; in the west names show a



Celtic influence, suggesting that Irish-Norse immigrants, and perhaps others from British Orkney and the Hebrides, may have relocated in Normandy. In any case the colony seems to have received repeated influxes of immigrants from all over the Viking world.

The Normans adopted many of the customs of the Franks. The few pagan Viking graves found in Normandy imply either a rapid adoption of Christianity among the Vikings or an imitation of Frankish burial customs.

The Normans soon expanded southward into what became known as Lower Normandy. Over the next centuries Norman counts or dukes sought to expand territory beyond Normandy.

England

The military conquest of England was led by William (William the Conqueror), duke of Normandy (see sidebar, p. 562). William believed he had been named as heir to the English Crown by Edward (Edward the Confessor). Edward was connected to the Norman ruling class through his mother, Emma, the daughter of Richard II le Bon of Normandy. He and his parents had been exiled in Normandy after the Danish invasion of 1013; Edward formed many ties there and on ascending to the throne angered many ANGLO-SAXONS by surrounding himself with Normans. In the end—whatever promise he had made to William—on his deathbed in 1066 he named Harold (Harold Godwinson), the powerful earl of Wessex, as his heir.

On Harold's coronation William (now called William I) began assembling an army. He received a stroke of good luck in his bid for the kingdom when Harold was faced with an invading army led by Harold III Sigurdsson, king of Norway. Harold managed to defeat Sigurdsson at Stamford Bridge on September 25, 1066. Two days later some 5,000 knights under William crossed the English Channel and landed at Pevensey Bay on September 28. The force headed for Hastings. Harold's troops marching southward, although numbering some 7,000, were poorly trained and armed (at least by Norman standards). At dawn on October 14 William led a surprise attack, with effective cavalry charges. In what is known as the Battle of Hastings Harold's army was routed, and he was killed by an arrow.

William then moved on London and forced a surrender. He was soon crowned king of England. Over the next years he suppressed a number of revolts by the Anglo-Saxon nobility, including one in Northumbria in 1069–70. He had a number of castles built in the English countryside to establish his rule, which, by 1071, was complete.

Scotland

With time the Normans extended their rule over much of Scotland. The king of the SCOTS, David I, encouraged Norman settlement there. King William II (William Rufus) captured the city of Carlisle in 1092 and had Carlisle Castle built.

Wales

No other people in the British Isles posed as much of a challenge to the Normans as did the WELSH. Before the conquest Ralph, the Norman nephew of Edward the Confessor, twice tried to invade Wales and was twice repelled by the counterattacks of Llewlyn ap Gruffudd, king of Gwynedd and Powys, who was attempting to unify Wales under his rule. Although Harold of England had inflicted a decisive defeat on Llewlyn in 1063, William's victory over Harold at Hastings seems not to have inspired him to take on the Welsh, whom Harold had bested. William dealt with the Welsh by setting up

Rollo: Founder of Normandy

Rollo, whose actual name may have been Hrólfr, was a Viking chief probably from present-day Norway. Most of his followers, however, were said to be Danes, Vikings who set out on their raiding and trading expeditions from territory that is now Denmark, also the homeland of the majority of Vikings who settled the British Isles.

Sometime in the early 10th century C.E. Rollo led a band of Vikings to the mouth of the Seine in present-day northwestern France and established a settlement there that became a staging area for raids upriver, including on Paris and Chartres. In 911 to stop the raids King Charles III the Simple of the Franks agreed to cede Rollo the land around the mouth of the Seine and present-day Rouen. Part of the agreement was that Rollo accept Charles as his king and convert to Christianity. He reportedly was baptized in 912, assuming the Christian name Robert.

Although nominally a duchy of France, the territory was ruled by the Norman dukes as an independent kingdom. Rollo and subsequent dukes gained additional lands. By the 11th century the Duchy of Normandy had become one of the most powerful regions in western Europe, and it helped shape the history of other lands, including the British Isles and Sicily.

Rollo was succeeded by his son, William Longsword, at least by 933, according to the historical record. William the Conqueror, who led Normans to the British Isles, was a direct descendant. A century later Dudo of Saint-Quentin wrote a chronicle of the dukes of Normandy, *De moribus et actis pimorum Normanniae ducum* (completed c. 1015–26). This work is considered historically unreliable, and the facts around Rollo's life remain clouded. Yet it helps to convey the notion that by that time Rollo had achieved legendary status as the founder of Normandy and the first Norman duke.

earldoms in the Welsh Marches, a border buffer zone between England and Wales. For 200 years after the conquest Welsh leaders carried on a guerrilla war with the Marcher earls and repeatedly thwarted Anglo-Norman attempts at conquest. During this period the Welsh experienced the fullest flowering of their culture. Finally in 1282 Edward I accomplished the annexation of Wales. In an effort at diplomacy that gives a sense of the importance of Wales at this time, Edward had his son—later Edward II, who had been born at Caernarvon Castle—made Prince of Wales in 1301; the English custom of entitling the king's eldest son Prince of Wales has lasted to the present day.

William I: Conqueror and Reformer

William, called "the Bastard" because he was the illegitimate son of Robert I and Arletta, a tanner's daughter, was born in 1027 C.E. at Falaise in northwestern France. At the age of eight upon his father's death he received the Duchy of Normandy. A council consisting of noblemen and William's guardians ruled Normandy for a number of years, during which a number of barons revolted. In 1047 the 20-year-old William with the aid of his feudal lord, France's King Henry I, pacified rebel forces, then proceeded to consolidate his strength through further military action and diplomacy.

William may have visited England in 1051 or 1052; at that time his cousin, King Edward the Confessor, may have promised to name him as his successor. William reinforced his claim to the throne by marrying Matilda, daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the Great. William's army included some 7,000 soldiers, including infantry armed with crossbows and cavalry. His growing power threatened King Henry of France, who unsuccessfully led armies against the Normans in 1054 and 1058. Upon the death of Edward (who had named his successor on his deathbed) the royal council elected Harold Godwinson, earl of Wessex, as king. William raised an army and transport fleet and sailed for England, where he defeated Harold at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. He then led his army to London, forcing a surrender, and was crowned king on Christmas Day. He had to suppress a number of Anglo-Saxon revolts over the next years, which he did with utmost ruthlessness in a scorched-earth policy.

William, in addition to being a great military strategist, carried out extensive political, economic, and religious reforms. Under the Anglo-Saxons the earls had independence and regional power. William dissolved the earldoms and distributed the lands to his Norman knights. He reorganized the feudal system to make it similar to that in Normandy, in which landholders swore greater loyalty to him than to their separate lords. At the same time he recognized the value of some Anglo-Saxon governing institutions and retained them. He ordered an economic survey of England, which created the *Domesday Book,* which determined what revenues to collect from his subjects. And he established separate ecclesiastical courts.

In 1087 during a campaign against King Philip I of France William was injured in a riding accident at Maintes. He died at Rouen and was buried in the abbey of Saint Stephen's at Caen, which he and his wife had founded as penance for marrying without the pope's permission. As he had instructed, his son Robert succeeded him in Normandy and his son William (William II) in England.



In this bust portrait from 1732, William the Conqueror holds a sword; a vignette shows Britannia in supplication to him. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-120673])*

Ireland

The Normans first invaded Ireland in the 12th century. By that time the Vikings who had settled in Ireland in the ninth century were no longer in power and lived under the rule of native IRISH. A dispute arose over royal succession, with the Viking population supporting Roderic (Rory O'Connor) of Connaught in his attempt to seize the throne from Dermot MacMurrough, the king of Leinster. MacMurrough offered Richard FitzGilbert de Clare (Strongbow), earl of Strigoil, a share of his kingdom in return for Norman military help. Normans landed at Bannow Bay in Ireland in 1169 and soon sacked the Viking town of Wexford. De Clare, or Strongbow, led a larger force to Ireland the next year and captured the Viking city of Waterford. He then married Dermot's daughter, Aoife. After the Normans also captured Dublin Rory O'Connor withdrew his forces. The king of England at the time, Henry II, soon traveled to Ireland to affirm his sovereignty, threatened by the growing power of Richard FitzGilbert de Clare. Dublin became the capital of the Lordship of Ireland.

The Normans continued their expansion, seizing coastal settlements, then building castles and founding towns inland. As in France the Normans adopted native customs and intermarried with the native population.

Italy and Sicily

The first Normans of any numbers arrived in Sicily and southern Italy early in the 11th century as mercenaries serving the local nobility in battle against Arabs and BYZANTINES. Some of them eventually established their own principalities. Among these were a number of sons of Tancred de Hauteville: William Iron Arm, Drogo de Hauteville, and Humphrey de Hauteville. In 1053 Humphrey defeated Pope Leo IX, who attempted to enforce papal rights in southern Italy. In 1059 Humphrey's brother



The Norman Gate stands at Windsor Castle in New Windsor, Berkshire, England. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-83898])*

and successor, Robert Guiscard (Robert de Hauteville), was invested by Pope Nicholas II with the duchies of Apulia and Calabria and the island of Sicily, although Sicily remained unconquered. Although in feudal terms this meant that Robert was a vassal of the pope and had sworn fealty to him, as a practical matter Robert had freedom to do as he liked. In 1085 Pope Gregory VII called on Robert for assistance against Byzantine forces marching on Rome. Robert, however, used this as an excuse to let his knights sack the city, and Gregory found himself a virtual prisoner of the Normans. The importance of the papal grant of Italian lands lay rather in the imprimatur or seal of approval it placed on the Normans' legitimacy, upstart foreigners though they were, giving them respectability in the eyes of the international community. Robert completed the Norman conquest of southern Italy. Still another brother, Roger I, conquered Sicily. In 1130 Roger's son, Roger II, founded the kingdom of Sicily, which included Norman possessions in southern Italy. The reconquest of Sicily, which had been in Muslim hands since the ninth century, further enhanced the reputation of the Normans as being in the vanguard of the knights of Christendom and the champions of the true faith.

The Normans soon adopted Italian speech and customs. Medieval Normans were notable for the great authority given their dukes, their enthusiasm for conquest, and their control of the economic and social aspects of conquered areas. Italy, which had not yet recovered from the devastation brought about by the sixth-century campaigns of the Byzantines of the Eastern Roman Empire to retake the Western Roman Empire, actually benefited from the economic and social organization the Normans created.

Normans in the Crusades

The ambitious plans of the Italian Normans against the Byzantines were a factor that led to the Crusades from the late 11th century through the late 13th century, to recover the Holy Land in the eastern Mediterranean in the Near East from Muslim Arabs. When Pope Urban successfully called for the First Crusade in 1095, the Normans were among the first to respond and contributed some 10,000 knights to the enterprise. However, Roger I of Sicily took no part in the crusade; Bohemond I of Taranto played the leading role among Norman Sicilians in the crusade, after the city of Antioch had fallen, winning a dispute with the Frankish leader, Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, for sole possession. Bohemond refused to hand over the city to the Byzantines, to whom the Frankish crusaders had sworn fealty in the previous winter in return for military support. Bohemond declared the alliance null and void because the Byzantine emperor had begun withdrawing his troops from Antioch. Apparently regarding this as no more than a strategem (had they known it, worthy of a descendant of Odin the Cunning), the Byzantines regarded Bohemond and Westerners in general as potential enemies who could not be trusted. Robert II of Normandy, on the other hand, left the Holy Land with his knights, among the most battle-tested of the crusaders, as soon as Jerusalem was taken. Ultimately Godfrey de Bouillion, the Frankish duke of Lower Lorraine, became king of Jerusalem, and his Frankish vassals played the most important role in keeping the Holy Land safe for Christendom.

What Became of the Normans?

The last independent ruler of Normandy was a son of Henry II of England, John Lackland, who lost Normandy in 1202, when Philippe Auguste, a king of the French, invaded the duchy to avenge John's murder of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany. (With the accession of Henry II to the throne of England in 1154 the rule over Normandy of the descendants of

Rollo ended, because Henry was a Plantagenet from Anjou in France.) After 1204 Normandy was under French rule, first as a duchy and later as a province with its own governing body at Rouen. Normans were drawn increasingly into the French sphere of influence.

In England the end of the Normans as a distinct cultural group can be distinguished in different ways. In a strict sense the Norman dynasty of English kings ended when King Stephen, the last descendant of William I to rule, was forced in 1153 to accept as his heir Henry Plantagenet of Anjou, who became Henry II; Stephen died the next year. The use of the French dialect known as Anglo-Norman is another marker for the continued existence of the Normans. For the English aristocracy, most of whom were of Norman descent, the use of Anglo-Norman became a test of gentility. (On the other hand contemporary accounts indicate that some Anglo-Normans, even of the second generation after the Norman Conquest could no longer understand their original language.) It was introduced into Wales and Ireland and used to a limited extent in Scotland. The latest literary works in Anglo-Norman were written in the reign of Henry IV in the early 15th century. Alienation against France during the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) sparked an increasing use of English and an increasing sense of separateness from the French. Many English people today recognize their Norman roots; the strong admixture of words of French origin in the English language contributes much to its richness and complexity, and the Norman heritage is an indelible part of the distinctive character of England.

In 1198 Frederick II von Hohenstaufen, a descendant of the last Norman king of Sicily through a female line, became king of Sicily as Frederick I. But Frederick identified more with Germany and spent little time in Sicily. Sicilian independence ended with the defeat of the last Hohenstaufen at the Battle of Benevento in 1266. The Angevin dynasty of France ruled the island from Naples until 1282, when a bloody uprising, the War of the Sicilian Vespers, expelled Angevin troops and nobles from Sicily.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

Domesday Book The Normans, as were the Vikings, were as deeply involved in trade as in war; their first approaches to France during the eighth century had been as fur and silver traders. A remarkable document created by the Normans in England 20 years after the Norman conquest was the *Domesday Book,* a survey, incredibly detailed for the time, of the economic resources of Norman England. It provides an invaluable window on life in 11th-century England. It is also a tribute to the energy and perspicacity of the Normans, and their understanding that economic and mercantile success depended on reliable information.

The *Domesday Book* was commissioned in December 1085 by William the Conqueror. The first draft, completed in August 1086, contained records for 13,418 settlements in English counties south of the Ribble and Tees Rivers (the border with Scotland at the time) and recorded population, acreage, type and value of land, buildings, plows, income, and taxes.

The manors were diverse in size but of the same type—compact, centered around a church, and separated by open land. Instead settlements in most areas of late-11th-century England followed an ancient pattern of isolated farms, hamlets, and tiny villages interspersed with fields and scattered over most of the cultivable land. As in the Iron Age over time the settlements gradually shifted or were abandoned or reclaimed.

Legislative Measures Further evidence of the efforts of the Normans to promote economic activity are laws that were enacted by the monarchy. Beginning with the reign of Henry I (1100–35), who realized the importance of a reliable monetary system, and continuing with that of Henry II (1154–89), English coinage was regulated in terms of its physical size and shape.

Henry I and his advisers believed in granting tax relief to stimulate economic activity, as evidenced by a law recognizing the city of London's potential as an economic powerhouse. Previously the city had been taxed by the royal sheriff; now its citizens were to choose their own sheriff. Sweeping exemptions from many taxes were also granted.

Growth through Warfare The appetite for wealth of the nobility also resulted from the increasing sophistication—and as a result, cost—of warfare: the panoply of the Norman knight, specially bred warhorse and heavy armor, and the Normans' program of castle building. Warfare probably also affected the economy, even as it does today, through the technological advances it fostered in working metal for armor and weapons and building cas-

tles, and through the employment it provided to builders and metalworkers.

Government and Society

As had happened earlier with the Germanic groups who overthrew the Roman Empire (*see* ROMANS), the Vikings' invasion of new territories caused the breakup of tribal groupings and allegiances rooted in the rural, relatively unstratified communities of Scandinavia. In a further development of the process by which the Viking warrior class first arose during the last centuries of the Roman Empire the social instability accompanying expansion into foreign lands fostered the emergence of new, more powerful war leaders whose attraction transcended tribal and national identities, such as the Norwegian Rollo, who led Danish warriors, who was able to gain followers through his success as a war leader and the award of the spoils of war and land. For such leaders to remain in power, more or less continual warfare was necessary, leading to an increased militarization of society and increased stratification, as warriors and war leaders differed more and more from farmers and traders. It also led to the Normans' further expansion beyond Normandy in search of new military horizons.

By the 11th century Normandy had become one of the most highly feudalized states in western Europe. The Norman dukes were notable for the persistence and tenacity with which they demanded and eventually won a very high degree of feudal control over the lords who owed them allegiance (called vassals).

From the earlier time of Rollo, however, the dukes of Normandy, called in Rollo's time *jarls,* endured repeated crises in their relations with both Frankish kings, their overlords, and their own vassals. In 1035 and again in 1047 there were rebellions among the Viking settlers, who remained fiercely loyal to their tradition of independence and to paganism, countering the efforts of the Norman leaders since Rollo to promote Christianity. Later ducal authority under William the Conqueror finally triumphed and the vassals of the duke were under his control. As had happened in Scandinavia, this consolidation of power caused many Norman lords to seek their fortunes abroad, either hiring themselves out as mercenaries or engaging in wars of conquest.

The Normans combined a ready ability to imitate foreign customs and institutions with a boundless self-confidence, which allowed them to adapt to their own purposes the institutions they found in newly won territories. Thus in southern Italy and Sicily, although their control was based on faith in their own military superiority, their strategic use of castles and harbors, and their importation of feudalism, they also adopted the highly advanced and largely literate techniques of governing, including the use of bureaucracies, developed by the Byzantines and the Muslims. In England the Normans imported their own style of feudalism and their own ideas of strong personal government, fiscal, and religious institutions. But there, too, they adopted many of the existing Anglo-Saxon institutions and customs, such as a centralized and powerful monarchy, a king's council, a royal seal and writing office, the shire system, sheriffs, and a revenue system of cash payments from the produce of royal estates and of a direct tax on the landowning class. The Normans introduced the exchequer, itinerant justices, and the practice of sworn inquests. They also reorganized the church in England. William the Conqueror's archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, established a system of ecclesiastical courts separate from civil courts and raised the standards of monasteries.

Military Practices

Although fighting on horseback was not native to the seagoing SCANDINAVIANS, the Normans soon mastered cavalry warfare as it was then practiced in continental Europe. Mounted on a large and powerful horse, wearing the heavy mail hauberk that was standard among the warriors of northwestern Europe, protected by a conical helmet and a kite-shaped shield, and armed with a long, broad-bladed sword and a slender lance, the Norman knights proved on countless occasions that their effectiveness in turning the tide of battle far exceeded their actual numbers. The critical inventions that made the knight so formidable were the saddle with high sides front and back, which held the rider firmly on his horse, and stirrups, both of which enabled him to incorporate the full weight and momentum of his horse in the thrust of his spear. The skill of Norman knights was due to the importance that the Norman knightly class attached to the training of young warriors.

Dwellings and Architecture

One reason for the Normans' drive for wealth was their building program of castles, cathedrals, and abbeys. Castle building was not a Norman invention, but the Normans became expert in the use of the simple yet extremely

effective motte-and-bailey castle, constructed of a steep-sided, roughly circular mound, partly constructed with soil from its surrounding ditch, topped by a timber palisade and tower, surrounded by a ditched and palisaded enclosure (bailey). These small and easily made fortifications, which complemented warfare conducted in open country by small units of cavalry, became the hallmark of Norman penetration and conquest. Castles were not just defensive structures because, in conjunction with cavalry, they could be part of offensive efforts as their garrison ranged out by day to strike their enemies and retired for the night or for recuperation from battle. Throughout Normandy were castles of dukes and vassals; such a network of fortifications gave the Normans a military supremacy that may be compared to the air supremacy of the modern age.

In England after the Norman Conquest the new manorial lords put their physical mark on the landscape in part by rebuilding the parish churches in the Norman style. The earliest architectural feature in the church in a town called Holt, an opening in the bell tower wall, may have been constructed within 10 years of the conquest. Its Saxon characteristics probably indicate that it was built by native stonemasons under orders from the Norman lord. The nave was constructed about 1100 to 1110, and the chancel arch in 1120. The font was carved by the same mason as the arch.

The Norman buildings in England and France were largely Romanesque, in the style of the Romanesque architecture of Lombardy in Italy, which became influential in northern France and Germany in the 11th century. Initially inspired by Roman building, the driving force in the development of the Romanesque was the importance of vaulting. In contrast to earlier styles, Romanesque buildings often had massive barrel vaults, making the reinforcement of load-bearing walls necessary to bear the lateral outward thrust. The frequent presence of galleries above the aisles, sometimes with half-barrel vaults, probably solved this problem of abutment. The limited number of wall openings grew out of the same concern; it contributed to the sense of massiveness and the sober yet somberly impressive light. Churches, abbeys, and castles, the principal works of the Normans, have massive proportions, sparsely adorned masonry, and frequent use of the round arch. The development of the style took place chiefly during the period from 1066 to 1154, a time of great building activity. In England this style superseded that of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

Other Technologies

Plows of the early Middle Ages had hardwood cutting edges, which necessitated a number of passes to break up the soil sufficiently. In the 12th century the iron plow became widely used. In addition to its iron plowshare, or blade, it had a moldboard that turned over the soil as it was plowed upward. The harness collar, which enabled horses and other animals to pull heavier loads without being strangled, also made farming more efficient.

Literature

A distinctive body of literature was written in England by Normans in the French dialect known as Anglo-Norman from about 1100 to 1250 and initiated at the court of Henry I. The most frequent literary forms composed were histories, sacred and secular biographies, and homilies. Romance and fiction were relatively rare. Geoffrey Gaimer wrote a two-part history of England, *Histoire des Bretons* and *Estorie des Engles* (c. 1140–50), in verse. Philippe of Thaün, the earliest known Anglo-Norman poet, wrote the moral allegory the *Bestiaire* (c. 1121).

Religion

Just as the Normans fully embraced and promoted feudalism and were masters of cavalry and castle warfare, so they also became champions of Christianity and religious orthodoxy, and they underwent a great religious and ecclesiastical revival in the 11th century. The Normans' faith became central to their identity; *Deus Aie* (God help us) became their battle cry. A carryover from paganism was the belief that one should make sacrifice and offerings to win God's favor; they built monasteries in part to house monks who would pray for them and absolve them of the sin of killing in war that was such an integral part of their life. Some of these monasteries became renowned centers of Benedictine life and learning.

Another expression of religious fervor was the pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land. This enthusiasm for pilgrimages was one of the factors that led to both the Norman conquest of southern Italy and participation in the Crusades.

The exploits of the Normans, like those of their Viking forebears, were made possible by conditions at a particular moment in history, a win-

dow of opportunity between the fall of the Roman Empire and the emergence of powerful and organized states in the 12th and 13th centuries. The disorder in Europe let loose by the disappearance of the Roman center of gravity allowed highly organized groups such as the Vikings and the Normans to have an impact far greater than their actual numbers. The Carolingian Empire was too backward-looking, having been founded on political principles that had become irrelevant, to survive the demise of Charlemagne for long. The principle of political organization that would allow the aggregation of power in the future was to be that of feudalism; it is ironic, and yet unsurprising, that the Normans themselves did so much to promote and deploy this principle, which, in the end, would draw the independent Norman barons into orbit around the monarchies of England (in the case of England held by royal dynasties of Norman descent) and France and cause them to lose their separate identity.

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Norsavi *See* Semnones.

Norse *See* Vikings.

Norsemen *See* Vikings.

Norwegians *See* Norwegians: nationality; Vikings.

Norwegians: nationality (people of Norway)

GEOGRAPHY

Norway is flanked by Sweden to the east, by the Norwegian Sea to the west, by the Barents Sea to the north, and by the North Sea and the Skagerrak Strait to the south. Additional Norwegian territory includes Jan Mayen, a volcanic island; Svalbard, an archipelago in the Arctic Ocean; the unoccupied Bouvet Island of the Atlantic Ocean; and Queen Maud Land in the Antarctic continent. About one-third of Norway lies north of the Arctic Circle. The country's land area is 148,896 square miles. Norway's terrain is generally mountainous; rolling hills and valleys are found in the east. Low plains make central Norway agriculturally important. To the south lie the Dovrefjell and Langfjell Mountain Ranges. Norway's highest peak, Galdhøpiggen (8,100 feet), is located in the Langfjell Mountains. To the west of the mountains lies Jostedalsbreen, Europe's largest glacier field. Sognafjorden, situated along Norway's west coastline, is the deepest and longest of the many fjords, about 5,000 feet deep and 127 miles long. Sharp plateaus, such as Dovrefjell, Hardangervidda, and Finnmarksvidde, rise up from the coast. The longest river, the Glåma, and largest lake, Lake Mjosa, are both in the southeast.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Norway was first united under King Harold I in about 900 C.E. during the age of the Vikings. However, the union dissolved by 940. Norway was not reunited until 1015 during the reign of Olaf II, Harold's son. In the late 13th century Norway gained control of Iceland. In 1397 Norway, Denmark, and Sweden joined under the Union of Kalmar. When Sweden pulled out of the union in 1523, Norway became a province of Denmark. Under Danish rule Norway lost Iceland to Sweden.

During the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815) Denmark joined the French in a campaign against Britain. Upon defeat Denmark was forced to cede Norway to Sweden (1814). Norway resisted this transfer and attempted to establish an independent government. The Swedish monarchy was forced on Norway, which was however, acknowledged as an independent kingdom in personal union with

NORWEGIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Norway; Kingdom of Norway (Kongeriket Norge)

derivation of name:
From the old Norse root *northr* and *veg,* "northernway"; also *rike,* "kingdom"

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Oslo

language:
Bokmål and Landsmål are two idioms of the official language Norwegian; Saami and Finnish are also spoken.

religion:
About 86 percent of the population are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; religious minorities include Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims.

earlier inhabitants:
Saami; tribal Germanics; Vikings

demographics:
Ethnically people of Norway are homogeneous; several thousand Saami and Finns (some of them known as Kvens) make up the largest minority groups; others include Swedes, Danes, Americans, Pakistanis, Britons, Vietnamese, Chileans, and Iranians.

Norwegians: nationality time line

C.E.

c. 870–c. 930 Norwegian Vikings colonize Iceland.

880s Harold I Fairhair campaigns to unite Norway.

1380 Danish king Olaf II unites Denmark and Norway.

1397 Queen Margaret of Denmark unites Denmark, Sweden, and Norway under Union of Kalmar.

1536 Norway becomes province of Denmark.

1567 Humanist Absalon Pederssøn Beyer writes about Norwegian history and national consciousness.

1717 Man of letters Ludvig Holberg becomes professor at University of Copenhagen.

1739 "Norlands Trumpet" (The trumpet of Nordland), poem by Petter Dass, is published.

1772 *Kiaerlighed uden strømper* (Love without stocking), play by Johan Herman Wessel, opens.

1813–1989 University of Oslo Library serves as National Library.

1814 Under new constitution Norway is ruled by limited monarchy; Norway is ceded to Sweden by Denmark.

1826 Johan Christian Clausen Dahl, professor at Dresden Art Academy, returns home to paint Norwegian landscapes.

1837 Poets Peter Christian Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe collect Norwegian folktales and publish them as *Nor.*

1857–62 Henrik Johan Ibsen serves as director of Norwegian Theater in Oslo.

1879 Nasjonalgalleriet (National Gallery) is founded in Oslo.

1884 Norwegian parliament gains power.

1888 Edvard Hagerup Grieg writes music for Henrik Ibsen's poetic drama *Peer Gynt,* written in 1867.

1899 Norwegian National Theatre is founded in Oslo.

1903 Poet, novelist, and dramatic Björnstjerne Martinius Björnson wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1905 Norway gains full independence.

1914–18 Norway remains neutral during World War I.

1919 Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra is founded.

1920 Novelist Knut Hamsun (Knut Pedersen) wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1928 Novelist Sigrid Undset wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1931–33 Norway claims coast of Greenland.

1939–45 During World War II Germany occupies Norway; Norwegian government flees to London.

1945 Germany surrenders; King Håkon VII returns from exile; Norway joins United Nations (UN).

1949 Norway joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

1959 Norway joins European Free Trade Association.
Norwegian Opera opens in Oslo.

1995 Norway fails to ratify accession treaty to European Union (EU).

2003 National Museum of Art, Design and Architecture is established as foundation, merging former National Museum of Art (National Gallery), National Museum of Applied Art in Oslo, Norwegian Museum of Architecture, and National Museum of Contemporary Art.

2004 National Library is reorganized as one unit in two locations, Oslo and Mo i Rana.

Sweden and allowed its own constitution and legislature.

In 1905 Norway declared itself an independent monarchy; Sweden soon recognized that status, Norway suffered from German occupation during World War II (1939–45) but immediately restored its monarchy on Nazi defeat in 1945.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Modern Norwegian cultural identity has been marked by the resurgence in interest in the culture of the ancestral Vikings and in folk music and art that began with the romantic nationalist movement of the latter 19th century. The composer Edvard Hagerup Grieg, with his evocative arrangements of Norwegian folk music both for piano and for orchestra, brought out a sense of the Norwegian national character, sometimes lusty and spirited, as in the *Norwegian Dances,* at others dour or wistful. Parts of the music of his *Peer Gynt* suite, for example, "In the Hall of the Mountain King," evoke the dark underside of this northern people's traditional belief in trolls and other malevolent spirits that haunt the long winter nights. This folk consciousness informed the planning of the entertainments during the Winter Olympics in Lilliehammer, which included an elaborate staging of a battle between spirit folk.

In the 20th century Norwegian folk musicians have returned to the use of traditional instruments and styles, instead of adapting folk tunes to symphonic style. The so-called Hardanger fiddle (*hardingfele*) has been called the national instrument of Norway and provides an important focus for the revival of traditional music. Dating at least from the 17th century (and possibly earlier) the Hardanger fiddle differs from the violin primarily in having eight strings, four of which are not directly played but add sonority to the instrument through their sympathetic vibrations. It is used primarily for dance music. Many Norwegian folktales tell of fiddle players in communion with the supernatural, either receiving their powers from the spirit world or captured by trolls to perform for them.

Modern Norwegians have engaged in lively debate about what it means to be Norwegian. (Other groups, such as the SAAMI and KVENS, maintain their identity as minorities.) The stereotype—accepted by many Norwegians themselves—is that they are mainly a nation of fishermen and farmers who live close to nature and are simple, bucolic, gauche, and awkward when abroad among strangers or in cities. This is, of course, a vast oversimplification and largely untrue—many modern Norwegians are as cosmopolitan and urban as any other Europeans, and like other Europeans have been greatly influenced by American mass culture. They joke that the Norwegian national costume is not the *bunader*—finely embroidered red vests and white aprons for women and black jackets with green piping and pewter buttons and knee breeches for men—but blue jeans. Yet the myth persists of Norway as a country of people living and skiing in rural isolation amid dramatic fiords and great mountains.



Norwegians stand atop Pulpit Rock near Stavanger at Norway's Lyse Fjord in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-93696])*

There is some accuracy in the stereotype, at least in the recent past. Norway has had neither a strong landed gentry nor a solid urban bourgeoisie, and the vast majority of Norwegians were farmers or fishermen right up to the early 20th century. This has fostered a strong sense of individualism and egalitarianism and a dislike of central authority. Norwegian self-government is marked by the need for consensus and an ideology that demands a highly exacting degree of equality and fairness. The influence of these values on the administration of the Norwegian social welfare state, which temper its central planning aspect by giving due regard to the needs and priorities of localities, has caused analysts to consider it a laboratory for the future.

Some Norwegians point to the downside of being "farmers in the city"—of lacking a well-

rooted urban culture and of having a fundamentally rural outlook on city life. Their compatriots, they say, tend to lack the flexibility, tolerance for difference, and perspective typical of city dwellers in other countries. The debate over "Norwegianness" includes a critique of the nationalistic version of recent history written by some Norwegian historians, especially Norway's role in World War II. Overly glowing accounts of this role have succumbed to an uncritical and exaggerated patriotism strongly tainted with mythological and national ideology, skeptics say.

It is also pointed out that much of what is considered traditional Norwegian culture is really a construct by the urban bourgeoisie of the 19th century, who hailed the culture of the mountain peasantry—in an idealized version—as the one true Norwegian cultural identity, ignoring the fact that the cultural identity of any people is constantly evolving through time.

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Novantae

The Novantae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day southwestern Scotland and are discussed as Celts, Britons, or Scots. They had contacts with the Romans in the first century C.E. By the sixth century their descendants were part of a British kingdom in the original homeland known as Rheged.

Novgorod Slavs *See* Ilmen Slavs.

Novioduni

The Novioduni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Noyon in northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls.

O

Obodrites (Obotrites; Obodriti; Obodrichi; Obodricians; Obodritians; Obotritae; Abodrites; Abodritians; Bodryci; Bodrii; Nortabtrezi)

The Obodrites were a tribe of Western SLAVS, living north and east near the mouth of the Elbe River, which feeds into the Baltic Sea in present-day northeastern Germany. The tribal name is from the Slavic word *bodryci,* "brave." As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS.

The Obodrites moved into this formerly Germanic territory by the seventh century C.E., possibly joining remaining Germanic groups to form a distinct culture. The WAGRIANS were a branch tribe. Among the neighbors of the Obodrites were the POLABIANS and VELETIANS. To defend against these tribes in the eighth century Charlemagne, king of the FRANKS and emperor of the West, established a borderland entity known as the Saxon Mark.

By the ninth century the Obodrites had formed an independent principality. Their two most important towns were Starigard (modern Oldenburg) and the trading port of Reric/Veligrad (modern Mecklenburg), which thrived especially in the 11th century under Duke Gottschalk. In 929 the Obodrites, along with other Slavic tribes in the region, were defeated by Henry I, king of Germany. A number of peoples in the region, such as from the tribes known as Polabians and Wagrians, joined what is referred to as the Obodrite Union (which led to the Polabians' being referred to as part of the umbrella group of Obodrites, although some scholars refer to the Obodrites in terms of the umbrella group Polabians on the basis of dialect). In 1160 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, defeated the Obodrites and their allies under Duke Niklot; afterward German settlers and missionaries settled the region.

OBODRITES

location:
Mouth of Elbe River in northeastern Germany

time period:
Seventh to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

Oenotri *See* ENOTRI.

Ogurs *See* BULGARS.

Olcades

The Olcades are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Onesi (Monesi)

The Onesi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the northern Pyrenees around present-day Ozon in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Opici (Obsci; Osci; Oscans)

According to ancient sources the Opici were among those peoples who inhabited the present-day region of Campania in southern Italy

OSSETS

location:
North Caucasus in Russia

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Indo-Iranian

language:
Ossetic (Iranian)

before the arrival of Indo-Europeans, probably in the second millenium B.C.E. Their origins are not known. They were perhaps the same as the Ausones, another name given to pre-Italic peoples. They may have been ancestral to some of those peoples who spoke Italic. The SAMNITES lived in their territory, and it is thought they or other ITALICS adopted the name Opici, whose alternate form, Oscan, is used to identify an Italic language grouping.

Ordovices (Ordovicians)

The Ordovices are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day central Wales and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH. They were allies of the SILURES. The ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola defeated them in 77 C.E. By the sixth century their descendants were part of a British kingdom in the original homeland known as Gwynned.

Oretani (Oretoni)

The Oretani are classified as an Iberian tribe. They lived in the Sierra Morena, a mountain range in the upper Andalusia region of present-day southwestern Spain. In either 229 or 228 B.C.E. during the campaign of the CARTHAGINIANS against the IBERIANS of southern Spain the general Hamilcar Barca was killed in a battle with the Oretani. Hannibal defeated them, along with the CARPETANI living to the north, in 219 B.C.E. In ensuing years the ROMANS controlled the Oretani homeland, which they defined as part of the province of Terraconensis.

Oscidates (Osquidates)

The Oscidates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the Vallée d' Ossau in the northern Pyrenees in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. A related group, the Oscidates Campestri, lived around Pau in the same region.

Osismi (Osismii; Osismes)

The Osismi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with their neighbors to the south, the VENETII, and other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), which was occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Vorgium on the site of present-day Carhaix became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul.

Ossets (Ossetes; Ossetians; Digoron; Iron; Tualhg)

The Ossets, descended from the ALANS, are an Indo-Iranian people presently living in Alania (formerly North Ossetia, or North Ossetiya), a republic in the Russian Federation on the northern slopes of the central Caucasus Mountains. (South Ossetia is part of the Republic of Georgia in the South Caucasus). The Ossets are the largest ethnic group in Alania, thought to be descendants of the ancient Alans, making up just over half the population; Russian SLAVS constitute about a third, and the rest are the INGUSH and smaller groups. They have a variety of native names, including Digoron, Iron, and Tualhg.

ORIGINS

The Ossets are descended from the ancient people known as the Alans or Alani, classified as SARMATIANS.

LANGUAGE

The Osset language, known as Ossetic (or Ossetian), is Iranian, part of the Indo-Iranian family (the eastern branch of Indo-European). The two modern dialects are Digor and Iron, the more prevalent. Pronunciation has been influenced by the non-Indo-European languages of the Caucasus, Caucasic and Turkic, and the vocabulary has some Russian words.

HISTORY

Because of an invasion of MONGOLS in the 13th century C.E. surviving Alans moved to moun-

Ossets time line

C.E.

13th century	Mongol invasion; Alans move to mountainous regions.
17th century	Alans' descendants, known as Ossets, are ruled by Circassians.
1774	Ossets are ruled by Russians.
1917–20	Fighting between pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet factions in Ossetia
1936	North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is created as part of Soviet Union (USSR).
1991	Alania Autonomous Republic established; joins Russian Federation.

tain country, where they built a new life. They mixed with other groups in the region, among them CAUCASIANS, and formed three territorial entities: Digor in the west, Tuallag in the south, and Iron in the north. In their rugged homeland they managed to maintain some independence from Mongol rule, which lasted until the 15th century. In the 17th century Digor fell under the rule of the Karbardians, a subgroup of CIRCASSIANS of the North Caucasus. Tualleg was ruled by Georgians from the South Caucasus. In 1774 the Ossetian homeland became part of the Russian Empire. The Ossets tended to support the Russian presence over that of the Muslim Turks (*see* TURKICS) competing for the region.

In 1917–20 during and after the Bolshevik revolution the region became an administrative district of the North Caucasus known as the Mountain Republic. North Ossetia became an autonomous region in 1924, redefined as the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1936. In 1991 after the breakup of the Soviet Union the region became the Alania Autonomous Republic within Russia and subsequently a republic within the Russian Federation (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).

CULTURE

Many of the Ossets earn a living in agriculture, especially of grains and fruit. They also raise and breed cattle. Lumbering also provides income. Industry in the region includes mining, metallurgy, and machinery. Some Ossets are expert woodworkers.

Ossets have a tradition of folk epics in the Ossetic language. Many of them relate tales about the Narts, hero warriors. The national poet, Kosta Khetagurov, of the 19th and 20th centuries helped establish a literary form of Ossetic, the dialect Iron, written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

The majority of Ossets are Christians, as a result of the influence of peoples of Georgia, where Christianity was introduced in the fourth century.

With family and cultural ties with Ossets in Transcaucasia some Ossets and others in Alania have sought to unify the regions known as North and South Ossetia, but both the Russian and Georgian governments have opposed such a move.

Ostrogoths (Ostrogothi; Ostragothae; Ostrogothones; East Goths; Greutungi; Greutungs; Greutungians; Greuthungi; Greuthungs)

OSTROGOTHS

location:
East of Dniester River in Ukraine and Belarus; western Hungary; northern Croatia; Slovenia; eastern Austria; Italy

time period:
c. 290 to 552 C.E.

ancestry:
Gothic (Germanic)

language:
Germanic

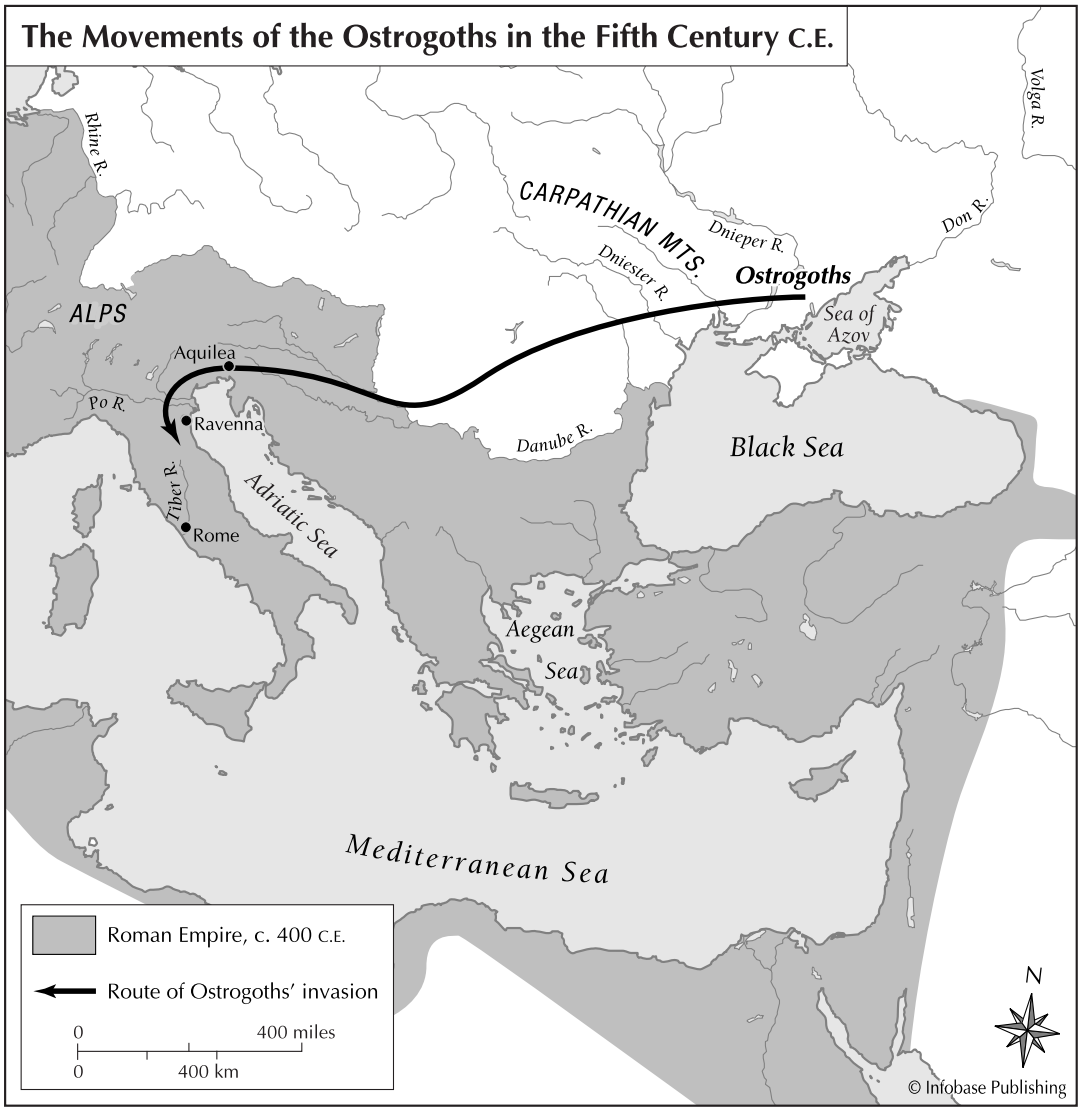
The Ostrogoths were one of the two major groupings of GOTHS—a people classified as eastern GERMANICS—the other the VISIGOTHS. From the late third century C.E. their histories were separate; the Ostrogoths originally inhabited the region north of the Black Sea east of the Dniester River (part of modern Ukraine and Belarus). In the fourth century they dominated a territory extending north to the Baltic Sea and east to the Volga River. Their founding group, known as the Greutungi, were allied for about 80 years with the HUNS, then with the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire. They became the dominant political entity on the Italian Peninsula in the late fifth century and first half of the sixth century.

ORIGINS

The tribe after which the Goths probably took their name, the Gutones, are thought to have originated in Scandinavia before migrating southeastward into eastern Europe. The approximate date given for the start of two distinct Gothic traditions is 290 C.E., after defeat by the ROMANS in 271. They later became known as the Ostrogoths (from the Low Latin Ostrogothi for eastern Goths) and Visigoths (from Low Latin Visigothi, good goths). The family of Amali (Amal, Amaling) were the founders of the Gothic kingdom that eventually would evolve into the Ostrogoths,

Ostrogoths time line

C.E.	
c. 290	Goths separate into groups that evolve into Ostrogoths and Visigoths.
c. 360	Kingdom of Ermanaric extends from Black Sea, north to Baltic Sea, and east to headwaters of Volga River.
c. 370	Huns reach Black Sea, leading to dispersion of various Gothic groups.
c. 375	Ostrogoths conquered by Huns.
401	Romans repel Ostrogoth invasion of Italy.
451	Ostrogoths as allies of Huns fight Visigoths and Romans at Catalaunian Fields in France.
c. 453	Ostrogoths settle in Pannonia as allies of East Roman Empire.
488–493	Ostrogoths under Theodoric invade and conquer Italy.
552	Ostrogoths defeated by Byzantines.





Ostrogoths used this cloak pin in the fifth century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

a polyethnic group, including steppe peoples originally out of Asia. This confederation was originally known as the Greutungi. In about 325 they were conquered and then absorbed by the Huns into the Hunnic confederation as mostly loyal soldiers, but after the confederation collapsed on Attila's death in 453 they went their own way as a newly reconstituted group and became known to other Europeans as the Ostrogoths.

LANGUAGE

The Ostrogoths spoke Gothic, a dialect of the East Germanic language group, which had become distinct by about the fourth century C.E. Gothic, now an extinct language, probably ceased to be spoken as the Ostrogoths and Visigoths lost their distinctive identities and were absorbed by other peoples during the Middle Ages.

HISTORY

The Kingdom of the Greutungi: Proto-Ostrogoths

The first Amali leader of the Greutungi—the founding group of proto-Ostrogoths—in the late third century C.E. was Ostrogotha; little is known about him and he may have been no more than a legendary, semimythical figure such as many Germanic tribes claimed as founding father. It was probably in this tradition that he was considered by later Ostrogoths to be their founder as the first of the royal lineage known as the Amali. During the next century under Ermanaric the first Greutungi king known to history, the proto-Ostrogothic people expanded their territory, centered along the Dnieper River, from the Black Sea north to the Baltic Sea and from the Dniester east to the Volga River in present-day western Russia. This vast region included traditional trade routes

among various peoples, north and south, east and west.

The Hunnic Period

The arrival of the conquering Huns along the Black Sea in the 370s led to a shift in power in the region as the proto-Ostrogothic armies were unable to withstand the Hunnic onslaught. Reportedly Ermanaric committed suicide, possibly as a sacrifice to the gods for the safety of his people. In the following years most of his people were absorbed into the Hunnic confederation. Some among them managed to flee to Roman-held territory in Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary), but most became loyal allies.

In 401 a group of Greutungi Goths under Radagaisus, along with some VANDALS and QUADI, invaded the Roman province of Raetia (parts of present-day Austria and Switzerland) and threatened Italy. Stilicho, a Roman general of Vandal ancestry, managed to repel them before they crossed out of the Alps. The next year he defeated the Visigoths under Alaric I in northern Italy.

In the following century reportedly tens of thousands of Greutungi Goths fought alongside Attila in his invasion of western Europe. Three brothers of the Amal line—Thiudemir, Walamir, and Widimir—led the Greutungi contingent. In 451 the Visigoths fought against them as allies of the Romans at the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields, south of modern Châlons-sur-Marne in present-day France. After the defeat of the Huns and Attila's death in 453 some of the Greutungi Goths, now known as Ostrogoths, settled in Pannonia as *foederati* (federates) of the Byzantines. By this time many of them were adherents of Arian Christianity.

Pannonia had been reduced by war into a region with a barely subsistence agricultural economy, making the Ostrogoths dependent for their welfare on payments from the eastern Romans who would evolve into the Byzantines. Thus whenever these were not forthcoming the Ostrogoths would go on raids within the empire. As a result of one of these raids Theodoric, the eight-year-old son of Thiudemir, was sent to Constantinople (modern Istanbul) as a hostage, and spent about 10 years there.

Ostrogoths in Italy

In the ensuing years the Ostrogoths competed for territory with the SCIRI and GEPIDS, also former allies of the Huns. In 469 the Ostrogoths defeated the Sciri. Theodoric (see sidebar) became co-ruler of the Ostrogoths with his father in 471, shortly after he returned to his people, and began a period of both warfare and alliance with the Romans.

In 476 the Scirian ruler Odoacer, leading an alliance of Sciri, HERULI, and RUGII, captured Ravenna, the capital of the Western Roman Empire, causing the deposition of the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustus. In a form of "divide and conquer," the Byzantine emperor Zeno commissioned Theodoric to quell Odoacer, hoping to reduce the power of both by setting them at war with one another. Theodoric and Zeno knew each other from the former's days as a hostage.

In 488 Theodoric's forces defeated the Gepids in battle at Sirmium near present-day

Theodoric: Germanic King of Italy

Theodoric was born in the Roman province of Pannonia in about 454 C.E., the son of Thiudemir. As an eight-year-old, he was sent to Constantinople as a hostage. He reportedly lived there until he was 18, gaining an education unprecedented for an Ostrogoth, learning about the workings of the Roman Empire and the imperial system of government. Shortly after returning to his people Theodoric became co-ruler of the Ostrogoths with his father, until he inherited the throne in 474.

Theodoric was much more successful in playing the political games with the Romans than the Visigoth Alaric had been in the early years of the fifth century, and eventually he won the position of *magister militum* (master of soldiers) and was even adopted into the imperial Flavian house. But he also knew the importance of impressing the Romans with his military might. Thiudemir and Theodoric led an Ostrogoth contingent southward onto the Balkan Peninsula and forced Emperor Leo I to grant them additional territory in Macedonia.

Over the years the Ostogoths and Byzantines of the Eastern Roman Empire maintained a shaky truce. The Byzantines had not given up the ambition of regaining Italy for the empire, and at Emperor Zeno's request Theodoric invaded Italy in 488 and defeated Odoacer, the first Germanic ruler of Italy. By 493 Theodoric occupied nearly the entire Italian Peninsula and declared himself king with the official title Flavius Theodericus rex. His title in Gothic was Thiuda-reiks, a highly unusual combination of the archaic Germanic term *thiudans* used for a kind of sacred king among early Germans, with the term *reiks,* related to the Latin *rex* for "king." He established Ravenna as his capital. Through military positioning, diplomacy, and marriage Theodoric forged an alliance with other Germanic powers of the day, including the Alamanni, Burgundii, Franks, and Visigoths.

Theodoric honored Roman traditions even as he built Ostrogothic power on the Italian Peninsula. He promoted a dual system in which his Germanic soldiers were generally segregated from the local population, and the latter were encouraged to develop commerce and agriculture. Although an Arian Christian, he demonstrated tolerance for other Christian sects. He erected the impressive mausoleum of Theodoric in Ravenna, which still stands. After his death in 526 his daughter, Amalasuntha, ruled as regent to her son, Athalaric. Dietrich von Bern, a character in the German epic poem *Nibelungenlied,* is based on Theodoric.

Seremska, Serbia, on the Sava River and then proceeded southward into Italy. The next year Theodoric defeated Odoacer's forces at Aquileia and Verona and besieged Ravenna for two and a half years. Odoacer admitted Theodoric to Ravenna under a truce, and the two agreed to rule Italy jointly. But Theodoric personally killed Odoacer and seized complete power, establishing in 493 a kingdom with Ravenna as the capital. He continued to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor, to maintain the legitimacy of his kingdom, nominally holding Italy until Zeno should return. Zeno died before he could accomplish this, and his immediate successors were too preoccupied with their Eastern Empire to trouble about Italy, by now an economically feeble backwater.

Theodoric's rule rested squarely on Roman traditions; he took as his official title Flavius Theodericus rex and retained Roman governmental structures. However, to maintain the loose confederation of Germanic peoples he had forged, partly through marriage, which included the Visigoths, ALAMANNI, BURGUNDII, and FRANKS, he ruled through a dual system, keeping his Germanic troops apart from the Roman populace and commanding them as the general of a Roman army. Theodoric's way of balancing Gothic with Roman elements, in which the two were paired but not melded, as would happen in the next century with the Franks under their king, Clovis I. The Roman-educated Theodoric perhaps understood that his people, whose very identity had been honed by being part of Theodoric's hordes, could not be expected to become Romanized overnight.

On the death of Theodoric in 526 his grandson, Athalaric, became king and his daughter, Amalasuntha, regent. She allied herself with the Byzantine emperor Justinian I, arousing the opposition of Ostrogothic nobles. When she was banished, then killed, Justinian sent his general Belisarius, who had defeated the Vandals in North Africa. Belisarius invaded Italy by way of Sicily and occupied Rome in 536. When Belisarius was recalled in 541, the Ostrogoths rose up under Totila. In 552 the Byzantine general Narses defeated Totila's forces at Taginae (near modern Gubbio), killing Totila and regaining Italy for the Byzantines. In 555 all Ostogothic resistance ended. In 572 the LOMBARDS, another Germanic people, invaded and took control of Italy.

The Ostrogoths lost their political identity and were absorbed into other tribes.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

Ostrogothic Ethnogenesis The Ostrogoths, like most other Germanic tribal groups, while being made up of fragments of other tribes that previously had come apart in the exigencies of the migration period—war and movement into new territories—saw themselves as belonging to a distinct ethnic people with their own royal lineage, the Amali, founded by the semi-mythical Ostrogotha, and shared history. The crux of Ostrogothic ethnogenesis lay in the experience of being defeated by the Huns, the self-sacrifice of their king Ermaneric, and their subsequent experience as allied warriors of the Hunnic confederacy. Attila with great shrewdness flattered the Greutungi leaders of the Ostrogoths, counting on them to control the rest of the Germanic warriors who had joined him. Many Ostrogothic elite graves from this time contained eagle-shaped plaques whose style shows steppe art influence. They may have been badges showing allegiance to the Hunnic overlords.

Theodoric and Roman Institutions Perhaps the greatest Germanic king of his age, Theodoric sought to protect and extend the benefits of Roman civilization and at the same time preserve his people's sense of their Ostrogothic identity. Thus he lavishly supported public works, restoring seaports and aqueducts with the sense of civic duty that had been a central tenet of Roman civilization; took steps to promote the economy; and acted to safeguard Roman customs and institutions, especially the senate. He appointed Romans to important administrative posts. At the same time he segregated his own people under their own commanders in enclaves in northern and central Italy—perhaps also to eliminate temptations to raid—where they could live according to custom.

Military Practices

Ostrogoth warriors, influenced by Asian steppe people, typically fought from horseback, often with lances.

Theodoric established the *exercitus Gothorum,* a Roman army in name although under his command, which incorporated soldiers from all over the Roman Empire.

Dwellings and Architecture

During the period they lived near the Black Sea the proto-Ostrogoths built many settlements,

which have been identified archaeologically. In present-day Moldova alone 150 are known. Hundreds more have been found in a large territory reaching from the Dnieper River to central Transylvania and from the region of the rivers Pripet and Bug to the Lower Danube. Many of their settlements were built on riverbanks and were not fortified. Their material remains are known archaeologically as the Cerneachov culture, after a cemetery at the Dnieper River. About 1,500 burials of this culture have been found.

Literature: Scholarship

It is a measure of the caliber of Theodoric that he esteemed the great philosopher Boethius, one of the founders of medieval philosophy, and made him a consul in 510. However, another measure of the Ostrogothic king is that some 20 years later, when Boethius was accused by his enemies of plotting to restore Roman (that is, non-Ostrogothic) rule, Theodoric believed his accusers and ordered Boethius imprisoned and later executed. During his imprisonment Boethius wrote *De consolatione philosophiae* (Consolation of Philosophy). (This work would later be translated into Old English on the reign of Alfred the Great of the ANGLO-SAXONS, another of the series of great kings produced by Germanic peoples in the early Middle Ages, and would be influential in that society as well.) Boethius can be said to have flourished in part because of and in part despite Ostrogothic rule, his ambivalent experience with Theodoric a sign that the Ostrogoths had not quite left their barbarian past behind them.

Another Roman scholar patronized by Theodoric was Cassiodorus, who served as his secretary, among other posts. Cassiodorus wrote a *History of the Goths,* of which only a digest remains. Dionysius Exiguus (Dennis the Small), a DACIAN monk and friend of Cassiodorus, laid the foundations of ecclesiastical or canon law that would be followed throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, by translating from Greek into Latin 401 ecclesiastical canons, including the apostolical canons and the decrees of the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and others. He also played a major role in determining the method of calculating the date of Easter.

As evidenced by the achievements of these scholars the Ostrogoths, whatever their failings, managed to preserve a degree of peace, a breathing space, in which crucial work for the preservation of Roman culture and institutions could take place, before their successors as rulers of Italy, the considerably less Romanized Germanic people the LOMBARDS, swept much of it away.

Religion

The Ostrogoths suffered in their relations with their Roman subjects because the religion they had adopted, in abandoning the paganism of their ancestors, was Arian Christianity, considered by the Roman Church a heretical creed.

Saint Benedict of Nursia, the founder of Western monasticism, lived during the latter period of Ostrogothic rule in Italy, having grown to young manhood by the time of Theodoric's death. However, he found Rome, where he had grown up as the son of noble Roman parents and studied for a time, such a degenerate place that he withdrew to an isolated area, where he lived in a cave, then finally to northern Italy, where he founded the monastery of Monte Cassino. This suggests he had little to do with the Ostrogoths and their rule; indeed, when King Totila visited him, Benedict rebuked him severely as a wicked man and prophesied his further career and his death in 10 years. It is said that Totila was so impressed with Benedict that he was never so cruel again as he had been in the past. But at least the Ostrogoths had procured a period of relative peace in which Benedict could pursue his holy work.

The career of the Ostrogoths in Italy shows what might have been achieved in preserving the Roman Empire, which had done so much to bring the great Germanic confederacies into being. The continued violent movements of peoples in the sixth century and for centuries afterward made this impossible. It would be left to the Frankish Carolingians, viewing the imperial tradition from across a dark divide of several centuries of destruction, to bring into being the Germanic dream of reviving the empire, and to achieve a true melding of Germanic and Roman elements and traditions. This fusion proved to be more enduring than the dual system attempted by Theodoric.

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Oxibii

The Oxibii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near Cannes in the western Alps in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

P

Paeligni (Peligni; Pelini)

The Paeligni are classified as an Italic tribe. The Paelignian language was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan branch of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marrucinian, Marsian, Sabine, Vestinian, and Volscian. The Paelignian homeland, situated in the Apennines in present-day central Italy, was south of the Aterno River, beyond which the VESTINI lived, and west of the Sangro River, beyond which the FRENTANI and MARRUCINI lived. To the west and south, separated by high mountains, were the MARSI.

With their central location to these various peoples the Paeligni played a key role in trade among them. Paelignian wines, cereals, olives, honey, and linen were valued.

In 309 B.C.E. the Paeligni participated in a confederacy of the Marrucini, Marsi, and Vestini in support of the SAMNITES against the Romans during the Second Samnite War (326–304 B.C.E.), until a major loss to the Romans in 305 B.C.E. (The Paeligni are sometimes discussed as Samnites, fellow ITALICS; they also may have had ancestors from among the ILLYRIANS, who migrated to the Italian Peninsula from across the Adriatic.)

The Paeligni were also central to the alliance of tribes during the Social War against Rome of 90–88 B.C.E. Their capital Corfinium, south of another Paelignian Sulmo (modern Sulmona), became the rebel capital and its name was changed to Vitallio, as indicated by inscriptions on the coins struck there in 90 B.C.E., to honor the hoped-for Italia Republic, with rights equal to those of Roman citizens (the name Vitallio is the Oscan version of Italia). The third powerful Paelignian town was Superequum, the location of which is not known. After the revolt failed, the Paeligni were soon Romanized.

Paemani

The Paemani are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the Famenne region of present-day eastern Belgium near the CONDRUSI at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS, GERMANICS, or GAULS. The ROMANS grouped them among the BELGAE.

Palmiensi

The Palmiensi lived near the ADRIANI and PRAETUTII in the present-day province of Teramo in the northern region of Abruzzi in east-central Italy, assumed to be there at least from the eighth century B.C.E. Along with those tribes they are sometimes grouped with the PICENES living to their north beyond the Tonto River, although it is generally believed that the Adriani, Palmiensi, and Praetutii spoke Italic dialects, leading to their classification as ITALICS, and the Picenes either an Illyrian (*see* ILLYRIANS) or a pre-Indo-European dialect. The Palmiensi lived along the Adriatic coast

PAELIGNI

location:
Apennine Mountains in central Italy

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

PALMIENSI

location:
Northern Abruzzi in east-central Italy

time period:
Eighth to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Italic



Parisii used this gold stater in the first century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

between the Tronto and the Vibrata Rivers. Their principal town, Civitas Truentina (or Truentum), was situated on the Tronto (formerly known as the Truentum). The region was pacified by the ROMANS in the third century B.C.E., during and after wars with the SAMNITES, and Romanized in the second century B.C.E.

Pannonians (people of Pannonia)

The name Pannonians refers to people living in the ancient Roman province of Pannonia, south and west of the Danube, most of it in present-day Hungary. At its widest extent Pannonia included territory in Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. Pannonia was first inhabited by the ILLYRIANS and then invaded by the Romans in 35 B.C.E. and conquered by 99 C.E. In about 103 C.E. the province was divided into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. One sees the term Pannonian SLAVS in reference to Slavic peoples who migrated to the region in the sixth–seventh centuries.

Parisii (Parisi; Parisis)

The Parisii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Paris in northern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the SENONES. Another group, by the same name, lived in Britian around present-day York in northeastern England and may have been a migrant group of the Gallic Parisii. Both had contacts with the ROMANS in the first century B.C.E. The Parsii fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Petuaria on the site of present-day Brough became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation of Britain. Lutecia on the site of Paris became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Paris takes its name from the tribal name.

Patzinaks

See PECHENEGS.

Pechenegs (Petchenegs; Patzinakoi; Patzinaks; Bessenyo; Besseni)

The Pechenegs were a Turkic-speaking confederation of tribes, perhaps eight of them, who in the 10th to 12th centuries had numerous contacts with the RUS and BYZANTINES in eastern and central Europe, as enemies or allies and trading partners. (The Byzantines called them Patzinakoi, possibly from the Arabic Badjanakia, a name that evolved into Patzinaks. They were known to the Hungarians as Besenyo, or in its Latin form Besseni.)

ORIGINS

The original homeland of the Pechenegs is not known. By the eighth century C.E. they had broken off from other TURKICS and inhabited territory between the Ural and Volga Rivers in present-day western Russia. In the late ninth century they were pressured by other steppe peoples, among them the KHAZARS, and migrated westward. In the 10th century they controlled the territory north of the Black Sea between the Don and Dnieper Rivers in present-day southwestern Russia and eastern Ukraine, including the Crimean Peninsula.

LANGUAGE

The now-extinct Turkic dialect of the Pechenegs, known as Pecheneg, is of the Northwestern (Kipchak; Ogur) language group.

HISTORY

The Pechenegs became known as both fierce warriors as well as trading partners, providing horses, cattle, and sheep to more sedentary peoples. In the late ninth century they became renowned for their fierceness, fighting as mercenaries for the BULGARS against the MAGYARS, driving them westward into present-day Hungary.

In 944 the Pechenegs allied with the Rus to invade Byzantine lands. The Byzantines bought them off with rich bribes to induce them to attack the Bulgars instead. The first eight chapters of *De administrando imperio,* (On the administration of the empire), written by Emperor Constantine VII (Constantine Porphyrogenitus) in about 950—for his son, giving guidelines on ruling the Eastern Roman Empire—concern the importance of the alliance with the warlike Pechenegs. The Byzantines reportedly sailed up the Dnieper and Danube Rivers for negotiations with the Pechenegs.

The Pechenegs were known to attack the Rus of the Kievan Rus principality as they sailed downriver for trade with the Byzantines. In 968–969 the Pechenegs besieged Kiev, the Kievan Rus capital in present-day Ukraine. For a time afterward, they were allied with the Kievan Rus and attempted another invasion of Byzantium. In 972, led by Kuryea, they killed Svyatoslav who had failed to pay the agreed amount for their help. (It is said that Kurya, the most dominant khan of the Pechenegs of the time, drank from a goblet made from Svyatoslav's skull.)

PECHENEGS

location:
Western Russia; Ukraine; Moldova; Romania; Bulgaria; Hungary

time period:
Eighth century to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Pecheneg (Turkic)

The Rus under Yaroslav defeated the Pechenegs in 1036. At that time they were centered along the Lower Danube in present-day Romania, from which they continued to be a threat to Byzantium.

In 1064 the Pechenegs were defeated by the CUMANS, another Turkic people, who absorbed many survivors. In 1090–91 the Pechenegs advanced into Thrace and threatened Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The Eastern Roman emperor Alexius I, with the help of the Cumans, defeated and dispersed them. Some survivors found work as soldiers for the Byzantines.

In the course of their wanderings some Pechenegs settled in present-day Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary. Others who had remained in Russia joined the TORKS in a confederacy called Chenrye Klobuki (Black Hoods) and were settled at the limits of Rus territory northeast of Kiev as a buffer against the Cumans.

Pechenegs time line

C.E.	
early 10th century	Pechenegs settle between Volga and Don Rivers.
968	Pechenegs attack Constantinople.
1036	Rus defeat Pechenegs.
1064	Cumans defeat Pechenegs.



CULTURE (*see also* TURKICS)

Economy

For the ancestors of the Pechenegs as for other nomadic steppe peoples the harshness of the steppe climate prevented anything but a simple nomadic socioeconomy, whose main imperative was to find pasturage for the herds, a need constantly threatened by the extremes, severe winters and drought, that periodically ruined pasturelands. In general the various deserts in central Eurasia, among them the Garagum, the Qyzylqum, and the Gobi, have slowly been expanding since prehistoric times, each encroachment caused by a period of drought and also overgrazing, which periodically pressures groups along their borders, pressures that ripple out in waves of disturbance in all directions across the steppe.

Raiding and Trading An important part of the economy of the Pechenegs involved raiding on trade routes. The Pechenegs attacked traders of the Rus traveling down rivers through their territory on expeditions to Constantinople. The Dnieper River had nine sets of rapids to be negotiated, and the laborious portages around them furnished the Pechenegs opportunities for attack.

The Pechenegs also engaged in trade with the Rus and other neighboring peoples, as documented in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio*. The Rus bought cattle, horses, and sheep from them. From a neighboring people called the Chersonites they received pieces of purple cloth, ribbons, woven cloths, gold brocade, pepper, and scarlet or "Parthian" leather.

After Pecheneg groups had settled in present-day Hungary as allies of the MAGYARS who had seized this territory, they took up a sedentary existence and built prosperous towns.

Government and Society

Steppe Tribalism The name Pecheneg may have derived from Badjanakia, a name given in an early Arabic account to peoples living from the Volga River to the Ural Mountains. The name may have been related to the Turkish *badjanak*, which means "brother-in-law," possibly indicating the political structure of peoples here as being primarily tribal, with tribes made up of familial clans whose members were genuinely related to one another. When a number of clans formed a tribe, all tribal members may have adopted one another as honorary brothers-in-law.

The social organization of steppe peoples through prehistory and history was profoundly influenced by the conjunction of harshness of the Eurasian steppe lands in the interior with the circumstance that it lay between growing civilizations to the east and west, a wilderness at the heart of Eurasia crossed by the Silk Road along which the civilizations reached out to one another. The impoverished inhabitants of the wilderness, observing the products of cultures of unimagined sophistication and luxury, fell upon the Silk Road caravans and wrested the goods for themselves, thereby profoundly changing their own societies. They developed societies in which status depended on success in war, in this way warfare became ever more important in steppe societies: used by different groups of nomads to compete for pasturelands and later for dominance in controlling access to trade routes.

By the time of the rise of the HUNS in the middle of the first millennium C.E. attempts by Byzantine armies to destroy Hunnic power caused former loose coalitions of tribes to join in a tighter, more disciplined organizations. A vast territory, including many Turkic areas, was more or less united into a Hunnic empire. Turkic involvement in Attila's empire in the fifth century caused the spread of Turkic languages and influence. The Pechenegs, however, who had emerged (or were first written about) some 400 years later, seem to have preserved the much more loose tribal organization of the pre-Hunnic past.

Foreign Relations and Internal Organization The Byzantines made it a conscious policy to remain on peaceful terms as much as possible with the Pechenegs. They concluded conventions and treaties of friendship with them and every year sent to them a diplomatic agent bearing gifts. According to Porphyrogenitus the agent received from them hostages and a Pecheneg diplomatic agent. Also according to Porphyrogenitus the Rus did what they could to pacify the Pechenegs, both because they had valuable livestock to offer in trade and because their hostility hampered Rus activities in trade and war. At times the Pechenegs allied with the Rus in war.

Porphyrogenitus described the political organization of Patzinacia, the name of the original Pecheneg territory homeland. It was divided into eight provinces, each with a great prince. As in many tribal societies (including those of the GERMANICS before they were under Roman influence), traditional laws ensured that no one family could gather the reins of power in their own hands. Princes were suc-

ceeded by cousins, rather than sons or brothers to vary the lineage. It is probable that "cousins" could include men with only a distant or even no actual family relationship, because it was common for tribes to consider all their members as being in some sense related through their common ancestry from a usually mythical founding hero. Thus Pecheneg society is likely to have been relatively egalitarian, at least compared to the highly stratified Byzantine Empire, with anyone of the warrior class able to rise to power if he were successful at war. The eight provinces were divided into 40 districts, each with a minor princeling ruling it. The names of the tribes were based on horse colors (for example, Qara-Bay, the tribe of Bay with grayish horses).

Military Practices

The Pechenegs were famous for their skill and ferocity in warfare and reportedly did not even wear armor or build protective palisades or ditches around their camps. The mention of lack of armor is probably based on rumor and hearsay, inflating the prowess of the fierce Pechenegs to mythic dimensions, and says more about the psychological effect they had on their victims than actual fact. It is more likely that they were armed and fought very much as other steppe races such as the Huns did, with felt or leather lamellar armor, shooting the bow from horseback. A helmet found in Hungary, though apparently of Byzantine manufacture, had decoration thought to be of Pecheneg origin, indicating that Pechenegs readily adopted arms from other peoples. On the other hand a type of cavalry saber made by Byzantines in the 10th century may have derived from a Pecheneg sword.

Art

The Pechenegs decorated their arms and other metalwork with designs used by steppe peoples everywhere, which were strongly influenced by the art of the SCYTHIANS.

Religion

The Pechenegs probably practiced a form of animism and shamanism observed for millennia by peoples all over the steppes. Shamanism among steppe peoples usually involved the shaman's entering a trance state, often attained by ingesting cannabis, to communicate with the spiritual realm and gain wisdom. Later other religious impulses moved through the steppe lands—from Persian Zoroastrianism and Hinduism to Buddhism especially the Tantric sect.

By the end of the 14th century most Pechenegs in Hungary had been forcibly converted to Christianity.

The Pechenegs were among those Turkic steppe people who had a major impact on European history.

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Pelasgians (Pelasgoi)

The term *Pelasgians* has been used variously in myths of the ancient GREEKS, sometimes associated with specific places, including Thessaly, Arcadia, and Argos (in which case it may refer to an actual group). In Homer's work of the ninth or eight century C.E. Danaos, founding ancestor of the Danaans (*Danaoi* in Greek, a name used interchangeably for a specific people and for Greeks in general), displaced the Pelasgians of Argos, taking the land for his own people. In a myth collected by Greek geographer Pausanias of the second century C.E. (perhaps adopted from the possibly mythical Asios of Samos who may have lived in the seventh century B.C.E.), the hero Pelasgos was the founder of the Pelasgians, who lived in Arcadia. Elsewhere Pelasgos figures as the founder of the human race itself, the first man. Pelasgos, who was born directly from the Earth, sprouting up like a plant, was said to have invented the making of huts, wearing of sheepskin clothing, and eating oak acorns. In another story, he also invented bread making while in Argos. Greek historian Herodotus of the fifth century B.C.E. says that the Pelasgians did not know that gods have names.

In both of these accounts the Pelasgians are depicted as primitive, rustic, and uncivilized. Pelasgos's birth from the Earth, without a father, and his connection in myth with Demeter (his wife Chrysanthis informed Demeter of the place where her daughter Persephone had been taken down into the underworld by Hades) and Argive Hera (he is said to have built temples to Hera) show that he and his people had worshipped goddesses as at least coequal with gods (as had been the case in Minoan-Mycenaean times during the

Bronze Age; see MINOANS and MYCENAEANS) and that their mythology informed the chthonic rituals performed mostly by women well into classical Greek times when the male-dominated Olympian religion held sway. Herodotus also draws on Greek historian Hecataeus of the sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E. in saying that all pre-Doric Peloponnesians, including IONIANS, AEOLIANS, and Arcadians, were Pelasgians. Eventually, *Pelasgians* came to be used as a general term for "foreign tribe." Thus it seems to have been a catch all term for "others," either earlier more primitive people, non-Greeks, non-DORIANS, and finally foreigners.

Another similar term is *Leleges,* which possibly originated as an onomatopoeic word to describe those who speak unintelligibly. As in the case of the term *Pelasgians,* Greeks used the name *Leleges* to describe previous, non-Greek speaking inhabitants of Greece, the islands, and Asia Minor. The Leleges, too, had an eponymous founding ancestor, Lelex, whose son Myles ("mill") was said to have invented the mill to grind grain. Many of the tribes mentioned by Homer and other early writers fall into this category.

In general, however, Pelasgians have been conceived of as the aboriginal, pre-Hellenic people of Greece. Since the Hellenic people spoke Indo-European languages, some scholars have assumed that the peoples lumped under the name Pelasgians must have been non-Indo-European-speaking. The use of the name *Pelasgians* for pre-Dorian Greeks casts some doubt on this usage. According to a theory of the spread of Indo-European languages that is currently in favor, an Indo-European language came to Greece sometime in the fourth millennium B.C.E. It seems unlikely that Greeks 2,000 years later can have known much about pre-Indo-European Greece. It may well be, however, that non-Indo-European languages continued to be spoken in Greece for a long time, possibly in more remote, backward places (since it was the Greek-speaking Mycenaeans who came into dominance by at least the early second millennium B.C.E. and built the cities). Possibly these peoples were swept away in the dislocations of the Dark Ages, embodied in Greek myth as the "Dorian invasions."

Pelendones (Palendones)

The Pelendones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Permyaks *See* KOMI.

Petrocorii (Petrocori; Petrocores)

The Petrocorii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Périgueux in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Vesunna on the site of Périgueux became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Périgueux, formerly Petrocorios, takes its name from the tribal name.

Peuceti (Peucetii)

On the basis of their Messapic language it is assumed that the Peuceti were originally an Illyrian people, who migrated to present-day southeastern Italy from the western Balkan Peninsula. They lived around present-day Bari on the Adriatic coast, north of the MESSAPI and south of the APULI, with whom they are sometimes grouped as IAPYGES, a term used for all the ILLYRIANS on the southern Italian peninsula. Lupatia (modern Altamura) was an important settlement. Between the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E. the inhabitants built high walls around it possibly to defend against the LUCANI, or the GREEKS who colonized Tarentum (modern Taranto) in the eighth century B.C.E. The Peuceti eventually became tributary to the ROMANS.

Peucini *See* BASTARNAE.

Phoenicians (Phoenice; Poinicians; Sidonians)

The ancient people known as the Phoenicians lived in Asia along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, starting around the third millennium B.C.E. at the latest. About 200 miles long and five to 15 miles wide, Phoenicia extended eastward along the coast roughly to the Lebanon Mountains in present-day Lebanon, northward to the Eleutherus River (now known as the Kebir), and southward to Mount Carmel. The ancient GREEKS first referred to them as Phoenicians, from the word for "purple," because of a dye they traded. The Phoenicians became influential as

traders throughout the Mediterranean Sea region and established a number of colonies in Africa and Europe. One of the city-states they founded in North Africa, Carthage, rose to ascendancy in the western Mediterranean (*see* CARTHAGINIANS).

ORIGINS

The original homeland of the Phoenicians is not known. In the Bible they are referred to as Sidonians, related to the Canaanites, a Semitic people. Some have theorized that their ancient ancestors migrated to the eastern Mediterranean from India; this hypothesis is highly speculative.

LANGUAGE

Phoenician is a Semitic language, classified as part of the Canaanite subgroup, related to Hebrew. The earliest known Phoenician inscription dates from the first century B.C.E. The Phoenicians are known as the first people to develop an exclusively alphabetic system of writing, that is, a standardized system of symbols representing sounds, instead of the hieroglyphics and cuneiform of the other cultures in the region. Their alphabet has 22 characters and does not indicate vowels; the Greeks eventually adopted and altered the Phoenician alphabet. Spoken Phoenician eventually was superseded in Phoenicia by Aramaic, another Semitic language. The Carthaginians spoke a dialect known as Pun, or Punic, which was influenced by the Hamitic language of the Berbers.

HISTORY

The Phoenicians lived in allied city-states. Byblos, a site near present-day Beirut, Lebanon, became an important Phoenician center by about 2800 B.C.E. The Phoenicians early in their history were under the influence of Mesopotamian peoples, the Sumerians and the Akkadians. The Egyptians, out of North Africa, occupied their territory from about 1800 to 1400 B.C.E. The conflict between the Egyptians and Hittites of present-day Syria, which started in about 1400 B.C.E., led to eventual Phoenician independence and the rise of many city-states. The port cities of Sidon (Sayda) and Tyre (Sour; Sur), 22 miles to the south, alternated as the primary seat of Phoenician political power. By the mid-13th century B.C.E. the Phoenicians had become known in the region as accomplished shipbuilders and mariners and as reliable traders.

For periods of its history Phoenicia was under assault from Asian peoples from the east, in particular the Assyrians in the eighth to seventh centuries, the Chaldeans in the sixth century, and the Persians in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E. Although some city-states fell to invaders, the Phoenicians continued to operate as merchants, navigators, and artisans, sometimes as servants or employees of other peoples. The Greeks took over much of the region's trade; with the Greeks evolving into a naval power Phoenician traders lost their monopoly. Phoenician culture of the eastern Mediterranean was absorbed into Hellenistic culture. In 332 B.C.E. Tyre fell to the MACEDONIANS under Alexander the Great during his push into Asia, after which the Hellenized Egyptians controlled the region. In 200 B.C.E. Phoenicia was part of the Hellenistic Seleucid kingdom, centered in present-day Syria. In 64 B.C.E. Phoenicia became part of the Roman province of Syria, and the name Phoenician was no longer used.

Phoenician Travelers and Settlers

Wide-ranging seafarers, the Phoenicians explored the entire Mediterranean, from the Dardanelles to the Iberian Peninsula. Some Phoenician outposts were in Europe, thus leading to the classification of Phoenicians as a European in addition to an Asian and African people. The Phoenicians traded as far west as the Iberian Peninsula, a source of tin and silver. Tradition dates the founding of the earliest trading post in the Iberian Peninsula in present-day Spain—Gadir (later Gades; modern Cádiz) beyond the Strait of Gibraltar in present-day southern Spain—to 1110 B.C.E. although a date after 800 B.C.E. has been confirmed archeologically.

Many outposts, originally anchorages on this trade route, evolved into thriving trading centers. Pressures on Phoenicia by invading

PHOENICIANS

location:
Mediterranean region

time period:
c. 2800 to 64 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Probably Semitic

language:
Phoenician (Semitic)

Phoenicians time line

B.C.E.

c. 2800 Phoenician city-states established.

c. mid-13th century Phoenicians thrive as traders.

c. late ninth century Carthage founded in North Africa.

332 Tyre falls to Macedonians under Alexander the Great.

C.E.

64 Phoenicia becomes part of Roman province of Syria.

peoples led to growing migration westward, and the trading centers evolved into colonies and eventually independent city-states. In addition to present-day Spain the Phoenicians were active on various islands in the Mediterranean—Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands—as well as on the European mainland, at Genoa in present-day Italy and Marseille in present-day France.

Utica and Carthage in present-day Tunisia in North Africa evolved into powerful city-states. Tradition maintains that Utica was founded in the 12th century B.C.E., even before Gadir, but again there is no concrete evidence. Carthage may have been founded as early as the late ninth century, but more likely in the mid-eighth century B.C.E. In any case by the sixth century B.C.E. the Carthaginians had become a powerful presence in the western Mediterranean, reestablishing many of the Phoenician colonies and competing with the Greeks and Romans for centuries until defeat by Rome in the second century B.C.E.

Phoenicians also navigated southward into the Red Sea and, according to the fifth-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus, in about 600 Phoenicians, commissioned by the Egyptian pharaoh Necho II, sailed along the Red Sea and all the way around Africa, returning to the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules at the Strait of Gibraltar. Such a voyage cannot be confirmed. The Carthaginians in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. reportedly explored the Atlantic coast of Europe.

CULTURE

Economy

The Phoenician economy was organized around commerce. The Phoenicians traded natural resources, such as wood from cedar and pine trees; foodstuffs, such as dried fish, salt, and wine; as well as manufactured goods, such as textiles and dyes (including the Tyrian purple, made from the snail *Murex*), pottery, colored glass, metalwork, ebony and ivory carvings, and jewelry. They also acted as middlemen for other people's products, such as perfume, spices, and incenses carried in Arab caravans to their homeland, some of which they shipped westward by sea. They also traded for other raw materials such as silk, ebony, ivory, amber, papyrus, oak timber, silk, cotton, wool, animal skins, gold, silver, copper, tin, gemstones, horses, wheat, corn, honey, oil, and ostrich eggs. And the Phoenicians participated in the slave trade. In addition to their alphabet, which facilitated record keeping, the Phoenicians devised a standardized system of weights and measures.

Government and Society

Despite trade relations Phoenician city-states maintained independence from one another. Kings ruled the various city-states, along with councils of elders and *suffetes* (judges or magistrates). In some instances a republic was formed, and the *suffetes* replaced the monarchy altogether. The wealthy merchant families also had great political influence. And priests played political roles; temples were centers of political and civic activities.

Dwellings and Architecture

The early Phoenicians shaped dwellings, temples, and tombs out of the calcareous limestone caves and fissures found in their homeland. Yet with time they built dwellings typical of other Mediterranean cultures, using stone building blocks, masonry, and timber. Some dwellings were a combination of both styles: building materials added to natural formations.

Transportation

The Phoenicians developed what was considered a superior version of the galley ship, vessels powered primarily by oar with a number of rowers. They constructed it from cedar planks and used caulk to seal the seams. A keeled hull enabled them to sail on open seas. By the eighth century B.C.E. they built their ships with more than one tier of rowers: Those with two were known as biremes; with three, triremes; and so on. The Carthaginians reportedly built quadiremes and quinqueremes, four-tiered and five-tiered galleys. Merchant ships were broader and rounder than war galleys and typically had a single mast and a square sail in addition to oars.

The Phoenicians are credited as the first people to navigate by means of Polaris, the North Star, located along the axis of the North Pole and relatively fixed in position throughout the year. Using the North Star would enable them to travel at night and away from coastlines.

Religion

Each Phoenician city-state had its special deity, referred to in many cases as Baal for a god and Baalat for a goddess, although they were often known by their local names, such as Baal-peor, Baal-hazor, and Baal-hermon. Baal was consid-

ered the father of the gods and bore such titles as "Lord of the Earth" and "Rider of the Clouds." The most prevalent goddess in Phoenicia was Astarte, Queen of the Heavens and Lady of the Sea. Gods from other cultures also were worshipped by Phoenicians. They practiced holy prostitution and child sacrifice.

The Phoenicians accepted Christianity. A woman from Sidon, a Phoenician town, is mentioned in the Bible as a convert who witnessed a miracle performed by Jesus.

As the foremost navigators of their day and the most active traders the Phoenicians have special significance in the ancient history of Europe as disseminators of knowledge and material culture throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond into Atlantic coastal regions. They absorbed elements of cultures of those who had invaded their homeland and those with whom they traded, yet maintained a distinct identity as a cosmopolitan people who made much of the ancient world—parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe—a smaller place.

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Picenes (Piceni; Picenians; Picenti; Picentini)

The Picenes occupied, at their greatest extent, the present-day region of Marche in east-central Italy, an area between the Apeninnes and the Adriatic coast. The Picene culture and language were heavily influenced by Latin and Roman culture before they were absorbed into the Roman Republic in the third century B.C.E. The Picenes are said to have taken their name from the word for "woodpecker," *picus,* which was their sacred animal and guide for their migration.

ORIGINS

Archaeological excavations suggest the Picenes emerged as a distinct culture around 900 B.C.E.; from then until 700 B.C.E. their material remains diverge substantially from those of the neighboring Villanovans. The diversity of the cultures within the region that was defined as Picenum by the Romans has led some scholars to differentiate a northern and a southern population of Picenes, which seem to have had a linguistic divide. The northern group were possibly a non-Indo-European population, subject to influences from the Etruscans, Illyrians, and Ligurians (some scholars even consider them Illyrian migrants from across the Adriatic); the southern have been identified as descendants of the Italics and are known by the tribal names Adriani, Praetutii, and Palmiensi. Archaeological evidence does little to solve this question. The historians Strabo and Pliny of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. viewed all the peoples of this region as one.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Picenes is unknown. By 100 B.C.E. it had been entirely obliterated by Roman influence, and even before that time there are records of Latin comedies being played in Asculum (modern Ascoli Picento) to Romans and Picenes together. During the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E. records of items plundered by Romans in Asculum include Greek and Latin books. Fragmentary inscriptions do little to help, suggesting similarities with the language of Illyrians, and variously with that of the Umbrians, who spoke an Italic language.

PICENES

location:
Picenum; east-central Italy, between Apennines and Adriatic coast; centered around present-day Marche region of Italy

time period:
c. 900 to 87 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown, probably Osco-Umbrian (Italic)

language:
Picenian (affiliations unknown)

Picenes time line

B.C.E.

c. 900–700	Picenes develop and differentiate from Villanovan culture.
seventh–fourth century	Flourishing of Picenes in Marche region
fourth century	Picenes enter into conflict with Praetutii.
298	Outbreak of Third Samnite War; Picenes ally themselves with Romans, then revolt.
290	Picenes granted *civitas sine suffragio,* citizenship without vote.
232	Romans divide Picenum among Latin-speaking settlers.
207	Latinization of region begins in earnest.
100	Picene language disappears completely.
90	Outbreak of Social War in Asculum, principal city of Picenes
87	Picenes granted full citizenship.

HISTORY

From their emergence around 900 B.C.E. until their first encounters with Rome in the third century B.C.E. the Picenes left no clear historical records. It is known that they traded with the GREEKS around 700 B.C.E. They seem to have settled along the coast and in river valleys, slowly spreading through the central region until conflict with their southern neighbors and chief rivals, the Praetutii, probably in the fourth century B.C.E. In addition to Asculum, Firnum Picenum (modern Ferno) was a principal town.

During the Third Samnite War between the Romans who were attempting to expand their territory and the SAMNITES and their allies, which began in 298 B.C.E., the Picenes allied themselves with the Romans, while the Praetutii supported the Samnites. In 295 B.C.E. the Samnites and their allies were defeated in a crucial battle at Sentinum and finally crushed in 290 B.C.E. Many of the Picenes resisted the Roman presence until pacified in 268 B.C.E. The Romans forced the relocation of some to the west coast, between Salerno and the Sele River, which later bore the name Ager Picenum. In 232 B.C.E. in an effort to solidify control of the region Rome parceled out the territory of the Picenes to Latin-speaking settlers. The Romanization of the area began in earnest in 207 B.C.E. during the Second Punic War with the CARTHAGINIANS.

Throughout the second century B.C.E. the Romans demanded troops and supplies from their allies, such as the Picenes, who had all been granted the status of *civitas sine suffragio,* that is, citizenship without the right to vote. These demands put a great strain on the *socii,* or allies, and in 90 B.C.E. the Picenes revolted in Asculum along with the LUCANI and many of the other Roman allies and started what is known as the Social War. The Picenes were given the right to vote in 89 B.C.E., and two years later after the war had finally ended the Romans granted full citizenship to all Italians living south of the Po River.

CULTURE

Economy

The inland Picenes bred and herded sheep, while others became seafarers. The seafaring Picenes were both traders and pirates. The Picenes flourished through the amber trade with people of the Balkan Peninsula.

Transportation

A depiction of Picene boats has been found on a sixth-century B.C.E. funeral stele (stone slab). The ships were long and low, having a single mast with a square sail and a serpentlike bowsprit with a ram at water level.

Other Technologies

The artifacts made by the Picenes were limited primarily to stone and bronze, with ivory and amber for decoration. Their technology remained that of a Bronze Age people through the Iron Age up to the time of their encounters with the Romans. Among the peoples of east-central Italy they were known for their metalwork.

Art

Picene culture manifests continuity with early Villanovan culture, with influxes of art and artifacts from the Etruscans, Illyrians, Umbrians, and other people of the surrounding region from around 900 B.C.E. The Picenes show influences from the Greeks and eastern Mediterranean as well. The diversity of the Picenes is in part due to the independence of their small settlements, based on family or tribal alliances, and their key location in the profitable amber trade between the Balkans and Mediterranean.

Religion

Little is known of the Picenes' religious practices. Their highest deity, called Cupra, was a goddess of fertility.

The Picene culture is notable in its diversity with influences from numerous other peoples of the region.

Pictones (Pictons; Pictavi)

The Pictones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Poitiers in western France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Limonum on the site of Poitiers became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Poitiers takes its name from the tribal name.

Picts (Cruithne; Cruithin; Pechti; Caledonii; Caledonians)

The Picts were a tribal people living in northern Scotland during the time the ROMANS held Britain. The Romans' formal name for them

was CALEDONIANS; the name Pict probably was a vernacular name given them by Roman soldiers. They competed with Celtic SCOTS and BRITONS, as well as ANGLO-SAXONS, for territory in southern Scotland. After the ninth century C.E. the Picts united with the Scots in a kingdom called Alba. The kingdom was called Scotia, because the Scots and their language were dominant, while the distinct identity of the Picts, as well as their language, disappeared within a few generations. In the ensuing centuries the kingdom of Scotia expanded to include most of present-day Scotland.

ORIGINS

Pict origins are shrouded in uncertainty. Even the degree to which they were different from other prehistoric inhabitants of Scotland is unknown. Although they emerged as a distinctive culture in historical times, they are thought to be at least in part descendants of the inhabitants of Scotland who migrated from Europe around 8000 B.C.E. during the Mesolithic period. These were the hunter-gatherers who lived in temporary camps, hunted animals such as deer and fish, and lived off the plentiful supplies of fruits and berries found in the forests. Around 4000 B.C.E. they settled down and started to farm the land, clearing the forests to plant crops and tend animals such as cattle and sheep. Their settlements were located where many Scots live today, in fertile river valleys where they built farmsteads or small village communities. The Neolithic village of Skara Brae on the Orkney Islands, an archipelago off the northeast coast of Scotland, shows that they built communal stone dwellings in areas where wood was not available. Stone was also used in building stone circles and mortuary monuments.

Bronze began to be made in Scotland around 2000 B.C.E. Scotland was part of the Bronze Age trading network involving Ireland and Britain, in which gold from Ireland and tin from Cornwall were traded to the mainland of Europe. The wealth and the new ideas from Europe fostered the emergence in Scotland of the Beaker culture. Incoming groups from Britain and Ireland may have been part of this culture, which was probably also adopted by natives.

The climate was warmer than it is today, so that even high upland pastures were farmed for crops; agriculture flourished and the population expanded. But in the Late Bronze Age the climate rapidly cooled and became wetter. Much formerly arable land became peat bogs, increasing the competition for resources. It is thought that this is part of the reason people began to live on hilltop locations or on artificial islands called crannogs, to reserve scarce arable land for farming, although such locations may have served defensive purposes as well.

Ironworking began to be important in Scotland in the eighth century B.C.E. Because iron was more abundant than bronze, its use improved farming and accumulation of wealth, as well as a greater proliferation of weapons. Warfare became more common, and a class of warriors and chieftains, whose doings and strivings would provide the material for history, emerged. Scotland was greatly influenced by the pan-European Celtic culture and its La Tène art style. By the first century C.E. the land was organized into a patchwork of tribal groups with warriors engaged in probably small-scale raiding, which had relatively little impact on the life of the predominant group, numerically speaking: the farmers.

The first mention of the Picts in historical sources is by the Roman writer Eumenius in 297 C.E.; he writes that they were northern invaders of Roman Britain. The name Picti is

PICTS

location:
Northern Scotland

time period:
Eighth century B.C.E. to ninth century C.E.

ancestry:
Possibly Celtic with some Norse influence, or possibly a non-Indo-European people indigenous to Scotland

language:
Possibly a dialect of Insular Celtic, originally Brythonic with a later overlay of Gaelic and also of Old Norse; or possibly a non-Indo-European language

Picts time line

B.C.E.

Eighth century Beginning of Iron Age in Scotland

C.E.

79–85 Agricola's northern campaign against Caledonians; defeat of northern tribes by Romans at Mons Graupius in 84 C.E.

122 Roman emperor Hadrian tours Britain and has Hadrian's Wall built.

142 Antonine Wall built.

208–11 Campaign of Septimius Severus against Scots.

297 Earliest known reference to Picts by Roman writer Eumenius

fourth century Irish Celts migrate to Scotland and battle for territory with Picts.

367 Picts overrun southern Caledonia, forcing Romans to retreat behind Hadrian's Wall.

368–69 Picts forced back into their territories by Roman general Theodosius.

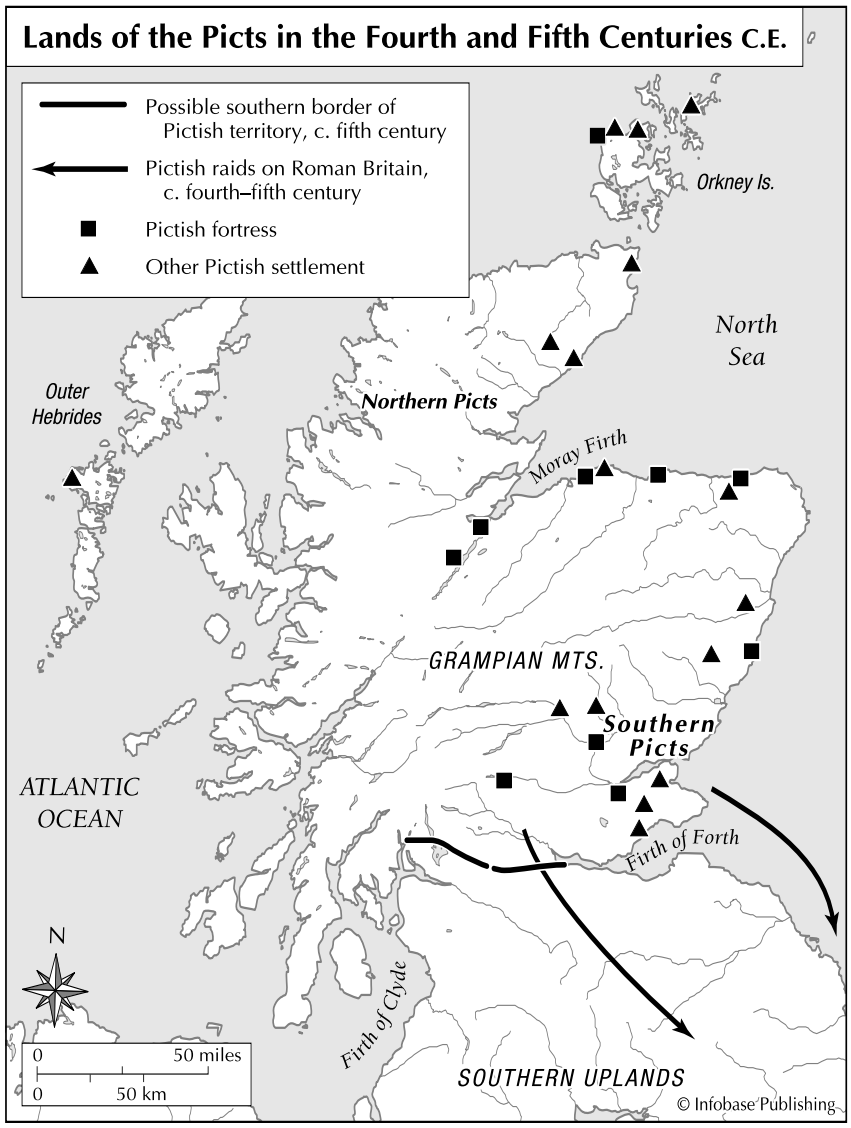
597 St. Columba converts King Brude of Picts to Christianity.

late sixth century Dál Riata Scots prince named Artur, son of Aedan, dies in battle with Picts.

685 Army of Anglo-Saxons from Northumbria under King Ecgfrith near Forfar in Angus are defeated by Pictish army.

eighth century Picts attain height of power under King Angus, who seizes Scots' capital of Dunadd; Vikings begin raiding Pictish territory.

843 Kenneth I MacAlpin, king of Scots, creates kingdom of Alba, which includes Picts; Alba evolves into Scotland.



thought to mean "painted ones," possibly a vernacular name given them by Roman troops. Alternately it may have been a Latinized version of their own collective name. Another theory considers them to have been Celtic; their socioeconomic organization was similar to that of the CELTS in being based on farming but having an important warrior element, and they built brochs, round stone towers, as the Celtic Scottish peoples did. Yet they created a distinct art form, the inscribed standing stone, many examples of which have been found throughout their territory. These stones have carved drawings of hunting scenes, battles, and strange animals, along with motifs different from those of the Celtic La Tène style. A distinctive style of fort with timber-laced ramparts has been associated with Picts, although this may reflect differences in the availability of building materials in Pictish and Celtic regions.

Irish tradition indicates that the Picts were related to the Cruithin, the ancient IRISH who, according to the writings known as the Irish Annals, undertook the first of the four main invasions of Ireland perhaps during the first part of the first millennium B.C.E. The inhabitants of Ulster considered themselves the descendants of the Cruithin and thus related to the Picts (a relationship that has been used to the present time to emphasize the distinctness of the Northern Irish from the rest of Ireland). Cruithin may be the Irish Gaelic form (q-Celtic) of the Latin Priteni, the general name applied by the Romans to the people of the British Isles, thought to derive from a fourth-century B.C.E. account by a Greek traveler, Pytheas. Some sources derive the term Pict, rather implausibly, from Priteni. A document called the *Pictish Chronicle,* known from a 14th-century C.E. manuscript but apparently compiled in the reign of Kenneth II of Scotland (971–995), names as the progenitor of the Picts Cruithne, who founded the nation with his seven sons, alluding perhaps to the seven clans or nations that the Pictish kingdom once comprised. The names of Cruithne's seven sons were also equated to the seven provinces of Pictland detailed in an ancient account of Scotland called *De situ Albanie,* possibly written in the 14th century C.E. (The number 7 seems to have had some symbolic significance for the Picts.) According to the Anglo-Saxon English historian the Venerable Bede of the seventh–eighth century C.E. the Picts traced descent through the mother rather than the father, a practice that seems to support the idea that the Picts were non-Indo-European. The Bede calls them SCYTHIANS, by which he may have meant Scandinavians.

Recent study of the ogham inscriptions found in Pictland has finally been able to decipher them, sending the search for Pictish origins in an entirely new direction, for they are written in Old Norse. Nineteen of the inscriptions carved on standing stones, about half of those known in the whole of Scotland, have been deciphered; they are memorials recording the names of the carver and of the person in whose honor the stone was erected, a common form of inscription in contemporary Scandinavia. Such stones in Scandinavia would have been written in runes. This need not rule out a strong Celtic influence on the Picts, which probably dated from the Bronze Age as in other Celtic lands. It may only show that the Picts were absorbing influences from the different groups invading and settling in Scotland

during the latter first millennium C.E. It is possible that there was commerce of some kind between Norway and northeastern Scotland from very early times, and even that small numbers of Norse speakers settled in Scotland, elements of their culture contributing to that of the natives and giving it a distinctness relative to the predominantly Celtic culture of the rest of Scotland.

The shadowy history of the Picts made them the subject of folklore after they had long been gone. In many folktales they were said to be little dark people, for reasons that are unclear. In a work called the *Historia Norvegiae* an Icelander of the 12th century C.E. described them as pygmies who came out only in the mornings and the evenings but lost their strength at mid-day and hid in holes in the ground. The remains of Atlantic wheelhouses typical of the Scots, as well as their own double-celled dwellings, which are half submerged underground, may have given rise to this idea. The Picts became identified with the Faerie Folk.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Picts is not known. It is possible that they spoke a non-Indo-European language; a number of historical accounts state that their language was different from that of other Celtic-speaking peoples of Scotland. This difference could have been simply dialectical, yet the fact that they among the many tribes in Scotland are singled out as different from the rest is suggestive of different linguistic origins.

The Picts had no writing and never adopted Latin. During the latter part of their history they began to use the Irish ogham script in inscriptions, but attempts to decipher these inscriptions by using either the Gaelic or the Brythonic branch of Celtic have been unsuccessful. On the other hand study of placenames in Pictish areas shows them to have been related to Celtic words, as were the kings' names in the *Pictish Chronicle*. Many scholars used to believe that the language of the Picts was a dialect based on a combination of the Brythonic and Gaelic languages, suggesting that the people known in historical times had an indigenous culture that had been or was in the process of being modified by that of the incoming Gaelic speakers out of Ireland. This process in any event culminated in their complete absorption after they were united with the Scots in the ninth century C.E. The discovery that the ogham inscriptions were written in Old Norse does not mean that this was the language of the Picts, only that Old Norse speakers erected and inscribed the stones. Picts may have been absorbing Gaelic and Scandinavian influences at the same time.

HISTORY

The Roman writer Eumenius describes the Picts as formidable warriors. The groups mentioned by Eumenius—Britons, Picts, and Hibernians—imply that "Pict" referred to the inhabitants (or at least warriors) of neither Roman Britain nor Hibernia, but the rest of Britain, that is, Scotland, which the Romans called Caledonia after a tribal group called the CALEDONES. They may simply have been Caledonians by another name, for the Caledonians against whom the Roman governor Gnaeus Julius Agricola waged his campaign between 79 and 84 C.E. lived in the northeast of Scotland, later known to have been the heart of Pictland. Agricola is said to have slaughtered 10,000 Caledonians in this campaign.

The emperor Lucius Septimius Severus and his son, Caracalla, may have subjected the Picts to even worse in 208 and again in 211; archaeological remains of Roman forts and roads in northeast Scotland strongly suggest that they waged a scorched-earth campaign, marching through the principal agricultural regions of the northern tribes and deliberately destroying their food supplies. Recent scholarship suggests that a list of forts compiled during the Severus campaign may actually be the earliest known written reference to the Picts, although that name was not used. Some 80 years later Roman soldiers defending Hadrian's Wall—a fortified wall built in 122, reaching from Solway Firth, on the Irish Sea, to the mouth of the Tyne River—were referring to the tribes *to the north* of the wall by a nickname, Picts, that was common enough to reach Rome itself and the ears of Eumenius.

It is known that by the next century after the Severus campaign raiders from Ireland, called by the Romans Scoti from an Irish Gaelic word meaning "raiders," were settling in western Scotland and engaged in conflict with the Picts over this territory. Very probably they had begun this raiding long before. One of the Scots' main strongholds, Dunadd, was important to the Picts as well.

In 367 the Picts overran southern Caledonia, forcing the Romans to retreat behind Hadrian's Wall, until they were quelled in 368–69 by Theodosius, a Roman general under Valentinian I. Nevertheless, until the

Romans finally withdrew from Britain entirely in 410 the Picts continued to conduct raids into Roman Britain south of Hadrian's Wall.

Militarization of the Picts

Some scholars have questioned whether Agricola's campaign in the north was necessary and whether the tribes there had really been troublesome enough to warrant attack. The evidence of their belligerence is mostly from the writing of Tacitus of the first–second century C.E., Agricola's son-in-law, not an unbiased reporter. Romans generals frequently used campaigns for political advancement; the achievement of a triumph in Rome was a priceless political asset, as Julius Caesar had shown. Thus it was in Agricola's interest that the Caledonians appear dangerous enough to warrant their subjugation.

A hundred years after Agricola's campaign the northern tribes were causing so much trouble that Hadrian's Wall had to be built. It may well be that whatever their behavior before the Roman incursion into their territory the campaign generated only resistance in the north, as the massacre of Caledonians incited their fellow tribes to revenge. Unquestionably the Picts became increasingly militarized and aggressive throughout and after the Roman period.

After the Romans

Little is known with certainty about the Picts after the Roman era, and their history merges into legend. They appear to have continued to struggle with the Scots from Ireland over territorial dominance, and with Britons and Anglo-Saxons. By the eighth century they seem to have reached their height of power, apparently controlling most of northern and eastern Scotland. Soon afterward probably because of the VIKINGS, who began raiding in the 790s, the Picts began to decline. The Scots were increasingly successful against them until 843, when the Scots king Kenneth I MacAlpin united the Scots and Picts into the kingdom of Alba, which later became known as Scotland.

Sources on the Picts

What is commonly called Pictish history after the Romans is derived from early medieval sources, historians such as the sixth-century British monk and historian Gildas, the seventh–eighth-century Anglo-Saxon Bede, the eighth-century Welsh writer Nennius, and early medieval copies or transcriptions of much older Scottish, Irish, and Welsh annals. The *Pictish Chronicle,* as do other histories written under the aegis of medieval Scottish kings, has to be viewed with caution in that it probably contains material aimed at glorifying and legitimizing the lineage of the current king. For example the information that the DÁL RIATA (or Dalriada) from Ireland were the first progenitors of the kings of the united Scotland of the Middle Ages, descendants of Kenneth MacAlpin, has been seen by some scholars as mostly propaganda.

Another early source on the Picts are the *Annals of Ulster,* compiled in Ireland in the 15th century from information apparently recorded year by year from 431 to 1540. Although mostly dealing with events in Ulster in northern Ireland, the *Annals of Ulster* also mention events in Scotland concerning the Scots and other groups with whom they were competing for dominance, among them the Anglo-Saxons from the kingdom of Northumbria in Britain, the Britons of Strathclyde in Scotland, and the Vikings. The native inhabitants of Scotland to the east and north of the Scots' Dál Riata kingdom, whose battles with the Scots and whose kings are also mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster,* are usually assumed to be the same people as the Picts or Caledonians mentioned in Roman sources. It should be borne in mind that in the Ulster material we are seeing them through an early medieval Irish filter as before we were seeing them through a Roman one. Moreover the Ulster annals and others covering roughly the same period, although apparently fairly accurate in many respects, also contain fantastic tales, such as that of a 195-foot-long woman white as swan's down who was washed up on the shore of Scotland in the year 891, a story that was repeated in several different annals. Caution, then, has to be the watchword in using such material.

The great limitation of the early annals is that they amount to little more than a catalogue of battles and birth and death dates of kings, none of which is placed in any sort of larger context. They reinforce the impression that history consisted of continual warfare and little else.

Picts in the Dark Ages: Their Rise and Fall

In the sixth century Gildas wrote that the Picts had settled in the remotest parts of the Orkney Islands off the northeast coast of Scotland. From there, he said, they raided in southern Scotland as far south as Hadrian's Wall, as unlikely as such a remote location as Orkney was as a staging area for raids so far inland. Nennius also mentions this, saying that Picts occupied the islands known as the Orchades,

whence they attacked northern regions. Irish annals also mention that the Picts used the islands as a base for southern raids.

The seventh century saw pressure in Scotland applied by the Anglo-Saxons. By 640 they had destroyed the kingdom of Gododdin and had absorbed most of the low-lying land south of the river Forth. In 685 a huge army of these Anglo-Saxons from Northumbria under King Ecgfrith marched north of Perth into Angus. Near Forfar they were met by a Pictish army and crushed, ending their incursions for the time being. This Pictish victory seriously weakened the Northumbrian hold on their lands in southern Scotland. The story of the battle seems to be depicted on the great stone carving at Aberlemno Church.

Meanwhile in 682 as recorded in the Irish *Annals of Tigernach,* a settlement on the Orkneys was "destroyed" by the Pictish power High King Bridei mac Bile. This account seems to contradict the other sources, which said that the Orkneys were part of the Pictish kingdom. It may be that Viking raiders had already established strongholds on the Orkneys and that it was they whom the Pictish king destroyed.

In the *Annals of Ulster* Angus figures as the greatest king at the height of Pictish power in the eighth century. He inflicted defeats on the Scots in their own territory, including a seizure of Dunadd, their principal stronghold, during which he reportedly laid waste the territory of the Dál Riata. He also made several ultimately unsuccessful attempts to conquer the British kingdom of Strathclyde with Northumbrians as allies. Thus by the middle of the eighth century eastern and northern Scotland had apparently been consolidated into the largest kingdom in Scotland, yet 100 years later this independent kingdom had vanished. The reason for Kenneth MacAlpin's final conquest of the Picts is unknown. The story in the annals is that the Scots invited the Picts to a feast, giving them all chairs with loosened legs. At a signal the Scots pulled out the loose legs, causing the Picts to fall to the floor, where the Scots slaughtered them en masse. Many historians believe that the Picts were gravely weakened by the Viking raids on the north coast of Scotland that began in the 790s. The Vikings took over large parts of the Pictish kingdom, including the Orkneys, Shetland, and Sutherland, and destroyed many Pictish strongholds. There are indications that plague and famine were involved in the Picts' decline.

On the other hand the tradition that Kenneth had a Pictish mother, giving him legitimacy to rule the matrilinear Picts, whether true or not, may point to the underlying reason for the disappearance of the Picts: that the many centuries of contact with the Scots had not all been hostile and that intermarriage and cultural exchange had occurred between the peoples all along, culminating in the apparent absorption of the Picts' distinct culture into that of the Scots.

The Picts' language is conventionally said to have disappeared in favor of the Scots' Gaelic tongue. Yet the great uncertainty over what language the Picts spoke and how distinct it was from the Celtic Brythonic and Gaelic languages makes any such assertion problematic. The fact that Old Norse through the agency of the Vikings soon began to impinge on Scots Gaelic as well must make it extremely difficult to distinguish any earlier influence on Scots Gaelic that the Pictish language may have had. In other words the assumption that the Scots culture completely subsumed that of the Picts may fall under the heading of history "as told by the victors." In reality both cultures may have played an important role in subsequent Scottish culture.

CULTURE

Government and Society

The Picts seem to have had a social organization similar to that of the Celts, of kings, warriors, and farmers. Pictish standing stone carvings associated with crosses commonly include images of mounted warriors. One example at Aberlemno seems to depict an important battle that took place nearby. This juxtaposition of mounted, elite warriors with the cross may indicate a wedding of spiritual and temporal authority, but also a more pagan attitude of spiritual forces marshaled to the aid of warriors and of the tribe. The victory near Aberlemno was against invading Anglo-Saxons, who were thereby driven out of Pictland. A theory about the standing stones holds that they served as territorial markers, their "broken arrow" motifs signaling the agreement of both sides on the boundary location.

One difference between Picts and other ancient peoples of Scotland is the question of descent. Evidence for matrilineal descent among the Picts is taken from the works of Bede. According to him the Picts landed first in the north of Ireland. The Irish sent them on to Scotland and, because they had no women with them, gave them Irish wives with the admonishment that the lineage must be traced

through the women. In support of this assertion is the fact that the king lists in the *Pictish Chronicle* seldom show kings' sons' inheriting their kingdoms. On the other hand kingship may not have been inherited at all, and kings may have been chosen from among a group of eligible leaders. This system, called tanistry, alleviated the problem that could arise when a king died, leaving an underage successor.

Brochs The Picts made brochs similar to those in southern Scotland; both were a local development of the Celtic hill-fort and Irish ring-fort ideas. The earliest brochs in Pictish areas date to the eighth century C.E. Many were constructed of timbers to lace (hold) stone, earth, and rubble filling together. Timber lacing, also a feature of pre-Roman Celtic forts in Gaul, has been identified at such forts as Craig Phadraig, Burghead, and Portknockie on the Moray Firth, and at Dundurn in Strathearn.

Vitrified Forts A distinctive type of construction often associated with the Picts is the vitrified fort, which has in its ramparts many stones that have been partly melted under high heat, causing them to have a glassy appearance, hence the term *vitrified*. The semimagical appearance of these rocks became part of the body of legendary lore surrounding the Picts, leading to tales about glass castles. There is as yet no satisfactory theory to account for the way the stones were melted. Burning by assailants' stacking wood against the ramparts and setting it alight has been shown to provide insufficient heat. The stones would have to be fired in an enclosed environment similar to a kiln to reach temperatures high enough to melt them, suggesting it was done deliberately by the forts' builders. The purpose for this is also obscure, since the melted stones are weaker and less useful for defense than unmelted stones. There may have been rather a magical or psychological reason for vitrifying the stones, because stones thus treated would have had a striking shiny appearance that could have convinced the enemy that the forts' defenders were in league with the gods. Vitrified forts are also found in France. Other than the use of melted stones, their construction is similar to that of brochs, which were also made by the Picts.

Houses of Common People Villages in Pictish territories contained houses that were typically constructed as pairs of adjoining circular, stone-built cells with floors sunk underground. Because separate conical roofs over each cell would create a water trap between them, it is thought that they may have been covered with a single long roof with a symmetrically placed central ridge, so that from outside they would have appeared to be a longhouse such as the VIKINGS built. They thus seem to be a combination of the Celtic roundhouse and the Scandinavian longhouse. The roofing material is unknown but could have been turf, heather, or thatch. The drystone walls of the cells, like those of brochs, were double, but in contrast to brochs were filled with sand, clay, and midden material. And unlike Celtic houses, which had doors facing east, Pictish doors faced south. They had beaten peat floors and rectangular stone hearths with one side open and facing south toward the doors.

Clothing

No artifacts of Pictish clothing have been found so far. The standing stones show mounted warriors wearing long cloaks covering them completely and what are apparently close-fitting helmets flaring out at the back.

Personal Habits

Some scholars question whether the name given the Picts of "painted ones" actually means that they painted or tattooed themselves, pointing out that no material archaeological evidence exists of this practice. It is hard to know what such evidence might be. Bodies with intact skin are extremely rare, and the Picts' figural art also does not show body painting. However, two famous mummified bodies found in recent years, the Copper Age "Ice Man" found in a glacier in the Alps and Lindow Man II found in a marsh in Cheshire in England, both had body markings. The Ice Man had tattoos and Lindow II's skin was dyed, indicating a widespread practice in Europe. Julius Caesar said that the Britons painted their body with a blue substance called woad, which made their appearance in battle more frightening. That Roman soldiers probably coined the term Picts lends credibility to the idea, because no one studies the appearance of people with more intentness than a soldier in battle, for whom an understanding of the enemy is a life-or-death matter. Wearing war paint is a form of psychological warfare at which Celtic peoples excelled.

Art

Pictish art is known from standing stones and metalwork, although recognizable Pictish motifs on metal objects are not known until

well after the Roman period, suggesting that what is considered Pictish is truly a melding of Celtic and Nordic cultures. Artisans in Scotland before the Pictish era worked in a local adaptation of the Celtic La Tène style.

Standing Stones The Pictish standing stones, which after the Picts' conversion to Christianity usually had a cross depicted on one side, contributed to the development of what is called the Celtic or Irish high or ringed cross, a monumental three-dimensional freestanding stone cross with a ring centered on the intersection of the arms. The high cross—a combination of the Pictish standing stone and the Christian cross—was created at Kells when the monastery of Columcille on the island of Iona was transferred to Ireland after the Viking raids began. The Ionan monks introduced the Pictish idea of an inscribed standing stone. Some motifs and conventions of the Pictish stones were used for the Irish crosses, including the dense interwoven lines resembling basket weave called Celtic knotwork.

The discovery that the Irish ogham inscriptions on some standing stones are in Old Norse underscores the likelihood that the idea for these monuments was introduced to the Picts from Norway. In style they seem midway between the Celtic and the Nordic.

Religion

The lives of Bronze Age people living in what would become Pictland were marked by great rituals celebrating the land and the round of the seasons, using the many megalithic monuments they built near their settlements, such as the passage grave Maes Howe, a large mound over a central drystone corbelled chamber reached by a long, narrow passage through which the Sun shone only at sunset on the winter solstice. Other monuments are great stone circles such as Callanish on Lewis in the Outer Hebrides and the Ring of Brodgar on Orkney. In the Iron Age the marked influence on the Picts of Celtic culture makes it likely that in broad outline their religion shared certain features of Celtic religion. These probably included a pantheon of deities and a supernatural otherworld; a veneration of nature and the land, closely intertwined with the practice of farming and the agricultural year; and a vivid mythology of stories about heroes and gods.

Worship at Watery Sites In common with that of Celtic peoples the pagan religion of the Picts ascribed importance to water; wells, springs, and rivers were sites of offerings and worship. A gigantic well at Burghead in Moray may have been a holy place. Written sources suggest that the Picts drowned their prisoners, perhaps to appease water spirits. As among Celtic peoples elsewhere archaeological evidence suggestive of human sacrifice either by drowning or beheading has been found.

Burials Burials have been found in Pictish areas dating from the seventh century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. Bodies in flexed or crouched positions were placed in oval-shaped, stone-lined graves. With the entry of Christianity after the sixth century there was a shift to graves in long cists, generally oriented east-west with the head to the west, where the inhumed body, without grave goods, is extended in a narrow full-length grave, lined, roofed, and often floored with flat stone slabs. Such graves numbering in the hundreds have been found in cemeteries.

Pictish Stone Carvings In the latter part of their era the Picts made elaborate carvings on upright stone slabs that are thought to have had religious significance. It is unclear whether they had begun this practice before or after they converted to Christianity, because dating of the carvings is problematic. The earliest may date to the fifth century; that date would place them in the pagan era, but most were made during the centuries after the Picts converted.

Many of these stones face to the southeast and are located near water. Some are near places such as river confluences, where evidence of ritual activity that has been found dates back to the Bronze Age. The iconography on the stones is very varied. Only three of the motifs have a widespread distribution or occur more than 20 times. These are the so-called crescent, the double disk (two joined disks), and the Pictish beast (a horselike creature whose elongated nose has earned it the name "swimming elephant"). Animals, including bulls, cows, horses, boars, stags, wolves, bears, lions, serpents, salmon, eagles, and geese, are common on the stones. There are some composite animals, such as horses with serpent tails instead of hind legs and griffinlike creatures. Other elements are so-called V-rods and Z-rods, which appear to be broken arrows or spears.

Many of the animals depicted—cattle, boar, salmon, and serpents—are known to have been revered by the Celts. The broken weapons recall those deposited in bogs and streams by Celts, probably as offerings to the gods.



This sword chape, a type of metal trimming, was used by the Picts. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*



A Pictish man drinks on horseback in this detail of stonework from eastern Scotland. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Breaking the weapons could have been a way of releasing their strength to the otherworld; alternatively it may have been meant to symbolize the cessation of war: the weapons deposited to mark peace treaties or alliances between tribes.

Conversion to Christianity By the end of the sixth century some Pictish kings had been converted to Christianity. Legend has it that Saint Columba converted King Brude, whose fort commanded the top of Craig Phadraig in Inverness, to Christianity in 597. Saint Cuthbert, the bishop at Lindisfarne, born in Scotland, conducted missionary work among the Picts of Galloway in the latter part of the seventh century.

Through their ninth-century king Eoganan the Picts may have been responsible for establishing Scotland's patron saint, Andrew, and the blue-and-white national flag of Scotland, called the Saltire. Eoganan is said to have adopted the X-shaped cross of St. Andrew as his standard. According to one legend St. Andrew appeared to Eoganan in a dream on the eve of a great victory against the Northumbrians at Athelstaneford in East Lothian in 832. Alternately a cloud shaped like a St. Andrew's cross appeared in the sky to Angus, accounting for the standard's white cross on a blue field. An important shrine to St. Andrew grew up at Kilreymont in northeast Fife in the ninth and 10th centuries. In time St. Andrew displaced earlier Celtic saints as the patron of the kingdom of Alba. He was probably used by Scottish kings to help unify his Scottish and Pictish peoples in one nation.

The history of the Picts implies that they were simply the native inhabitants of all of Scotland during the Iron Age, who by historical times were being pushed northeastward by the Romans and the Scots from Ireland. Raiders and perhaps traders from Norway had in all probability been traveling to northeastern Scotland for some time as well, introducing practices such as inscribed standing stones and the Old Norse language. Thus the Picts seem to have been a people living on the far northern periphery of the Celtic world, receiving influences from Celts in Britain and Ireland, but also from the Scandinavian world. What we can discern of their culture, in piecemeal fashion only, is probably the result of their own unique blending of all these elements into a whole largely unknown to us.

POLABIANS

location:
Along lower Elbe River in northern Germany

time period:
Seventh to 18th centuries C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Polabian (West Slavic)

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Pleumoxii (Pleumo)

The Pleumoxii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul, their location unknown, at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were a subgroup or allies of the NERVII.

Podilians

The Podilians are a Slavic people native to Podilia, a region northeast of the Carpathian Mountains between the Dniester River and the Western Bug and Southern Bug Rivers in present-day western Ukraine. They currently live to the south of the VOLHYNIANS and, as they are, are assumed to be descended, at least in part, from the DULEBIANS of the 10th century C.E. The Podilians have maintained ethnic unity and many of their traditional customs, such as particular folktales and songs.

See also SLAVS; UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Polabians (Polabs; Polabian Slav)

The Polabians were a tribe of Western SLAVS who lived east of the Lower Elbe River near the Baltic Sea in present-day northern Germany. Identified as the WENDS by the FRANKS, they moved into territories vacated by GERMANICS several centuries before, by the seventh century C.E. Germanic groups remaining there may have joined the first Slavs to enter their region, judging by distinctions between the culture that developed there and that of most Slavs elsewhere. Among their neighbors were the Slavic OBODRITES and VELETIANS.

In the eighth century to defend against these tribes Charlemagne, king of the Franks and emperor of the West, established a border-

land entity known as the Saxon Mark. In the ninth and 10th centuries Polabians became allied with the CZECHS though the royal marriages of Ludmilla and Drahomir. The Polabians rebelled against the Germans under Henry I, who died fighting them and other Slavs in 936. By the end of the 10th century the Germans had been driven out of the Polabian and Obodrite territories, which remained united under rule by the POLANIANS until the late 11th century, when they were under German hegemony, still maintaining a degree of independence, however. In 1160 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, finalized the subjugation of the Slavic tribes in the region, after which German settlers and missionaries settled there (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). In 1169 the Danish commander Absalon rooted out the Polabian island stronghold of Rügen during his campaign against Polabian pirates in the Baltic.

The Polabian dialect of West Slavic endured into the 18th century. On the basis of the dialect, the name Polabians or Polabs or Polabian Slavs is now commonly applied to all the Slavs east of the Elbe and its tributary the Saale and west of the Oder (the name Polabian means along the Elbe).

Polanians (Polans; Polanie; Polians)

The Polanians were a tribe of Western SLAVS who lived along the Warta River in present-day northwestern Poland by the seventh century C.E. As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS.

The name Polanian is taken from a Slavic word for "prairie" and can be interpreted as "those who live on cleared fields." (An alternate spelling of the name, Polians, is sometimes also used for the Polianians of present-day Ukraine.) The Polanians were centered around the present-day cities of Gniezno, Kruszwica, and Poznań in a region referred to as Kujawy. The territory was a densely populated farm country.

In the 10th century the Polanians under Mieszko I became the dominant political entity in the region, gaining hegemony over other tribes in the Oder-Vistula region, among them GOPLANIANS, KUYAVIANS, LEDZIANIANS, MAZOVIANS, POMERANIANS, SILESIANS, VELETIANS, VISTULANS, and WOLINIANS, and founding a common state structure. In 966 Mieszko was christened as a Catholic. His son, Boleslaw I, gained additional territory and further promoted Christianity in the region. In 1000 he was crowned the first king of Poland by the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (*see* POLES).

Poles (Polish; Polanders)

The Poles are the descendants of the POLANIANS, a tribe of Western SLAVS who lived along the Warta River in present-day northwestern Poland by the sixth century C.E., and of other Slavic tribes of the area, including those in the Oder-Vistula region. The Polanians gained hegemony over such peoples as the GOPLANIANS, KUYAVIANS, LEDZIANIANS, MAZOVIANS, SILESIANS, VELETIANS, VISTULANS, and WOLINIANS and founded the first Polish state. The name Poles, a shortened from of Polanians, relates to living on cleared fields.

ORIGINS

The first Slavs to enter the region of present-day Poland are thought to have migrated there along the eastern and northern flanks of the Carpathian Mountains, probably sometime in the sixth century C.E., either from the Danube region or from the Ukraine. A pottery type related to early Slavic pottery known from other regions at this time dates from the middle or later sixth century (earlier dates have now been discounted as unreliable). The migration of Slavs here coincides in time with Slavic migrations across a wide region of central and eastern Europe, known to have taken place during the sixth century, into many of the lands that have Slavic populations today. The impetus for this widespread migration is not known with certainty. It may have begun as part of a twofold process, as tribes and tribal confederacies of GERMANICS, such as that of the GOTHS, moved out of central and eastern Europe toward the toppling empire of the ROMANS, some hoping for plunder, others hoping for lands where they could settle away from the HUNS and other steppe peoples invading at this time. At the same time tribes who joined in a Slavic confederacy somewhere between the Lower Danube and western Ukraine in the late fifth and early sixth centuries developed a warrior elite, probably in part under the influence of the HUNS, who began to move into lands vacated by Germanic groups, including areas of Poland.

The Olsztyn culture (named for a region in northern Poland) shows substantial signs of change just before the middle of the sixth century and lasting for about 100 years, its cemeteries containing what appear to be Slavic fibulae from the Lower Danube delta, and at least one site containing possibly Slavic pottery. The Olsztyn culture from this period seems to be mixed, having both Germanic and Slavic elements. The change in this culture may document the arrival of the Slavs, but whether they

POLANIANS

location:
Warta River in northwestern Poland

time period:
Seventh to 10th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

POLES

location:
Poland

time period:
Sixth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Polish (West Slavic)

Poles time line

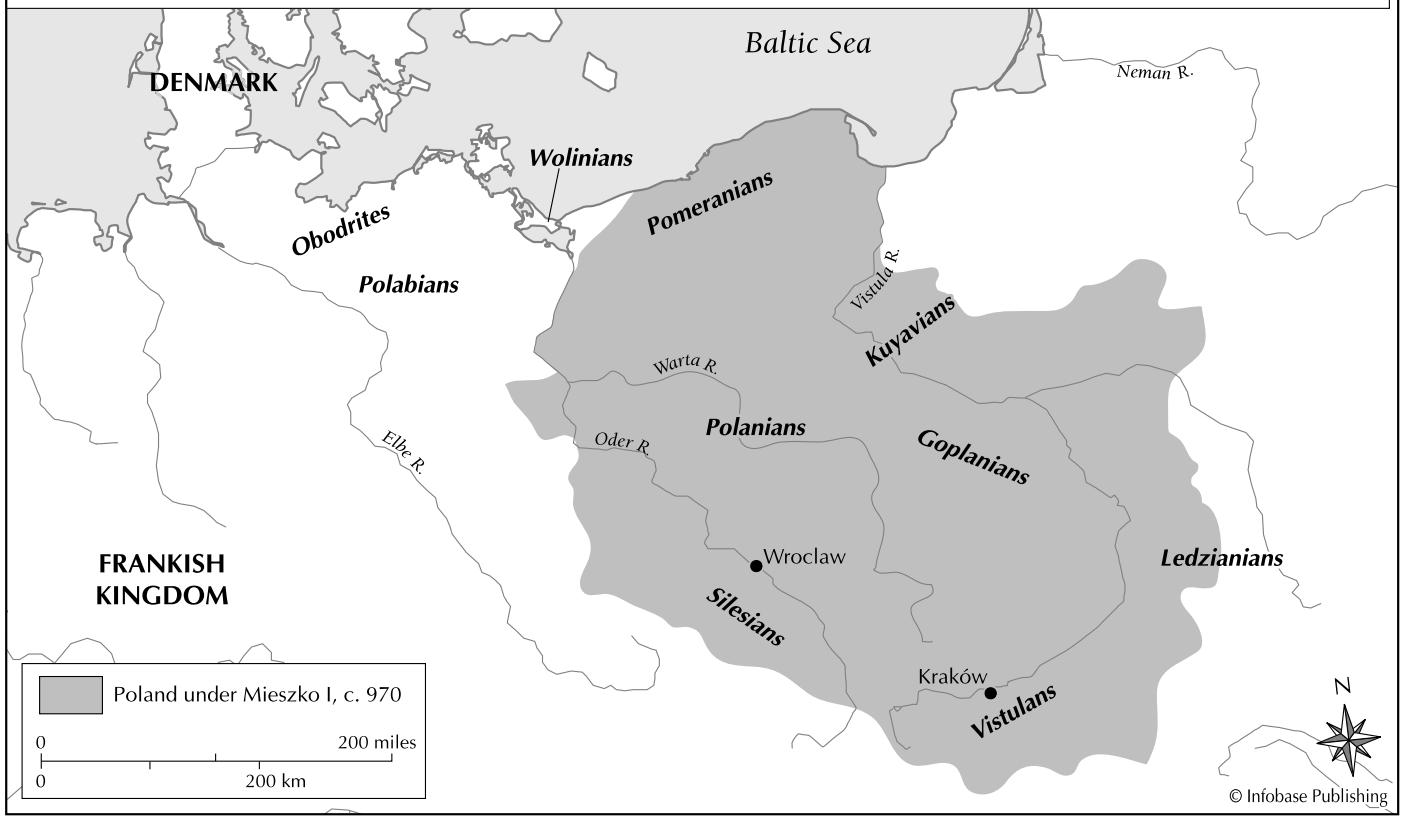
C.E.	
sixth century	Slavs settle in Poland.
960	Mieszko I rises to leadership of Polanians and begins campaigns against other Slavic tribes.
966	Mieszko is christened as Catholic.
980	Gdańsk founded.
1000	Boleslaw I is crowned first king of Poland by Holy Roman Emperor Otto III.
1138	Kingdom divides on death of Boleslaw III.
1386	Poland and Lithuania unite.

migrated from the Danube region, where the earliest historical accounts document the presence of Slavs, or from the western Ukraine, which is closer to Poland, is uncertain (however, the Danubian Slavic fibulae suggest the Danube). Most signs of Germanic culture had disappeared from Poland by the early sixth century, but western BALTS continued to live in the northeast.

In the late sixth century further although somewhat limited expansion took place in Poland beyond the rich farmlands in the southeast, mostly following the major river valleys, and the culture remained largely unchanged here. Material from the latter sixth century in southern Slovakia, Moravia, and Bohemia is very similar to that from contemporary Poland to the north, showing little sign of the differentiation that would take place later. In general the material culture remained what it had been from the first emergence of a Slavic ethnicity—simple and unsophisticated. Slavs lived in small, flimsily built, sunken-floored huts or cabins of timber; made crude undecorated pots; and had very little in the way of decorative metalwork. They used iron tools and weapons, but the fact that few of these are found in burials or hoards suggests they were too few and precious to be consigned to the ground.

Significant changes in this material culture, beginning in the mid-seventh century, seem to signal a departure from the simple Slavic culture of the past. In southern Poland more accomplished pottery was being made, finished on what is called a "slow wheel" that allowed for a more regular shape. Pottery now was being decorated and made in a greater variety of shapes; influences from south of the

The Poles under Mieszko I in About 970 C.E., Showing Location of Polanians and Absorbed Tribes



Carpathians seem to have gone into the making of this pottery. Dwellings continued to be of the familiar sunken-floor type, but burials of cremated remains now were commonly covered with earthen barrows and placed in small cemeteries, possibly for clan or family members. Such burials, memorials to the dead that would have been visible in the landscape, may signal a deeper connection with place than the mobile Slavs who first immigrated to Poland had ever had. In eastern Poland hilltop strongholds (with, however, relatively weak defenses) were first to be built in the early seventh century. Rich ornamental metalwork has been found in these strongholds, showing influences from the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire; the LOMBARDS, a Germanic tribe in Italy; and the AVARS, steppe nomads.

By the eighth century further advances in Slavic culture in Poland were fostered by increasing contact with more advanced societies to the southeast and west. Both trade and territorial expansion were involved. A trade network between, on the one hand, the Byzantine Empire and Persia and, on the other, Denmark and southern Sweden with its large Baltic islands had developed by the fifth century. By the eighth century coastal Baltic tribes northeast of Slavic areas in Poland, such as the BORUSSIANS, a people related to the Baltic LITHUANIANS, were taking part in this trade, which by the early ninth century involved silver coins from Islamic lands in the Near East. The Borussians built a trading emporium at Truso near the mouth of the Vistula by the early ninth century. A number of silver hoards near the mouth of the Vistula attest to the rich trade carried out there. These trade routes passed near and through Slavic territories and had an increasing impact on them as Slavs began to take part in this trade and to build trading centers in competition with those of the BALTS and VIKINGS.

Mieszko I: Founder of Poland

Mieszko (also Mieczyslav; Mieczyslaw) of the Polanian tribe is considered the founder of the first Polish state. He was born in about 930 C.E., reportedly son of the semilegendary Siemomysl and a descendant of the legendary tribal ruler Piast of some 90 years before, to whom the Piast dynasty is traced.

Mieszko married Dobrava, daughter of Boleslav I, a prince of Bohemia, in about 965. Supposedly at her intercession he converted to Christianity, following the Christian tenets of Rome as opposed to the Eastern Orthodox Christianity adopted by other Slavs. His conversion helped prevent confrontation with the Holy Roman Empire. To prove his devotion he built a church at Gniezno dedicated to Saint George.

Mieszko led numerous campaigns against other area tribes, during which his two brothers were killed, one of them of unknown name in about 964, and another, Czcibor, at Cedynia in Pomerania in 972. He also is thought to have had a sister. In 978, after the death of his first wife, Mieszko reportedly kidnapped Oda von Haldensleben, a nun, the daughter of Dietrich von Haldensleben, count of the North March, and married her.

Although he never established a central capital, Mieszko built a number of castles throughout his domain. One was Ostrow Lednicki, a ring fort some 460 feet in diameter with a monumental palace. In 980 he founded the city of Gdańsk at the mouth of the Vistula River. Shortly before his death in 992 Mieszko placed his state under the suzerainty of the pope in a document known as the *Dagome Iudex*.

By Dobrava Mieszko had a son, who, after deposing one of three half brothers by Oda, ruled as Boleslaw I (Boleslaus Chrobry), and a daughter, Swiatoslawa (Sygryda), later the wife (known as Queen Gunhild) of King Sweyn Forkbeard of Denmark, and mother of King Canute of Denmark and England.

LANGUAGE

The Polish language is part of the West Slavic branch, which includes Czech and Slovak as well as a number of other less widespread languages.

HISTORY

Early Trade Contacts

By the ninth century the Polanians had established trade links with the POMERANIANS, a Slavic tribe living along the Baltic coast between the mouths of the Oder and the Vistula, in whose territory trading emporia were built in the ninth century probably at first by SCANDINAVIANS, who had been trading along the Baltic for centuries. Silver hoards dating from the 940s contain large quantities of silver from Pomerania, which had been carried there along the Baltic sea-lanes from trade routes connecting the Islamic Near East, the ultimate source of the silver, with the Carolingian kingdom of the FRANKS in France and western Germany. The rise of the Kievan RUS state in the Ukraine in the previous century caused the great increase in the flow of Islamic silver northward, and of Baltic products such as amber and furs southward. The silver passed westward through the hands of middlemen in Baltic lands such as Lithuania and Prussian territory; in southern Sweden, Denmark, and Frisia; and in Slavic Pomerania and Polabia (between the Oder and Elbe to the west of Pomerania). Probably in part because of the agricultural wealth of the Polanians some of this silver was diverted to their territory, and its arrival coincides in date with the building of strongholds in Poland in the 940s.

The First Polish State

In about 960 Prince Mieszko (see sidebar, p. 599) rose to leadership of the Polanians and through his military and political skills took advantage of his tribe's wealth greatly to expand his realm. As in other Slavic states (for example, Bohemia) during this period many tribal centers in Poland were destroyed and replaced with new ones, perhaps to usurp the power of the old tribal nobility, a process that was both enabled and symbolized by the erection of new fortifications commanded by officials of the state. Contemporary accounts mention a new "king of the north," and Mieszko's rise attracted the attention of Boleslav I of Bohemia and of the German emperor Otto I. Mieszko allied himself with Bohemia though his marriage with the Bohemian Dobrava, Boleslav's daughter.

In 960–967 Mieszko, with Bohemian aid, fought the Pomeranians, Veletians, and Wolinians to annex Pomerania; he succeeded in 967 and made peace with Otto, whose Northern Mark bordered on Wolinian territory. Mieszko's alliance with Bohemia involved his baptism in 966, and he allowed the establishment of a bishopric in Poznan in 968. Mieszko refrained from much eastward expansion, probably because the lands there were sparsely inhabited forest zones. When news of Mieszko's activities reached the Kievan ruler Vladimir I southeast of this buffer zone of forest lands, he began to take territory there. But his borderlands were still far from those of Poland.

After a successful Polabian rebellion against German control Mieszko, in alliance with the SAXONS, attacked the POLABIANS, OBODRITES, and other area tribes and annexed their lands. Mieszko continued to strengthen his relations with the Germans when after his first wife died he married Oda, the daughter of the margrave of the Northern Mark; this, however, strained his relations with Bohemia. His children by this, his second wife, were expelled by their half brother Boleslaw I after Mieszko's death.

Mieszko also expanded south, annexing Silesia and territory south to the northern Carpathians, both to take advantage of this natural boundary and to gain control over trade routes to Kiev and Byzantium that ran along the Oder valley. In this process he became too close to Bohemia to the southwest, thereby generating conflict with that state.

Near the end of his life Mieszko had a document drawn up, the *Dagome Iudex,* which defined the boundaries of his realm, which he intended to entrust to the spiritual guardianship of the pope. These boundaries are fairly close to those of today's Poland. Two years later Mieszko died, leaving his kingdom to his half-German son by Oda, who was soon deposed by Boleslaw.

Coronation and Expansion

Boleslaw continued attempts at expansion west and east and consolidated his holdings in Pomerania and Silesia, subsuming Kraków in his polity. He also entertained ambitions toward Prussian territory on the Baltic, with its rich ports, sending the Bohemian bishop Adalbert (Wojciech, who had fled his native land because of dynastic disputes) on a mission to the Borussians, on which he met a martyr's death. Boleslaw placed Adalbert's body in a church in Gniezno, and the latter was canonized in 999.

In the year 1000 the young German emperor Otto III traveled to Gniezo with a papal legate to visit Adalbert's tomb and to confer with Boleslaw. For his part Boleslaw went to great lengths to impress Otto with the wealth of his kingdom and to signal his eagerness to further the cause of Roman Christianity in Slavdom. At this summit meeting bishoprics were established in Kraków and several other Polish cities. Otto for his part wanted Boleslaw's aid in strengthening German control over Slavic lands. It is believed that Otto placed his own diadem, conferred on him by papal authority, on Boleslaw's head, calling him "brother and partner of the empire" and "friend and ally of the Roman people" (meaning subjects of the Holy Roman Empire). German historians tend to see this ceremony as conveying Otto's acceptance of Boleslaw as a "tributary" or vassal, whereas Polish historians see it as a true coronation, establishing Poland as a polity of equal status with the empire. A German writer of the time chides Otto for raising Boleslaw so high "when making him a tributary." Possibly this had been Otto's intention in traveling to meet Boleslaw, but perhaps the young emperor's feelings ran away with him in awe of the relics of St. Adalbert and the other splendors of Poland, leading him to carry out an impromptu "coronation" of Boleslaw. Otto's regard for St. Wojciech/Adalbert may be suggested by the fact that Boleslaw gave him the saint's arm as a relic; Otto gave Boleslaw a replica of the "Holy Lance," which was part of the imperial regalia (the original containing a nail from the Holy Cross).

Boleslaw made good use of his anointing by Otto to extend his power into Polabia, and

in 1003 attacked Prague. He took advantage of internal dissension in Bohemia to annex lands in Moravia and in much of Bohemia. A feud between the sons of Vladimir of Kiev tempted Boleslaw to an attack there in 1018. Boleslaw's reign reached its height when he was crowned in 1025 with a diadem sent by the pope.

Polish rule in Moravia soon collapsed, however, and the territory was retaken by Bohemia in 1019 and henceforth remained attached to the Bohemian state. Poland had increasing conflict with the German Empire in the reign of Henry II in 1002–24, which led to the loss of Silesia and western Pomerania. Bohemian forces raided Polish territory in 1034 and reclaimed the body of St. Wojciech/Adalbert.

Rival Powers

After a period of continued conflict with the German Empire and with the papacy (Poland was placed under a papal interdict in 1079 when the king had the bishop of Kraków murdered) on the death of Boleslaw III in 1183, Poland was divided among his sons, causing central power to disintegrate. In 1240 and 1241 the steppe warrior MONGOLS invaded and ravaged Poland; the Teutonic Knights, a German order of crusaders, in 1226 invaded Prussian territory on a crusade to end paganism there. (Their power was only ended by Poland in the 15th century, and they became vassals of the Polish kings.)

Alliance with Lithuania in 1386 led to what has been called the Golden Age of Poland, which lasted until the 16th century. Although wars with many other states, including Hungary, Moscow, Moldavia, the TATARS, and the Ottoman TURKS, were frequent, the closely allied Polish and Lithuanian states maintained an empire that reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The arts and sciences flourished in Poland during this time, reaching a high point in the 16th century with Nicolaus Copernicus, who proposed the heliocentric astronomical system. Jesuits introduced the Counter-Reformation to Poland, which the ruling class accepted without coercion, in 1565.

Toward the end of this period Poland became involved in conflicts with Russia, in part because of its alliance with Lithuania, which had annexed Belarus and Ukraine, and in part because of religious tensions between Catholic Poles and Eastern Orthodox worshippers in the former Russian territories. In the 17th century the claims of Sigismund III, who had reigned as king of Sweden as well as of Poland until deposed by the Swedes, to the Swedish throne led to wars with Sweden. In the mid-17th century COSSACKS rebelled in the Ukraine, and Poland was attacked in 1655 by both Sweden and the Russian czar. Poland was overrun and, although it managed to stave off complete collapse for some decades, particularly during the reign of John III (John Sobieski), whose leadership during the siege of Vienna in 1683 by the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) temporarily restored the prestige of Poland, after his death Poland virtually ceased to be an independent country.

Henceforth Poland was ruled by other states—Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Austria—vying for power with each other, the nominal government of the country chosen by the victor in a series of wars. Finally during the 18th century the Russian and Prussian monarchs partitioned Poland between them; Russia gained the larger share, and most of Poland disappeared from the political map.

Enduring Identity

The Poles would maintain their political identity and cultural identity, however, and Poland would endure and be established as an independent state again in the 20th century (*see* POLES: NATIONALITY). The overwhelming majority of people who consider themselves Poles live in Poland, but small numbers of Poles live elsewhere in central Europe. These countries, in order of Polish population size, are Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, and Slovakia.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

Economy: Rise of Money Economy

The port of Gdańsk was founded by the Polish state at the end of the 10th century for the explicit purpose of tapping into and controlling part of the Baltic trade network, and around this time the first Polish coinage was minted for the same purpose (although partly also for prestige). The Polish currency was modeled on that of Bavaria and Saxony. However, the fact that silver continued to be buried in hoards through the 10th century is a sign that a money economy had not yet become dominant (hacksilver in these hoards, pieces of broken-up silver objects, was used for barter, based on weight). Such hoarding seems to have largely ended by the second half of the 11th century, evidence that silver now was freely circulating in a market economy.



This cartoon shows European leaders partitioning Poland in the 18th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZC4-6751])*

Government and Society

The reigns of Mieszko and Boleslaw saw dramatic shifts in Polish society as it moved in a short time from a tribal society to a medieval state. Social stratification increased markedly, while the population as a whole continued to grow. Craft specialization increased to include, besides pottery and leatherwork, shoemaking, bone and antler work, and fine metalworking. There was a rise in the standard of living for part of the population.

The governmental structure was similar to that of the Carolingian state. The ruler had several seats of power, moving among them with a personal retinue of troops and a corps of court officials. The Polish equivalent of the Carolingian mayor of the palace was a count palatine, who dealt with royal administrative matters. Local administration was entrusted to the commanders of strongholds (later known as castellans) helped by an elite hierarchy with military, judicial, and fiscal powers over local populations. Tribute was collected at the strongholds. There were some 500 of these strongholds across Poland, whose military strength provided the Piast dynasty with a monopoly of armed might in the land. Their elite retinues also increased demand for luxury and other goods, stimulating trade as well as local agricultural production. Settlements near the strongholds thus became a focus of economic development across Poland.

The settlements sometimes had earth and timber ramparts themselves, but their social structure was open and diverse. They seem to have had mixed populations of members of the elite, soldiers serving the local stronghold who were garrisoned in the town, merchants, innkeepers, artisans, servants, and peasants. With the formation of regular local trade networks these settlements became medieval towns similar to those across contemporary Europe but maintaining a greater degree of independence from the castellans.

Polish Conquests beyond Its Core Territory

Polish military might allowed its rulers to annex many surrounding territories, but the extent to which the people in them saw themselves as ethnically "Polish" is questionable, given the frequency with which they split away from Polish hegemony. Slovakia, Moravia, Pomerania, Silesia, and others repeatedly broke away and were reconquered. It is unknown to what extent these people spoke Polish (although all Slavic languages are mutually intelligible to some extent).

The Poles, and other Slavic cultures, experienced the same sociocultural changes fostered by contact with more advanced societies the CELTS had experienced in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. and GERMANICS, in the first half of the first millennium C.E. The rich trade and military pressures on these peoples by the Greco-Roman world, which led to the rise of elites that culminated in state formation, were brought to bear on the Poles by the Frankish and German Empires, themselves rooted in contact with the Roman Empire. Quickly the Poles rose to be full-scale players in international power politics. However, perhaps

having arrived late at the game, they were never afforded the time needed to fully establish and extend their power, and their center of power remained the relatively limited territory of Poland itself. Although the Poles experienced a Golden Age in the 15th and 16th centuries, they remained beleaguered by surrounding powers whose greater resources finally enabled them to crush Polish power, a defeat from which the Poles never fully recovered.

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Poles: nationality (Polish; Polanders; people of Poland)

GEOGRAPHY

Poland lies along the Baltic Sea in the north. Russia and Lithuania lie to the northeast, and Belarus and Ukraine to the east. The Sudeten and Carpathian Mountains define Poland's southern border between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The Neisse and Oder Rivers in the west divide Poland and Germany. The predominantly lowland terrain of the North European Plain accounts for the vast arable lands. Poland has more than 9,300 lakes, the majority in the north. Poland's highest point, Mount Rysy in the Carpathians, is 8,200 feet. Poland is divided into 16 provinces. Poland's total area is 120,728 square miles.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Poland's frontiers have dramatically shifted within the past millennium. Poland was first united as a kingdom under Mieszko I of the POLANIANS, who founded the Piast dynasty in 960 C.E. and united the various tribes of Western SLAVS. The established territory of the early POLES expanded and diminished over the centuries. The War of the Polish Succession (1733–35) led to a division Polish territories among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Successive partitions that occurred within the next 40 to 50 years made Poland disappear from the map. The French under Napoleon I Bonaparte established a buffer Polish state in 1807. After Napoleon's defeat the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) defined a Polish kingdom (Congress Poland) in personal union with Russia. Poland lost autonomy after the Polish Revolt in 1830–31.



A Polish family poses for this early 20th-century photograph. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-100123])*

POLES: NATIONALITY

nation:
Poland (Polska); Republic of Poland (Rzeczpospolita Polska)

derivation of name:
Polish *Polanie,* or "dwellers of the field"; *pol,* or "field", and the Russian *polyî,* or "open land"; also the Indo-European root *pelè-,* meaning "flat" and *-anie,* meaning "inhabitants"

government:
Republic

capital:
Warsaw

language:
Polish, a Slavic language, is spoken by the vast majority.

religion:
About 95 percent of the population are Catholic; the remaining 5 percent are Eastern Orthodox and Protestant.

earlier inhabitants:
Celts; Goths and other Germanics; Balts (Borussians etc.); tribal Slavs (Polanians; Poles; etc.); Mongols

demographics:
About 98 percent of the population are Polish; minorities include Germans, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Jews, Belarusians, Ruthenes, Tatars, and Armenians.

Poles: nationality time line

C.E.

960 Piast dynasty begins under Mieszko I.

1138 Kingdom divides when Boleslaw III dies.

1241 Mongols invade region.

1370 Piast dynasty ends; Jogaila dynasty begins.

1386 Poland and Lithuania form dynastic union.

1497 Nicolaus Copernicus (Mikoaj Kopernick) begins making astronomical observations.

1569 Under Sigismund II Union of Lublin unifies Polish-Lithuanian state.

1572 End of Jogaila dynasty marks end of territorial expansion.

1578 Jan Kochanowski writes first Polish tragedy, *Odprawa poslów greckich* (The dismissal of the Grecian envoys).

1670–95 Wacław Potocki writes patriotic epic *Wojna Chocimska* (The war of Khotin), celebrating Polish victory over Ottoman Empire in 1621.

1700–1721 Poland sides with Russia against Sweden in Great Northern War.

1733 Saxony assumes control of Poland; War of the Polish Succession begins, with dynasties struggling for throne of Poland.

1772 Under Treaty of Polish Partition Russia acquires large Polish territories.

1783–1814 Wojciech Bogusławski serves as director of Polish National Theater in Warsaw.

1791 Poland proclaims a hereditary monarchy and attempts to liberalize government despite gentry opposition.

1793 Territorial partitions among Russia, Prussia, and Austria inspire Polish Revolutionary War led by Tadeusz Kósciuszko.

1795 Poland is divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

1807 Napoleon I Bonaparte forms Grand Duchy of Warsaw from Russian and Prussian territories.

1815 Congress of Vienna establishes Kingdom of Poland.

1831 Poland attempts to declare independence; Russia crushes revolts.

In despair over Russian oppression, composer Frederic Chopin settles in Paris; he conceives of "Revolutionary Étude" at this time.

1834 Poet Adam Mickiewicz writes national epic, *Pan Tadeusz* (Master Thaddeus).

1843 First volume of songs by Stanisław Moniuszko, *Spiewnik Domowy* (Songbook for home use), is published.

After occupation by Germany and Austria during World War I (1914–18), the Treaty of Versailles redefined Poland as an independent republic and settled some territorial disputes, although the Polish-Russian border was controversial even after the Treaty of Riga in 1921. That same year Poland adopted a constitution. One-third of the newly created Poland included peoples who considered themselves Germans, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Jews, and Lithuanians. World War II (1939–45) caused the further shifting of borders. The boundaries of Poland were negotiated at the Yalta Conference of 1945 and the Potsdam Conference later that year. In 1947 a Soviet-controlled government gained power. In 1970 a treaty with West Germany determined western Polish boundaries along the Oder-Neisse line. In 1989, free elections led to the victory of the Labor Party.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The cultural identity of Poles endured for centuries in the absence of a sovereign Polish state. Polish culture developed, crystallized, and

1878	Jan Matejko celebrates Polish and Lithuanian 1410 victory over Germanic forces in his painting *The Battle of Grunwald.*
1901	*Wesele* (The wedding), play by Stanisław Wyspiansky, opens.
1905	Novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1916	National Museum is founded in Warsaw.
1918	After downfall of Russian Empire and collapse of Central Powers at end of World War I Poland proclaims itself independent republic.
1919	Treaty of Versailles gives Poland territorial and economic rights.
1921	Soviet-Polish frontiers are established.
1924	Novelist Wadysław Stanisław Reymont wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1928	National Library is founded in Warsaw.
1930	Composer Karol Maciej Szymanowski becomes head of Warsaw Academy.
1932	Poland agrees to nonaggression pact with Soviet Union (USSR).
1939	Nazi Germany invades Poland, starting World War II.
1944	Anglo-American invasion of France leads to Poland's liberation.
1945	Official frontiers are established under Potsdam Conference, marking end of World War II.
1947	Soviet-controlled government is established.
1948	Mazowsze, Polish state folk song and dance ensemble, is founded.
1952	Poles adopt new constitution.
1955	Poland is an original member of Warsaw Pact formed under direction of Soviet Union.
1960s	Jerzy Grotowski's Laboratory Theater and Henryk Tomaszewski's Pantomime Theatre gain international acclaim.
1968	Poland assists Soviet Union with invasion of Czechoslovakia.
1970	West Germany affirms Polish boundary.
1980	Independent trade union, Solidarity, forms in response to labor turmoil.
	Poet and novelist Czełsaw Miłosz wins Nobel Prize for literature.
1989	Labor Party is victorious in free elections.
1996	Poet Wisława Szymborska wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1999	Poland joins North Atlantic Trade Organization (NATO).
2004	Poland joins European Union (EU).

became more visibly distinct in reaction to cultures of the occupying German, Austrian, and Russian powers. Poles of all social strata became increasingly aware of ethnicity and cultural distinctness. A sense of identity motivated a continuing struggle for independence. Polish arts and sciences became the primary bearer of Polish identity to an unusual degree and united Poles, preserving them from Russification and Germanization.

As a number of Polish writers have noted, the strong sense of Polishness risks parochialism, which may make Polish cultural products incomprehensible to foreigners and prevent the creation of art and science of universal reach. Such self-involvement might hinder objectivity and, because the highest art involves a balancing of form and content, might tilt the balance too far toward content—material of national connotations overblown and overemotional—at the expense of form. The composer Frederic Chopin demonstrated that this need not be the case, however. Many of his works are based on Polish dance forms, the polonaise and the

mazurka, and have patriotic references, yet his command of counterpoint, among the most highly formal of musical techniques, was absolute.

Although the Polish sociocultural system has been shaped by Polish nationality and the predominance of Roman Catholicism, it was formed in creative cooperation with many ethnic and religious groups. Poland over time included large groups of other Slavic nationalities and many other ethnic groups. In the union of the Polish Commonwealth with the Great Duchy of Lithuania, for example, Poles, LITHUANIANS, Ukrainians, Germans, JEWS, Belarusians, RUTHENES, TATARS, Armenians, and many other smaller ethnic groups lived together in relative peace and solidarity. In this cultural community the tendency was for tolerance of distinctness. In 1505 Jews founded a school of higher education in Lublin, Jeshibot, with academic rights granted by Sigismund the Elder. After the Academy of Kraków it was the second most important academic school in the commonwealth, established before academic centers in Vilnius (1578), Zamosc (1595), and Lvov (1661). In the commonwealth there also existed a variety of religions and denominations. In 1772 there were more than 10,000 parishes of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the commonwealth, 3,996 Roman Catholic parishes, hundreds of auxiliary churches and chapels of both denominations and rites, and hundreds of synagogues and Protestant congregations.

The multiethnicity and religious diversity of the Polish sociocultural system were maintained for centuries. Before the outbreak of World War II in 1939 Poland was one of the most ethnically and religiously diversified states of Europe. Because of the large population movements after the war, when many fled a Soviet-dominated Poland for the West, and of the annexation by Soviet Russia of former Polish territories where Ukrainians and Belarusians lived, Polish society became almost monoethnic and uniconfessional. Today ethnic minorities constitute only about 3 percent of the population. But the traditions of pluralism are deeply rooted. Polish culture is still characterized by a broad openness and tolerance. This does not preclude, however, a relative insularity as well, perhaps a product of the vast tragedies and shocks of the 20th century.

Private ownership of land is a premier value of the Polish peasant, only strengthened by the experience of Soviet experimentation with collective landholding. Polish resistance to collectivization caused the Communist government to abandon the effort. A private farm was not only a source of income, but a symbol of personal freedom and independence and a bastion of Polish identity.

Poles consider that a certain set of values characterizes Polish cultural identity. These include a belief in family and home; community; democracy; spirituality based on the tenets of Catholicism; inner freedom and individualism; hospitality, sociability, and generosity; a sense of service; optimism in the face of apparent hopelessness (a trait apparent during the long struggle of the Solidarity Movement); creative activities; criticism of ruling forces; and expression of emotions.

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Polianians (Polians; Poliane; Polyans; Poliany; Polyane; Polyanians)

POLIANIANS

location:
Near Kiev in Ukraine

time period:
Sixth to ninth century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
East Slavic

The Polianians were a tribe of Eastern SLAVS who lived along the middle Dnieper River near Kiev in present-day Ukraine probably by the early sixth century C.E. Their name is taken from a Slavic root word for "prairie" or "field," as in "people of the field"; an alternate spelling of the name, Polians, is sometimes used for the POLANIANS of present-day Poland.

According to Ukrainian tradition a Polianian leader known as Kyi formed a tribal confederation and founded Kiev. In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples the Polianians were under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them. They also served under Rus princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

The Polianians were renowned for the making of swords; in the early ninth century

when the KHAZARS imposed a tribute on the Eastern Slavs they demanded a sword from every Polianian household and furs from other tribes.

Polians *See* POLANIANS; POLIANIANS.

Polochanians (Polotchans; Polachanians; Polchani; Polechane)

The Polochanians are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS who lived along the Western Dvina River in present-day northern Belarus and eastern Russia in the vicinity of Smolensk. In 862 C.E. they founded the principality of Polotsk, with the capital Polatsk. Unlike other Slavic tribes in the region, they retained their autonomy from the RUS. The Polochanians are assumed to have descendants among both the Belarusians (*see* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY) and the Russians (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).

Polovtsi *See* CUMANS.

Pomaks (Achrjani)

The Pomaks are a people of uncertain origin presently living in the Rhodope Mountains in Thrace in southern Bulgaria, northeastern Greece, and northwestern Turkey. The name Pomak is applied to them generally; in Bulgaria they are called Bulgarian Muslims or Bulgarian Muhammadans. They have the status of a religious Muslim minority in Bulgaria and Greece. One Pomak native name is Achrjani.

ORIGINS

The origins of the Pomaks are the subject of dispute based on nationalistic views. A number of different peoples have probably intermingled with the Pomaks over the centuries, and SLAVS, GREEKS, and TURKICS are probably all among their ancestors, as well as other groups, such as the THRACIANS, from ancient times. Modern Bulgarians consider them Slavic in origin. A theory put forth by modern Greeks is that at least some among them are descendants of Thracians, in particular a tribe known as Agrianes (or Agrianoi) of the Rhodopes, who were over the centuries Hellenized, Latinized, Slavized, Christianized, and Islamized. Some modern Turks have hypothesized that the Pomaks are descendants of Turkic-speaking peoples, such as CUMANS, PECHENEGS, or AVARS (the Avars being Turkic or Mongolic), who took refuge in the mountains from the Ottoman Turks.

The various theories relating to the etymology of the name Pomarks attest to the broader dispute over origins. According to the Greek, Pomak is derived from *pomax,* for "drinker," used to described the Thracian tradition of drinking. According to the Bulgarians it is from either the Turkish term *pomagach* for "helper," reflecting the social position of Pomaks in the Ottoman period or an alleged Pomak collaboration with the Ottoman government in order to maintain land rights; from the Bulgarian Pomochamedanci for "Islamized"; or from the phrase *po mâka,* meaning "by pain of death," in reference to the forced conversion from Christianity to Islam of the Pomaks under the threat of death by Ottoman Turks. The alternate name Achrjani may be from the Old Bulgarian Aagarjani, meaning "infidels," or from the name of the ancient Thracian tribe the Agrianes.

LANGUAGE

The Pomak language, known as Pomakika (or Pomakci), is a variant of Bulgarian, a Southern Slavic tongue related to Macedonian, with many Greek and Turkic borrowings. Because Pomak does not have a standard written form, various alphabets have been used to record it, including Arabic, Cyrillic, Greek, and Latin. Pomak religious services are held in Arabic. Many modern Pomaks are multilingual, speaking some Arabic, Greek, and Turkic as well as their native tongue, which is still prevalent in mountain villages but in decline among young people.

HISTORY

Part of the Ottoman Empire

Because the origins of the Pomaks are uncertain, it is not known when they settled in the Rhodope Mountains. As a result known Pomak history is tied in with histories of the nations where they live and the shifting boundaries of their homeland. In 1876 there occurred an uprising against Ottoman Turkish rule by the Bulgarians. Some Pomaks aided in the suppression by the Turks, perhaps participating in a massacre of Bulgarians in the mountain village of Batak (leading to the theory that their name means infidels and helpers). In 1878 after the Treaty of San Stefano ended the Russo-Turkish Wars the Pomaks revolted against the

POMAKS

location:
Thrace (southern Bulgaria; northeastern Greece; northwestern Turkey)

time period:
Before 19th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Possibly Greek, Slavic, Turkic, or Thracian

language:
Pomakika (Bulgarian); Turkic

Pomaks time line

C.E.	
1876	Pomaks aid Ottoman Turks in suppression of Bulgarian uprising.
1878	Pomaks try unsuccessfully to create autonomous region.
1913	Short-lived Republic of Gumuldjina created.
1923	Treaty of Lausanne recognizes Pomaks as minority.
1951	Greek Pomaks allowed to choose between Greek and Turkish schools.
1989	Migration of many Bulgarian Pomaks to Turkey
1995	Pomaks allowed to cross between Bulgaria and Greece.

Bulgarians and created an autonomous administration in some 20 localities in the Rhodopes, which was never recognized internationally.

Early Attempts at Autonomy

The Pomaks were forced to honor international agreements and boundaries created after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the First Balkan War of 1912–13 and the Second Balkan War of 1913. In 1913 after the retreat of Ottoman and Bulgarian troops the Pomaks again attempted to create an autonomous region, the Republic of Gumuldjina (Komotiní), in Thrace. During this period some Pomaks who had been forcibly Christianized by Bulgarians resumed the practice of their Muslim religion. After World War I (1914–18) Pomaks in Bulgaria continued to seek autonomy and freedom of religion.

Western and Eastern Thrace

By the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 western Thrace was incorporated into Greece (now part of the administrative region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace), and eastern Thrace became part of Turkey. The treaty called for an exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, with Muslims of Greece to resettle in Turkey, and Christians of Turkey to resettle in Greece. There were two exceptions, however: Muslims could stay in Thrace, and Greeks in Istanbul and on certain Aegean islands. At that time Pomaks and other Muslims of Thrace were granted official minority status, with the right to education in their own language and to religious freedom. The departments of Evros, Rhodope, and Xánthi in western Thrace have the greatest number of Greek Pomaks. Yet after the treaty other Pomaks living in parts of Greece other than Thrace resettled in Turkey.

Pomaks under Communism

During World War II (1939–45) and after Bulgaria had become part of the Communist bloc in 1946 Bulgarian officials attempted a new round of Bulgarization among Bulgarian Pomaks. Bulgaria also instituted the *izselvane* (resettlement) program, relocating Pomaks from southern border regions. As a result small pockets of Pomak populations can be found today in the Balkan Mountains and other regions. During the Communist era in Bulgaria the Pomaks were not allowed to travel freely across international borders. In Bulgaria Pomaks lived in a military "restricted zone," requiring special permission for access. Campaigns to force the changing of Muslim names to Slavic names were carried out. Those who refused risked death or imprisonment.

Some Bulgarian Pomaks were sympathetic to the Communist cause, which led to distrust in Bulgaria of its own Pomak population as Communist. During the cold war Greek officials also blocked border crossings. They also implemented a policy to encourage Pomak ties to Turkey, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally, as opposed to Bulgaria, leading to a Turkish national identity among the Greek Pomaks.

Greek and Turkish Issues

Over the years, however, with growing tensions between Greece and Turkey over border issues, discrimination against the perceived Turkish Pomaks arose among the Greek population. In 1951 Greek Pomaks were granted the right to attend either Greek-language or Turkish-language schools (because Pomak is a language without an established written form, there are no Pomak-language schools). ROMA attend some of the same schools as Pomaks.

Since 1995 border crossings between Bulgaria and Greece have been allowed and the restricted zone has been abolished. Turkey, which experienced a mass immigration of Pomaks and other Muslims on opening its borders in 1989, closed them again because of difficulties in supporting the great influx of people. Even in Turkey although they are Islamic, as are the majority of the population, the Pomaks sometimes face discrimination as outsiders. (*See* BULGARIANS: NATIONALITY; GREEKS: NATIONALITY; TURKS: NATIONALITY.)

CULTURE

The Pomaks live in small villages typically as seminomadic farmers—potatoes and tobacco

are the main crops—and shepherds. Many women still wear multicolored garments. Much of the social life revolves around the mosque. As in earlier times Pomaks cross borders to visit family members and to graze animals. Some traditional festivals are held.

In 2000 some 287,000 Pomaks lived in Bulgaria, and about 39,000 in Greece. The number in Turkey is more difficult to determine; it is estimated that as many as a million Bulgarian Muslims now live in Turkey, a great number of them Pomaks. Living in three different countries and having undergone attempts at forced assimilation, as well as ongoing attempts at Christianizing by evangelical missionaries, and with young people less likely to use the native tongue, the Pomaks risk losing their political and cultural identity.

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Pomeranians (Pomerani; Pommeranen; Pomorjane; Pomorzanie)

The Pomeranians were a tribe of Western SLAVS who lived along the Baltic Sea between the lower Oder and lower Vistula Rivers in present-day northern Poland by the seventh century C.E. Their name is derived from the Slavic word Ponorze for "land by the sea." Gdańsk was later a principal fortified town in the region. The Pomeranians and other Western Slavs were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS.

The Pomeranians were conquered by Boleslaw III of the Piast dynasty of POLANIANS in 1133–35. In the 12th century the western part of Pomerania was established by the GERMANS as the Duchy of Pomerania; the eastern part became known for a time as Pomerelia.

The Pomeranians are considered ancestral to the KASHUBES, one of the groups of Poles (*see* POLES: NATIONALITY). The name Pomeranians also has been used to refer to anyone from Pomerania. A West Slavic dialect still spoken in the region is known as Pomeranian.

Pomorzanie

See POMERANIANS.

Portuguese: nationality (people of Portugal)

GEOGRAPHY

Portugal is situated between Spain to the north and east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west and south. The Madeira Islands and Azores of the Atlantic Ocean are also Portuguese territory. The total area of Portugal is 35,655 square miles. Portugal's diverse terrain consists of arable river valleys, plains, mountains, plateaus, and sandy coastlines. The valleys of the Douro and the Tagus Rivers are used for vineyards and agriculture. A mountain range, Trás-os-Montes, lies to the northeast. Portugal's highest peak, Malhão de Estrela (6,532 feet), part of the Serra da Estrela, is found in the central region. The Meseta Central, a mountainous plateau, extends from Spain into eastern Portugal. Large coastal plains are found in the southern and western regions, south of the Tagus River, Portugal's longest river. The Serra de

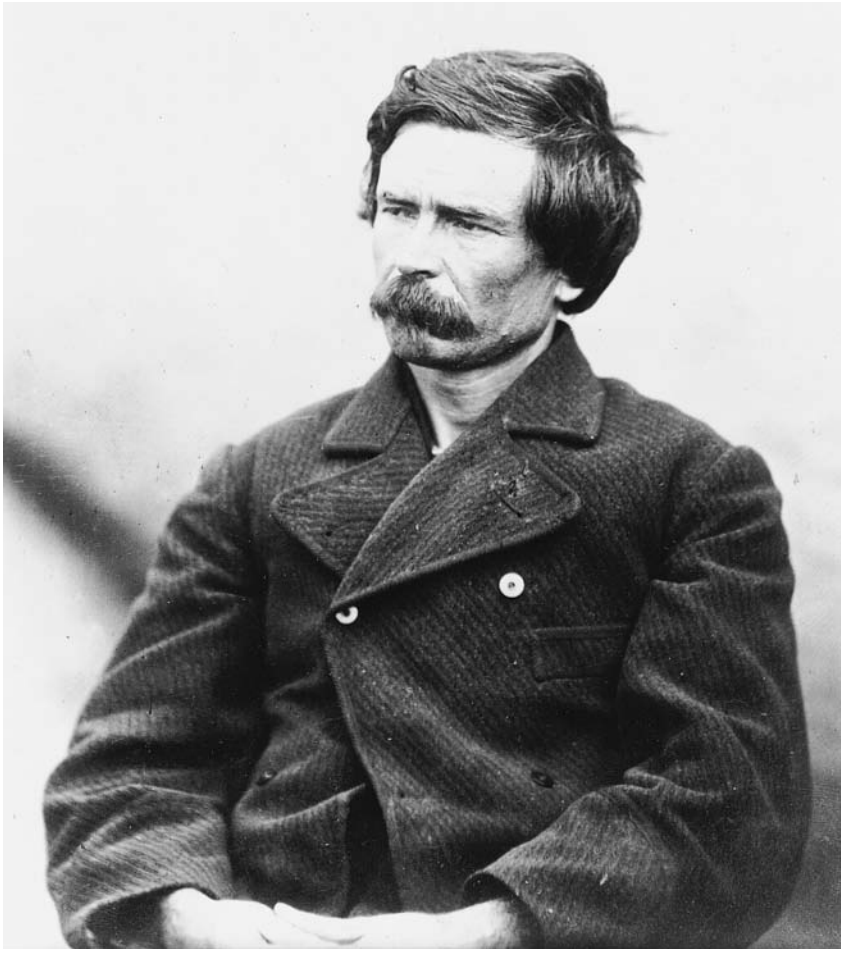
POMERANIANS

location:
Along Baltic Sea between Oder and Vistula Rivers in northern Poland

time period:
Seventh to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic



This is a photographic portrait of a Portuguese ship captain in 1865. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-121668])*

PORTUGUESE: NATIONALITY

nation:
Portugal; Portuguese Republic (Republica Portuguesa)

derivation of name:
From the Latin root *portus,* or "port"; used to describe the Roman port near the Douro River called Portus Cale

government:
Parliamentary democracy

capital:
Lisbon

language:
Official language is Portuguese; English, French, and German are also spoken.

religion:
More than 90 percent of the population are Catholic; Protestants, Jews, and Muslims make up religious minorities.

earlier inhabitants:
Iberians; Celtiberians; Lusitani; Romans; Visigoths; Moors

demographics:
Ethnically people of Portugal are homogeneous; small numbers of Africans, Brazilians, and Asians also live in the nation.

Portuguese: nationality time line

C.E.	
711	Moors invade Iberian Peninsula from Africa and depose Visigothic monarchy.
997	Bermudo II, king of León, invades Moorist territory between Douro and Miño Rivers.
1064	Ferdinand I, king of Castile and León, attempts Christian reconquest of Moorish lands.
1093	Alfonso I, king of Asturias, makes Henry of Burgundy count of Portugal as reward for defeating Muslims at Toledo.
1139	Portugal is declared independent of Castile and León under Afonso Henriques, son of Henry of Burgundy, who proclaims himself Afonso I, first king of Portugal, in 1143.
1179	Afonso I puts Portuguese kingdom under protection of Holy See.
1297	Treaty of Alcanices with Castile establishes Portugal's frontier.
1383	Ferdinand I, last descendant of Henry of Burgundy, dies.
1385	Aviz dynasty rises to power; England and Portugal become allies in Treaty of Windsor.
1450	Nuno Gonçalves becomes court painter.
1453	Gomes Eannes de Azurara writes about voyages of exploration sponsored by Portuguese prince Henry the Navigator.
1495–1521	King Manuel I reigns; Portugal enters golden age of exploration.
1502	Poet and playwright Gil Vicente performs for royal court.
1516	Garcia de Resende compiles *Cancioneiro geral* (General songbook), encompassing work of 300 poets.
1572	Luís Vaz de Camões writes epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*) about 1497–99 voyage of exploration to India by Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama.
1640	Portuguese conspirators, supported by France, win independence for Portugal.
1668	Under Treaty of Lisbon Spain recognizes Portugal's independence.
1775	Equestrian statue of José I by Joachim Machado de Castro is unveiled in Lisbon.
1796	National Library is founded in Lisbon.
1807	Napoleon I Bonaparte invades and conquers Portugal.
1808	Peninsular War begins; Britain, Portugal, and Spain fight against Napoleonic France.

Monchique range runs from east to west in the extreme south of the country.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The ROMANS conquered earlier inhabitants of what would become Portugal, tribes of IBERIANS and CELTIBERIANS. Among them were the LUSITANI. The Iberian Peninsula was ruled by the VISIGOTHS from the early fifth century C.E. and then occupied by the MOORS in the eighth century. Portugal's first roots as a nation were established during the Christian reconquest of the region. Afonso Henriques, son of a Burgundian count and grandson of Alfonso VI of Castile, built an empire out of the reconquered lands. After defeating the Moors in 1139 he declared himself the first king of Portugal. Portugal's independence was recognized by Spain in 1143 and by the Vatican in 1179. Alfonso III recaptured Algarve from the Moors in 1249, thus consolidating Portugal.

Portugal's monarchy fell under Castilian Spanish rule in 1383 through marriage, although João I, founder of the Aviz dynasty, regained independence from Castile in 1385, assisted by England. Over the next two centuries Portugal became a major economic and colonial empire. The Aviz dynasty ended in 1580 when Spain occupied Portugal. During Spain's wars against the English and the Dutch, Portugal lost many of its overseas territories.

Portuguese independence was reestablished by João IV with help from England in 1640. Portugal's ties to England led to Napoleon I Bonaparte's occupation from 1807 to 1811. In 1910 the monarchy was overthrown in a revolution and a republic was founded.

1822	First constitution is adopted; people win sovereignty; Brazil, Portugal's most profitable colony, declares independence.
1826	Pedro I inherits thrones of Portugal and Brazil, then abdicates throne under condition of Constitutional Charter.
1844	*Frei Luis de Sousa* (Brother Luiz de Sousa), play by João Baptista da Almeida Garrett, opens, leading to growth of national theater.
1872	Sculptor António Soares dos Reis begins teaching at Porto Academy of Art at age 25.
1875	*Crime do Padre Amaro* (*The Sin of Father Amaro*), novel by José Maria Eça de Queirós, is published.
1884	Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (National Museum of Old Art) is founded in Lisbon.
1911	Portugal becomes a republic; Manuel José de Arriaga is first president.
1914	Poet Fernando Pessoa adopts heteronyms (alter egos)—Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos—for his poems.
1914–18	During World War I Portugal sides with Allies.
1926	Military coup establishes dictatorship.
1928	Painter Maria Helena Vieira da Silva becomes naturalized French citizen.
1933	New State constitution is adopted.
	Composer and musicologist Luís de Freitas Branco begins publishing periodical *Arte Musical* in support of international musicians.
1939–45	Portugal declares neutrality during World War II.
1949	Portugal joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).
1955	Portugal joins United Nations (UN).
1971	Lisbon Municipal Orchestra is founded.
1974–75	Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola win independence.
1976	New constitution is adopted, and again in 1982.
1986	Portugal joins European Community (EC).
1993	Portugal becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).
1998	Novelist José Saramago wins Nobel Prize in literature.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Perhaps the essence of Portuguese cultural identity grew out of the country's proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, a sea road that has lured the inhabitants away from the land for fishing and trading from earliest times. The Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula has been linked with coastal regions of France, Britain, Netherlands, Denmark, and southern Sweden from the Neolithic Age, forming a distinct Atlantic coastal culture as gift-exchange networks circulated ideas as well as goods to all of these regions. The large stone constructions that began to be built throughout the Atlantic coastal zone in the Late Neolithic are the first clear evidence of the wide-ranging contacts of people in what would become Portugal. Over the centuries overseas links grew ever stronger as trade in metals became important and traders from the Mediterranean—PHOENICIANS and GREEKS—rounded the Iberian Peninsula to the Atlantic coast. The region became under the Romans the province of Lusitania; it was part of Visigothic territory and then was conquered by the Muslim Moors.

The international character of the region was reflected in the events that would create the state of Portugal, as knights from all over Europe traveled to Iberia to take part in the Reconquest of the land from the Moors. Henry of Burgundy, who had assisted the Crown of Castile, was awarded rule over Portugal. The fervor of the Reconquest fueled Portugal's subsequent overseas expansion. It is fitting that the very name of Portugal is derived from the name Comitatus Portaculenis, a military holding that extended around the old Roman seaport of Portus Cale (present-day Porto).

For centuries it has been a way of life for Portuguese to travel far from home, not only as fishermen, such as those who sailed to the far North Atlantic each year to spend a season fishing for cod, but also as explorers, adventurers, colonizers, and immigrants. It may be for this reason that a quintessentially Portuguese musical art form is *fado,* a type of solo singing accompanied by two guitars. *Fado* is imbued with a mood called *saudade,* a melancholy longing for the Portuguese homeland. A particular style of *fado* has been influenced by the music of Brazil, one of the foreign lands where the Portuguese ventured.

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Praetutii (Pretuzi)

PRAETUTII

location:
Northern Abruzzi in east-central Italy

time period:
Eighth to third century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

The Praetutii lived in the present-day province of Teramo in the northern region of Abruzzi in present-day east-central Italy. Along with the ADRIANI and PALMIENSI they are sometimes grouped ancestrally with the PICENES living to their north beyond the Tonto River, although it is generally believed that the Adriani, Palmiensi, and Praetutii spoke Italic dialects and the Picenes either an Illyrian or a pre-Indo-European dialect.

The classifications of the ITALICS and ILLYRIANS often overlap. The Praetutii are thought to have migrated from the mountainous regions into river valleys and toward the shore of the Adriatic in the eighth century B.C.E. Because of a similar Oscan dialect it has been theorized that they were descendants of the SABINES, who dominated much of central Italy between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.E. The main town of the Praetutii was Interamna (modern Teramo), located at the confluence of the Vezzola and Tordino Rivers.

The Praetutii economy was based on farming and herding. In the fourth century B.C.E. the government of the Praetutii seems to have shifted from one of monarchy to an oligarchy, that is, from rule by one to rule by a small group. The Praetutii were in conflict with the Picenes that same century, as the Picenes expanded and advanced toward the Adriatic.

During the Third Samnite War between the ROMANS and the SAMNITES, which began in 298 B.C.E., the Praetutii joined the Samnites and their allies, in an attempt to stop the Romans, who were also expanding. The Picenes aligned themselves with the Romans. After a bitter and violent campaign led by the Roman Manius Curius Dentatus the Romans and allies defeated the Samnites and allies in 290 B.C.E. At that time the Praetutii, along with the Samnites, became *civitas sine suffragio* of Rome, that is, citizens without the right to vote in the Roman assembly. The land of the Praetutii became the Roman province of Ager Praetutianus. Many Picenes eventually settled there, displacing and absorbing the Praetutii. In 232 B.C.E. the Romans divided the region among Latin-speaking settlers, and the Praetutii as a distinct group dropped from the historical record.

Preciani

The Preciani are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

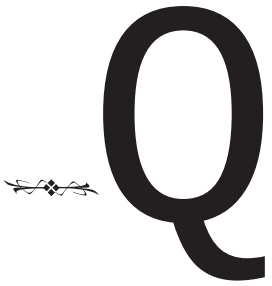
Pretuzi *See* PRAETUTII.

Prussians (Pruzzi; people of Prussia)

The name Prussians refers to people living in the former state of Prussia, present-day north-central Germany. BALTS occupied the territory along the shore east of the Vistula (the Baltic-speaking BORUSSIANS are also called Old Prussians). Prussia was conquered by the primarily Germanic military and religious order the Teutonic Knights in the 13th century C.E. Prussia was under Polish control until 1701 (*see* POLES), when it became an independent kingdom. Its people, although ethnically mixed, maintained predominantly Germanic customs (*see* GERMANICS). Prussia became a strong military state during the reign of Frederick the Great (1740–86). At its widest extent it included West Pomerania, Silesia, the western part of present-day Poland, and by

1866 two-thirds of present-day Germany (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). In 1867–71 it held a leading position in the North German Confederation. After World War I (1914–18) Prussia became subject to the German Weimar Republic. Prussia, as a state, was abolished in 1947.

Prussians (old) *See* BORUSSIANS.



QUADI

location:
Eastern Czech Republic; eastern Austria; western Slovakia; northern Hungary; Spain

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Swabian (Germanic)

Quadi (Quades; Quadians)

The Quadi were a subgroup of the SUEBI, part of the Germanic ethnic complex (*see* GERMANICS). By the mid-first century B.C.E. they inhabited lands north of the Main River in present-day central Germany. By 40 C.E. they had settled in the region of Moravia in the present-day eastern Czech Republic, and in northeastern Austria and western Slovakia. To their west in the region of Bohemia were their allies, the MARCOMANNI. The Quadi held territory in northern Hungary as well and eventually expanded their domain southward to the Danube. Later in their history some among them migrated to present-day Spain.

ORIGINS

It is assumed that the Quadi became known by their name, possibly given to them by the Romans and meaning "four tribes" in Latin, after they separated from other Suebi and migrated eastward.

Quadi time line

C.E.	
101–106	Quadi warriors fight under Decebalus of the Dacians against Romans.
166–180	Quadi join Marcomanni against Romans in Marcomannic Wars.
373–375	Quadi battle Romans.
406–409	Quadi join Vandals and Alans in invasion of Iberian Peninsula.

LANGUAGE

The Quadi spoke a High German dialect known as Swabian.

HISTORY

The Quadi were persistent enemies of the ROMANS and carried out early raids north of the Danube. On the other hand, they, and their western neighbors the Marcomanni, may well have taken part in the trade the Romans had established with tribes north of the Danube in the first century C.E. and were, in effect, client states of Rome. This sort of relationship had a profound and ultimately destabilizing effect on many Germanic tribes, and probably on the Quadi as well, in that Romans promoted the emergence of elites and greater social stratification than had ever been known before, contributing to social tensions and both intra- and intertribal rivalries on a more significant scale than that of the simple cattle raids of the long Germanic past.

Allies in the Dacian Wars

In 101–102 and 105–106, possibly as a result of such tensions, the Quadi fought against Rome as allies of the DACIANS, a broad confederacy of peoples living in the uplands of Transylvania, who had developed a sophisticated, nearly urban state protected by the Carpathian Mountains and the Transylvanian Alps. One possible reason for Quadi involvement in the Dacian Wars may have been as an outlet for the

energies of young Quadi warriors whom the tribal elite, at the behest of the Romans, were trying to quell. The Dacians under Decebalus with their Quadi allies crossed the Danube, defeated and killed the Roman governor of Moesia, and ravaged the province. The Romans under the emperor Trajan counterattacked and eventually defeated Decebalus, who committed suicide with many of his nobles. After the Romans annexed Dacia many of the province's inhabitants migrated east.

Allies in the Marcomannic Wars

The experiences of the Quadi in the Dacian Wars may have convinced them of the iniquity of the Romans. Also the depopulation of Dacia may have made it a tempting territory to which to migrate. In any case the Quadi along with the Marcomanni were among the Germanic tribes whose movement across the Danube into Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary) and Dacia (roughly modern Romania) in the mid-second century prompted Roman campaigns along the northern frontier. In 166–175 the Romans under Emperor Marcus Aurelius waged successful warfare against them and the Marcomanni, as well as allies among the SARMATIANS, restoring the Danube frontier. Many Quadi men were conscripted into the Roman army for warfare against the BRITONS on the British Isles.

Quadi Raids in the Fourth Century

In the late fourth century Quadi were angered that the Romans were building fortifications in their homelands north of the Danube. They sent a deputation to complain in 373, but their leader, Gabinius, was killed. Along with their allies the Sarmatians they began attacking Roman posts and protected towns along the Danube frontier. The Roman emperor Valentinian I waged war successfully against them. At treaty negotiations in 375 he died of a stroke reportedly after being upset by the insolence of Quadi leaders.

During the same period some Quadi attempted to establish their own kingdom south of the Danube in the Roman province of Pannonia but fell under the dominion of other invading peoples, such as the HUNS, HERULI, LOMBARDS, and VISIGOTHS.

Migration to Spain

The Quadi were the predominant Suebian group who invaded the Iberian Peninsula with the VANDALS and ALANS in 406–409 and settled in Spain (these Quadis are referred to in the historical record as Suebi). Their domain, originally consisting of the present-day Spanish provinces of La Coruña, Lugo, Orense, and Pontevedra, was known as Gallaecia. They expanded southward until pushed back by the Visigoths and finally defeated in 585.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

During the first centuries C.E. the Romans engaged in large-scale trade with tribes north of the Danube and possibly with the Quadi. The Romans traded silver coinage, wine, olive oil, and luxury products for slaves and furs.

The Quadi are said to have worshipped their swords as gods. In later centuries they were under the influence of the non-Germanic steppe tribes to the east, such as the Sarmatian IAZYGES, who fought on horseback with lances.

The Quadi are noteworthy among the Suebi as allies of the Dacians in the Dacian Wars, allies of the Marcomanni in the Marcomannic Wars, and allies of the Vandals in their migration to the Iberian Peninsula.

Quariates (Quariates Sebusiens)

The Quariates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Vesant in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

R

RANIANS

location:
Island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea in Germany

time period:
Seventh to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

Radimichians (Radimichi; Radimichy; Radimiches; Radimitches; Rodimichi)

The Radimichians are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS. They arrived in the region between the Dnieper and Desna Rivers in present-day eastern Belarus and western Russia probably by the sixth century C.E. Their territory eventually extended to the Volga basin. In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples they fell under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907. The Radimicians, along with the DREGOCICHIANS, DREVLYANS, KRIVICHIANS, and POLOCHANIANS are considered ancestral to modern Belarusians (*see* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY) and Russians (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).



Celtic peoples utilized gold coins in commerce. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Raeti (Rhaeti; Rhaetii; Raetians; Rhaetians)

The Raeti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived north of the Alps within the kingdom of Noricum in present-day Austria. They were part of a powerful coalition of tribes of CELTS in the second and first centuries B.C.E. with the AMBIDRAVI, NORI, and TAURISCI. Raetia (or Rhaetia) became the name of a Roman province in 15 B.C.E. and the people who lived there became known as Raetians or Rhaetians. The FRIULIANS and LADINS are thought to be partly descended from them, and the Rhaetian Alps are named after them.

Ranians (Rügen Slavs; Rugians)

The Ranians are classified as a tribe of Western SLAVS. By the seventh century C.E. they lived on Rügen, an island in the Baltic Sea, now part of Germany. As were all western SLAVS they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS.

The Ranians eventually formed a principality whose political and religious center was at Arkona, a promontory on its north coast, where a pagan temple was built inside a fortress. In 1168 the Danes under Waldemar I conquered the Ranians and destroyed the fortress; they ruled the Slavic population until 1218 (*see* DANES: NATIONALITY). The German dukes of Pomerania then gained control (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY). It was also ruled by the Swedes (*see* SWEDES: NATIONALITY) and the Germans of Prussia.

The name Rugians is applied to both the Slavic peoples of Rügen and earlier Germanic inhabitants (*see* RUGII).

Raurici (Rauraci; Rauraki; Rauraques)

The Raurici are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe, that is, of both CELTS and GERMANICS. They lived west of the Rhine near present-day Basel in northwestern Switzerland. They joined the HELVETII in their migration to

the west in 58 B.C.E. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar defeated them at the start of his conquest of Gaul. Some tribal members fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans in 52 B.C.E. Augusta Rauricorum on the site of present-day Augst in Switzerland became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul, and they are further classified as GAULS.

Redones *See* RHEDONES.

Regni

The Regni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the present-day counties of East Sussex and West Sussex, England, and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. After the suppression by the ROMANS of the British rebellion led by Queen Boudicca of the ICENI in 60–61 C.E. King Togidubnis of the Regni, probably having helped quell the Iceni, became a client-king of the Romans, and may have ruled other tribes as well. He promoted the growth of towns and of municipal self-government along the lines of towns among the GAULS. Noviomagus (modern Chichester) became the Regni *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation; an inscription found there calls him Great King of Britain.

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Remi (Remes)

The Remi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Reims in northeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. The Remi were faithful allies of the ROMANS, supporting various campaigns. Durocortorum on the site of Reims became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Reims takes its name from the tribal name.

Rhaeti *See* RAETI.

Rhedones (Rheidones; Redones; Redons)

The Rhedones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Rennes in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy). The region was occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E. Condate Redonum on the site of Rennes became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Rennes takes its name from the tribal name.

Ripuarian Franks *See* FRANKS.

Robogdi (Robogdii)

The Robogdi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in northeastern Ireland (the present-day county of Donegal in the Republic of Ireland and the district of Londonderry in Northern Ireland) at least by the first century C.E.; they are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. Some among the DÁL RIATA or Dalriada, who eventually settled in present-day northwestern Scotland by the fourth century, are thought to be of the Robogdi.

Roma *See* RROMA.

Romani *See* RROMA.

Romanians: nationality (Rumanians; people of Romania)

GEOGRAPHY

Romania is bordered to the east by Moldova, to the north by Ukraine, to the south by Bulgaria, to the southwest by Serbia and Montenegro, and to the west by Hungary. The Black Sea touches Romania in the southeast. Romania's total area is 91,700 square miles. The Carpathian Mountains, including the Transylvanian Alps in the south, run from northern to southwestern Romania in a crescent shape. Bukovina, a forested region, is found in the eastern Carpathians. Romania's highest peak, Moldoveanu, measures 8,343 feet.

Beyond the mountainous region lies the Tisza Plain in the west; hills, small plateaus, and arable lowlands make up the remaining terrain. The Danube is the principal river of Romania, running along the Bulgarian and Serbian and Montenegrin frontier. The Prut River forms the border with Moldova. Romania's largest lake is Lake Razelm, part of the saline lagoon on the coast of the Black Sea.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The name Romania is derived from that of the ROMANS who conquered earlier peoples and

ROMANIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Romania; Rumania; Roumania

derivation of name:
meaning "Roman realm"

government:
Republic

capital:
Bucharest

language:
Romanian, a Romance language, is the official language; Hungarian, German, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, and Romani are also spoken.

religion:
About 70 percent of the population practice Romanian Orthodoxy; about 6 percent are Catholic and an equal number are Protestant; atheists, Muslims, and Jews constitute the remaining percentages.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Celts; Romans; Goths; Heruli; Gepids; Huns; Avars; Slavs; Pechenegs; Byzantines; Mongols; Turkics; Vlachs

demographics:
Romanians make up about 90 percent of the population and Hungarians about 7 percent; remaining minorities include Rroma, Ukrainians, Germans, Ruthenians, Russians, Serbs, Croats, Turks, Bulgarians, Tatars, and Slovaks.

Romanians: nationality time line

C.E.

1599 Michael the Brave, a Walachian prince, fights Ottoman Turks, uniting Moldavia, Walachia, and Transylvania.

1601 Michael the Brave is assassinated; Ottomans regain Moldavia, Walachia, and Hungary annex Transylvania.

1711 Princes of Moldavia and Walachia create alliance with Peter I of Russia.

1774 Under treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji Ottomans cede Moldavia to Russia; Austria acquires northern Moldavia and renames it Bucovina.

1812 After renewed warfare Russia controls Bessarabia, and Ottomans control western Moldavia and Walachia (Danubian Principalities).

1822 Turks grant Romanians leadership of principalities.

1836 National Library is founded in Bucharest; in 1861 it is moved to University of Bucharest.

1844 Vasile Alecsandri publishes collection of Romanian folk songs.

1848 Romanians rebel against boyars and foreign control.

1853–56 During Crimean War Austria drives out Russian troops from Romania; Congress of Paris unites Walachia, Moldavia, and southern Bessarabia (present-day eastern Moldova), now independent from Ottomans and Russia.

1861 Painter Nicolae Grigorescu wins scholarship to study in Paris.

1861–62 Moldavia and Walachia are officially united as Romania.

1863 Painter Theodor Aman becomes director of National School of Fine Arts in Bucharest.

1865–68 Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu compiles *Arhiva istorica a Romaniei* (Historical archive of Romania), collection of historical documents.

1875 Poet Mihai Eminescu and short story writer Ion Creanga meet.

1878 By Congress of Berlin ending final Russo-Turkish War Ottomans recognize united Moldavia and Walachia as Romania; southern Bessarabia regained by Russia.

who in turn were displaced by tribes of GERMANICS and followed by tribes of SLAVS. Romania was also invaded by steppe peoples such as the HUNS, AVARS, and PECHEWEGS, and MONGOLS. The BYZANTINES also established a presence there. In the 13th century C.E. Hungarian expansion forced many VLACHS to relocate south and east of the Carpathian Mountains, establishing the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. These principalities were vassels to either Hungary or Poland until their conquest by the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) in the 16th century. Michael the Brave, who ruled in 1593–1601, gained independence from the Ottoman Empire and consolidated control over the three Romanian lands, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia. In 1601 Transylvania fell to Hungarian rule and the Ottoman Empire regained control over Walachia and Moldavia.

Revolts broke out in the principalities in 1821; Russia established a protectorate over the two principalities, eliminating Ottoman control. The Treaty of Paris in 1856 ended the wars between Russia and Turkey and confirmed Walachia and Moldavia, now united with Bessarabia, as an independent tributary of the Ottoman Empire. In 1862 the principalities were unified as a hereditary monarchy under the name of Romania and received international recognition at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

Romania acquired Transylvania from Hungary and officially incorporated Bessarabia at the end of World War I (1914–18). During World War II (1939–45) Hungary reclaimed Transylvania and then returned it to Romania while ceding some territory to the Soviet Union (USSR). In 1947 Romania abolished its monarchy and declared itself a Communist republic. Romania renamed itself the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1950s, breaking ties with the Soviet Union. The collapse of Communist power in 1991 allowed the creation of Romania's current democratic form of government. The same year Moldova, formerly the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, also gained independence.

1881	Romania is proclaimed kingdom.
1884	*O scrisoare pierduta* (A lost letter), play by Ion Luca Caragiale, opens.
1886	George Enescu performs violin concerto in Paris as teenager.
1904	Novelist Mihail Sadoveanu moves to Bucharest and begins literary career.
1906	Sculptor Constantin Brancusi first exhibits his work in Paris.
1914–18	During World War I Romania maintains neutrality until 1916, entering on side of Allies; peace treaty, ending war, allows for Romanian expansion.
1920	Bessarabia unites with Romania under Treaty of Paris; Romania enters alliance, Little Entente, with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.
1938	King Carol II becomes dictator.
1939–45	During World War II Romania first sides with Germany, then with Soviet Union.
1940	Under German-Soviet pact Romania cedes Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Hungary and Soviet Union (USSR).
1947	Romania regains and then loses Transylvania to Soviet Union; Romania becomes Romanian People's Republic.
1948	National Museum of Art of Romania is founded in Bucharest.
1950	*La Cantatrice chauve* (*The Bald Soprano*), play by Eugène Ionesco, son of Romanian father and French mother, opens and helps inspire Theater of the Absurd.
1951	National Art Museum is founded in Cluj-Napoca.
1955	Romania joins Warsaw Pact.
1965	Nicolae Ceausescu, Communist Party leader, administers foreign policy independently of Moscow.
1990	Communist regime overthrown; first free elections held.
2004	Romania joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The physical heart of Romania is its mountain region: the Transylvanian Alps curving northward at their eastern end into the Carpathian Mountains, important since the Bronze Age for their mining and metalworking industries. Although the Romanian language is derived from Latin as are other Romance tongues, the Roman presence in the region, where they established the province of Dacia, was relatively brief, only a century and a half, and at a time late in the Roman Empire's history when its economic influence in the provinces was dwindling. The Latin language took hold in Dacia because many of its inhabitants (probably mostly the elite class) left rather than suffer Roman rule, and the region was colonized by Romans. The native DACIANS had developed a unique theocracy centered on the mountain sanctuary settlement of Sarmizegethusa. The Dacians' ancient roots were Thracian. The Dacian state lay in the region called today Maramures; folk beliefs here and in the Transylvanian Alps in general (such as the



A Romanian woman and child stand by a farmyard fence in this early-20th-century photograph. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-109395])*



A Romanian man and woman pose in the traditional costumes of their Saxon ancestors in this late-19th-century photograph. *(Library of Congress, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-108698])*

belief in vampires) may have distant roots in the powerful Dacian religion. In general the spirituality of the Romanian mountain population shows features of the original Thracian background but also the influences of the Eastern and Western civilizations.

Romanians remember military heroes of the past. One of these, Stephan the Great (of Moldavia), led a great struggle against the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Michael the Brave (of Walachia) also led a briefly successful uprising against the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century. He is a national hero as the first to combine the three territories that were to form Romania.

Among Romanians today great emphasis is placed on multiculturalism among the many ethnic groups who settled the countrys during its long history. The Vlachs, the Slavs, the Ottoman Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire have all left their marks and have had an influence on the cultural identity. Ethnic communities in Romania include Hungarian, German, Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Serbian. The importance of ethnicity in Romania, as in other countries that were under Soviet domination, with its attempt to do away with religion and with customs of the past, is to some extent a "rebound" from past oppression. The Romanian mountain area was never collectivized; the farmers strove to preserve their ancient agricultural and especially cultural traditions. Important among these was a method of transhumance, the so-called short swing in the summer, when more than 4,000 sheepfolds are created. Preserving their cultural identity was a silent form of resistance to the aggression of the political system.

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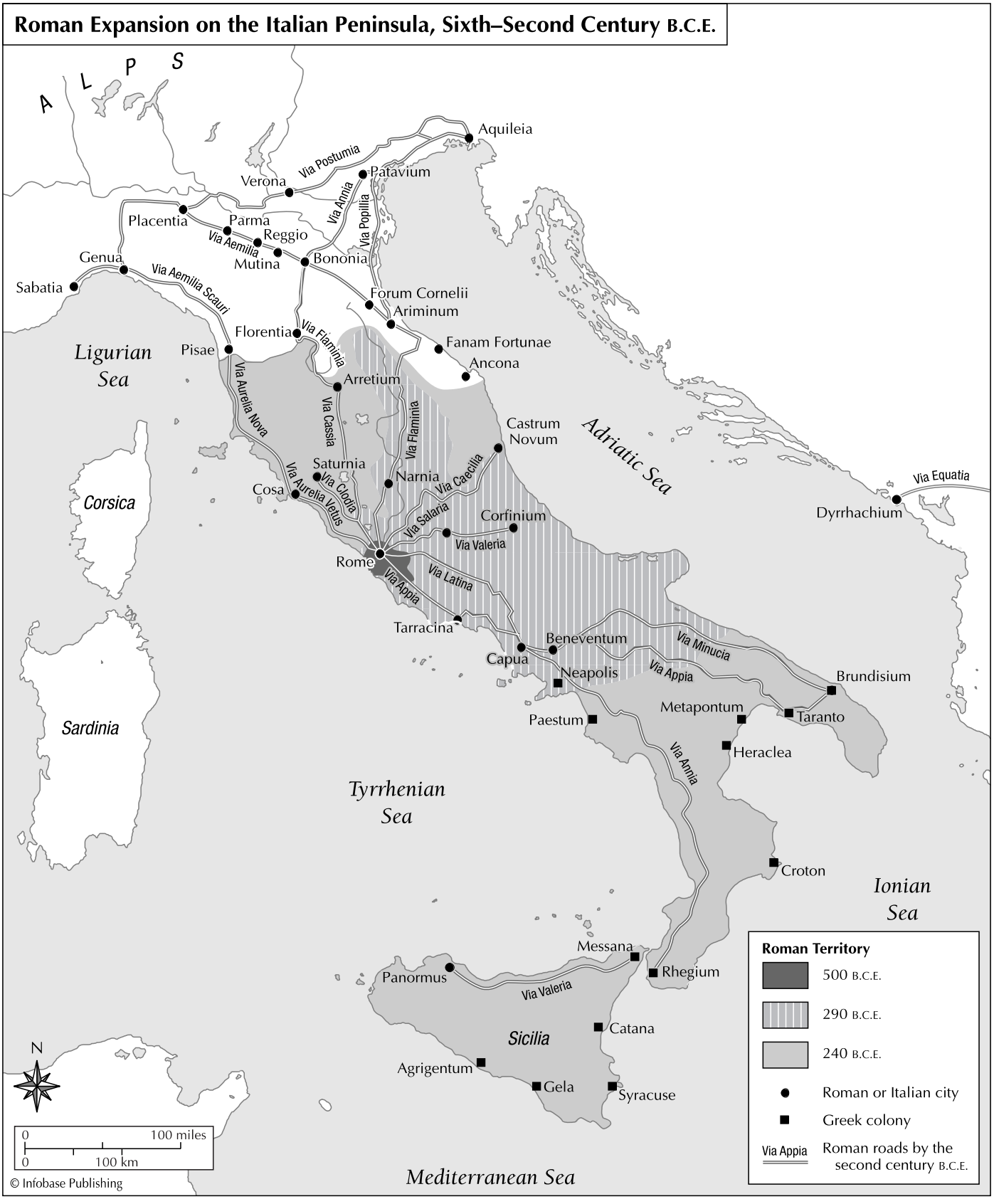
Romans (Latins; Quirites)

The Romans are classified as a subgroup of ITALICS, Indo-European peoples of the Italian Peninsula. They are named after the city of Rome (or Roma) on the Tiber River. The Roman Empire at its greatest extent in the second century C.E. included all of southern Europe, much of the British Isles, as well as much of northern Africa and southwestern Asia. Over the centuries peoples of varying ancestry were considered Roman. Some among them are grouped among the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire.

ORIGINS

The LATINS, speakers of dialects of Latin, are considered the primary ancestors of the Romans. It is believed that the first Indo-European-speaking migrants, the most ancient ancestors of the Italics, crossed the eastern Alpine passes into the plain of the Po

River sometime around 250 B.C.E., then spread southward. Later Indo-European groups may have immigrated from elsewhere in about 1200–1100 B.C.E. during the Late Bronze Age, when many peoples were on the move in the Mediterranean region, and settled other



ROMANS

location:
Italy; greater Europe

time period:
753 B.C.E. to 568 C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Latin (Italic)

Romans time line

B.C.E.

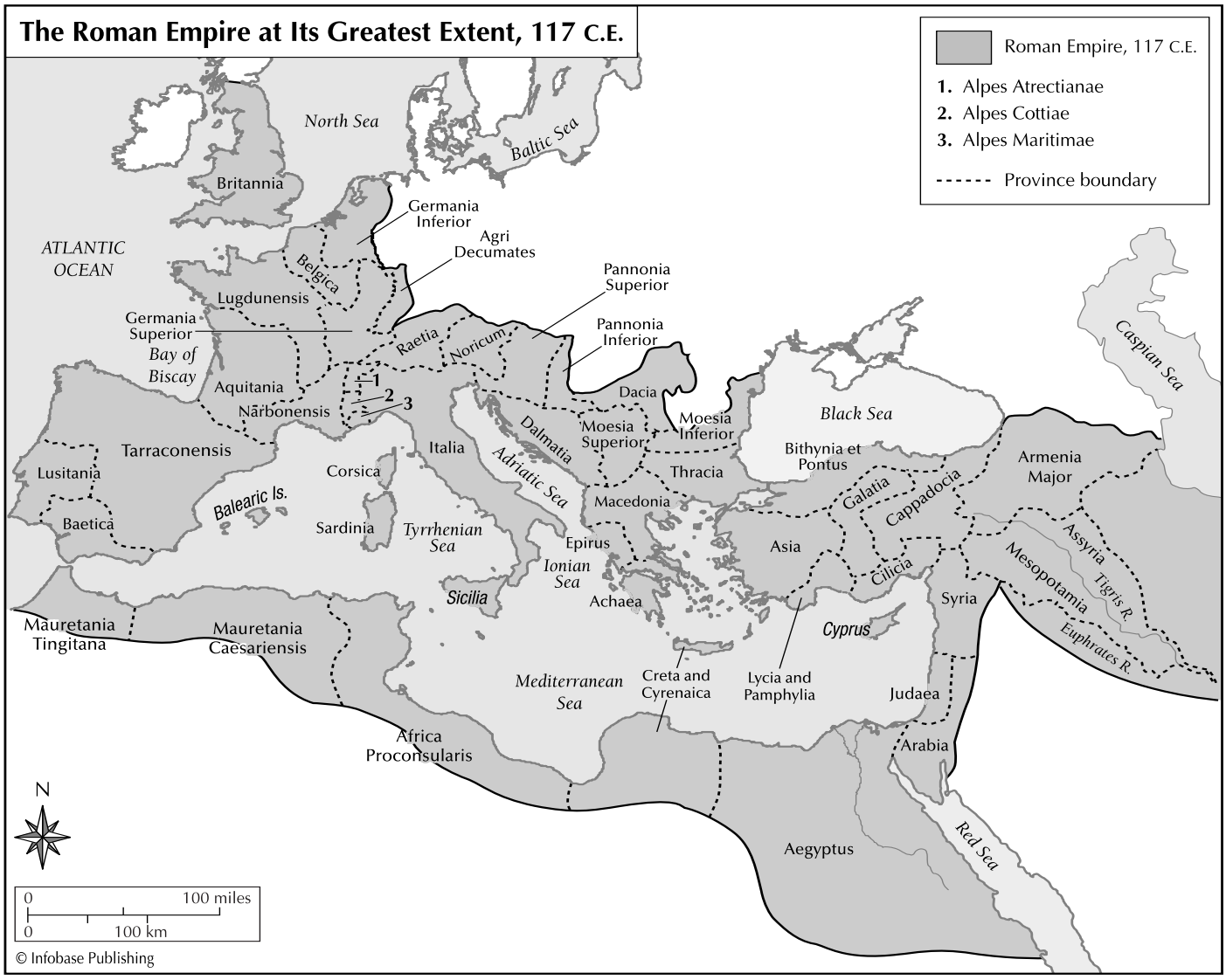
753	Traditional date of Rome's founding
sixth century	Emergence of Roman city-state under Etruscan influence
509	Romans establish republican government.
493	Romans join Latin League.
fifth century	Conflict with Etruscan town of Veii
390	Invading Celts besiege city of Rome and lay waste to surrounding countryside.
396	Veii taken and destroyed; as a results territories under Roman rule are greatly expanded.
343–341	First Samnite War
326–304	Second Samnite War; in 321 Samnites victorious against Romans at Caudine Forks
third century	Romans regain territory from Gauls to the north all the way to Po valley.
298–295	Third Samnite War
295	Roman victory at Sentinum suppresses Samnites.
264–241	First Punic War between Cathaginians and Romans
218–201	Second Punic War between Cathaginians and Romans; Hannibal invades Italy; Carthage loses holdings in Spain.
215–205	First Macedonian War
200–197	Second Macedonian War
171–168	Third Macedonian War
149–148	Fourth Macedonian War
149–146	Third Punic War between Carthaginians and Romans; Carthage is sacked.
146	After Fourth Macedonian War Macedon is annexed and remnants of most Greek states taken over by Rome.
121	Rome acquires southern part of Transalpine Gaul.
118	Narbo Martius founded.
113	Roman army sent to relief of Noricum decisively defeated by Germanic Cimbri and Teutones, who ravage Transalpine Gaul.
102–101	Germanics routed by Romans.
90–88	Allied tribes of Italy revolt against Rome in Social War.
86	Athens sacked by Sulla.
73–71	Spartacus leads Gladiatorial War, a slave revolt, against Romans.
71	Ariovistus, leader of Suebi, crosses Rhine into Gaul, defeating the Celtic Aedui and overrunning Gaul.
63	Pompey defeats Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, putting that kingdom, Syria, and Palestine under Roman rule.
58–50	Julius Caesar conquers Transalpine Gaul in Gallic Wars; in 55–54 he leads expeditions across English Channel to Britain; in 52 he suppresses Gallic revolt led by Vercingetorix.
48	Caesar defeats Pompey at Pharsala, becoming master of Rome; end of republic.

regions of the Italian Peninsula. They could have commingled with, displaced, or absorbed pre-Indo-European peoples, such as the LIGURIANS and VILLANOVANS; a combination of all these processes is probable. Other groups, speaking unique or unknown languages—perhaps non-Indo-European—are thought to have migrated to Italy about the same time, such as the ETRUSCANS. Still others, some of them non-Italic speaking, such as the

44	Assassination of Julius Caesar
31	Defeat of Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt at Battle of Actium; Egypt annexed.
27	Senate gives Octavian title of Augustus, making him emperor in all but name.
C.E.	
5	Romans annex Germanic territory east of Rhine.
9	Germanic leader Arminius annihilates three Roman legions in Teutoburger Forest east of Rhine.
16	Tiberius withdraws armies to Rhine, which becomes northeastern border of empire.
43–85	Second invasion of Britain under Claudius I is successful in subduing southern part of Britain.
61	Rebellion of Queen Boudicca of Iceni is suppressed.
98–117	Roman Empire reaches its greatest extent under Trajan.
101–102	First Dacian War
105–106	Second Dacian War
166–180	Marcomannic Wars against Germanic incursions over Danube border
192	Conflicts between Roman factions
230s	Alamanni carry out destructive raids in Gaul.
238	Goths begin raiding Lower Danube region.
251	Gothic king Kniva victorious over Romans at Abrittus in the Balkans; Emperor Decius killed in battle.
260	Abandonment of Roman frontier system along the Rhine and Danube Rivers; Gaul, Spain, and Britain form independent Gallic empire.
273	Gaul reclaimed by Aurelian.
280s	Division of Roman Empire by Diocletian
313	Edict of Milan grants toleration of Christianity.
330	Constantine I establishes Byzantium as new Roman capital; it becomes known as Constantinople.
378	Roman army crushed by Visigoths at Adrianople, killing Emperor Valens.
395	Empire divided into Western and Eastern Empires under two emperors.
406	Massive invasion of Germanic tribes across Rhine into Gaul
410	City of Rome taken by Visigoths under Alaric; Roman troops and officials withdraw from Britain, leaving defense against Anglo-Saxons to Romano-Britons.
455	Vandal forces ravage Spain and Italy and sack city of Rome.
476	Roman Empire in West officially dissolved when boy-emperor Romulus is deposed by Odoacer, commander of Germanic mercenaries in Italy.
488	Ostrogoths under Theodoric invade and take over much of Italy.
552	Byzantines regain control of Italy.
568	Final Germanic invasion of Roman Italy by Lombards sweeps away almost all vestiges of imperial Rome.

ILLYRIANS, developed into distinct cultures in later centuries, influenced by the Italic-speaking peoples.

During the Italian Iron Age, which began about 900 B.C.E. and lasted until 580 B.C.E., the Romans and Etruscans progressed from the Iron Age into more advanced societies of the Archaic and early republic periods, during which true cities developed among them, whereas other peoples maintained a tribal



Iron Age society and way of life over the next centuries.

The Romans were just one people in Latium, sharing the territory with other Italic tribes, which included the AEQUI, HERNICI, MARSI, and VOLSCI. Toward the Apennines east of Rome were the SABINES and UMBRIANS. To the northwest of the Romans lived the FALISCANS, a people who, despite speaking a dialect of Latin, were closely intertwined with the Etruscans, the inhabitants of Etruria. The Etruscans of that time had already established themselves as the largest and most thriving civilization in Italy, their 12 cities joined in a defensive league.

Latium in ancient times was the land in western Italy bounded on the northwest by Etruria, on the northeast by Samnium, on the east by the Apennine Mountains that bisect the Italian Peninsula, on the west by the Tyrhennian Sea, and on the south by the plain of Campania. Today ancient Latium makes up a large part of the Italian state of Lazio. Originally Latium referred to the dwelling place of the Latins and was a much smaller area; after Rome's expansion the name included the territory of subjugated Latin tribes. Latin probably takes its name from the region of Latium, from the Latin root meaning "side," probably for the long, flat, but undulating terrain of the main plain that occupies the central part of Latium, now called the Campagna di Roma.

LANGUAGE

The Latin language entered Italy in some form from Europe before recorded history, probably around 1000 B.C.E. Latin is an Italic language, a subfamily of Indo-European, the root language of ancient Greek, Sanskrit, and

Germanic. Latin was part of a major subgroup of the Italic languages: the Latino-Faliscan (or Latinian), which comprises various dialects of the Latin and Faliscan languages. The Latin that survives was spread by the advance of the Romans and replaced the other dialects of Latinian, of which Latin was the one spoken in Rome. Latin was influenced by Etruscan, a non-Indo-European tongue, and by Greek. The first written evidence of Latin is in Roman texts of the third century B.C.E. although there are inscriptions in Latinian from the sixth century B.C.E.

HISTORY

Founding of Rome

Legend says the city of Rome was founded by Romulus (and took its name from him) one of twin orphaned brothers who had been raised by a she-wolf, around 753 B.C.E. Romulus in legend and Remus were the grandsons of the king of Alba Longa, one of the oldest cities in Latium; when their grandfather was deposed by his brother, the children were thrown into the Tiber to die. The brothers were rescued and raised by the she-wolf. After restoring their grandfather to his throne, they founded a new city on one of the hills that make up Rome. Romulus walled the city. When Remus crossed the wall, Romulus killed him and became Rome's first king. To populate his city and to ensure it would grow, Romulus contrived to steal the women of the nearly Sabines.

The linking of the first Roman to a wolf and the taking of the Sabine women for Roman wives link the Romans to the inhabitants of the Apennines, and their method of expansion, called *ver sacra* (holy sacrifice). When a tribe had expanded beyond the resources of its area, part of the tribe would migrate, following a sacred animal and taking its name. With this founding myth Rome aligned itself with its neighbors to the west and east. From the founding of Rome onward, however, the major influences on Rome were her neighbors to the north, the Etruscans.

After Romulus's founding of Rome, the king who supposedly succeeded him was Numa Pompilius. Numa had been chosen despite being a Sabine and residing in the Sabine city of Cura. Roman citizens took their name from Numa's town of Cura, calling themselves Quirites. Unlike Romulus, who was prone to excess, Numa was regarded as a just and religious man. He supposedly founded many of Rome's traditional religious observances and established the Roman calendar, which divided festival from working days.

Under its kings Rome supposedly expanded slowly within its boundaries, building walls, draining the marshes of the lowlands to build a city center between the seven hills called the forum, which was the focal point of Roman economic life. Legend has it that the Romans branched outward and conquered the Latin city of Alba Longa, transferring its population to Rome. Afterward they established a colony at Ostia. Finally in the reign of the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus Romans invaded and absorbed the neighboring town of Gabii. There was no substantial territorial expansion, nor much dealing with foreigners beyond Rome's immediate Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan neighbors, until the very end of Tarquinius Superbus's reign.

The first Etruscan king of Rome was supposedly Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. In 616 B.C.E. Priscus, who had emigrated to Rome, become a citizen and, elevating himself to high political power, either seized the throne or was elected to it by a group of Etruscan families. He was assassinated by a group of high-class Romans who hoped to reduce the kingship to a ceremonial post. The plot was foiled and Servius Tullius, Priscus's son-in-law, became king.

After a long reign in 534 B.C.E. Priscus's son, Tarquinius Superbus (Tarquin the Proud), supposedly murdered Tullius and assumed the



The legendary Romulus and Remus and a she-wolf are depicted in this sculpture, located in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-97807])*

kingship. He was an absolute monarch, and the Etruscans dominated the city. In 510 B.C.E. his son, Sextus, supposedly raped the wife of Collantinus, a Roman aristocrat. In shame she killed herself, after recounting her injury to her husband.

According to the historian Livy of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. this was a motivating event for the Romans tired of living under a foreign king who thought himself above the law. The Romans banded together under the Roman nobleman Lucius Junius Brutus and drove Tarquin the Proud and his son from the city in 509 B.C.E. The Romans refused to reestablish the monarchy and, under the rule of the senate and two consuls, established themselves as a republic.

How much truth there is to this account is extremely questionable. It is told from the vantage point of Roman triumphalism, after the ascendancy of Augustus established the Roman Empire, while he glorified the ideals of the republic. It is known that the Etruscans expanded and gained influence throughout the region during the sixth century B.C.E. Most probably there were Etruscan kings of Rome. By 509 B.C.E., however, the Etruscans had been squeezed by CELTS moving in from the north, and by GREEKS colonizing the south. The conditions were worsened by the weak bonds among Estruscan cities and internal strife. Romans had been highly influenced by Etruscan culture but retained a Roman identity and Roman institutions, especially the senate. They took advantage of the Etruscans' weakening to regain their independence. The story has been lost as a result of a lack of documentary evidence and obscured by history written centuries after the event with a clear political bias.

Also in 509 B.C.E. the Romans possibly made a treaty with the CARTHAGINIANS, a powerful seagoing people of North Africa, who controlled maritime trade in the western Mediterranean and had outposts on Sicily and Sardinia. The Carthaginians would generate Rome's first real opposition when the Romans expanded their control over Italy, but for now Rome represented no threat to the Carthaginians, who were concerned with the Etruscans. The treaty signed by the Romans protected their territorial rights in Latium and allowed them to trade in Sicily and Carthage, with the provision that a Carthaginian representative must be present.

In the face of the successes of the Etruscan, the people of Latium established themselves into a league for defense. In the sixth century B.C.E. the league consisted of 30 cities. They were also joined because of shared religion and culture. There were agreements among the cities to maintain trade, allow for intermarriage, and let citizens move from city to city. Rome had originally been a member of this league but later tried to control it.

In 493 B.C.E. the Romans signed a treaty with the league, for mutual defense and sharing of plunder. At the time they probably felt more threatened by the Etruscans, as well as the growing alliance between the Oscan-speaking Volsci and Hernici, and were more comfortable with those tribes that spoke dialects of Latin. Other Latins most probably viewed the Romans askance, however, wary of their desire to take control of all Latium.

The Romans inherited a warlike spirit from the Etruscans. During the monarchy and early republic, the army was made up of citizens, who were called up as needed, supplying their own armor. Kings used military adventures as a way to quell popular dissatisfaction with their rule. After the establishment of the Roman republic warfare continued to be popular among the elite. What little history there is of the monarchy and early republic that escapes the patriotic tinge of the Roman historians reveals that the Romans were the primary aggressors throughout this time.

In 486 B.C.E. a period of continued warfare began between the Romans and the Aequi and Volsci. In 457 B.C.E. the Roman army was routed at the hands of the Aequi at Mt. Algidus. In Roman legends the Roman general Cincinnatus was called off his farm to lead the Romans as dictator and rescue their army. Sixteen days later, his mission accomplished, Cincinnatus is said to have resigned and returned peacefully to the plow. In 431 B.C.E. the Roman army fought another engagement with the Aequi, at the pass at Mt. Algidus, and this time were entirely triumphant, under the leadership of the dictator Aulus Postumius Tubertus.

Conquest of Veii

The culmination of Rome's competition with the Etruscans occurred in the decades of long struggle with the Etruscan city of Veii in the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E. It began in a competition to control territory between Rome and Veii, particularly the city of Fidenae. Rome captured this city in a siege from 437 to 435 B.C.E. then turned attention to Veii itself. The nominal unity of Latin peoples gave Rome an advantage over the Veiiantanes, who could

not count on aid from other Etruscan cities. After a costly 10-year siege the Romans took Veii in 396 B.C.E. and destroyed it. The destruction of Veii put vast new landholdings into Roman hands, increasing the amount of territory held by the state (called *ager Romanus,* Roman territory) by almost one-half. Much of this land was allotted to Roman citizens, increasing revenues to people and state from farming. This made the Roman state, which had already been a match for the whole Latin League, overwhelmingly predominant in resources. Before the Romans could establish their hegemony over the Latins, however, their attention was diverted suddenly to another and very different sort of foe, the Celts.

Invasion of Celts

The historian Livy places the migration of CELTS—GAULS, the Roman name for Celtic tribes north of Italy—into Italy as early as 600 B.C.E., but this date has not been proved archaeologically. There is evidence of some movement of Celtic groups through Alpine passes to the Lombard lake district in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.; typical Celtic burials have been found there. But the main thrust occurred at the end of the fifth century B.C.E. as successive waves of Celts arrived, each wave bypassing the territories of their brethren to move ever farther southward. The earliest to arrive conquered the territory around Milan; others moved on to Brescia and Verona, to the Lake Maggiore region, and south of the Po River. Those among the last to arrive went to Umbria and the Adriatic coastal zone.

For a time the Apennine Mountains served as a barrier to further movement. Meanwhile to the south of the Apennines the Romans were engaged in acquiring the territories of the Etruscans. No sooner had their annexation been completed, however, than Celtic war bands appeared, having burst through the Apennine barrier. They overran the former Etruscan cities with an impetus that quickly propelled them all the way to the gates of Rome itself in about 389 B.C.E.

This was a defining moment in Roman history, as the proud might of Rome fell before a military force and a type of humanity such as they had never confronted. A Roman senator of the time called the Celts wild beasts who could not be reasoned with as one could with fellow members of Mediterranean civilization. The primal trauma produced in the Roman psyche by the Celtic onslaught is part of what would lie behind Julius Caesar's conquest of Gallic France in the first century B.C.E.: the need to extend the Pax Romana as far as possible into barbarian territories to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe.

The Celts laid waste much of Rome outside the city itself, which held out for seven months until the Celts departed. Raiding continued throughout the Italian Peninsula for some 60 years, during which many Celts became employed as mercenaries for various local tyrants. By the 330s B.C.E. the raids had largely ceased, and in 332–331 B.C.E. the Romans concluded a treaty with one of the tribes, the SENONES.

Rome's Growing Power

In 358 B.C.E. the Latin League had been reorganized under Roman leadership. In 348 B.C.E. the Romans signed a treaty with the Carthaginians (perhaps a second treaty if that of 509 B.C.E. is fact) in which they were allowed supremacy over Latium. In 343 B.C.E. the Romans intervened in a conflict between the SAMNITES, who lived in the Apennine mountains, and the CAMPANI and SIDICINI. The Romans sided with the Samnites; the Campani were supported by the other members of the Latin League, who wished mainly to be treated as Rome's equals. The Roman army defeated the Campani and Sidicini easily in 341 B.C.E. and afterward marched through Latium, stamping out Latin resistance. In 338 B.C.E. the Romans dissolved the Latin League.

Rome eliminated some of the ancient Latin rights regarding commerce, requiring that individual communities be tied directly to Rome, instead of binding together economically with each other. The nearest Latin communities became part of the Roman state, while others remained independent but put their troops under Roman command. Finally the least Roman of the cities were required to provide troops and pay taxes but had no say in the government. This last kind of citizenship, and the generally enforced "alliance," became the norm for Roman dealings with neighboring tribes and would lead to the first crisis that eventually solidified Roman identity with all of peninsular Italy.

The Romans began to move into the territories of the AURUNCI and Sidicini and finally established a Roman colony across the Liris River, in the territory of the Samnites. The Samnites responded by putting troops in the Greek city of Naples. The Romans expelled the Samnites from Naples in 326 B.C.E., thereby beginning the Second Samnite War. The

Romans were soundly defeated at Caudine Forks in 321 B.C.E. and did not renew their attack until 316 B.C.E. The Romans suffered some further upsets but regained control of the Liris River and built a military road, the Via Appia, into Campania.

The Aequi and Hernici revolted, along with Marsi, FRENTANI, MARRUCINI, PAELIGNI, and VESTINI. The Etruscans, now severely weakened, joined the war in 311 B.C.E., but were quickly quelled. After Roman victories in 305 and 304 B.C.E. all but the Vestini had been defeated and signed alliances with Rome. The Vestini gave up in 302 B.C.E. Sporadic fighting continued, and in 298 B.C.E. the Third Samnite War broke out. The Samnites joined forces with the Umbrians, who had until then avoided contact with Rome. The Romans joined battle with the Samnites, Umbrians, and Celts at Sentinum in Umbria in 295 B.C.E., with an army of about 35,000 troops and an equal number of allies. The Romans' opponents were crushed.

Around the same time the Romans moved southward into territory in Magna Graecia, the area of Italy controlled by Greek colonies. The colonies had been weakened by internal conflict and by raids from Italic people. The Romans made a treaty with the city of Tarentum, promising not to send ships into Tarentum's waters, but violated the agreement in 282 B.C.E. The citizens of Tarentum sank some of the Romans' ships and expelled the Romans from Thurii, a city they had garrisoned, and replaced the oligarchic government the Romans had established there with a democracy. The Tarentines asked the Greek king Pyrrhus of Epirus for support, and in 280 B.C.E. he landed in southern Italy from Epirus, with 35,000 troops and 20 elephants. Pyrrhus defeated the Romans at Heraclea, and then with the support of the Italian Greeks, Samnites, and LUCANI, he marched on Rome. Defenses around Rome were too secure for the forces of Pyrrhus, and he returned south. After defeating the Romans outside Rome one more time, Pyrrhus asked for liberty for the Greeks and Samnites. The Romans rejected his offer, and Pyrrhus went to Sicily, to help the Sicilian Greeks against the Carthaginians. By 275 B.C.E. the Romans had placed two armies to guard against a southern attack. Pyrrhus returned to Greece. (His heavy losses of men in victory against the Romans gave rise to the expression *Pyrrhic victory.*)

By 260 B.C.E. the Romans had consolidated their control over all of Etruria and southern Italy: They had conquered Italy. Through three Samnite Wars the Romans tested, developed, and fortified their military machine. They conscripted troops from their Latin "allies," and by the time they subdued the Samnites they had an army that was to spread Roman influence throughout the entire Mediterranean world.

The First Punic War

In the mid-third century B.C.E. it seemed that Rome's expansion of power had gone as far as possible. Although Rome was clearly the dominant power on the Italian Peninsula, no other people or city able to challenge Roman arms, the Celtic presence in the north presented a formidable barrier. The other power bloc of the time were the Carthaginians, with whom Rome had treaties; furthermore, Rome had nothing in the way of a navy or naval tradition, and the Carthaginians were as dominant in the western Mediterranean as Rome was in Italy. Significant conflict with Carthage thus seemed unlikely. However, the fact that a relatively insignificant incident ignited such a conflict shows that, in reality, there were latent but powerful forces in Rome that would make a showdown with Carthage all but inevitable.

The incident that brought on the First Punic War occurred after a group of Italian mercenaries, who called themselves the Mamertines (after the Oscan name for Mars, the god of war), seized the city of Messana (modern Messina), which overlooked the straits between Sicily and Italy. This aggression violated a precedent set when the senate had condemned another group of Roman citizens who had attempted to take a Greek city. Thus this quasi-illegal action of the Mamertines should have prevented them from receiving aid or comfort from Rome. Nevertheless, when in 265 B.C.E. the ruler of Syracuse, Hiero I, tried to retake the city, some of the Mamertines appealed to Rome for help. While the senate debated, others of the Mamertines asked Carthage for help. When Carthage answered by sending a garrison to Messana, Carthaginian control of Messana was too close to Rome for comfort and threatened control of the straits. At the same time the consuls and others of consular rank saw in a war with Carthage a way of expanding their personal political horizons and becoming rich through plunder. They argued powerfully, addressing the assembly of citizens, that war was necessary. They were able to sway the assembly to their way of thinking, and they voted for war (the only time in Roman history when war was declared by the assembly rather than the senate). In 263 B.C.E. both consuls led

a large force south toward Messana. The Carthaginian garrison withdrew, but Carthage in alliance with Syracuse laid siege to the city.

When the siege failed Hiero switched sides and, along with a number of other Sicilian cities under his influence, allied himself with Rome. The Romans began taking advantage of their foothold by attacking Greek cities allied with the Carthaginians. In this they had only limited success because, they concluded, they had no navy able quickly to transport troops and supplies to battlefronts around the island. They therefore determined to assemble a navy of their own.

Rome Becomes a Naval Power

The decision to build a navy is a striking example of Rome's determination and self-confidence, since the city had no naval tradition, either in building warships or in fighting naval battles. This is all the more remarkable in that most peoples of antiquity were rigidly tradition-bound, their societies and technology slow to venture beyond the habits of their forebears.

The Romans overcame the first of their deficiencies simply, by imitating Carthaginian shipbuilding techniques and adopting their ship types as models. They copied the design of a captured Carthaginian ship. As the first 100 quinqueremes (five-decked ships) were built, in a period of only 60 days, according to the second-century B.C.E. historian Polybius, crews were trained on land. That the Roman ships were heavier and less maneuverable than those of the Carthaginians was a considerable disadvantage.

The Romans tried to overcome their ignorance about fighting at sea by building ships more suited to the hand-to-hand combat to which they were accustomed. They devised a wooden gangway bearing a spike that could be hooked over the gunwale of an enemy ship so that soldiers could cross over into it (its shape inspired the nickname *corvus* for crow).

Remarkably enough in 260 B.C.E. at the Battle of Mylae a slightly numerically superior Roman fleet managed to gain a victory over the Carthaginians, capturing and sinking many of the latter's ships. However great a moral victory this was, however, Rome was unable decisively to gain the upper hand over the Carthaginians in and around Sicily. Such was Carthage's wealth that they easily replaced ships sunk or captured by Romans.

Rome then decided that invasion of Carthage was the road to victory, assembled a huge invasion force, and sailed to Africa in 257 B.C.E. A great struggle then ensued, each side expending enormous amounts of men and wealth and neither side able to defeat the other. A feature of the war was the great loss of Roman ships and men, often in gales, which was probably a consequence of Roman seafaring inexperience. In 255 B.C.E. a Roman fleet caught in a gale lost 184 of 264 ships when they were dashed against the rocks near Camarina in southern Sicily. Many tens of thousands were drowned, and the historian Polybius calls it the greatest naval disaster known to him. The Romans sustained staggering losses from their numerous naval defeats. The Roman census of 247 B.C.E. showed that the male population of Rome had declined by 17 percent since the start of the war. Roman determination in the face of such losses (and faith in its inherent superiority to the Carthaginians) is symbolized by the story of Marcus Atilius Regulus, a Roman consul captured by the Carthaginians. When he went to Rome as part of a prisoner exchange proposed by the Carthaginians, he argued against it in the senate, saying that while the Romans could afford the loss of manpower represented by the captives, the Carthaginians could not, and hence it was in Rome's interest to retain the Carthaginian captives. Accordingly he was returned to Carthage, where he was tortured to death.

Paradoxically Rome finally overcame the Carthaginians in 242 B.C.E. in a naval victory; the Carthaginians had neglected their navies in favor of building up armies to hold territory in Africa. The ensuing peace treaty required the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily and surrounding islands that they held and to pay large indemnities to Rome.

Other Campaigns

The victory over the Carthaginians gave Rome the opportunity to pacify the norther part of Italy. In the 230s B.C.E. the Romans engaged in five campaigns to subdue the Ligurians, a people on the northwest shore of present-day Italy near Genoa, as well as in present-day southern France and Corsica. The Celts, too, were becoming restive, attacking Ariminum (a Latin colony founded in 268 B.C.E. on the Adriatic to guard against them.) Dissension among the Celts prevented them from completing their assault. When they again tried to move southward, they were devastatingly defeated at the Battle of Telamon in 225 B.C.E., with some 40,000 warriors killed. From 224 to 220 B.C.E. Roman armies waged campaigns against the

tribes of Cisalpine Gaul (the area between the Po and the Alps). In 218 B.C.E. two Latin colonies (Placentia and Cremona) were established on the Po to guard against invasion. The Celts were subdued for the time being, but resentful and awaiting their chance for revenge.

During the period between the First and Second Punic Wars the Romans also had to deal with the Illyrians, a people who lived to the northeast of the Italian Peninsula along the Adriatic Sea. By the 230s B.C.E. they had developed a state that encompassed parts of northern Greece (Epirus and Acarnania). Their acts of piracy in southern Italy drew the attention of Rome, and the Romans defeated them in 229–228 B.C.E. In the north of Illyria the Romans set up an Illyrian by the name of Demetrius as an allied king. In the south (the area just north of Epirus and closest to Italy) they set up a kind of protectorate by which local towns did not become formal allies but had to provide troops on demand. They thus became *amici,* "friends," of the Roman people. Demetrius in the north proved troublesome, however, attempting to expand his territory beyond the agreed limits. In 219 B.C.E. a Roman expedition quickly expelled him.

The Second Punic War

Even the Romans lacked sufficient strength and organization at this time to engage in war on many fronts as they would do later. While they were occupied in Illyria, the Carthaginian leader Hannibal attacked Saguntum, a Greek town on the central Mediterranean shore of present-day Spain south of the Ebro. The Carthaginians, economically and militarily rejuvenated under Hannibal's father, Hamilcar, determined to push back against Roman power. A brilliant war leader, Hannibal believed that the only way to break Roman might was to carry the war to Italy and destroy as much of the Roman military and manpower as possible. His attack on Saguntum was part of this larger strategy.

While he prepared to march north and then east to Italy in retaliation for the capture of Saguntum in 219 B.C.E., the Romans sent out a two-pronged assault against the Carthaginians. The consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was to take an army to Spain via southern Gaul; another force was to invade Africa via Sicily. Hannibal's forces managed to evade Scipio's army and moved east toward the Alps. His army consisted of some 90,000 infantrymen, 12,000 cavalry, and 37 elephants, a number that steadily dwindled as a result of the dangers of the route, which included crossing the Pyrenees and the Rhône River, and skirmishes with local tribesmen. By late October 218 B.C.E. he had reached the Alps and took two weeks moving his army (including elephants) over the mountains into Italy. Although he had lost about half of his force, his army was augmented by the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul, eager for revenge on the Romans.

Hannibal made a deliberate policy of appealing to local peoples who had been defeated by the Romans by liberating those who had been captured as part of Roman forces, retaining Roman prisoners only. He was greatly successful in inflicting severe defeats on Roman armies sent against him, while himself sustaining few casualties.

Meanwhile Roman strategists differed as to the best way of handling Hannibal. One strategy, called Fabian tactics after its proponent, Quintus Fabius Maximus, consisted of avoiding direct battle with the Carthaginians but maintaining close contact to limit their mobility, with the idea that the deeper into Roman territory they penetrated, the more precarious their position would become. At the end of Fabius's term of office the two consuls for the next year, 216 B.C.E., subscribing to an offensive strategy, assembled a large army and confronted Hannibal directly at Cannae in Apulia. The Carthaginian cavalry routed that of the Romans and attacked the larger force from the rear. Surrounded on all sides the Roman army was annihilated. Only some 15,000 escaped death or capture. Deaths may have totaled 50,000. It was one of the most dire defeats in Roman history.

After this Hannibal maintained his policy of inciting cities against the Romans. Some of the Apulian towns and most of the Samnites went over to him. He succeeded in winning over the city of Capua, the leading town of Campania, whose citizens had no Roman voting rights, a position they resented. Syracuse allied with him under Hiero's son, Hieronymus, along with several Greek cities in Sicily.

At this crisis Rome went to extraordinary lengths to recoup its losses after Cannae, raising new legions from among released debtors, those accused of capital crimes, and even freed slaves. The state's coffers empty, troops lived off the land. In spite of all difficulties in 211 B.C.E. both Capua and Syracuse were retaken. The same year Roman armies in Spain suffered a severe defeat; in previous years they had been successful against Carthaginian armies there,

retaking Saguntum in 212 B.C.E. In general Roman operations there prevented supplies or reinforcements from reaching Hannibal in Italy. Hannibal's reverses freed troops to be sent to Spain, so that by 206 B.C.E. Carthaginian power in Spain had essentially ended.

The war in subsequent years involved Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, who made repeated attempts to join his brother in Italy, none of them successful. Slowly from 206 B.C.E. the noose was drawn around Hannibal's force, which was increasingly unable to take action. Finally in 203 B.C.E. Hannibal was recalled to Carthage to defend against forces of Publius Scipio, who had invaded in 207 B.C.E. and was making inroads against Carthage with the help of Numidians, natives of the region around Carthage. But even Hannibal was unable to withstand Scipio and at the Battle of Zama in 202 B.C.E. he was for the first time decisively defeated with a reported 20,000 dead and almost as many captives, fleeing the field with his life. For his triumph in Africa Scipio received the honorary title Africanus, or conqueror of Africa.

The Macedonian Wars

The Second Punic War would lead to conflict with the MACEDONIANS in northern Greece. Macedon's ambitious king, Philip V, Antigonus's successor, who ascended power in 221 B.C.E., made a treaty with Hannibal offering Macedonian aid in the war in Italy, in return for which Carthage would help Macedon to exclude Rome from the east shore of the Adriatic.

Philip had success in the First Macedonian War in 215–205 B.C.E., seizing Roman territory in Illyria. The Romans responded with a desultory war in alliance with the people of Aetolia, which nevertheless served its purpose of preventing Hannibal from receiving reinforcements from Macedon. However, the bitter feeling left in Macedon would lead to a new war immediately after the defeat of Hannibal.

In the Second Macedonian War of 200–197 B.C.E. Philip V was decisively defeated by the Romans and their Greek allies at the Battle of Cynoscephalae, after which he was forced to pay an indemnity and give up much of the Macedonian navy, as well as control of territory outside Macedon proper. After restructuring the Macedonian economy accordingly, he turned his ambitions northward with campaigns in the Balkans in 184–181 B.C.E.

Philip's successor, Perseus, who rose to power in 179 B.C.E., aroused Roman concern by making alliances with Greek city-states, and Rome initiated the Third Macedonian War of 171–168 B.C.E. After a decisive victory at Pydna the Romans took Perseus as a captive to Italy and divided Macedon into four republics. A pretender to the throne, Andriscus, claiming to be Perseus's son, tried to revive a Macedonian kingdom; the Fourth Macedonian War of 149–148 B.C.E. was the result. The Romans easily suppressed the rebellion, executing Andriscus; and in 146 B.C.E. annexed Macedon, thus establishing the first Roman province. With its continuing expansion into the Balkans Rome incorporated northern and eastern parts of greater Macedon into the province of Moesia in 15 C.E.

An Uneasy Peace

During the 50 years after the peace made in 201 B.C.E. at the end of the Second Punic War, the Carthaginians quickly recovered their economic strength. To rid themselves of Roman economic control of their affairs, they offered to pay off in a single payment the annual tribute they owed to Rome, to the amount of 8,000 talents, an enormous sum. The senate, however, refused this offer, unwilling to relinquish Carthage's obligation to Rome.

Militarily, however, the Carthaginians were helplessly dependent on Rome. Under the terms of the peace treaty Carthage could not wage war without Rome's consent and had no recourse but to sue to the senate for redress or help when attacked. Rome's Numidian ally, Masinissa, for some 40 years encroached on Carthaginian territory, in spite of the latter's complaints to Rome.

Cato and the Carthaginian Fig

A delegation sent from Rome to Carthage in 153 B.C.E., ostensibly to investigate these complaints, included the former consul, Marcus Porcius Cato. Cato was chagrined to find how prosperous Carthage had become. On his return to Rome he went before the senate and flung before the senators a large Carthaginian fig, signifying both Carthage's renewed prosperity and, because figs are perishable, the close proximity of this old and dangerously burgeoning enemy. It was clear that the burdens of the peace treaty had not permanently impaired the resources of the Carthaginians and that they were again in a position to threaten Rome. From this time on Cato ended each address he made to the senate on whatever topic with the litany: *ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem* (besides which, my opinion is

that Carthage must be destroyed). Cato's opinion was representative of that of many of those who, as he had, had fought the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War and who could never forget Hannibal's audacious and nearly successful attempt to conquer Rome. Even a Carthage hamstrung by the provisions of the peace treaty was too dangerous an enemy to be allowed to thrive as it was. On the other hand younger men who had never fought the Carthaginians yearned for the honor and glory of facing this famous and ancient foe of Rome, not to mention getting their share of the spoils offered by the legendary wealth of Carthage.

The Carthaginians, goaded beyond patience by Massinisa's depredations and receiving no help from Rome, in 150 B.C.E. sent 25,000 troops to relieve a town being besieged by the Numidians, giving Rome the excuse it needed to declare war. Despite Carthage's reluctance to fight and offer of hostages to guarantee future passivity Rome made impossible demands. Carthage must be abandoned to Roman sack and control. Carthaginians could settle wherever they wanted in Carthaginian territory, provided that the new site be at least 10 miles from the sea. Such a move was clearly impossible for a society whose life breath was trade, and the Carthaginians refused, declaring war on the Romans. In 149 B.C.E. Rome invaded Carthaginian territory.

The Third Punic War

After several years of preparation and consolidation of their military position in Africa in 146 B.C.E. the Romans under Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Scipio the Younger), adoptive grandson of Scipio Africanus, who had defeated Hannibal, attacked the city of Carthage itself. The Carthaginians engaged in a kind of urban guerrilla warfare unheard of in antiquity, after the Romans had taken the city walls, burning streets and forcing the Romans into desperate street-fighting that lasted for six days, until the Romans had reached the citadel. At this the Carthaginians sued for peace. All survivors were sold into slavery; the town was stripped of its valuables and burned for 10 days. Roman priests then cursed the land where the city had stood (the story that it was sown with salt is a later invention). Carthage had ceased to exist.

The historian Polybius accompanied Scipio as he observed the destruction of the city. He reports that Scipio wept and quoted a line from the *Iliad,* a prophesy that Troy and Priam would be destroyed. When asked what he meant, he said that he was worried that a similar event might befall Rome, too, having just witnessed how even the most powerful can be brought low. The final destruction of Rome's most dangerous foe, with whom the city had contended for well over a century, perhaps was an event too momentous for Scipio to contemplate with that stern *gravitas,* or stoicism, usually demanded of a good Roman.

Iberia

Having defeated the Carthaginians the Romans were able over the next years to pacify the IBERIANS and the CELTIBERIANS on the Iberian Peninsula. Earlier during the 50 years of peace between the Second and Third Punic Wars Hannibal's use of Iberia as a staging area for his invasion of Rome made it imperative that Rome secure control over the region, the "side door" to Italy. Resistance by Iberians and Celtiberians made this no easy task.

The LUSITANI living to the west in present-day Portugal mounted a number of organized but small-scale revolts against the Romans in 195–190 B.C.E. Roman troops under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus destroyed 300 Celtiberian "cities," probably typical Celtic towns or hill-fort compounds, in 179–178 B.C.E. By 170 B.C.E. Roman colonies were established, although the Romans did not attempt to occupy the entire peninsula. The Lusitani finally mounted a full-scale rebellion in 154–150 B.C.E., with Celtiberian allies. The murder of tribal representatives by Roman troops during peace negotiations furthered the Celtiberian resolve to continue fighting. Beginning in 147 B.C.E. the Lusitani and allied tribes under Viriathus, whose charismatic leadership counted for much in the victories they achieved, waged a successful guerrilla war until the Romans bribed his retainers to assassinate him, probably in 139 B.C.E.; afterward Lusitanian resistance crumbled, but the Celtiberians continued to fight.

The Romans waged war among the Celtiberian tribes along the Ebro valley. Among the Roman generals was Scipio, the victor of the Third Punic War, who became consul in 134 B.C.E. The next year Scipio took the fortress of Numantia (from which he took the honorific, Numantinus) from the Celtiberians after a long siege, ending their rebellion.

Even while resistance continued in parts of Iberia the products of the country were having an important impact on the Roman economy. Pliny the elder, writing in the first century C.E., emphasized Iberia's raw materials but also its

people—how they were assiduous laborers, robust in body and character, and made perfect slaves. Labor, including slave labor, was a crucial component of the Roman economy.

The increasing importance to Rome of the Iberian provinces, given Roman distrust of sea travel, made securing the land route through southern Gaul a prime goal and turned Rome's attention toward southern Gaul itself as a trading opportunity. Local pirates preyed on shipping from Massalia and other Greek cities there, which appealed to Rome for help. Successful intervention gained for Rome the territories of the tribes involved, further involving Romans in affairs in Gaul, a harbinger of future events.

In 80 C.E. the Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorius, who had been sent to govern Hither Spain, led a campaign against other Roman factions. He sought the support of Iberians and Celtiberians, even establishing a school to educate the sons of chieftains. His other allies were Mediterranean pirates, for whom he set up a naval base at Dianium (modern Denia) in southeastern Spain. Sertorius was defeated by Pompey in 73 B.C.E., whereupon he was executed. The Lusitani were defeated once and for all by troops under Julius Caesar in 61 B.C.E., three years before his first campaigns in Gaul.

Continuing resistance from the northwest corner of Iberia was suppressed during the reign of Emperor Augustus by the year 19 B.C.E., allowing withdrawal of troops there to take part in the conquest of Germania east of the Rhine. In 13 B.C.E. Rome divided Hispania into the provinces Tarraconensis, which comprised the north, northeast, and part of the southeast of the peninsula; Lusitania, comprising the southwest; and Baetica, comprising the south, including the Strait of Gibraltar. As part of the Roman provincial system the Iberians became increasingly Romanized.

Many Romans emigrated to Hispania and stayed for generations, in some cases intermarrying with Iberians. One of these families produced the great emperor Hadrian, who ruled Rome in the second century C.E. at the empire's zenith of power and cultural achievement, both due in large part to his efforts. Hadrian's ancestors had immigrated to Spain generations before his birth, from the town of Hadria in Picenum, at the end of the Second Punic War. His mother was a member of a distinguished family of Gades. Although it is not certain whether Hadrian was born in Baetica, as had been his kinsman and predecessor, Trajan, he can be considered to some degree a product of Romano-Iberian culture, because he probably spent much time there while growing up. His Iberian ties, which he shared with Trajan, fostered a bond between them beyond kinship that, no doubt, contributed to Trajan's decision to name Hadrian as his heir. Hadrian's upbringing in the less sophisticated society of Iberia, away from the increasingly decadent Rome, may have bred in him his hardihood both in battle and in pursuit of his lifelong habit of travel to the roughest far reaches of the empire, and the relative moderation of his personal life.

The Social War

In the first century B.C.E. many peoples of the Italian Peninsula, especially in the south, became united in the cause of attaining equal rights as Roman citizens, the Marsi foremost among them. Known as *socii,* for "allies," they helped the Roman army in its increasingly wide-ranging campaigns. They were also trading parties. Many of them used Latin in addition to native dialects. Yet they were not Roman citizens; did not have the same property, travel, trade, and marriage rights; and were subject to the will of Roman-appointed magistrates.

Among the participants were many of the same tribes who had revolted and been defeated in the Second Samnite War some two centuries before—the Marsi, Frentani, Lucani, Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, Samnites (including their subtribe, the Hirpini), and Vestini, many of them mountain people. Other peoples were also involved, such as the PICENES, who were perhaps Italics in origin, and the IAPYGES (except the MESSAPI) descended from Illyrian-speaking peoples; by this time, however, they had commingled extensively with Italics, making their identities in a city or town or region more important than ancestry. The inhabitants of Pompeii, referred to in some texts as Pompeiani (many of them Samnites), and of Venusium (modern Venuso), referred to as Venusini, also joined in the uprising.

Marcus Livius Drusus, the tribune of the Roman people, proposed granting citizenship to the *socii* in 91 B.C.E. His assassination that year, arranged by his opponents in the senate, prompted the revolt known as the Social War, or Italic War, or Marsic War. The actual fighting erupted in 90 B.C.E. with the massacre of Romans at Ausculum, the principal city of the Picenes (its inhabitants were referred to as the Asculani). The rebels organized a confederacy independent of Rome, with headquarters at

Corfinium, the capital of the Paeligni. The rebels with a force of some 100,000 men had some early successes, but before the end of the year the Roman consul Lucius Julius Caesar managed to overcome political opposition and pass a law granting citizenship to noncombatants. This undercut the alliance and the Romans won victories under Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo in the north and Lucius Cornelius Sulla in the south. The Samnites continued to resist, however, and the Romans granted citizenship to all peoples south of the Po valley in 87 B.C.E.

The Gladiatorial War

During the late republic the small farms of the Roman forebears were replaced by large plantations. Throughout the countryside of Italy the rich built large villas, which required many hands to run. Cities grew, and Rome swelled as prosperity increased. Demands for entertainment created the need for more gladiators. These developments encouraged and were encouraged by the sudden influx of thousands upon thousands of foreign slaves, taken from Rome's conquests beyond Italy's borders. Slaves were responsible for working the great plantations, for running the households of the wealthy, for educating their children in Greek, and for fighting in the gladiatorial contests. As slaves became more numerous and important, their treatment deteriorated.

In 73 B.C.E. Spartacus—captured in Thrace and trained as a gladiator—escaped and led a slave uprising, referred to as the Gladiatorial War, against the Romans. Many of his followers were fellow THRACIANS and Celts. The rebels rampaged through much of the Italian countryside, gaining support. Roman legions, commanded by Marcus Licinius Crassus and Pompey, defeated Spartacus and his men. Spartacus died in battle in 71 B.C.E. Some 6,000 prisoners were reportedly crucified along the Appian Way.

Expansion to the East

The year 146 B.C.E. saw the establishment of two new provinces, Africa and Macedonia. The same year after the Fourth Macedonian War the remnants of most of the Greek states fell into the hands of Rome.

In 200 B.C.E. Athens had sought Roman aid in war and thereafter for more than a century was counted as a loyal ally of Rome, a policy that protected the city from Roman attack until in 88 B.C.E. Athens backed the pro-Hellenic and anti-Roman campaign of King Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus in Asia Minor. The Roman general Sulla, an utterly ruthless commander, defeated Mithridates in 86 B.C.E. and sacked Athens, massacring so many Athenians that whole areas were covered in blood and destroying many Athenian buildings. Athens remained economically devastated for a generation.

In 63 B.C.E. Pompey, the only contemporary of Caesar to rival him as a general, defeated Mithridates IV of Pontus, putting that kingdom, Syria, and Palestine under Roman rule.

Almost 20 years later in the Roman civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey Athens backed Pompey, who was defeated in 48 B.C.E. at the Battle of Pharsala, putting Athens into the hands of Caesar. Caesar, addressing the Athenians said, "How often do you expect to be rescued by the fame of your ancestors from the destruction you bring on yourselves?" His treatment of Athens was lenient, however.

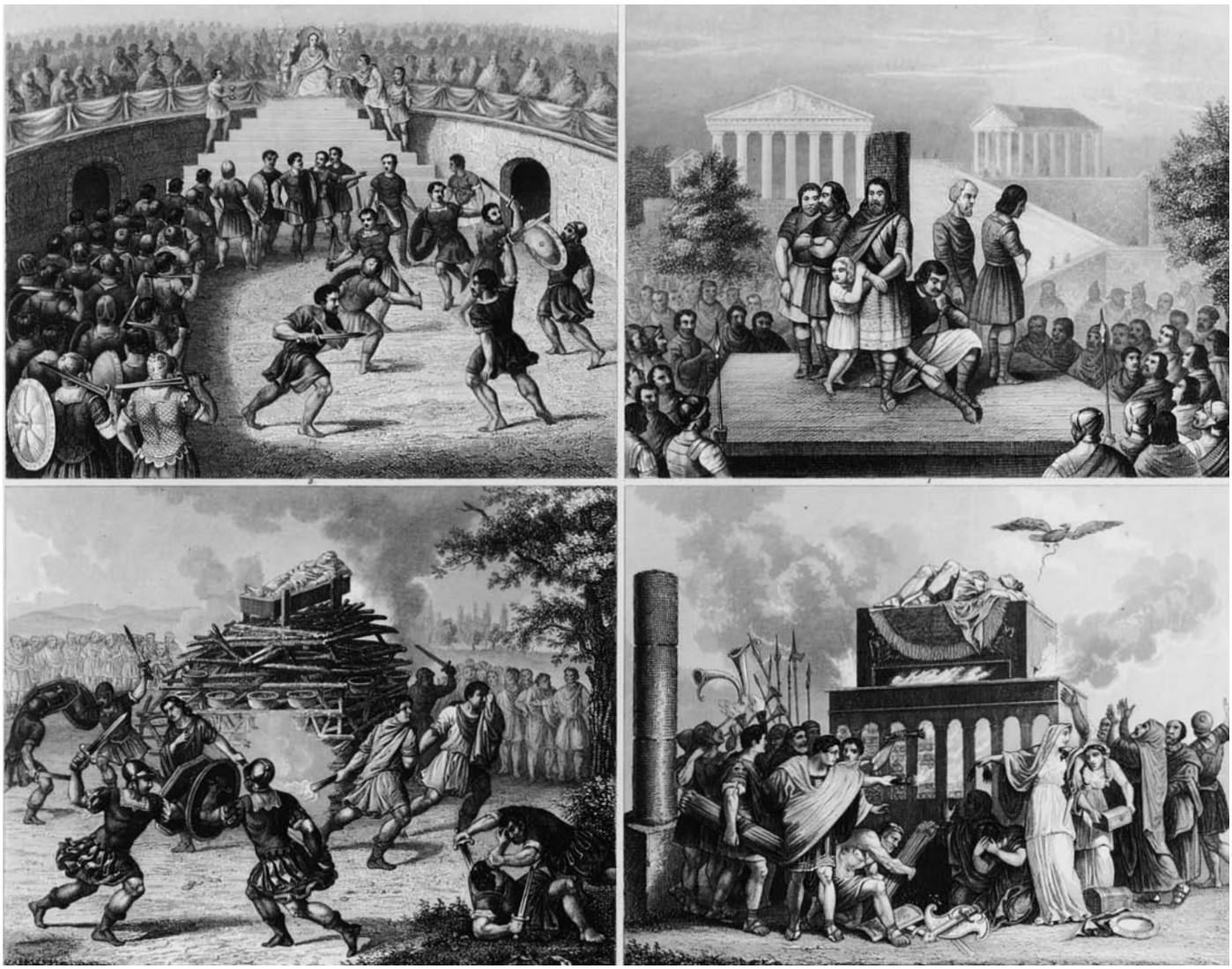
Eventually all of the states founded by the generals of Alexander the Great after his death in 323 B.C.E. fell to Rome. After the defeat of the Roman Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. the latter took her own life, thus becoming the last Greek ruler of Egypt.

Expansion into Gaul

The Romans divided "Gaul" into two main divisions: Gallia Cisalpina, "Gaul this side of the Alps" (in present-day northern Italy), and Gallia Transalpina, "Gaul across the Alps."

Gallia Cisalpina was also called Gallia Citerior, or Hither Gaul, to distinguish it from Gallia Ulterior, or Farther Gaul. The Romans established colonies in the various Gallic towns. In 49 B.C.E. Julius Caesar conferred Roman citizenship on the inhabitants of these towns. Many illustrious Romans were born in the territory of Gallia Cisalpina, including the poets Virgil (first century B.C.E.) and Catullus (first century B.C.E.), the historian Livy, and the statesmen and writers Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger (first–second century C.E.).

By 121 b.c.e. Rome had acquired the southern part of Transalpine Gaul. Called the Province (Provincia, from which is derived the modern Provence), it comprised a strip 100 miles wide along the sea from the eastern Pyrenees northeastward and up the Rhône River valley nearly to Lyon. The importance of this region to the Romans was twofold: It furnished the main route of their armies to Iberia (present-day Spain), which during the second century b.c.e. was a major focus of Roman



These Roman scenes include captives in the Forum, gladiators fighting in a theater and at a funeral, and the funeral of an emperor on a pyre. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-115366])*

ambitions because of its wealth of gold, silver, and agricultural products, and, it was an increasingly important market both for Roman wine and for manufactured products such as pottery.

The Roman colony of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was founded on the coast in 118 B.C.E., and the southern province later became known as Gallia Narbonensis. An alliance with the AEDUI against the ALLOBROGES and the ARVERNI gave the Romans control of the Rhône valley after 120 B.C.E. A new force now came into play as GERMANICS began putting pressure on Gauls north of the Alps. The Germanic onslaught was first felt in Bohemia, the land of the Boii, and in Noricum, a Celtic kingdom in the eastern Alps. The Germanic assailants were known as the CIMBRI and TEUTONES, peoples thought to have originated on the Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark. A Roman army sent to the relief of Noricum in 113 B.C.E. was decisively defeated, and thereafter the Cimbri and Teutones ravaged widely in Transalpine Gaul, overcoming Gallic and Roman resistance. On attempting to enter Italy, these Germanic tribes were finally routed by Roman armies in 102 and 101 B.C.E. These victories were made possible because the Roman consul Gaius Marius reformed the Roman military, transforming it from a loose militia into a highly disciplined professional army manned by landless citizens, including the growing urban proletariat.

The migrations of Celtic tribes west of the Rhine to escape the Germanics, as well as further against Roman interests, by the Celtic HELVETII from present-day Switzerland and the Germanic SUEBI from present-day

Julius Caesar: General and Ethnologist

Gaius Julius Caesar was born into one of the Roman Republic's most prominent patrician families in 100 B.C.E. Through family connections and his marriage to the daughter of the consul Lucias Cornelius Cinna, he rose politically in Roman society. Caesar established his military reputation against the Celtiberians, Gauls, and Germans in the 60s–50s B.C.E. He defeated two of the most visionary leaders of early northern Europe, Vercingetorix of the Arvenni and Ariovistus of the Suebi.

Caesar extended Roman influence northward from the Mediterranean coast all the way to present-day Belgium. He also established a route through the Alps by way of the 8,000-foot-high Great St. Bernard Pass, from northern Italy to the upper Rhône valley and the Lake Geneva region of present-day Switzerland. He crossed to the British Isles twice in 55 and 54 B.C.E. Although the Roman subjugation of Britain was not completed until the first century C.E., Caesar's campaign was the first recorded contact between Mediterranean peoples and those of the British Isles.

Caesar returned to Italy in 49 B.C. He became embroiled in a power struggle with the Roman general and statesman Pompey but defeated his rival in a civil war. Through his hold on the army Caesar gained rule as a dictator. A number of senators, fearful of his growing power, assassinated him in the senate building in Rome in 44 B.C.E.

Caesar's first wife, Cornelia, died in 68 B.C.E., and he married Pompeia, a granddaughter of Sulla. He divorced her in 61 B.C.E. because of rumors of adultery. In 59 B.C.E. he married Calpurnia. Without an heir he had stipulated in his will that his grandnephew, Octavius, would become his successor. Octavius rose to power as Rome's first emperor in 27 B.C.E. under the name of Augustus. Caesar's family name became an imperial title; KAISER in German and *czar* in Russian are variants of it.

Julius Caesar through his tactical brilliance and political savvy established his place in European history as creator of an empire. He also made significant contributions as an explorer of lands unknown to Mediterranean peoples and as a chronicler. His work *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (Commentary on the Gallic War) became an invaluable ethnological source on ancient Celtic and Germanic tribes. Caesar also introduced the Julian calendar, a revision of the Roman calendar, originally taken from the Egyptians, to Rome.



This 19th-century representation of Julius Caesar is based on ancient images. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-101360])*

Germany, gave Julius Caesar (see sidebar) the opportunity to begin the campaigns that led to the Roman annexation of the whole of Gaul.

In 71 B.C.E. Ariovistus, leader of the Suebi, with his warriors had crossed the Rhine into Gaul, defeating the Celtic AEDUI. Rome's first response was to treat with Ariovistus, in 60 B.C.E., making him an ally to secure Roman trade routes through Gaul. However, Caesar in part to further his personal ambitions in 59 B.C.E. argued in the senate that Rome could not afford to have Germanic tribes so close to Italy, with only Celtic tribes holding them off. Rome must take control of Celtic Gaul or be overrun by Germanics. He was given a five-year command, which was afterward extended, in Cisalpine Gaul. After defeating the Helvetii the next year he turned to the Suebi and drove them back as well, before turning his attention to subduing all of Gaul.

Caesar pacified Transalpine Gaul in the Gallic Wars from 58 to 50 B.C.E. He focused much of his effort on the tribes in the northern periphery from Brittany to the Rhine, among them Germanic tribes in the Low Countries, in which he was so successful that in 55 B.C.E. he crossed the Rhine over a bridge he had had constructed near present-day Cologne and the next year crossed the English Channel, engaging in promising but inconclusive attacks on BRITONS before returning to Gaul. Both excursions were probably more symbolic than practical, intended to impress the northerners with Roman might. In 52 B.C.E. he suppressed a Gallic revolt of allied tribes south of the Seine in present-day France led by Vercingetorix of the ARVERNI.

Caesar's campaigns devastated Gallic society; he treated rebellion and resistance with extreme ruthlessness, slaughtering tens of thousands and reducing more thousands to slavery. Such was the psychological and economic damage to the Gauls that further resistance was almost nonexistent for many years, and further significant Roman involvement with the Gauls awaited the reorganization of the province undertaken in 27 B.C.E. by the emperor Augustus.

Caesar wrote a detailed account of the country and its inhabitants, distinguishing three regions by ethnicity: Aquitania (south of the Garonne), Celtic Gaul (modern central France), and Belgica (very roughly Belgium). Aquitania was inhabited by the ancestors of the BASQUES in addition to Celtic peoples. On the basis of these distinctions in the early first century C.E. Emperor Augustus set up large administrative divisions: Narbonensis (the old Province), under the direct rule of the Roman senate; Aquitania, now extending from the Pyrenees to the Loire; Lugdunensis (Celtic Gaul), a central strip mainly between the Loire and the Seine; Belgica, where Trier and Reims were the chief towns and many of the people were Germanic in origin, included most of the rest. The latter three provinces—

Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica—sometimes called collectively, Gallia Comata, meaning "long-haired Gaul," were administered from Lugdunum (modern Lyon), capital of Lugdunensis. In peacetime the only military presence was a single cohort at Lugdunum to guard the imperial mint, but the Rhine army could and did move rapidly into the Gallia Comata if trouble occurred.

Although the Romans had won political control of Gaul, following their usual procedure, they did not try to impose Roman culture; rather, a new Gallo-Roman culture developed on its own, through Gallic emulation of the Romans rather than by imposition. A strong Roman influence on the Gallic tribes, brought about by trade, had long predated the conquest. The Romans strengthened this influence by building towns and roads throughout Gaul, financed by taxing the old Gallic landowning class. The villa system became an important component of the economy and society of Gaul. A landed aristocracy grew up, part Gallic, part Roman, employing the laborers who made up the principal part of the population. At the same time the Romans promoted the development of a middle class of merchants, tradesmen, and government bureaucrats. Roman religion became intertwined with the Celtic as different Celtic gods were identified with gods of the Roman pantheon.

Early Roman Expeditions to Britain

As mentioned, in 55 B.C.E. Julius Caesar led an expedition to southern Britain, probably because tribes of Britons there had sent aid to Armorican tribes in Brittany who had staged a revolt against the Romans the year before. Caesar embarked from Portus Itius (Boulogne) with two legions, comprising some 10,000 troops and, after crossing the English Channel, landed at present-day Deal in Kent. Although initial skirmishes with British troops were successful for the Romans, bad weather prevented necessary cavalry troops from joining Caesar, forcing him to cut the expedition short.

The next year, 54 B.C.E., Caesar sailed to Britain again with a much larger force of five legions and 2,000 cavalry troops. With this force Caesar encountered at first little resistance from Britons, until under Cassivellaunus, ruler of the CATUVELLAUNI, different tribes together assembled a large force. The Romans were able to defeat this force as well, although less easily. Cassivellaunus, unable to win an outright battle against the Romans, resorted to guerrilla and scorched-earth tactics and used chariots to harass the Roman legions. He was unable, however, to keep his allies together, and a number of them declared themselves allies of the Romans. In the end Cassivellaunus surrendered to Caesar. He was given lenient terms, however, and further unrest in Gaul caused Caesar to end his expedition.

As in the case of Gaul Roman influences arrived in Britain long before Roman arms, disposing some tribes well toward the Romans. Imported bronze jugs and pans probably from as far away as the Alps and even Italy have been found in burials and settlements from the first century B.C.E. An apparently important burial in a cemetery in Lexden contained a medallion issued by Emperor Augustus and an iron stool, a symbol of power. This grave had been covered by a huge barrow, further marking its significance. Roman sources attest that princes from Britain visited Augustan Rome, where, in all probability, they were presented with medallions and other gifts as Augustus sought to widen Rome's sphere of influence.

Caesar Gains Rule over Rome

From 60 B.C.E. Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus were joined in an alliance without official sanction known as the First Triumvirate, which in effect ruled Rome. Crassus had been executed in 53 B.C.E. after defeat by the Parthians in Asia Minor. With his defeat and execution of Pompey in 48 B.C.E. Caesar became master of Rome, ruling until his assassination in 44 B.C.E., a period that was a high point of Roman history, both in terms of overseas power and certainly in terms of culture. The territories ruled by Rome included Spain (except part of the northwest), Gaul, Italy, part of Illyria, Macedonia, Greece, western Asia Minor, Bithynia, Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, Cyrenaica, Numidia, and the islands of the sea, and Rome completely controlled Egypt and Palestine. It can be argued that although the extent of foreign territory held by Rome was to expand greatly after Caesar's rule, that expansion caused great changes in Roman government and society, as Rome lost its flexible, relatively egalitarian republican character, and necessitated a much greater militarization of the whole of society, changes that could be considered detrimental. After Caesar Rome became locked into an imperial strategy that required continual expansion of territory to maintain its socioeconomic equilibrium, and when further expansion became imprudent and unfeasible,

Augustus: The Great Administrator

Augustus was born in 63 B.C.E. and was given his father's name, Gaius Octavius. His mother, Atia, was the niece of Julius Caesar. She raised Augustus after the death of his father and ensured a proper education for Augustus under the Greek philosopher Athenodorus Cananites. Augustus was admired by his great-uncle, who adopted him; he then was known as Gaius Julius Caesar (Octavianus, or Octavian in English usage, was later added by historians). In 44 B.C.E. he was pursuing studies at Apollonia in Illyricum when he learned of Caesar's assassination. Supposedly on the trip home he learned that he was Caesar's heir.

In Rome with Cicero's help he secured the consulship and in 43 formed an alliance with Mark Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the Second Triumvirate, and defeated his enemies Brutus and Cassius. His sister, Octavia, married Antony in 40 B.C.E. Augustus sought to consolidate his power and in 36 B.C.E. disarmed Lepidus. Meanwhile Antony and Cleopatra had become lovers and allies; Antony divorced Octavia in 32 B.C.E. Two years later at the Battle of Actium Augustus defeated Antony. In 29 B.C.E. he was made *imperator* (commander, from which is derived *emperor*); in 28 B.C.E., *princeps* (leader, from which is derived *prince*); in 27 B.C.E. *augustus* (august, a title of honor); and in 12 B.C.E., *pontifex maximus* (high priest). Moreover the month Sextilis was renamed Augustus (August) in his honor.

Augustus, the first emperor of Rome, skillfully retained many of the trappings of the Roman Republic, calling himself publicly, despite all his other titles, The First Citizen. As supreme ruler he emphasized colonization over conquest, using the plans of Julius Caesar for reorganization. He had censuses taken and established a new system of taxation. He issued new coins and encouraged trade. He improved infrastructure, such as roads, housing, and police and fire services. He inaugurated reforms and made laws more equitable. He fostered support by granting titles. Augustus also encouraged the arts, and the Augustan Age is considered a golden age of literature on the basis of the works of Livy, Horace, Ovid, and Vergil.

The death of the children he had by various wives forced Augustus to choose his adoptive son Tiberius as his heir. Augustus, the first of the hundreds of Roman emperors, died in 14 C.E.

more or less continual warfare was needed to control the far-flung empire. In Caesar's Rome an equilibrium that did not require further expansion may have been reached.

With his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra in the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. Octavian, Caesar's nephew, ward, and heir, took over the reins of power he had previously shared with Antony and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus in the Second Triumvirate. In 27 B.C.E. the senate voted him the title of Augustus (see sidebar) and the people gave him a lifetime tribuneship, making him emperor in all but name.

East of the Rhine

After the political chaos and civil war in Rome that followed Julius Caesar's assassination had been stemmed and the new order established by Augustus had taken hold a decade later the emperor decided that the empire's frontier should be pushed beyond the Rhine farther east to the Elbe.

Annual campaigns from 12 to 7 B.C.E. and from 4 to 5 C.E. established Roman control over the area sufficient to allow armies to be withdrawn to quell a rebellion elsewhere in the empire. Soon thereafter Arminius of the CHERUSCI, a member of the Germanic elite who had served as a cavalry officer in the Roman army, was elected war leader of a confederacy of Germanic tribes. His experience in the Roman military may well have helped him to victory; in 9 C.E. he annihilated three Roman legions in the depths of the Teutoburger Wald (Teutoburg Forest) near present-day Warstein in north-central Germany. Because Roman campaigns from 10 to 16 C.E. were unsuccessful in regaining the lost territory, Emperor Tiberius decided that the region was ungovernable and withdrew his armies to the Rhine.

Gallic nobles rebelled in 21 C.E. but were soon quelled by Tiberius. The assimilation of the Gallic aristocracy was secured when the emperor Claudius I made them eligible for seats in the Roman senate and appointed them to governing posts in Gaul.

The next two centuries were marked by occasional revolts and by increasingly frequent invasions of Germanic tribes, against whom a line of *limites,* or fortifications, was erected from the Middle Rhine to the Upper Danube.

The Roman Invasion of Britain

The Romans under Emperor Claudius invaded Britain in 43 C.E. Far less is known in detail about this invasion than that of Caesar because it lacked a chronicler of the caliber of Caesar. Claudius very likely organized the campaign in the hope of a victory to consolidate his hold on power in Rome, which was threatened by a movement to restore the republic.

The invasion apparently was launched mainly from Richborough in Kent—a major Roman military installation dating from this time has been found there. The initial campaign was so successful that later in the year the emperor Claudius himself traveled to Britain to receive the surrender of the *oppidum* (town) Camulodunum (modern Colchester) of the TRINOVANTES. The Romans then moved north to Lindum (modern Lincoln) and west to Deva (modern Chester) and Isca Silurum (modern Caerleon) of the SILURES. The Britons' resistance was led by Caractacus and Togodumnus, who had divided the kingdom of Cunobelin between them. The British

forces gradually retreated before the Romans. Eventually Caractacus found refuge with either the ORDOVICES of Powys, or the CORNOVII of Shropshire in western Britain. After a final losing battle in 51 C.E. Caractacus was betrayed to the Romans by Queen Cartimandua of the BRIGANTES, among whom he had sought protection. He was taken to Rome in chains, along with his wife and family, and paraded before the emperor Claudius. The fortitude of his bearing impressed Claudius so much that he pardoned him and maintained him and his family in comfort in Rome for seven years. During this time many of his family became Christians, and after they returned to Britain they worked to convert their fellow Britons.

According to the account of the invasion by the Greek writer Cassius Dio Cocceianus (Dio Cassius) of the second and third centuries C.E. the Romans invaded after an appeal for help by an exiled king Verica of the southern ATREBATES. On the other hand the Roman historian Tacitus (see sidebar, p. 656) of the first and second centuries C.E. tells a story of implacable resistance of the Britons followed by subjugation and enslavement. In the words of Calgacus, a chieftain of the Britons, reported in Tacitus's *Agricola,* the Romans "create a desolation and call it peace."

Many scholars now question Tacitus's version of events, particularly in light of evidence that important British tribes were practically Roman allies and that trade with some Britons was flourishing. The Roman writer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. tells us that British kings dedicated offerings to Rome and had virtually made the island a Roman province. Togidubnus of the REGNI engaged in a large-scale building program of palaces and temples and promoted the growth of towns and of municipal self-government along the lines of towns in Gaul.

The Roman presence in Britain was not without further unrest, however. In 60–61 C.E. Queen Boudicca of the ICENI led a revolt, which was suppressed by troops under the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus.

Trade with Germanics

As earlier with the Gauls Romans inaugurated large-scale trade with Germanic tribes along the Rhine in the first century C.E., particularly in slaves and in leather goods, often opening relations by offering their elites luxury goods and coins, which greatly influenced them to accede to a process of Romanization. The participation of many Germanics in the Roman

Hadrian: The Great Traveler

Hadrian (also Adrian; Latin birth name, Publius Aelius Hadrianus; also Latin in full, Caisar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus) was born in 76 C.E., probably in Spain. At his father's death he became the ward of the future emperor Trajan, born in Spain, the first non-Italian emperor of Rome. Hadrian proved to be a skilled military leader. After Trajan's death in 117 Trajan's army declared Hadrian emperor, and the declaration was then approved by the Roman senate.

Ending the period of territorial expansion carried out under Augustus Hadrian consolidated the Roman Empire. An early campaign was the pacification of Moesia in 118. He ordered the building of defensive fortifications. Among them were Hadrian's Wall to defend against northern tribes in Britain; on a visit there he personally played a part in choosing its location, from Solway Firth on the Irish Sea to the mouth of the Tyne River. Hadrian traveled widely elsewhere in the empire, involving himself in regional affairs and overseeing the building of public works.

Hadrian's time in Greece, where he consulted the oracle at Delphi, inspired his architectural visions. After putting down an insurrection in Palestine, he had the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus built on the site of the destroyed Temple of Jerusalem. In Athens he built Hadrian's Arch. He also sponsored public works in Rome, including the rebuilding of the Pantheon and the building of the Athenaeum (an academy for the promotion of learning), the Temple of Venus and Roma, and the mausoleum (now Castel Sant'Angelo).

Hadrian's relationship with a young traveling companion he met in Asia Minor, Antinoüs—deified after his tragic death by drowning in the Nile—was noted by sculptors and architects, and a cult of Antinoüs developed in parts of the empire. Hadrian died at Baiae (modern Baia) near Naples in 138, having spent his last years cultivating the arts, of which he was an active patron. Antoninus Pius succeeded him.



The triumphal Arch of Hadrian was built by Athenians in 131 C.E. on a street leading from the old city of Athens to the new Roman section, in honor of their benefactor emperor. *(Library of Congress, [LC-USZ62-108917])*

army led to the widespread influence of Roman culture in Germanic society. Members of certain tribes, such as the HERMUNDURI, were allowed to cross the Rhine on trading trips, during which they moved freely "without a guard set over them," says Tacitus. In turn many Roman traders traveled into Germanic territory and lived there so long "they had forgotten their own country," according to a contemporary report by Germanics among the MARCOMANNI in 18 C.E.

The Roman Empire at Its Greatest Extent

During the reign of Trajan, an able administrator who ruled in 98–117 C.E., the Roman Empire reached its greatest geographical extent. Under his successor Hadrian (see sidebar, p. 639), who ruled in 117–138 C.E. and was famous for his travels throughout Roman-held territory, the frontiers of the empire were pulled back somewhat, but it was a time of general peace and prosperity and cultural vitality.

Roman Territory in the Trans-Danubian Region

The DACIANS were a powerful people whose territory lay north of the Danube in present-day Romania. Dacians and Romans met in battle in 112, 109, and 75 B.C.E. By about 60 B.C.E. the Dacian leader Burebistas united various tribes in the region into a powerful kingdom. (These Dacians, as they were known to the Romans, included descendants of those people whom the Greeks had called Getae.) Among Burebistas's conquests were the Celtic BOII, SCORDISCI, and TAURISCI living to the west. The Roman general Julius Caesar was preparing a major campaign against the Dacians before his assassination in 44 B.C.E. The Dacians continued raids on Roman-held lands during the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, from 27 B.C.E. to 14 C.E. He claimed them as a tributary people but they remained unconquered. They swept into Moesia (parts of present-day Serbia and Bulgaria) in 69 C.E. but were driven back by Roman legions. In 85–89 C.E. during the reign of Domitian the Dacians and Romans fought a series of inconclusive battles. Although the Romans claimed overlordship of the Dacians, they nevertheless paid them tribute to prevent further raids.

In 101–102 and 105–106 C.E. the Dacians under Decebalus fought against the Romans under Emperor Trajan in what are known as the First Dacian Wars and Second Dacian Wars. Decebalus committed suicide when he was defeated. The Romans drove survivors northward and seized enormous wealth from the Dacians. Trajan established numerous colonies and in 107 C.E. created the province of Dacia, the last province established in the Roman Empire. The Romans built roads and oversaw the operation of Dacian gold, silver, and iron mines. Dacia also provided grain to the empire.

Under Emperor Hadrian in the early second century C.E. the province was divided into Dacia Superior in the north (roughly the region of Transylvania) and Dacia Inferior (extending south to the region of Walachia between the Transylvania Alps and the Danube). In the mid-second century Emperor Antoninus Pius divided the region into three provinces, the Tres Daciae (Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia Apulensis, and Dacia Malvensis). By this time with merchants traveling to Dacia from numerous places the region had become a melting pot.

Germanic Migrations and Invasions

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180 C.E.) Germanic invaders of a number of tribes began crossing the *limes,* probably because of unrest and war to the east deep in Germanic territory. In 167 a massive movement of MARCOMANNI, QUADI, and IAZYGES began. They reached the head of the Adriatic Sea and laid siege to Aquileia. From 166 to 180 the Romans responded in a series of what have been called the Marcomannic Wars. At the end of these conflicts the Romans had reestablished the Middle Danube frontier for the time being.

Meanwhile frontier legions rebelled along the Rhine, spurring the civil wars that followed the death of Marcus Aurelius's son, Emperor Commodus, in 192. An economic recession, marked by rising prices, hurt the towns and the small farmers.

After the Marcomannic Wars and other conflicts along the Rhine frontier and probably in response to them many among the Germanic tribes underwent a sociopolitical transformation. By the next century a new phenomenon had appeared among the Germanics: large, aggressive confederacies of tribes led by permanent war leaders-cum-kings. The first of these mentioned in historical sources was the ALAMANNI, driven out of Upper Germany by the emperor Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) in 213. The name Alamanni means "all men," or "everyone." Their territory lay between the Upper Elbe and the Rhine. The Alamannic Confederacy was long-lasting, and 20 years later they again broke through the Rhine border and wreaked havoc in the frontier

provinces. Their incursions contributed toward the abandonment of the Roman frontier system along the Rhine and Danube Rivers in 260.

In the east the GOTHS, a Germanic tribal confederacy similar to the Alamanni that had emerged north of the Black Sea, had first made themselves known to the empire in 238 and thereafter carried out raids in the Lower Danube region. In 251 the Gothic king Kniva led his warriors to a great victory over a Roman army at Abrittus in the Balkans, where they killed the Roman emperor, Decius. His successor was forced to pay them huge sums in bribes. Later they moved into Asia Minor, attacking coastal cities from fleets, and invaded Greece in 257. After they were forced out of Greece their invasions ceased, probably because the Romans began trying to negotiate with them, a process that culminated in a formal treaty in 332. Among its provisions the Goths were to receive annual payments; in return they would supply men for the Roman military.

Meanwhile in Gaul the onslaughts of Germanic tribes had weakened Roman control there; in 260 Gaul, Spain, and Britain formed an independent Gallic empire, governed from Trier in present-day Germany. The emperor Aurelian reclaimed Gaul for Rome in 273, but Germanic tribes devastated the country as far as Spain. Under Diocletian and his successors reforms in defense and administration were instituted, but Gaul became a center of the unrest that was fragmenting the empire.

Division of the Empire

Diocletian, who ruled in 284–305, in his reorganization of the unwieldy bureaucracy of the Roman Empire in the 280s divided its administration between two emperors, each with the title of Augustus, one in the East and one in the West. He himself decided to rule the East, with a capital at Nicomedia (modern Ismid); his colleague Maximian became Augustus of the West. On their voluntary retirement in 305 Diocletian left two Augusti, Constantius I and Maxentius. The next year Constantius died and his son, Constantine I, moved to claim the throne; he became sole emperor in 324. He chose to rule from the East and in 326–330 built a new capital at the Greek city of Byzantium on the Bosporus, the narrow strait between present-day Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia; it came to be known as Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The empire was divided into the Western Roman and Eastern Roman Empires under two emperors in 395.



The Roman emperor Trajan hunts wild boar with a spear from horseback in this drawing from 1829. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-127029])*

Rising Tide of Invasions

In the 370s steppe nomads known to the Greco-Roman world as HUNS overran the semicivilized Goths, now split into two groups, the OSTROGOTHS and VISIGOTHS. The Huns conquered them with devastating speed and subjected them to harsh domination. In 376 large numbers of Goths requested from Roman authorities permission to cross the Danube to escape the Huns. However, conditions in the unproductive northern Balkans were so desperate that after two years the Visigoths had a violent confrontation at Adrianopole with a Roman army, which they crushed, killing Emperor Valens.

Fritigern, a Visigothic leader at this time, adopted Christianity, possibly in a political move to gain support from the Romans; Christianity was now the official religion of the Roman Empire. Unfortunately the religious doctrine that he accepted, Arian Christianity, still being debated by church leaders at this time, ultimately was decreed a heresy.

A treaty in 382 under which the Visigoths were given lands within the empire itself did little to alleviate their situation, because the new territory likewise proved inadequate, and they began to raid northern Italy under their leader Alaric. Alaric achieved a victory that, symbolically at least, struck a death knell for the Roman Empire when in 410 he took control of the city of Rome itself, an event that horrified Romans everywhere. The great Christian

leader St. Jerome wept in his cell in Bethlehem when he heard the news. As it happened, little was changed by Alaric's feat; he was more interested in the wealth of Africa and immediately began preparations to mount an invasion there. In the midst of these he suddenly died. His successor, Ataulf, through diplomacy gained Roman permission to march into Gaul and establish control over a viable territory in Aquitaine in Gaul, from which the Visigoths soon expanded into northern Spain. The fact that they were still willing to abide by a treaty with Rome, after what must have seemed to them repeated betrayals by Roman authorities in failing for so long to provide for their welfare, may speak to the continuing allure Rome had for these Germanics.

In about 400 Germanic settler groups from the North Sea coastal region began migrating to Gaul and Britain, possibly because rising sea levels were making areas of their homelands uninhabitable at the same time as their populations were increasing; for many years they migrated only in a piecemeal fashion, in small groups with no overall cohesiveness. Called collectively ANGLO-SAXONS they began to establish kingdoms in southeastern Britain by the sixth century; thereafter they expanded northward and westward.

Romano-Britons were forced to fend for themselves against the Anglo-Saxons as Roman troops and officials were withdrawn from Britain in 410, both because of the fall of the city of Rome to Alaric and because of the terminal disaster that befell Roman control of Gaul in the early fifth century. In the winter of 406–407 warriors of the VANDALS, Suebi, ALANS, and BURGUNDII crossed the frozen Rhine looking for lands to settle and wealth to plunder. The Visigoths forced the Vandals and Alans out of Gaul and on to Spain, but the Burgundii, under their king, Gundohar, seized a large area of eastern Gaul and later attempted to expand into Belgica. They too were contained by Roman military forces, consisting of Germanics and led by a mixture of Germanic and Roman commanders (who by this time constituted the only meaningful Roman authority left in Gaul), and suffered diminution in their power through a devastating defeat by Huns; they were accorded federate status in 443 and fought against the Huns in 451. But the shocks of the fifth century in Gaul itself, which included the attempted assumption of control of the empire by Constantius, a usurper from Britain, who tried to make his capital at Arles, and those meted out in Italy by the Huns and others, strained Roman power in Gaul to the breaking point in succeeding decades.

By the end of the fifth century the Visigoths had taken Aquitania; the FRANKS, another Germanic confederacy, ruled Belgica; and the Burgundii dominated the Middle Rhine. In the 420s the Vandals and allies plundered Spain. After running through the available wealth there they crossed to Africa and by 440 were in such complete control they were able to mount an invasion of Sicily. Rome's only option was to offer them the status of federates, which caused them to withdraw to Africa. Their rule there was truly worthy of barbarians, as we think of the term, and mainly consisted of ruthless plundering and confiscation of Roman lands. In 455 Vandal forces again ravaged Spain and Italy and sacked the city of Rome.

In 476 the Roman Empire in the West was officially dissolved when the boy-emperor Romulus Augustulus was deposed by Odoacer, commander of Germanic mercenaries in Italy.

Aftermath of the Western Roman Empire

Pressures from without joined with a sharply contracting economy within to bring about the collapse of the Western Empire. The West suffered from a trade imbalance with the Eastern Empire to the point that in some districts a money economy was abandoned for a barter system. The villa system had long been in decline, with falling productivity, and the taxes needed to fund the military, on which Roman society depended more with every passing year, drained the economy.

Ordinary citizens bore the brunt of the tax burden, while great landowners of senatorial rank, because of their imperial connections and private military means, found ways of avoiding paying taxes. Such individuals had little allegiance to the empire; for them being Roman meant cultivating an elite cultural tradition and preserving the privileges of their class. Such senators were perfectly willing to let barbarian soldiers and kings protect such privileges. Of the great shocks and momentous events of the time—Alaric's sack of Rome, even the dissolution of Roman authority in Gaul—wealthy senators, who had not been personally affected, remained sublimely ignorant.

The Visigoths, forced from Gaul by the Franks, achieved control of most of Spain by the early sixth century. Meanwhile the Ostrogoths under their king, Theodoric, invaded in 488 and took over much of Italy. However, after his death in 526 the Ostrogothic

hold in Italy weakened and they were unable to withstand efforts by the Byzantines of the Eastern Roman Empire to annex the former heart of the Roman Empire in the West. By 552 the Byzantines had gained control of Italy; shortly thereafter in 568 they lost much of their territory there to the Germanic LOMBARDS.

The Lombards carried out the final Germanic invasion of Roman Italy and the one that swept away almost all vestiges of imperial Rome. The Lombards had served in Roman military forces as mercenaries, and this experience had taught them how to deploy their military power more effectively. Thus when they entered Italy in 568 they swiftly took control of most of the territory north of the Po River and were able to resist a Byzantine and Frankish alliance in the 580s. In 605 the Byzantines ceded them a large territory in the northern part of the peninsula; much of the south was dominated by semiindependent duchies; the Byzantines had preserved for the Roman Empire only Rome and Ravenna, with a precariously held corridor connecting them, and coastal enclaves.

Unlike the Goths, the Lombards, perhaps unimpressed by the battered cities that were all that now remained of Rome's former glory, made no attempt to become Romanized or to include Romans in their governance. Their elite warriors took over lands and estates from their Roman owners and, engaged in the "vandalism" bemoaned by Pope Gregory the Great (see sidebar), who called them unspeakable for burning churches. That the cities had become largely depopulated by now had as much to do with the collapse of the Roman economic system as the actions of the Lombards.

Gregory I: Architect of the Medieval Papacy

Gregory I (also Gregory the Great), the great-grandson of Pope Felix III, was born in about 540 C.E. His father was a Roman senator. At the age of 30 Gregory renounced his title as a Roman prefect to become a monk.

Early in his career Gregory became Pope Pelagius II's representative in negotiations with the Byzantines in Constantinople. On being elected pope in 590 he negotiated a settlement with the Lombards, thus removing the threat to Rome. To counter the influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church he upheld Rome's traditional claims of ecclesiastical primacy over the patriarch of Constantinople, as well as over the other bishops of the church. He also strove to establish a politically independent papacy and to promote Christianity throughout Europe. He revitalized the monastic system; among his successes was a mission to England in 597 headed by Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury, along with 40 monks. Gregory gained support locally by offering protection and provisions to the population around Rome that was at risk because of the weakening of Roman civil administration due to the Lombard occupation of much of the Italian countryside. He also popularized the concepts of miracles and purgatory.

Gregory, known for his scholarship, complied 14 books, most notably *Moralia* (Morals on the Book of Job), *Liber pastoralis curae* (Pastoral care), and *Dialogues.* He also took great interest in the liturgy, introducing a number of reforms—among them, tradition maintains, incorporating Gregorian chants into the liturgy. He died in Rome in 604 and was buried in St. Peter's basilica in Rome. He was probably canonized at his death (by public acclaim). His policy and reforms endured in the papacy through the Middle Ages.



This portrait shows Pope Gregory I in his vestments. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-106737])*

CULTURE

Economy

Agriculture On the Mediterranean or Tyrhennian coast the region Latium had a typically Mediterranean climate, dry with scrubby vegetation. Higher elevations were cooler; the Apennines and foothills sheltered the lowlands, providing a milder climate. Away from the coast were thick forests of oak, sycamore, elm, and chestnut for timber. The eruption of volcanoes in the southern regions of Latium left the soil fertile for farming. There was plenty of pastureland for sheep and goats to graze.

In the second century B.C.E. the practice of agriculture among the Romans began to shift away from its centuries-long basis on modest landholdings owned by patricians and the more prosperous plebeians and even smaller farms worked by peasants. Earlier even upper-class landowners took a personal interest in their farms. Cincinnatus, the fifth-century B.C.E. Roman consul who left his farm to lead the forces that defeated the Aequi and Volsci returned home without further ado to take up farming again as soon as the fighting was done, was the ideal. At the time of the first Punic War Regulus was disinclined to stay in Africa because the steward (a freedman) who looked after his property had run away and his wife was having difficulties managing the estate by herself. The patrimony must have been fairly small to be so affected by the loss of the services of a single individual.

This condition began to change after widespread land confiscations that followed the Second Punic War made large areas of public

land available for purchase. Much larger landholdings became more common, and the new farms were geared to commercial production. In addition the almost constant warfare over time depopulated the Italian countryside as small farmers and laborers were drafted into the army; even those whose service was completed often moved to the cities, disinclined to resume a rural existence. As a result land was increasingly in the hands of large estate holders, who depended on slave labor (the byproduct of war). Land was a major focus of investment among the aristocracy, who poured the spoils of their wars into developing their estates until Italy became widely farmed.

The very varied soils and ecological types in Italy made for a variety of crops. In the south there were *latifundia,* ranches on which sheep and cattle were grazed. Their wool and leather were much in demand by the military. In central Italy, especially Latium and Campania, the farms tended to be smaller and concentrated on cash crops, olives as well as grapes. In both cases they were now worked by slaves, who had been imported into Italy in such numbers that one estimate is between 2 to 3 million by the end of the first century B.C.E., over a third of the population. Slave labor was all the more attractive to landowners because slaves could not be called up for military service. Eventually the important families of the later republic and the empire, who made vast sums out of Rome's wars of conquest, owned vast estates, called villas, employing thousands of people.

Peasant farmers, unable to compete with the villas, were increasingly forced off their land, and the ready availability of slave labor lessened demand for their services as agricultural laborers. Their only recourse was to relocate to one of the cities to look for work; there, with paid-off veterans, they further swelled the teeming urban populations.

Impetus for the Roman Conquest of Gaul In addition to fear of the northern peoples and political ambition, several developments in Italy were involved in the Roman drive for empire that led them to Gaul in the first century B.C.E.; most immediately the Roman social hierarchy maintained itself through military adventures. In addition the increasing amount of land in Italy that was being devoted to growing grapes meant that the amount of wine being produced was far more than the domestic market could absorb, so that Roman wine merchants looked to the Gauls, whose passion for wine was legendary. At the same time the Gauls became an important source of slaves, indispensable for working the large villa estates. The constant need for new military horizons, the growing population of increasingly restive war veterans in Italy needing lands on which to settle, and the need of merchants for stable markets in foreign lands all created a powerful trajectory for Roman arms in several directions, including the coastal strip of present-day southern France.

The Empire The economy of the Roman Empire continued to depend overwhelmingly on agriculture. Throughout the Roman period the staples of Mediterranean agriculture remained, as they had been in earlier times, olives and grapes, supplemented by cereal crops and cattle, sheep, and goats for meat, milk, wool, and leather. However, the main aims of agriculture now were to produce large surpluses for trade and to increase the wealth of great landowners, both in Italy and abroad. In the north of Europe in Gaul and Britain where summers are short and the soils are heavier, olives would not grow at all and grapes only on specially favored sites. Cereal and vegetable production was predominant there.

In many areas little was done to change the traditional mix of crops. In Egypt, for example, centuries-old methods of grain production continued as the emperors (who had direct control of agricultural affairs there) actively discouraged any economic development that might threaten the grain surplus with which they maintained the political stability of Rome and other parts of the empire. The cities of southwestern Asia had long established and successful agricultural methods that remained unchanged. In Britain the Celtic field systems were largely preserved intact (with some lengthening of the fields as plowing became more efficient). Many, however, were consolidated into large villa estates as elsewhere. Concentration on cereals, which had produced a surplus for export to mainland Europe even before the Roman conquest, continued. When Germanic lands were taken farmers there greatly expanded their cattle production to supply meat and, more important, leather for the military. Germanic farmers across the Rhine did this as well.

Literary sources give some information on farming. Marcus Porcius Cato's *De agricultura* of the second century B.C.E. and *De re rustica* of the first century C.E., both instruction manuals for large landowners, focus on producing products for local markets. They give advice not only on growing but also on processing of goods.

Government and Society

Early Kingdom Roman accounts of their earliest history are semi-mythical, with characters and events that should be seen in a partly symbolic or allegorical light. Roman tradition maintained that in the beginning, supposedly the eighth century, Rome was ruled as a kingdom by a king in charge of both military and civil affairs. Traditionally Romulus is regarded as having established certain political institutions in Rome. He created the senate, a council of elders (called after the Latin word *senex,* old). He established three tribes of Romans, called Tities, Ramnes, and Luceres, whose composition are unknown. Finally he divided the Romans into 30 clans, or *curia.* Romulus who with his twin brother Remus was supposed to have been suckled by a she-wolf, probably a symbol of Rome's primitive past.

The senate remained a powerful advisory council to the monarchy and comprised the heads of noble Roman families, though little is known about how they were chosen. In addition an assembly of the male Roman citizens was convened, first at the coronation of new kings and declarations of war. Each clan eventually obtained a single vote in issues of inheritance and adoption in the republic. Some think this assembly originally operated as a lawmaking body.

In the chaos that followed the sudden death of Romulus, who was drawn up by a whirlwind in a freak storm during a public sacrifice, the senate ruled until a king could be chosen from either the original Romans or the Sabines who now shared the city. The council members would alternate, each ruling for one day. The council finally chose Numa Pomilius to be king, conscious of seeming to turn Rome into an oligarchy.

Numa Pompilius, supposedly the second king of Rome, was called the lawgiver, for he ordered Roman life, moderating the excessive license of Romulus, which many had claimed had angered the gods. Numa symbolized the civilizing impulse that emerged among Romans as they developed into a city-state. After the founding two kings, legend has Roman kings alternating between those geared toward military expansion and those moderately emphasizing spiritual and civic growth.

Although the exact events are unknown, the evolution of Roman political structure indicates a degree of truth in the legends of Rome's governmental formation.

Early Etruscan Influences The social and political organization of early Rome leads many to believe it was founded as an Etruscan city. Two kings of Rome during its early period were Etruscan, and many of the early works in Rome are attributed to the Etruscans, including draining of the marshes to construct the Roman forum and the building of the city's first effective walls. Roman temples were decorated after the Etruscan style, and the religion associated with them was taken largely from the Etruscan model.

An important concept that the Romans seem to have borrowed from the Etruscans was *imperium,* divine authority discovered through divination by augurs when a prospective king had been chosen. A king's *imperium* gave him the authority to exercise power in political, military, and religious affairs. The symbol of *imperium* was the *fasces,* a bundle of rods bound around an ax, which was carried in front of the king. This, too, seems to have originated with the Etruscans.

Latin Alliances Issues of inheritance became increasingly important as Rome developed from a village of shepherds on the banks of the Tiber into an increasingly thriving city of 10,000, reaping rewards from its location along an axis of trade between the Etruscans and Europe and the Carthaginians and the southern Mediterranean. Because of their shared linguistic heritage with their fellow Latins, and as the Latin tribes turned toward each other against the threat of Etruscan dominance, the Romans shared communal rights with them. Citizens were allowed to move to other Latin communities, gaining citizenship in their new city; they had the right to intermarry freely with other Latins and, most important, commercial agreements and transactions were preserved across community boundaries.

Basis for Political Structure of the Republic Servius Tullius, who supposedly became king in the late seventh century B.C.E. after Tarquinius Priscus was assassinated, was said to have begun his life as a slave (hence the name Servius from *servus,* slave). Although Roman tradition credited to him the construction of stone walls around the city, during his long reign until 534 B.C.E., these were not built until the fourth century B.C.E. He is also said to have established the centuriate assembly, which replaced the assembly based on *curias,* or clans. The assembly was constructed out of

a division of the people into five classes. Each class was based on wealth, which was discerned by a census, and the divisions were used to assign military duty, with each class required to supply armor on the basis of its means. The classes were given centuries, or groups of 100 people; the richest were given the most centuries, and each century was given one vote. It is possible that this system was meant to grant the army votes in political matters. It also cemented the power of the wealthy.

When the monarchy ended the Romans established a republic in 509 B.C.E., consisting in main of the institutions that existed under the king: the senate and the assembly. The senate remained a council of elders, while the assembly became, or continued to be, a legislative body. The assembly was arranged in different ways throughout Rome's history but generally represented the citizens on the basis of property holdings.

The king was replaced by two officials called consuls, who held the *imperium,* the divine authority for their power, as kings formerly had. The Romans hoped each would check the other, giving each the power to forbid or veto the other's decisions. They were elected yearly by the assembly and together shared most of the powers of a king. The consuls could call up and lead armies. In the beginning of the republic the consuls were probably called praetors, which meant roughly "leaders." This term later became applied to "junior" consuls, officials who assisted the consuls in executing their duties. These praetors were responsible primarily for presiding over civil law cases.

Later more offices were created. There were two officials called censors, chosen from among former consuls, who were responsible for taking the census, especially accounting for holdings of property. The censors had the right to expel members from the senate, if they lacked sufficient financial or moral resources for the position. Lesser officials were the aediles, responsible for the upkeep of public buildings and involved in presentations at festivals and games, and the quaestors, who were accountants.

The need for a strong central ruler on occasion was recognized. In times of great need often due to a foreign invasion, the consuls could elect one magistrate who was called a dictator. The dictator served a limited term but exercised absolute power until the crisis had passed.

Roman Citizenship and Patriotism Romans took great pride in their citizenship. Their relation to the king during the monarchy and then to the state mirrored their relation as members of a family to the head of the household. The first-century B.C.E. poet Virgil, in his development of the idea of Roman and Italian patriotism, drew on this belief with the term *patria,* "fatherland," for the land of Italy, celebrating the land as a unifying element. Citizenship became more difficult to obtain as its benefits increased with Rome's expansion.

In overthrowing their Etruscan king the Romans asserted their unity, and the foundation myths of Rome attempt to draw together all the strands of different cultures that informed the Romans' way of life, to identify them as Roman traits. The Romans declared their loyalty to Roman gods and to the gods of their family, through ceremonies and ceremonial duties. They bound themselves together through festivals and other religious observances. This Roman patriotism colors their accounts of other peoples, such as the Etruscans, whom the Romans depicted as lazy, sensual, and effete, even though many of the Romans' most solid traditional values were adopted from the Etruscans.

Struggle between Patricians and Plebeians The Romans were divided into two classes, which they called patricians and plebeians. The patricians were landowning nobles and the plebeians their workers. The patricians were the only citizens allowed to hold offices and become priests and the two groups were not allowed to intermarry. The designation of plebian and patrician was inherited and could not be altered by attaining or losing wealth. The struggle between the patricians and plebeians (or plebs) over power and rights is referred to as the Struggle of the Orders.

The struggle probably began just after the conversion to a republic. Economic times were bad, as evidenced by reduced pottery imports and a slowdown in temple construction. Records show that a number of famines hit the city during the fifth century B.C.E. Hunger, the risk of enslavement due to debt, and a scarcity of land brought the conflict to a head. The plebeians tried to assert themselves by abandoning the city en masse in 494 and 450 B.C.E., denying the patricians their workforce. They also rioted.

During the first secession the plebeians elected two representatives they called tribunes, a number that later rose to 10. The tribunes could call a meeting of the council of

plebs, and a decision of the council was called a *plebiscitum*. The plebiscite was binding only on the plebeians. In 475 B.C.E. an Etruscan army prepared to attack Rome, and the plebeians took this opportunity to refuse to fight, unless their tribunes and council were recognized by the state. The patricians assented, and the people's tribunes gained veto power over the senate and assemblies.

In 450 B.C.E. the plebeians, outraged at the unwritten laws that the patricians used against them, persuaded the senate to publish the Roman code of law, known as the Law of the Twelve Tables. The Twelve Tables spelled out the basis for trials of crimes and remain the foundation for much of Western criminal and civil law. After 444 B.C.E. the consuls occasionally were replaced with military tribunes, a mechanism that allowed plebeians to obtain the rank of a consul without defiling the office.

Struggle continued between the patricians and plebs through the fifth and into the fourth century B.C.E. In 367 B.C.E. the proposals of two tribunes known as the Sextian-Licinian Rogations were enacted. The consulship was opened to plebeians, debt then held was reduced, and the amount of public land anyone could hold was diminished. By the end of the century plebeians who had held the office of consul and their families were granted the title of noble, and these noble families became the source of the office of tribune over the plebeians. Finally in 287 B.C.E. the decisions of the plebeian council became binding on the patricians as well, after a final secession by the plebeians, but by then the noble plebeians had aligned themselves with the patricians, and the economic interests of the plebeians at large were ignored.

During the first two centuries of the Roman Republic the conflict between the patricians and the plebeians was a driving force in expansionist tendencies, as Romans sought new land and new revenue to reduce the tensions, as well as in reform and expansion of the forms of republican government. The origin of the difference between the two Roman classes has been disputed but most likely arose out of a difference between those families whose members had been part of the Roman senate during the monarchy and those who had not: The senators had often been referred to as fathers, and the word *patrician* is obviously derived from the Latin word *pater,* "father." Furthermore plebeians were defined in only one way: those who were not patricians.

The formula that arose was a policy of aggressive expansion utilizing the plebeians as armed forces who, by serving in the army, found ways to advance themselves by taking office as one or another of the many new officials that had been created. Additionally plebeians who had taken steps to work through the military and government were allowed to join many of the priesthoods whose membership had been restricted before. With debt reduction (which did nothing to allay the plight of those rural poor outside the city) and successful plunder and colonization economic problems were eased. Finally the rolls of the elite were expanded to allow influential or rich plebeians to join the nobility, thereby eliminating a source of power for the plebeians.

Creation of the First Provinces Once the Carthaginians evacuated Sicily, the Romans were faced with a new situation: how to rule foreigners overseas. In the east were towns such as Syracuse that were allied among themselves by equal treaties. In the west were both Carthaginian and Greek towns that the Romans had captured or that surrendered to the Romans under the peace treaty with the Carthaginians. The Romans had two choices: to incorporate these communities into the Roman military system as they had in Italy or to collect tribute from these communities, the earlier practice in Sicily.

The Romans opted for the latter. Sicilian communities were accustomed to paying tribute to the dominant power, whether Carthage or another Greek community. This procedure also precluded the difficulty of fitting the military resources of these communities into the Roman system and using them at a great distance from home.

But it soon became clear that to oversee this arrangement and to maintain order it was necessary to have a permanent Roman official on hand. The solution was to create two new positions of praetor, one each to be sent as a permanent governor to Sicily and Sardinia. In effect the internal political order in Rome was being adapted to meet the administrative and military needs of Rome's overseas possessions. Over time the needs put increasing pressure on the magistracies of Rome, and eventually it became apparent that the political system designed for a small city-state was incapable of ruling a vast empire and would have to be drastically changed.

The Province The original meaning of the word *province* (Latin *provincia*) is unknown. It literally means the sphere of operation given to a magistrate. The activity of governing a

province could be anything from guarding against banditry in mountain passes to commanding during a war. When particular geographical areas such as Sicily or Sardinia were regularly assigned to magistrates to oversee as provinces, the term came to acquire the concrete geographical sense of "governed territory," which has passed on into English. Still throughout the republic it retained the broader meaning as well.

Promagistrates It was one of the basic tenets of the Roman state that a magistracy could only be held for one year. This was found to be inconvenient when Rome was waging prolonged wars far from the city. The solution was a procedure called prorogation, the act of extending the *imperium* of a magistrate who was operating away from the city and engaged in an operation that was considered inconvenient to disrupt through a change in command. A consul or praetor whose *imperium* was prorogued in this way was called a proconsul or a propraetor. The first proconsulship was created in 326 B.C.E. and propraetors are attested in the mid-third century B.C.E. At first a bill had to be passed by the people at the suggestion of the senate to authorize a prorogation, but eventually a decree of the senate indicating the need for prorogation was considered sufficient and no one bothered with the legal authorization.

The position of promagistrate added a great deal of flexibility to the Roman governmental system. Not only could promagistrates be used to maintain command in war, but also regular magistrates could be used as governors in times of stress. A governor could therefore be a regular magistrate during his term of office, or a magistrate whose term in a province was extended through prorogation as a promagistrate, or a magistrate from the city who was sent to a province as a promagistrate after his term of office expired in the city.

The increasing numbers of praetor positions necessitated by the growth of the empire led to complications in internal Roman politics. Before 242 B.C.E. there were one praetor position and two consul positions. As the inferior position the praetorship was normally held before the consulship. This meant that there were more than enough positions as consul to satisfy the ambitions of all the former praetors. This condition changed when the number of praetors exceeded that of consuls by a factor of 2, then 3, then 4. Although mortality somewhat reduced the disparity, there were soon far more qualified former praetors to seek the consulship than there were available positions. Given the rewards to be gained from commanding a major war as consul, the competition greatly increased and various forms of electoral corruption arose.

Preservation of Roman Culture in Germanic Kingdoms By the time of the kingdom of the Frankish Merovingians in the early sixth century C.E. the Romans had lost control of Gaul. In the end, however, Gaul even under Frankish rule proved to be an important repository of Roman culture. The Frankish Carolingian emperor Charlemagne sought to make of his court a center of classical learning. Gallic writers long kept the classical Roman literary tradition alive. The greatest testimony to the stability of the culture of Roman Gaul is the survival of the Latin language as French. Many of the amphitheaters, aqueducts, and other structures the Romans built in Gaul still stand.

Visigothic Spain was notable for its unification of Germanic and Roman elements and as far as material culture is concerned was hardly "Gothic" or Germanic at all.

The Ostrogoths, who had taken northern Italy from Odoacer in 488 C.E., effected a considerable degree of fusion of Germanic and Roman cultural and political traditions, mostly because of the breadth of vision of their king Theodoric, who preserved Roman administrative organization and appointed Romans to high posts in his court, while employing Germanic traditions for his military.

The Holy Roman Empire Germanic rulers long cherished the wish to revive the Roman Empire. The first Germanic king to acquire power and territory on a scale approaching that of the former empire, the Frankish ruler Charlemagne, went to great lengths to have himself crowned Roman emperor by the pope in Rome. Even after his empire was divided among his three grandsons the Roman Empire as a concept survived; indeed its Carolingian proponents claimed that the supposed official end of the Roman Empire in 476 C.E. was merely a suspension. For centuries thereafter many Roman institutions, especially the church, endured under Germanic kings and Romans played important roles in government and politics. Because the Roman Church in the person of the pope had anointed a Roman emperor there had to be an empire. Arnulf was the last Carolingian to hold the imperial title, but a number of claimants to the empire in Italy and France kept the idea alive until 962, when Otto I of Germany was crowned emperor by Pope

John XII. Otto had partly reunified the Carolingian Empire by putting Italy, Burgundy, and Lotharingia under his rule. The term Holy Roman Empire only came into use some centuries after Otto's reign. From this time Germanic kings took the title of King of Rome, in this asserting their right to the imperial throne and implying that they were in effect emperors-designate until they should be crowned by the pope, an expectation that was not always realized.

Military Practices

Organization The Latin word *legio* signifies "selection," a carryover from early times when men were selected from among the populace to serve temporarily in the army. Legions became separate units when in the creation of the republic ruled by consuls each consul was assigned two legions with which to fight.

The military of the early and middle republic consisted of landowners. To serve, one had to be able to provide one's own weapons and armor. The five classes used distinctly different weapons and armor. The top three classes served as heavy infantry and the bottom two as more lightly armed troops.

In the beginning the legion was a temporary unit formed at the beginning of a campaign and disbanded at its end. During the long siege of Veii, pay was introduced. Presumably as Roman armies fought on extended campaigns, some legions remained on duty for more than a year (in 326 B.C.E. a magistrate's *imperium* was prorogued for the first time, and presumably his army continued in existence as well). Certainly during the long campaigns abroad that began with the First Punic War Roman armies remained overseas for years on end. When a commander returned in triumph he took his legionaries home with him and these legions were disbanded.

Each legion had six military tribunes. Those of the original four legions that were assigned to the consuls early in the republic were elected, but those of the other legions were appointed by the magistrate who raised them. At the Battle of Thermopylae in 191 B.C.E. the former consul Cato served as a military tribune, but the office thereafter declined in importance.

The backbone of the army was the centurion, on whose leadership, initiative, and experience success depended. Centurions were appointed from the ranks by the commander on the basis of bravery and merit. The centurion maintained close control over his legionaries and directed them in battle, riding on horseback to have optimal maneuverability and oversight of his century. The centurion was assisted by a second in command called an *optio,* who carried a wax tablet on which to write the orders of the day.

There were theoretically 300 Roman cavalrymen attached to each legion, but as the Romans found over time that their own cavalry were not as good as that of various foreigners such as the Numidians and Gauls, cavalry soldiers were recruited from their allies. Similarly the Romans adopted into their forces auxiliaries from among the peoples they had conquered who had particular military skills the Romans lacked. Auxiliaries included archers, recruited from Syria, Scythia, and Crete.

The military pay provided was not great, and the major source of remuneration for the soldiers was in the form of plunder obtained from the enemy. Victorious generals often obtained large amounts of booty (the motive of many prominent men who wished to go to war), some of which they would give to the state and some spend on prestigious projects such as temple building. But some had to be shared with the soldiers.

In addition to fighting, legionaries built forts, roads, and bridges, as well as siege mounds and movable towers, as part of their military duty.

Tactics Rome's great innovation, which led to their military superiority over nearly all armies they faced, was the manipular system of organization. In the beginning the Roman army presumably used the hoplite tactics of the Greek world. The main force would then have consisted of a long line, five to 10 men deep, of heavily armed troops called a phalanx.

By the third century B.C.E. the Romans had replaced the old phalanx with a much more flexible arrangement. Each legion consisted of 4,200 infantrymen distributed mainly on the basis of age. The youngest (and those who could afford only the minimal equipment) served as *velites,* or skirmishes. They numbered 1,200 and fought in front of the main force to protect it against bowmen and slingers. When the experienced legionaries encountered the enemy, the *velites* retreated behind them.

The main force consisted of three parallel lines of troops. The youngest of the main body, 1,200 in number, were called *hastati* and formed the first line. The oldest 600 troops were placed in the last line and called the



A Roman praetorian is depicted in this detail of a relief carving. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

triarii. The remaining 1,200 were in the prime of life, more seasoned than the first line and younger than the last. These troops, called the *principes,* formed the steady "center of gravity" for the legion.

Each line was divided into 10 units called maniples, each maniple consisting of two centuries, which fought side by side. Thus when the three battle lines were drawn up for battle they did not form a continuous line like that of the phalanx, and the individual centuries, each under the command of a centurion, maintained considerable cohesion. This made the Roman line much more maneuverable than the phalanx, which tended to lose cohesion on rough ground. Furthermore the maniples could operate independently and seize an opportunity presented by an opening in the opposing line.

When the second line was drawn up behind the first its maniples were placed behind the gaps between the maniples of the first, and the third was drawn up behind the gaps in the second. This arrangement prevented the enemy from exploiting the gaps, because any attempt to break through the gap in front could be countered by the maniple drawn up behind it.

This three-line arrangement in effect meant that the Romans had an immediately available reserve in the *principes* and finally the *triarii*. The Romans had a saying that "matters had reached the *triarii,*" meaning that the situation had become desperate.

Weaponry and Other Equipment Roman soldiers wore armor over tunics, metal armor—either chain mail, or later, segmented plate armor—covering the torso and leather strips covering the shoulders and hung from the waist reaching to the knees. The tunics of common soldiers were red. Until the Common Era only officers wore greaves (armor for the leg below the knees). Many types of helmets were worn, often with red-dyed horsehair crests or plumes. Centurions were marked out by having transverse horsehair crests running from one side of the helmet to the other, rather than fore and aft. Most had a horizontal reinforcing ridge of metal projecting out from the front of the helmet (rather like a hat brim but higher than the front edge) to protect against sword or ax blows, and they flared out in back to protect the neck. Legionary shields were long and rectangular, reaching from the shoulder to below the knee and curved to cover the body as much as possible. Shields had a central iron boss that could be used as a weapon and were brightly painted.

The badge of office of the centurion was a twisted vine staff, which he would use to administer punishment. Legions maintained cohesiveness through the use of standards, poles topped with sculpted images borne by special functionaries. The standards had the practical function of being visible for all ranks to follow, either on the march or in the midst of battle. Beyond this the legion's pride and honor were invested in its standards and men would give their lives to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. They contributed to esprit de corps. The standard bearers wore animal pelts, heads attached, the head, facing front, worn over the helmet with the rest of the hide falling over the shoulders and the forelegs crossed over the chest. Wolf and bear pelts were commonly used for this purpose; the elite praetorian guard standard bearers wore lion skins. Each legion had one *aquilifer* (who carried the legion's gold-colored eagle standard), one *imaginifer* (who carried an image of the emperor called the *imago*), and any number of lesser standard bearers for the various subdivisions of the legion. The eagle standard was never carried by detachments but only when the entire legion marched. Legionary trumpeters, also wearing animal pelts, carried instruments called *tubae* curved similarly to French horns but much larger, their tubes running down from the mouthpiece to the trumpeter's side then curving up over his shoulder with the bell facing front above his head.

The standard weapon of the legionaries, which formed the heart of military strategy, was the *pilum,* a long spear with a wooden shaft tipped by a slim iron shank with a bullet-shaped point. Soldiers would hurl their *pila* at the shields of their opponents, hoping to pierce them. The bullet point of the *pilum* and the tendency for its iron shank to become bent made extricating it from a shield so pierced nearly impossible; holding it was awkward and difficult because of the *pilum*'s weight. The standard tactic, then, was for a rank of soldiers to hurl their *pila* at the enemy, disable their shields, then rush up and finish them off with swords. The ready bending of *pila* had the added advantage of making them useless after they had been thrown, so that enemy soldiers could not use them to hurl back at the Romans, a typical tactic in ancient warfare. (Celtic warriors were renowned for being able to pluck thrown spears from midair and turn them back on the enemy.) After a battle the *pila* would be collected from the battlefield and quickly straightened by the legion's blacksmiths for reuse.

In addition to the *pilum* legionaries carried a short double-edged sword, which had been adapted from the Celtiberians during the Second Punic War, called a *gladius.* This was a thrusting rather than slashing sword type, adapted for use in tight formations where there was no room for slashing. Only near the end of the empire as the Roman army became increasingly "Germanized," adopting Germanic tactics and practices, did the *gladius* give way to the long barbarian slashing sword, called by Romans the *spatha,* used particularly by cavalry and auxiliary cavalry troops.

Set-piece and siege weaponry included various types of catapults. One of them, the *carro-ballista,* had coils to tension a bow capable of propelling a foot-long bolt as much as 1,000 feet.

Germanization of the Roman Military The long struggle of the Roman military with the Germanic tribes began and ended with fundamental changes in the Roman way of war, it might be said in both cases making it similar to the Germanic way. When Romans first met Germanic warriors in battle and were sorely bested by them, they embarked on the development of professional standing armies, whereas before their armies had been manned by citizen soldiers, militia-fashion, who after the war ended went home to their farm. The standing army was the civilized equivalent of the Germanic warrior society, in which warriors' primary activity was to make war.

From about the fourth century B.C.E. first the Roman Republic and then the Empire achieved and maintained success by constantly expanding; when expansion was halted by the Germanics in the first decades C.E. for the first time Romans switched to the defensive and established a garrison system along the borders. Over the next two centuries the Roman army steadily became less "Roman" in the makeup of its soldiers, as Germanics joined in great numbers, although preserving Roman methods of warfare. When the migration period began, however, severe defeats of Roman armies by Germanics brought about another Roman reorganization. The Battle of Adrianople, in which the emperor Valens was killed and his army annihilated by the Visigothic cavalry, convinced strategists that the Roman army, long primarily an infantry force, should focus more on cavalry. Mobile cavalry forces that could rush to a point of penetration and stop the enemy advance were established at key garrisons along the empire's borders. In addition to these the border fortifications were manned by native militias under their own commanders.

In basic organization, values, tactics, and weaponry the "Roman" army had become largely Germanic. Eventually localities with strong, well-led tribal militias, such as that held by the Franks, had become virtually autonomous polities within what was left of the empire.

Dwellings and Architecture

As in so much else the Romans derived their architectural styles and building types from other peoples. Influences from Greece entered Rome in somewhat altered form from the cities of coastal Campania, wealthy settlements along the Bay of Naples to the south of Rome. Campania's sheltered coastline made it an ideal location for traders to land safely; as a result Greek and other Eastern influences were felt there sooner than in Latium. Thus when Romans began to refurbish and expand their city they looked to Campania for models. Here they found what became the typical Roman stone building types: the amphitheater, the theater (in its Roman form), and almost certainly the Roman bath, the market building, and the basilica. The style of the typical Roman house with its atrium (central court) and enclosed colonnaded garden was from Campania. The basilica, a long hall framed on each side by a colonnaded aisle, was developed in Greek cities of southern Italy. The Campanian port city of Pompeii near present-day Naples, which had



This late 19th-century photograph shows the exterior of the Colosseum in Rome. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-94156])*

been founded by the Greeks but acquired by the Samnites in the fifth century B.C.E., because of its preservation by the lava from Mt. Vesuvius's eruption in 79 C.E. has evidence of how much in advance of Rome the region was. By the second and early first centuries B.C.E. Pompeii had already acquired a full complement of urban buildings, including theaters, an amphitheater, bath-houses, and market buildings. Two of the bath-houses predate any in Rome by a century. Rome's first stone theater was not built until 55 B.C.E. by Pompey (and had to be disguised as a temple) and its first stone amphitheater was the Colosseum, dedicated in 80 C.E. Rome, for all its military and political prowess, long remained a rustic small town, architecturally speaking.

In the first century B.C.E. Rome began to undertake major building programs, with the construction of the great public buildings around the Forum: its temples, senate house, halls for the public assemblies, and state offices. There were market halls and great warehouses. However, the primary building material was brick, until Augustus transformed the city "from brick to marble." From this time on imperial patronage became an essential component of architectural development. The emperors had the resources to make a major impact on architecture, and their building programs increased their political influence. In other Roman cities, including those outside Italy, wealthy men and city leaders voluntarily undertook building projects as a means of acquiring political clout. The construction of towns and cities on the typical Roman town plan, with its grid of streets, central forum, and surrounding public buildings, was an important means of Romanization throughout the empire.

The promoter (if not inventor) of this plan was an engineer by the name of Vitruvius, who built a great basilica in the town of Fano on the Adriatic coast. He left a famous treatise, *De architectura,* written in about 40 B.C.E., in which he set out a list of buildings and urban accessories essential for a well-run and livable Roman town. These included paved streets and drains, an aqueduct to carry in fresh water for the public and private baths as well as for drinking, an amphitheater and a theater, a forum, temples, and basilicas for public business. City walls were to be built in some cases for defense but more often as a mark of civic pride, and the center of the town might be graced with commemorative arches and statues of its prominent citizens and benefactors.

Although the aqueduct was not a Roman invention (earlier examples have been found in Persia and Assyria), Roman engineers were expert in making them. The first aqueduct of Rome, the Aqua Appia, was constructed as early as 312 B.C.E. and was about 11 miles long. As the city grew, more aqueducts snaked out into the Campagna, the countryside around Rome. The Aqua Marcia of 144 B.C.E., for example, ran about 60 miles from the east of the city and is estimated to have carried a million liters of water an hour. The famous visible remains of aqueducts marching high across the countryside are misleading because for most of their length aqueducts ran underground to maintain the purity of the water and to protect it from poisoning by enemies. Construction of aqueducts was a favorite project of emperors. Augustus built a major aqueduct on the Campania to supply Naples and nearby cities.

A feature that distinguishes Roman architecture is the arch, much used for aboveground aqueducts; however, Romans did not invent it. The arch in principle was known to the Greeks but did not suit their aesthetic principles and was seldom used by them until about the third century B.C.E., when the Romans adopted it. With their invention of strong mortars and concrete using a natural Italian cement called *pozzolana* Romans were able to carry the arch form in architecture to its highest level. They devised intersecting arches to make groin vaults, parallel arches for barrel vaults, and finally the rotated arch system that allowed the building of domes. Because the earliest arches were employed in temples, this structural form became closely identified with religious uses.

One particularly powerful manifestation of the form is the triumphal arch, erected by emperors to commemorate their victories. The origins of this practice are uncertain, but may have been related to the custom of armies marching to war of passing through a temple to the god Janus, a rectangular building with arched openings at two ends. Janus was a god supreme in Rome until the advent of Jupiter. He later became the god of beginnings and endings, the past and future, and in 153 B.C.E. his name was used for Januarius, the first month of the year. He also became associated with gates, which, as doors do when opening and closing, poetically symbolize beginnings and endings in life. Also there is an etymological connection between Ianus and gates. The Latin word *ianua* means "door" and a *ianus,* "archway." As Janus was the god of beginnings and endings, he was

represented by an image with two faces, back to back, usually bearded, sometimes not, and sometimes with only one of the faces bearded. Virgil in the *Aeneid* wrote that when war was declared by the Romans, the consuls led the army and all the men of military age in a solemn religious procession through the Janus Geminus, Janus's temple, on the path to war. It is probable that as Janus was also a god of endings returning armies would march through his temple as well. But as the custom of armies' carrying the spoils of war and marching their prisoners to show the populace arose, the constricted space of the Janus Geminus may have led to the building of freestanding arches.

The first of these arches dates from the reign of Augustus (the earliest example actually to survive, at Rimini in Italy, dates from 27 B.C.E.). Tiberius erected a particularly elaborate arch with three openings and a mass of decoration at Orange in southern France in 26 C.E. after he had suppressed a Gallic rebellion. In Rome the emperor Titus erected an arch (in concrete, faced with Pentelic marble) to celebrate his conquest of Jerusalem. Another elaborate example in Rome is the arch of the emperor Lucius Septimius Severus, built in 203 C.E. The form of the triumphal arch became a symbol of Roman imperialism that spread throughout the empire and was adopted with particular enthusiasm in the eastern and north African provinces.

Clothing

As in other societies in the ancient Mediterranean Roman clothing basically consisted of pieces of cloth, usually wool or sometimes linen, wrapped around the body and held in place with pins or brooches. The lack of fine needles precluded the making of buttonholes or clothes fitted to the body until late in the Roman period. The simplest garment for men, but the one that denoted citizen, and not slave or working-class status, was the toga, basically a large circular cloth hung over the left shoulder, wrapped around behind the body and then in front, with a corner then fastened to the left shoulder again, leaving the right shoulder and arm free. No doubt it was the impracticality of such a garment for work or activity that made it symbolic of the citizen engaged in affairs of state. In earlier times the toga was worn next to the skin. Later on men would wear a tunic underneath. Boys only donned a toga when they came of age—thus its name, *toga virilis*.

The tunic worn without toga was the garment of children, the poor, and slaves. In its simplest form it was a rectangular piece of cloth with an opening for the head, hung before and behind and fastened at the middle with a belt and sometimes at the sides with pins. Tunics were of various lengths, hanging to the knees or lower. In winter a number of tunics would be worn in layers. Sleeved tunics were only adopted by men in the late Roman period after the third century C.E., because they were considered effeminate earlier. The long-sleeved tunic of the late period was called the *tunica dalmatica*. For men the decoration of tunics denoted social status, distinguished by a vertical purple stripe along one edge of the garment, of varying widths, called a *clavus*. The *latus clavus* (or *laticlavium*) was worn by senators. The *angustus clavus* was the mark of the equestrian order. The *tunica palmata* was embroidered with palm leaves and was worn by the *triumphator,* "victorious general," during his triumph, the celebration of his victory, or possibly at other special events.

Women wore a garment very like a toga, called a *stola,* which chiefly differed in being a rectangular cloth wrapped around the body and in falling closer to the ground than the toga. In the early days of the republic women wore as an overgarment *ricinium,* a simple square cloak covering the shoulders, later replaced by the *palla*. In the late period women, too, adopted the *tunica dalmatica,* the long-sleeved tunic.

Various kinds of cloaks were worn against inclement weather, made of heavy felt or leather. Cloaks ranged from simple blanket types, to poncholike garments with a hole for the head, to a type called a *caracalla,* which had a hood. The emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, more commonly known as Caracalla, acquired this nickname because he always wore this type of hooded cloak. The *caracalla* was adopted from the Gauls. The cloaks of the wealthy were often brightly colored. The military cloak worn by the legions was called the *sagum*.

There were three main types of footwear. The *calcei,* soft leather shoes midway between shoes and sandals, were the standard outdoor footwear for Romans and formed part of the national dress with the toga. Sandals (*soleae* or *sandalia*) were generally regarded as indoor footwear, and to be seen outside wearing sandals was considered scandalous. However, it was discourteous to appear at a banquet in anything other than sandals. As a result wealthy Romans had slaves who accompanied them to banquets carrying their sandals. Stoutly made sandals, however, were the standard wear of

soldiers for much of the Roman period. The third general type of shoe were simply stitched leather slippers (*socci*), which were also meant for indoor use.

Transportation

Essential to the Roman military and colonizing success was the building of roads throughout the empire, often carried out by the legionaries. These allowed for rapid deployment as well as maintaining of trade contacts. The main public roads were funded by the state. The military roads were built at the expense of the army; they became part of the public road system. Local roads helped interconnect main public roads. Private roads were built and maintained by the owners. Varying materials, such as sand, gravel, clay, crushed stone, slabs of lava, large stones, and even iron slag, were utilized for the foundation and surfacing, depending on availability as well as the firmness of the subsoil.

The primary vehicles used for hauling were two-wheeled and four-wheeled carts pulled by horses and oxen. Where practical galley ships were more probably used for transport and trade.

Literature

Whereas in most artistic media—the visual arts and architecture—the Romans did not far exceed the strong influences of other cultures such as those of the Etruscans and Greeks in literature they transformed past influences. They adapted the Greek models Theocritus (fourth–third century B.C.E.), Hesiod (eighth century B.C.E.), and, above all, Homer (ninth to eighth century B.C.E.), to create a literature that fulfilled distinctly Roman purposes and brought to fruition a distinctly Roman worldview—one that in some respects continues to inform the worldview of the West to this day. The poet Virgil (first century B.C.E.) developed a Roman literary style possessed of the flexibility and range to encompass these goals. Already in his lifetime it was recognized that "the glorious birth" of a great new literary tradition was under way. His greatest masterpiece, the epic poem the *Aeneid,* became known before it was completed or published, as Virgil gave readings from it to the emperor Augustus and his family and court while he was still at work on it. Virgil's younger contemporary Propertius heralded the new work when he said that with the *Aeniad* a greater work than the *Iliad* was being born.

The *Aeneid* became an instant classic in the Roman world and beyond, studied in schools and annotated and analyzed by commentators and critics over the centuries. Still extant is the voluminous commentary compiled by one Servius in the fourth century C.E.; this was but the forerunner of a huge proliferation of exegesis, criticism, and controversy that began with the first printing of Virgil's poems around 1469.

Virgil's poetic style can encompass both impassioned rhetoric and pastoral tranquility, love songs and rude jokes of simple shepherds; it can bring to life the fire and slaughter of the sack of Troy. With it the poet did nothing less than forge a Roman sense of nationhood—indeed, the very concept of nationhood, of a national cohesion born of a shared history and a shared land, which informs the modern concept of nationhood today. This concept was only uncertainly held by the Greeks, with their focus on the city-state, and by the Romans before Virgil's time.

His influence was enormous not only on later Latin poets such as Ovid (first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.), Lucan (first century C.E.), and Statius (first century C.E.), but far beyond the demise of the Greco-Roman world. The medieval Italian poet Dante not only used paraphrases of lines from Virgil at important moments in his *Divine Comedy;* he made Virgil a character in his poem, his conductor through the Inferno, the sweet and harmonious lucidity of Virgil's verse a bright talisman able to carry himself and Dante safe through the darksome and sulfurous depths of Hell. Dante even invented a region of the underworld just outside the gates of the Inferno for virtuous pagans who had lived before the time of Christ, who were worthy of heaven but barred from it because they had not been baptized Christians. It seems possible that Dante invented this region primarily because he could not bear the idea of Virgil's suffering the torments of hell. English poets of the 17th-century Augustan Age revered Virgil, and one of them, John Dryden, made among the most successful English translations of Virgil's works in the 17th century. Alfred Tennyson in the 19th century and T. S. Eliot in the 20th both acknowledged Virgil's preeminence, Tennyson describing his line as the "stateliest measure / ever moulded by the lips of men," and Eliot calling him "the classic of all Europe."

Modern scholars see Virgil and Lucretius, his predecessor of the same century, as the promoters of a revolution in sensibility, of a wholly new attitude toward nature. In their works can be found the culmination of the tendency to ascribe human emotions to nature. In Homer and the works of other Greek and

Roman writers emotions are ascribed to natural phenomena only in response to the presence of a god, such as the rejoicing of the waves at the presence of Poseidon in the *Iliad* or the intoxication of all nature when Dionysos approaches in Euripides's *Bacchae*. Lucretius heralds the new attitude in a description of Venus that shows her not simply as acting on nature but as being the very embodiment of nature. The gods no longer dwell apart in their immortal realm indifferent to human fate and suffering but, imbuing and imbued with nature, commune with us. Venus's sexuality becomes a creative physical principle that flows through all of nature, the first cause of all growth, budding, flowering, fruition, and of the impulse to procreation in humans as in all living things.

This creative force or principle replaces as the fundamental principles of material existence the atoms of Greek philosophy (of the Epicurean school), indivisible but essentially lifeless particles whose mixture and separation give rise to the variety of the universe. With his creative force Lucretius approaches the teachings of the sixth–fifth century-B.C.E. Greek philosopher Heraclitus, who saw the essence of being as a dynamic eternal becoming, an oscillation from being to not being, and back again. Humans, through making love and procreating; through being born; through growing, aging, and dying; then being reborn, join in the continual cycling of nature's creative principle, of which Venus is the embodiment. In this way nature is saturated with our emotions; in nature's embrace we find a deep sense of belonging.

Virgil took this new way of experiencing nature and expanded it beyond the individual sensibility to that of a nation as a whole. His depictions of the Italian landscape evoked a sense of belonging to the land as part of a nation beyond Rome or any one city but Italy as a whole. In Virgil *patria,* "the fatherland," became imbued with the idea of ancestry: that the landscape of one's ancestors rooted one in a deep past. The shared experiences and historical events that took place on the land of Italy, the blood shed there in war and the sweat shed in peaceful labor, joined all its peoples into a unity that transcended and comprehended their diversity. Scholars consider that this complex of ideas, fundamental to the modern mind, had its inception with Virgil.

This new conception of nationhood inspired the *Aeneid,* the epic poem that tells the story of the founding of Rome by the Trojan hero Aeneas. Virgil's *Aeneid* virtually foreclosed the epic poem on his predecessors, except for crude imitations by hacks. The best poets sought other realms in which they could escape Virgil's influence. The only poem similar in length to the *Aeneid* is Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* which, however, is not a connected narrative but a series of narratives held together by the concept of metamorphosis—they are all myths in which people are transformed into animals or trees, usually by gods—and by Ovid's creative wit. Horace, Virgil's contemporary and friend, invented the Latin lyric, and later poets of the first century B.C.E., Albius Tibullus and Sextus Propertius, wrote love elegies.

Other important writers of the first century B.C.E. include the encyclopedist Marcus Terentius Varro, the statesmen and prose masters Julius Caesar and Cicero, the poet Gaius Valerius Catullus, and the historians Sallust and Livy.

Important writers of the next century were Lucan, Persius, Seneca (the Younger), and Statius. Martial and Juvenal were celebrated for

Pliny the Elder: Encyclopedist of the Real and the Fantastic

Gaius Plinius Secundus was born near Lake Como in Cisalpine Gaul, present-day northern Italy, in about 23 C.E. He went to Rome as a young man and embarked on a military career in which he served as a cavalry officer in Africa and Germany. He is known as Pliny the Elder to distinguish him from his nephew and adopted son, the Roman orator and statesman Pliny the Younger. He studied Roman law but gave it up to devote himself to scholarly studies. Among his works were a 20-book history of the Germanic wars and 31 books on Roman history from 41 to 71 C.E. He later served as government official, a *procurator,* collecting imperial revenues. He died of asphyxiation near Mt. Vesuvius during a visit to observe the volcano's eruption in 79 C.E.

The only one of Pliny's works that has survived to modern times is his *Historia naturalis* (Natural History), an encyclopedia of science and art in 37 volumes, in which he set out to describe the known world. He completed it in 77 C.E., two years before his death.

Pliny seems to have accepted everything he heard uncritically, and his book catalogues fantastic creatures. Among the human races of the world listed in his book are dog-headed people who communicate by barking and headless people with eyes in their shoulders. Animals include snakes that launch themselves skyward to catch high-flying birds, the Hyperborean mares that conceive by turning their hindquarters to the North Wind, and the "basilisk serpent" of Africa, which kills bushes on contact and explodes rocks with its venomous breath.

Yet Pliny's work is also filled with accurate geographical and ethnological information about the Mediterranean world and western and northern Europe. He is the first known writer to have referred to present-day Norway and Sweden as Scandinavia (depicting the region as an island, not a peninsula). He also makes one of the earliest references to the Silk Road—the caravan route between the Black Sea and central Asia—the primary link for centuries between the East and the West.

Tacitus: Psychological Historian

Cornelius Tacitus was born around 56 C.E., probably in Rome. Little is known of his early life other than that he married the daughter of Gnaeus Julius Agricola, who served as the governor of Britain in 77–84 C.E., and became a friend of the statesman Pliny the Younger. From Pliny's letters it appears that Tacitus held a variety of governmental positions in the 70s–90s C.E. and perhaps served as governor of the Roman provinces in Asia in 112–113 C.E. He died after 117.

During and after his career in government Tacitus devoted himself to writing. His works, less than half of which have survived to modern times, include *Dialogus de oratoribus* (Dialogue on Orators; c. 81); *De vita Iulii Agricolae* (Life of Agricola; c. 98); *De origine et situ Germanorum* (Concerning the Origin and Location of the Germans; c.98), commonly called *Germania* or *Germany; Historiae* (Histories; c. 104–109); and *Annales* (Annals, c. 115–117), possibly originally titled *Ab excessu Diui Augusti* (From the Death of the Divine Augustus).

The *Histories,* chronicling the Roman emperors from 69 to 96 C.E., and the *Annals,* chronicling the period from 14 to 68 C.E., are considered his chief works and are a valuable source of information about the Roman Empire in the first century C.E. Yet the so-called minor works *Life of Agricola* and *Germania* are critical to our knowledge of the ancient Britons and Germans.

Tacitus writes with a personal bias, glorifying and justifying the actions of his father-in-law, Agricola, in his military campaigns in Britain, as well as using the Germanic tribes as a model of a vigorous and moral way of life compared to the corruption and decadence of the Romans of his day. The ideals of the old Roman Republic are a theme that runs through all his works. But his character portrayals of individuals demonstrate great psychological insight into human behavior. He is also known for the richness and precision of his writing style.

their satiric writings. Pliny the Elder (see sidebar, p. 655), Pliny the Younger, Tacitus (see sidebar), and Petronius were the chief writers of prose; Suetonius Paulinus excelled in historical and biographical writing, and Quintilian in literary criticism.

Religion

The early Italic peoples worshipped spirits, called *numina,* instead of gods. Some of the gods worshipped by Romans may originally have been *numina.* The Romans' household gods, the lares and penates, protectors and nourishers of each family, probably had their beginnings as *numina,* spirits that dwelled in rivers and trees, groves, fields, and buildings. Belief in a multitude of spirits surrounding humankind on every hand, which each person encountered by day or night, waking or sleeping, gave rise to the complex system of rituals of placation that pervaded every aspect of Roman life, even after the tribal past had been left behind. Romans were guided in their every action by the principle, probably derived from the ancient worship of *numina,* of *pietas,* "duty." This duty consisted of proper worship and sacrifice to the gods, in return for which the gods would bless them with good fortune. Some of the gods worshipped in Rome in republican and imperial times came from abroad; others must have existed among the Italic peoples from much earlier times. The worship of Ceres, the goddess of grain, probably had its roots in placation of the spirits of growing things. Vesta, goddess of the hearth, probably originated in a spirit, perhaps incarnate in the hearth fire, who protected dwellings. Ceremonies involving fire were central to the ritual of the vestal virgins, a college of priestesses who spent their life in the service of Vesta.

With the rise of the Roman state Rome's tutelary deity, Jupiter, a sky god introduced to the Romans by the Etruscans, rose to paramount importance. The first meeting of the senate each year took place at his great temple on the Capitol, magistrates offered him sacrifice on taking office, and the spoils of war were taken to the temple to be dedicated to Jupiter. Jupiter was joined by Juno, an ancient goddess associated with the needs of women, fertility, and the sanctity of marriage, as his consort. Jupiter and Juno, together with Minerva, of old a goddess of crafts who had grown to rule over all learning and wisdom in general, formed what was called the Capitoline Trinity, whose temple on the Capitol was the physical locus or center of Roman religion.

The rituals of Roman religion were overseen by priests chosen from members of the aristocratic families. Rituals were prescribed throughout the year by the Roman calendar and had to be observed with strict precision to be efficacious. The rituals both preserved the safety of the state and formed the basis for its cohesion. Ambitious politicians vied to be elected to religious office. A crucial step in Julius Caesar's rise to power was his election as *pontifex maximus,* high priest, in 63 B.C.E. according to his enemies through the use of massive brides. After the establishment of the office of emperor the role of *pontifex maximus* was subsumed in that of the emperor. Over time emperors began to be accorded divine honors as the living center of the state religion. The cult of the emperor, disseminated all over the empire through building of shrines and temples, served as a focal point for Romanization of the wide variety of peoples whom the Romans conquered.

On the other hand the Romans attempted to bridge the gap between themselves and their conquered subjects by giving the gods of the latter official recognition and worship: identi-

fying native gods with their own. Thus they identified the important Celtic god Lugh with the Roman god Mercury, conductor of the souls of the dead and patron of travelers and merchants. The British goddess of healing waters, Sul, whose most important shrine was at Aquae Sulis (modern Bath) in England, was called Sul-Minerva. The same was done with many other foreign gods.

Divination Divination was widely used to predict the future. The importance for the Romans of augurs, priests schooled in dividing the will of the gods by reading omens, such as the flight of birds or lightning bolts, probably derived from the ancient belief in the *numina.* This belief may have given rise to efforts to have contact with these ubiquitous spirits both to learn their will and to gain their knowledge of the unseen, including the future. Augurs were consulted for everyday matters as well as at moments of crisis or war.

Etruscan augurs, whom the Romans imitated, made their divinations from within a sacral space, usually on high ground. By about 600 B.C.E. the Etruscans began building temples adjacent to this sacred space (called by Romans the *templum,* the origin of the word *temple*), with very high podia (the bases on which temples were build). Augurs may have stood on the edge of a temple's podium, the better to gain contact with the flying spirits. The Roman temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the Capitoline Hill, begun in the late sixth century B.C.E. when an Etruscan king still ruled Rome, was modeled on Etruscan temples. The Romans used the Etruscan rules of divination, the *disciplina,* which they took care to preserve unaltered.

Mystery Cults As did the Greeks Romans participated in mystery religions, which originated outside the Greco-Roman world. These cults differed markedly from those of the Greco-Roman pantheons of gods by being focused on a single deity or pair of deities and by involving worshippers with their god far more directly than through the simple quid pro quo of sacrifice. The hallmark of the mystery cults were the elaborate and protracted ceremonies of purification and initiation by which the worshipper dedicated or devoted him- or herself to the god or goddess. During these rites, usually completed over many days, the observances were aimed at giving initiates a sense of entering the actual presence of the deity and of joining with his or her essence. Fasting, sleep deprivation during all-night rituals, torchlight dancing, and probably the use of stimulants intoxicated the worshipper and induced ecstatic visions, such as that recorded by the second-century C.E. writer Lucius Apuleius as the climax of his participation in the rites of the Egyptian goddess Isis. His words attest to the intense mystical experience that could be produced. He believed that he had approached death and had a vision of Isis herself who said she was Nature, the universal mother.

People who had gone through such initiations as that of Isis, or the cult of Cybele and Attis from Anatolia, were believed to be holy and privileged in this life and in the next. According to the Greek orator Isocrates of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., initiates of such mysteries hoped for immortality.

Christianity The growing importance of mystery cults in the Roman world paved the way for the mystery cult that would supersede all of them: Christianity. Many aspects of other mystery cults find parallels in early Christian belief, probably because the first Christians saw Christ as the fulfillment and culmination of all of them, alpha and omega both. It was said that Mithras had been incarnated and visited by shepherds after his birth in a cave. Stories of miraculous healings, shared meals of believers, and even resurrections (in the legends surrounding Cybele her beloved Attis, a shepherd, is mutilated, dies, but is reborn to be reunited with the goddess) and the promise of an afterlife for the initiated would have been commonplace for anyone who had contact with mystery religions. The development of the cult of Mary, the mother of Jesus, had parallels with the worship of other mother figures in these religions (although the most influential development was to be the cult of Mary's perpetual virginity). Many of the procedures of the mystery religions (initiation into the cult, for instance) were to act as important influences on Christian practice.

Initially Christianity was viewed with deep mistrust by Romans because it detracted from the state religion and because it was not practiced in public and excluded prayers to the emperor and state gods. Garbled accounts of the Eucharist were interpreted as evidence of cannibalism. Persecutions of Christians were known to have taken place in the first century B.C.E. The letters of the emperor Trajan to Pliny show that the punishment of Christians who came to the notice of authorities and who refused to repent was already common in the early second century C.E.: Emperor Decius ordered the first official

persecution in 250 C.E. In its first centuries Christianity was preeminently the religion of the poor and oppressed in society, and women, especially widows and the unmarried, were large proportion of the early communities (although wealthy aristocrats also took part). Yet by the fourth century it had made enough headway that the bishops of Rome began to wield increasing political power (in inverse proportion to the waning of imperial power in the West). In the Eastern Empire with the Edict of Milan of 313 Emperor Constantine I announced toleration of Christianity. It soon became the official religion of the empire, with the emperor as its highest proponent, a circumstance later enshrined in the laws of the sixth-century Byzantine emperor Justinian.

The Romans took many trends that had long been at work in the ancient world to their culmination. The expansion of the city-state model of government into empire, repeatedly attempted by Greek states, including Athens, Sparta, and Macedon under Alexander the Great, was finally achieved by the Romans. At the same time this evolution brought to an end the democratic experiment of the ancient Mediterranean world. Roman culture was an amalgam of influences from other cultures of the Mediterranean, particularly the Etruscans and the Greeks, and through their empire the Romans spread this European Mediterranean culture to Africa, the Near East, eastern Europe toward Eurasia, and western Europe.

Yet even as they accomplished these achievements they were setting in motion the forces that ultimately would end the empire and the world of antiquity. When the Romans subsumed Europe north of the Alps in their economic sphere, and the region west of the Rhine in their empire, Germanic peoples began an evolution away from a simple tribal warrior society into a far more stratified one in which material wealth and the warfare consequent on its possession became an ever more important force, one that increasingly impinged on the imperial provinces of the West. Roman wars against the Germanics greatly accelerated these trends, which finally led to the destruction of the empire in the West. The great migrations of Germanic peoples to and into imperial territories in the south and west left a political and cultural vacuum in eastern Europe that made possible the rise of the SLAVS. Some Germanics, notably the Franks and Visigoths, accomplished a fusion of Roman and Germanic cultures in Latin cultures of France and Spain. Even SCANDINAVIANS felt the pull of the Roman economic sphere, which was ultimately responsible for the emergence of the VIKINGS. The influence of Greek and Roman trading activities in the Near East would ultimately lead to the rise of Islam, which swept away the Eastern Roman Empire of the Byzantines. Medieval Europe was profoundly shaped by the historical forces awakened by the Romans.

At the same time much of the culture of antiquity survived the fall of the Roman Empire, in large part through the agency of the Christian Church the Romans founded. Christianity quickly spread into most of the territories that were or had been part of the Roman Empire, and its institutions were strongly influenced in many ways by Roman ones. Christian monks, first those in Ireland and later others, preserved a significant portion of the literary, philosophical, and scientific legacy of antiquity. Furthermore, if Christianity is the single most influential and coherent modern legacy of the ancient Mediterranean world, its survival and growth into a world religion are perhaps the Romans' greatest legacy.

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Roxolani (Roxolanae; Rhoxolani; Roxolans)

The Roxolani were an Iranian-speaking tribe, their nomadic ancestors originally out of Asia; they are classified as SARMATIANS. By the early second century C.E. Roxolani had begun settling in present-day Moldova and Romania, east of the IAZYGES. They abandoned this region by the end of the third century, perhaps migrating westward to present-day Hungary with the Iazyges, among whom it is thought they lost their tribal identity.

Rroma (Roma; Rom; Romani; Romany; Romanies; Romanes; Gypsies; Gipsies; Tsigani; Tziganes; Ciganos; Zigeuners)

RROMA
location: Greater Europe
time period: c. 800 C.E. to present
ancestry: Indo-Aryan
language: Romany (Indo-Aryan) and those of modern nations

The Rroma, Roma, or Romani are a people spread throughout Europe and in other parts of the world who have maintained a unique language and generally uniform way of life throughout history even as they have formed distinct groups in different countries. Large numbers live in central Europe, especially in the Slavic-speaking lands of the Balkans, including Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia. But Rroma are found in every European nation. They are traditionally nomads, although the majority now live in permanent communities. In the course of their wanderings they have mixed with the non-Rroma (or *gadjé* as Rroma refer to non-Rroma in their language—something akin to barbarians), but their bloodlines have remained intact compared to those other peoples of the European melting pot.

The double-*r* spelling Rroma is being used increasingly instead of Roma or Romani—in part to distinguish the name from Romans and Romanians, with whom the Rroma have no ancestral connection. Rom in the Rroma language (known as Romany or Romani) means "married man" or simply "male Rroma" (from the Sanskrit word for low-caste musician). The name Gypsies—from Egyptians or 'Gyptians—evolved because the British mistakenly believed these itinerant people had migrated to Europe out of Egypt. The French, who thought the wandering people had migrated from Bohemia, dubbed them Bohemes (leading to the usage of Bohemians for people who living unconventionally). Rroma are known by many other names locally, determined by geography and occupation as well as kinship.

ORIGINS

Rroma originated in northwestern India, migrating westward first probably in the ninth and 10th centuries C.E. Knowledge of their lineage is based on blood groupings as well as languages which coincide with those of southern Himalayan peoples. Their migrations can be traced by foreign loanwords in their language—among them words from Persian, Kurdish, and Greek—as well as written records (a fact that was recognized after 1753–54, when Stephan Valyi, a Hungarian student at the University of Leiden, discovered the Indian roots of the Romany language by comparing words spoken by university students from India to European Rroma vocabulary). It is not known whether Rroma comprised various tribal groups in India or whether they were Hindus and members of one or more Hindu castes. It is believed that Rroma groups departed India in a series of migrations and after

Rroma time line

C.E.

c. 800–950 Groups known as Domba begin migration from northern India westward.

c. 1000 Rroma recorded in Persia and Byzantine Empire (Turkey and Greece).

14th century Rroma recorded in central Europe.

15th century Rroma recorded in western Europe.

1471 Switzerland passes anti-Gypsy laws; other nation-states follow.

1492 Spain passes anti-Gypsy laws and subjects Rroma to Inquisition as heretics.

early 1500s Rroma recorded in Russia, British Isles, and Scandinavia.

1504 Louis XII expels Rroma from France.

1530 Henry VIII expels Rroma from England.

1538 Portugal expels Rroma to Brazil.

1562–63 Rroma denied acceptance in priesthood by Council of Trent.

1589 Denmark imposes death sentence on any Rroma in country.

1595 Stefan Răzvan, son of Rroma slave, rules Moldova for four months.

17th–18th century Various nations pass laws forbidding gathering and nomadism, in some cases punishable by death, to force Rroma to abandon traditional way of life.

19th century More and more nations grant Rroma rights.

1856 Slobuzenja, abolition of slavery in Romania

1874 Muslim Rroma granted equal rights to other Muslims in Ottoman Empire.

1936–45 Nazis persecute Rroma; in O Porraimos (Great Devouring) hundreds of thousands of European Rroma are killed by Nazi regime and collaborators; on August 2, 1944: Zigeunernacht (Gypsy Night) occurs, and 4,000 Rroma are gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

1959 World Gypsy Community founded in France.

1962 National Association of Gypsies founded in France.

1965 International Gypsy Committee forms from dissolved World Gypsy Community.

1971 First World Romani Congress held in London with delegates from 14 countries.

1976 First Roma Festival held at Chandigarh, India.

1978 At Second World Romani Congress in Geneva International Rom Committee becomes International Romani Union.

1979 United Nations (UN) recognizes Rroma as distinct ethnic group; International Romani Union given consultative status in United Nations Social and Economic Commission (UNESCO).

traveling through Afghanistan reached Persia (modern Iran) and Armenia and parts of the Byzantine Empire (Turkey and Greece) by the 11th century; the Balkans (recorded in Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary) by the beginning of the 14th century; and western Europe (recorded in Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Spain) by the 15th century; in Russia, British Isles, and Scandinavia by the early 16th century. (Some Rroma followed a route through Syria to North Africa, then continued into Europe across the Strait of Gibraltar.)

One theory maintains that the Rroma were originally low-caste Hindus recruited as mercenaries and granted warrior caste status to battle Muslims who were expanding eastward toward India. Others believe that they were taken as slaves, by Afghans and Iranians who invaded northern India, and then remained in Afghanistan and Persia. Both may be true. And some Rroma may have left India of their own accord. Yet, however likely such theories may be, they do not explain why the Rroma never returned to India but proceeded westward into an unwelcoming Europe.

Rroma Groupings

Some scholars divide the Rroma into three main tribal groups, some of which perhaps may have formed in Persia in the course of their early wanderings: Gitanos, Kalderash, and Manush. The Gitanos lived mostly in southern France (where they are known as Gitans); Spain, Portugal, and North Africa (known as Gitanos or Calé); and North Africa. The Kalderash (the largest group) lived mainly in the Balkans and other parts of central Europe. The Manush lived mostly in central and northern France (known as Manouches) and in Germany (known as Sinti). Others migrated mainly to Great Britain and North America. Some Rroma still live as far east as Iran but there are no recognizable groups in India.

Other scholars, on the basis of language, classify Rroma into three groups: the Domari, or Dom; the Lomarvren, or Lom; and the Romani, or Rom. The Rroma define four "tribes" or nations (*natsiya*): the Kalderash, the Machavaya, the Lovari, and the Churari. Yet not all tribes have the same definition of what constitutes being Rroma. The Romnichal (Rom'nies) in the United Kingdom are also considered a grouping. The Sinti in Germany and Yenish (Jenische or Yéniche) in Switzerland and nearby countries both developed their own dialect with heavy German influence. (The Yenish are thought to include non-Rroma who intermingled with Rroma.) Other localized names are Bashaldé, Boyash, Churari, Lovari, Ludar, Luri, Machavaya, Romungro, Rudari, Ungaritza, and Xoraxai. In Ireland and elsewhere a group of people known as Irish Gypsies or Irish Travelers exists; although not related to them and speaking a combined Gaelic-English language; they live much as Rroma and have even borrowed some words from them.

LANGUAGE

The language of the Rroma—Romany, Romani, or Rom—belongs to the Indo-Aryan subgroup of Indo-Iranian (the eastern branch of Indo-European) and is related to languages spoken in northern India, such as Hindi and Punjabi. Romany dialects vary considerably but all have some vocabulary in common. They also have many loanwords from other languages (which have allowed scholars to trace the Rroma migration to the west). Most Rroma, although not all, speak a dialect of Romany; most also speak the major language of the country where they live. Some speak a dialect combining two languages. Caló of the Gitanos in Spain, for example, uses Romany vocabulary and Spanish grammar. Romany is primarily a spoken language, and no one written Romany language exists.

HISTORY

The absence of written language makes specifics of early Rroma history hard to discern other than the actions and laws of nation-states over the centuries that were responses to a growing Rroma presence. Their wide distribution also makes it difficult to generalize their history other than through persistent myths and centuries-long persecution. Their physical appearance—generally dark complexion, black hair, and short build (although with many exceptions)—their unique language, their nomadism, and their poverty have led to great prejudice against them. From the 15th century in the Balkan states Rroma were typically slaves or serfs for many centuries. Also that century nations-states, Switzerland and Spain, began instituting anti-Rroma laws. Between 1499 and 1783 the Spanish government enacted some dozen laws prohibiting Rroma language, dress, and customs. In 1492 Rroma became targets of the Spanish Inquisition.

In the 16th century actual expulsion became common: from France in 1504, from England in 1530, from Portugal in 1538 (to Brazil), and all nomadic Rroma from Belarus in 1586. In 1589 Denmark ruled in favor of the death sentence for any Rroma discovered there. Exile contributed to the real and perceived disposition to nomadism among the Rroma. Many Rroma migrated at least seasonally. They traveled along routes based on tribal links, rather than national boundaries; others who had settled in a nation became wanderers after exile. Another sign of early prejudice against the Rroma was their treatment by churches: In 1560 Swedish Lutheran priests were forbidden to have any dealings with Rroma, and in 1562–63 the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent denied all Rroma entry to the priesthood. Anti-Rroma laws continued to be enacted in the 17th and 18th centuries.

An exception to the pattern of persecution was the rise to power of Stefan Răzvan, son of a Rroma slave and a free woman, who ruled Moldova briefly in 1595 before being deposed as a result of court intrigue. In 1686 the Swedish Lutheran Church changed its laws to accept Rroma in their congregation and christen their children. The Rroma of czarist Russia were treated no differently than other peasants.

Those Rroma who converted to Islam in the lands ruled by the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) received special privileges and in 1874 were officially granted rights equal to those of other Muslims. In 1717 Spain established 41 localities as places of residence for Rroma. Rroma also became increasingly appreciated in the arts. For example in the 18th century Rroma bands played for the Austro-Hungarian court, and a Rroma woman by the name of Cinka Panna became renowned as a violinist in Slovakia and other countries. Anti-Rroma laws softened in 19th-century Europe. In 1856 Romania abolished slavery, the last European nation to do so, an event known to the Rroma as Slobuzenja. By 1864 no lingering instances of Rroma slavery were found.

Modern Discrimination

Discrimination against Rroma persisted to the present. During World War II (1939–45) the Nazis killed hundreds of thousands of Rroma in their concentration camps (the exact number is hard to determine because of lack of records). The Rroma holocaust is known as O Porraimos (or Porrajmos), the Great Devouring. On August 2, 1944, an event known as Zigeunernacht, Gypsy Night, occurred, when some 4,000 Rroma were gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

After the war the Communist countries of the Soviet bloc established programs of enforced settlement to end Rroma migration and suppress Rroma customs. Even after the fall of Communism in the late 1980s and the founding of democracies with civil and political freedoms—enabling them to promote Rroma identity, for example—distrust of Rroma led to laws to alter migratory patterns, such as denying Rroma access to traditional campsites. Rroma remain segregrated from much of mainstream society, and many of them live in isolated ghettolike or squatter settlements. They still encounter discrimination in every facet of society: education, housing, employment, health care, the criminal justice system, and the military. Many Rroma children lack proper health care and do not graduate from secondary schools. Acts of racist violence against Rroma still occur.



This late-19th-century photograph shows two Rroma women. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-108698])*

Political Activism

The Rroma have become increasingly active politically and culturally to campaign for civil rights and preserve their heritage. A number of organizations have formed over the years. Among them are the World Gypsy Community founded in France in 1959 (and its spinoff the International Gypsy Committee in 1965); the National Association of Gypsies, also founded in France, in 1962. In 1971 the First World Romani Congress was held in London with delegates from 14 countries; an international Rroma flag (green and blue with a red *chakra,* or spoked wheel, in the center—a link to the Rroma's Indian origins)—a motto (*Opré Rroma,* or Rroma Arise), and an anthem were approved. Also April 8 was proclaimed International Romani Day, and the International Gypsy Committee was renamed International Rom Committee. In 1976 the First Roma Festival was held at Chandigarh, India. In 1978 at the Second World Romani Congress in Geneva the name of the International Rom Committee was changed to International Romani Union. In 1979 the United Nations recognized the Rroma as a distinct ethnic group and granted the International Romani Union consultative status in the United Nations Social and Economic Commission (UNESCO). Other organizations, such as the Union Romani of Spain, Phralipé (Brotherhood) in Romania, and Democratic Union of Gypsies-ROMA in Bulgaria, work locally, sometimes in conjunction with the International Romani Union. The Linguistic Commission of the International Romani Union has attempted to codify a standardized Romany.

CULTURE

Economy

There are a number of occupations associated with the Rroma. Among them are metalwork. Many, especially of the Kaldrash clan in Romania, have earned a living as coppersmiths and blacksmiths. Many of their occupations have been compatible with an itinerant life, such as peddling, tinkering (utensil repairs), horse and stock dealing, entertainment (especially music, dance, circus performance, acrobatics, animal exhibiting, concession operating), fortune telling and healing, and arts and crafts (especially wood carving and basketmaking). Some of these occupations are no longer in demand. The mass production of utensils has rendered the Rroma tinkerer obsolete, for example. In modern times many Rroma have found employment as car mechanics and auto body repairmen and car salesman as well as day laborers.

Government and Society

The closely knit family is at the center of traditional Rroma social structure. The archetypal Rroma core family consists of two couples and their children, an elder married couple and at least one married son and his wife. When the younger couple move away to manage their own family, a younger son and his wife might stay with his parents. Clans of extended families sharing patrilineal and matrilineal descent are known as *vitsas*. Families and clans form confederations or bands. They elect a chieftain (*voivode*)—sometimes known as a king—for life. He typically acts as the band's treasurer and spokesman and makes decisions about band movements. A council of elders advises him. The position is not heritable, and the extent of his authority varies from band to band. The women of a band are represented by a senior woman (*phuri dai*), sometimes called a queen. The bands are related to other bands through kinship, as well as in some cases geography and occupations, referred to as tribes (*natsiya*) even though there is no indication of a king or council of elders ruling the larger groupings as opposed to the bands. Rroma marriages, traditionally arranged, strengthen ties among families, clans, confederations, and sometimes tribes. The payment of a bride price to the bride's parents by the groom's parents has been a part of traditional marriage. The *kris,* an informal court of elders, often council members, settle disputes on the basis of unwritten laws and customs. Excommunication from the band is the most severe penalty. For minor offenses menial chores are a common sentence.



A Rroma mother sits with her baby on a roadside near Orsova, Hungary, in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-102897])*

Transportation

Nomadic Rroma have typically traveled in caravans. In the past these were covered wagons that doubled as living quarters. Now the caravans consist of cars, trucks, and trailers.

Music

Of all the arts music has been the greatest Rroma contribution. They worked as court musicians in the past. Since at least the 16th century Flamenco music and dance of Spain have become part of the Rroma tradition. Rroma have also shaped Middle Eastern music and Jewish klezmer music with their own styles. Many have been folk performers in the past, and some performers became well known in popular music and jazz in more recent times. Rroma musical themes have also had a profound influence on non-Rroma composers from all over Europe.

Literature

Rroma contributions to literature are minimal because of the lack of a written tradition. Among Rroma authors are the novelist Mateo Maximoff, who wrote in French, and Papusza, a poet from Poland. More and more Rroma



Four Rroma stand near a domesticated bear, probably in Bulgaria, in the 1930s. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-91817])*

authors are emerging from Europe, many of them writing in Romany. Moreover Rroma lifeways and folklore have had a great influence on the writings of other Europeans.

Religion

Rroma are not identified with any particular religion and generally adopt the religion of their country of residence. It can be assumed that in ancient times some Rroma practiced paganism or Hinduism. After reaching Europe many adopted Christianity—both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox—as well as Islam and, in later years, Protestantism. There are a general belief in *Del* (God) and *beng* (the devil) and a belief in predestination. Many Rroma choose to perform religious rituals apart from any organized church, combining them with their own folkways. Rroma from all over the world participate in an annual springtime pilgrimage to Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer in southern France.

It is difficult to determine exact population numbers of European Rroma worldwide for a variety of reasons, among them their geographical distribution and the different polling techniques of the host nations. Another reason is that because of past discrimination Rroma tend to identify themselves as the nationality of the country in which they live, whether integrated into the host population or not. Still another reason is that other nomadic groups are often classified with them. Estimates of the worldwide Rroma population range considerably, from 5 million to 10 (although some sources state much more), with 6 to 8 million in Europe, making them that continent's largest minority population.

Stereotypes of Rroma persist, and they are still viewed as outsiders who are irresponsible or even criminals. Contributing to this phenomenon is the strong sense of unity among the Rroma, who stress the value of their own traditions as opposed to those of the non-Rroma. Although contact with the *gadjé* has been the exception over the centuries, Rroma are still subject to cultural erosion from outside influences and intermarriage. One result of intermingling has been the preservation of folkways of peasant groups, such as in music and dances, threatened by modernization since the Rroma in some cases have adopted them as part of their own tradition.

There is a growth of Rroma self-identification and pride, as the rest of the world learns to appreciate their fascinating history and great cultural contributions.

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Rugians *See* RANIANS.

Rugii (Rugi; Ruges; Rugians; Rugarians)

The Rugii, a tribe of GERMANICS, lived at various locations in eastern and central Europe and played a part in the power struggle in Europe among other Germanic peoples, HUNS, and ROMANS.

ORIGINS

The name Rugii is thought to be derived from a possible place of origin, Rogaland, now a county in southwestern Norway. By the first century C.E. the Rugii were living across the Baltic Sea between the Oder and Vistula Rivers in present-day northern Poland and were competitors of the GOTHS (then called Gutones) living to the south, at times dominating them and at others allying with them. Other groups in the region with whom they competed were the VANDALS and the LUGII.

LANGUAGE

The Rugii spoke an East Germanic dialect.

HISTORY

With pressure from the BALTS the Rugii migrated southward from the Baltic Sea region to the Silesian uplands. At the end of the fourth century they migrated farther southward to the Upper Tisza River. Some Rugii settled in the region of Bohemia in the present-day Czech Republic, along with the MARCOMANNI and QUADI.

The Rugii were eventually under the rule and influence of the Huns and were part of the force under Attila that invaded western Europe in 451. In 455 they and Germanic allies under Ardaric of the GEPIDS defeated remnants of the Huns in the Battle of Nedao in the Roman province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary).

The Rugii became *foederati* (federates) of the Romans and established a kingdom in the Roman province of Noricum south of the Danube, probably between present-day Linz and Vienna in northern Austria. Sometimes in the fifth century the Rugii are mentioned in an anecdote told about Saint Severinus of Noricum. While in the town today called Passau-Innstadt the saint was approached by some Roman merchants and asked to intercede for them with the king of the Rugii, Feletheus, so that they could engage in trade with his people. Severinus warned them, however, that soon this and all other towns in the region would lie abandoned, and there would be no more trade for there would no longer be any traders.

His prophesy was soon fulfilled. In 476 Odoacer, probably a SCIRI, leading an alliance of Sciri, Rugii, and HERULI, captured Ravenna, the capital of the Western Roman Empire, causing the deposition of the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustus. The subsequent unraveling of the Roman economic system, which was already well under way, depopulated the cities that owed their existence to the lucrative trading networks of the Romans. In 487 the Heruli and Sciri defeated their former allies, the Rugii, and the LOMBARDS moved into their territory—probably, as was their wont, ravaging it with fire and sword. In 489 a good number of Rugii joined the OSTROGOTHS under Theodoric in their invasion of Italy, instigated by the Eastern Roman emperor Zeno (*see* BYZANTINES), and defeated Odoacer.

By the mid-sixth century the Rugii as a distinct group disappeared from the historical record, in that all previous political alignments were done away with by the Lombard invasion. Their descendants probably were later part of the populations of Austria, the Czech Republic, and other countries in the region.

RUGII

location:
Poland; Czech Republic; Austria; Italy

time period:
First to mid-sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
East Germanic

Rugii time line

C.E.	
455	Rugii help defeat Huns.
476	Sciri, Heruli, and Rugii under Odoacer depose last Western Roman emperor.
487	Heruli and Sciri defeat Rugii.
489	Rugii invade Italy with Visigoths.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

The Rugii were among the many Germanic tribes who, living close to the border of the Roman Empire, were extensively Romanized as Romans engaged in diplomatic relations with them to facilitate trade. The establishment of a kingdom in Noricum in the fifth century by the Rugii should be seen not as an encroachment on Rome, but as a last desperate means of preserving some semblance of stability, which the depleted Roman administration and army could no longer provide. This is apparent in the deputation of Roman traders who hoped the king of the Rugii could help them in their endeavors. But the Rugii became involved in the larger struggles of Germanic power blocs—those of Odoacer (who was a Roman army officer as well as king) and of the Ostrogoths, who in turn were being used by different factions of Romans in their own rivalries—until the juggernaut of the largely un-Romanized Lombards swept all before them.

As is that of many other East Germanic peoples Rugii history is entwined with that of the dominant Romans, Huns, and Goths.

Rus time line

C.E.	
862	Rurik rules Novgorod.
882	Kiev becomes capital of principality of Kievan Rus.
907	Rus under Prince Oleg attack Constantinople.
922	Ibn Fadlan observes Rus in Bulgaria on Volga River.
941	Prince Igor of Kiev leads expedition against Constantinople.
945	Igor concludes commercial treaty with Byzantines.
980–1015	Vladimir I establishes dynastic seniority of his clan over all territories of Rus.
988	Varangian Guard formed by Emperor Basil II of Byzantium; Vladimir adopts Christianity.
1097	Members of Rurikid dynasty agree to divide Kievan territory among themselves.
12th century	Decline of Kiev as unifying power as major eastern Slavic regions develop distinct regional characteristics.
	Russian Primary Chronicle is written.
1240	Kiev is destroyed by Mongols under Batu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan.
1610	Last Rurikiden, Vassilij IV Sjusjkij, dies; Romanov dynasty begins.

Rumanians *See* ROMANIANS.

Rus (Ruser; Ruserna; Russes; Varangians; Varjager)

The Rus are a people of what is now eastern Russia, considered the founders of the first Russian state, which grew from the city of Kiev. They are associated with the VIKINGS, a subgroup of GERMANICS, known in eastern Europe as the Varangians and Varjager, and with the Eastern SLAVS. The Rus, and to a much greater degree the Slavs, are ancestral to modern-day Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY; BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY; UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

The origins of the Rus have long been a matter of controversy. Since the 18th century there has been debate about whether the Rus are descendants of the Vikings or whether they are a subgroup of Slavs. Many Russian scholars, especially during the Soviet regime, along with some Westerners, considered the Rus to be a Slavic tribe living along the Ros River who founded a tribal league; they maintained that the Kievan state was founded by Slavs and was attacked and controlled for a time by the Varangians. German scholars presented what is known as the "Normanist theory" (because Vikings in France founded Normandy and became known as NORMANS), based on the *Russian Primary Chronicle*. Also called *Chronicle of Nestor, Kiev Chronicle,* or *Povest vremennykh let* (Tale of bygone years), the *Russian Primary Chronicle* gives a detailed account of the period from 852 to 1110 C.E. It has been ascribed to a monk living in Kiev in the 11th–12th century by the name of Nestor, who probably compiled the material from a number of sources, including official documents of the Kievan state and oral sagas. Nestor's chronicle is similar to many chronicles written or compiled in the early Middle Ages across Europe, composed at the behest of newly established (and newly literate) ruling dynasties to record their origins. Typically preliterate tribal dynasties locate their origins in a semimythical past and have a founder hero. Chronicles partly based on such oral traditions have to be used with caution and sifted, using other sources of information, to find grains of fact amid much chaff. But this is not to say that they must be rejected out of hand.

The *Russian Primary Chronicle* states that the Rus, a Viking people, were invited to

Novgorod by the local population to help end their violent feuding, then later extended their rule to Kiev. Russian scholars rejected the *Russian Primary Chronicle* as unreliable and insisted that the Eastern Slavs, before the entry of the Varangians, had evolved a sophisticated feudal state comparable to the Carolingian Empire in the West.

Another written source that gives further credence to Nestor's account and to the Normanist theory is that of the Arab traveler Ibn Fadlan, who was in Bulgar at the bend of the Volga River in the summer of 922. At the time Bulgar at the bend of the Volga, was an important trading city. There the Rus met TURKICS and other people from the south. Caravans from China traveled there, carrying silk. Ibn Fadlan wrote of the Rus that they were tall and had white skin and blond or red hair. This in itself proves nothing one way or another about the ethnicity of the people Ibn Fadlan describes (a Byzantine source describes Slavs as being tall with reddish hair, though with dark skin). But other details from Ibn Fadlan's account—the ships of the Rus, their practice of ship cremation, the heavy gold and silver neck rings that both men and women wore, and other matters—have no correspondence with

RUS

location:
Baltic Sea region; Russia; Ukraine; Black Sea region

time period:
862 to 1250 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Old Norse; then East Slavic; first written language Old Church Slavonic



anything known of Slavs (whose material culture was comparatively meager at this time) but accord well with Viking custom. Other early Arab writers had described the seat of the Rus as an island covered with woods and marshes; excavations of ninth- and 10th-century tumuli have confirmed the presence of Norse warriors in such a region around Lake Ilmen, near present-day Novgorod, and Lake Ladoga, where the Neva River has its origin.

On the other hand archaeological research has found no evidence whatsoever of the existence of a Slavic state in the area of Novgorod in the ninth century, when the Rus are said to have arrived. Any evidence at all of Slavs there before the ninth century is highly uncertain. There is good evidence of a modest Slavic presence by that time; therefore it is inferred that small groups of Slavs had been moving into the region for a century or so. They probably settled alongside the indigenous BALTS and FINNO-UGRIANS.

Meanwhile ancient SCANDINAVIANS had begun making trading contacts to their east along the Baltic coast as early as the first century C.E. They trafficked in slaves between Baltic tribesmen and the Roman Empire, for which slaves were an essential part of the economy. In the fifth century trading centers in southern Sweden and Gotland were obtaining gold coins, either by raiding or trading, from tribes to the east who were receiving subsidies from Byzantine Rome. By the eighth century Vikings (mostly from Sweden and Denmark) had penetrated deep into the Russian interior. They built settlements that are known archaeologically; Staraia Ladoga near Lake Ladoga was first settled in the eighth century, and another site near Novgorod in the mid-ninth century.

In light of the evidence, theories—most of them proposed by Soviet scholars with nationalistic agendas—of a Slav state in the Baltic region attacked by and ultimately absorbing Viking invaders are more likely the product of wishful thinking than of fact. Archaeological and other evidence tends rather to support at least some of Nestor's account and, in general, the Normanist theory.

In any case, the Slavic peoples who later made up tribes called DREGOVICHIANS, DREVLYANS, DULEBIANS, ILMAN SLAVS, KRIVICHIANS, POLIANIANS, RADIMICHIANS, SEVERIANS, TIVERTSIANS, ULICHIANS, and VYATICHANS ultimately paid tribute to the Rus rulers and served in their armies. The Viking Rus were the first leaders of the polity that became the Kievan state and the ruling dynasty in all probability was originally Norse. Later as commonly happened among the Viking Norse they lost their Norse culture and became absorbed into the prevailing culture of the region—that of the numerically dominant Slavs. The pattern of subjugation by a powerful warrior elite society that later absorbed many elements of Slav culture, a process sometimes called Slavicization, was repeated several times in the history of Slavic peoples.

The name Rus is possibly from the Norse word for "warrior-rowers" on Viking ships, or possibly from Ruotsi, a Finnic word meaning "Swedish."

LANGUAGE

The Rus were originally a Germanic-speaking people, who used a variety of Scandinavian dialects. They eventually spoke Slavic dialects as well. The first written language among the Rus was Old Church Slavonic, which was also used by other Slavs who adopted the Eastern Orthodox Christian religion.

HISTORY

Early Leaders

The Viking who in about 862, according to Nestor, answered the call of the people of Novgorod was a prince by the name of Rurik from Jutland (Denmark) or from the Scandinavian Peninsula. Two brothers were said to have accompanied him. One theory holds that after he had established a stronghold at Staraia Ladoga near Lake Ladoga (which dates from the eighth century), Rurik led his followers southward along the Volkhov River and captured Novgorod. The town of Novgorod (New Town) actually did not exist at this time; it was built about a century later. A large settlement near the future site of Novgorod that dates from this time was called Ryurikovo Gorodische (Rurik's Stronghold). Whether Rurik and his followers built this town or simply took it over is unknown. However, the long-established Norse practice of building trading towns (and the absence of any such practice among the Slavs, Balts, or Finnics of this time) supports the former. Another theory holds that Rurik was a leader of a group of mercenaries hired to guard the Volkhov-Dnieper waterway who eventually seized power from his employers. Again this theory has no support in the archaeological record and does not accord with what is known of the most developed Eastern Slavic societies of the ninth century, none of which

was more than a simple chieftaincy, probably owing allegiance to the KHAZARS of the Middle Don and the Lower Volga region. Although an exchange network of some kind seems to have been established through Slavic lands linking the Khazars with Baltic sources of amber and furs, it was limited in scope and most unlikely to involve mercenaries hired by the Slavs. The Slavs at this time were still an undeveloped warrior society who did their own fighting. Rather, Slavic chieftaincies—and only those far south of Novgorod in the region around Kiev—seem to have acted as tribute takers for the Khazars from nomads and traders passing through their territory. Only with the entry of the Rus did a full-fledged trade network begin to import large amounts of Islamic silver to the region.

Furthermore the presence in Sweden of large hoards of eighth-century Islamic coins from Baghdad demonstrate that Swedes had been tapping into a rich trade network long before any strong Slavic presence existed in the Novgorod region (again far richer than that moving through contemporary Slav lands to the southwest). Later Kievan tradition does not mention previous important trade centers that the Rus took over from earlier peoples, and the trading empire that the Rus built seems to have had little or no precedent. The first enclosed site at Kiev, built by Slavs (who had been building strongholds for only a century or so) in the early ninth century, had only limited importance, judging by the moderate amounts of Islamic silver found there. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* tells of a ferryman named Kiy after whom the city was named, a probably mythical tale that nevertheless may indicate the nature of Kiev's role in the Khazar exchange network. This compares to the enormous eighth-century coin hoards still being found at Birka, a Swedish trading town, and indeed to the rich trade in Byzantine gold that was entering to Scandinavia already by the fifth century C.E. (before the Slavs had even emerged as a coherent ethnic group). It was the accomplished Viking raiders and traders who opened up the highly lucrative trade between the Near East and the fur regions of the far north—they who had been engaging in wide-ranging trade links for centuries—not the still rustic and parochial Slavs. The kernel of truth in Nestor's account—whether or not Rurik himself actually existed and did all the things recounted of him—is the involvement of Vikings in the creation of the trade networks that would enable the founding of the Kievan state.

Rurik was the putative founder hero of what is known as the Rurikid dynasty. Swedish names are included in the earliest peace treaties that are quoted in their entirety in the Nestor chronicle. They have been misspelled slightly but can be read as Sven, Gunnar, Tord, Ulf, and Karl. These Swedes, as did Vikings in other regions, soon became assimilated with the natives and took Slavic names. The Rurikidernas dynasty ruled over the Volchov-Lovat-Dnieper area until the year 1610, when the last Rurikiden, Vassilij IV Sjusjkij, died and was succeeded by the Romanov dynasty.

On his death, said to have been in 879, Rurik was succeeded by his kinsman Oleg. Oleg went on to conquer Smolensk and Kiev. In 882 he made the latter the capital of the principality known as Kievan Rus, uniting Varangians, Slavs, and FINNS under him. In 907 he led an army against Constantinople (modern Istanbul), by way of the Dnieper and Black Sea, holding it for a time until negotiating a treaty with the BYZANTINES. Regular trade contacts were established between Constantinople and Kievan Rus. Oleg was succeeded as the grand prince by Igor (formerly Ingvar). In 941 Igor attempted another invasion of Constantinople. His army was routed, and in

Vladimir I: Nation Builder and Saint

Born in 956 C.E., son of the grand prince Svyatoslav of Kiev, Vladimir I is recognized for politically uniting Kievan Rus and establishing Eastern Orthodox Christianity as its official religion.

At the death of Svyatoslav a civil war broke out between Vladimir and two brothers, forcing Vladimir to flee to Scandinavia. He returned with a Viking army and managed to seize power from his now-feuding brothers. Vladimir continued campaigning in the region, uniting the Eastern Slavs as well as other peoples, and ultimately consolidated territory from Ukraine to the Baltic Sea.

The Byzantine emperor Basil II requested military aid from Vladimir to suppress a rebellion. The two negotiated on terms in which Vladimir, a fervent pagan with seven wives, converted to Christianity and took Basil's sister, Anna, as his wife.

Vladimir was baptized in 988 or 989 before his marriage to Anna. He henceforth spread Eastern Orthodoxy and culture throughout his reign, forcibly converting Kiev and Novgorod and ordering pagan idols to be thrown into the Dnieper River. He also introduced the Western custom of tithes as religious contributions, discouraged the practice of capital punishment, and met frequently with bishops on matters of state and security, thus endowing the church with important political powers such as settling family disputes and inheritances. On his deathbed Vladimir, who was known for distributing food among the poor, reportedly gave away all his possessions to friends and the needy. Russians, Ukrainians, and others today celebrate a feast in his name. He is also known as Vladimir Svyatoslavitch, Vladimir the Great, and Saint Vladimir.

945 he concluded a new commercial treaty with the Byzantines. He was killed by rebellious Drevlyans while attempting to collect tribute. His wife, Saint Olga, then served as regent for their son, Svyatoslav I.

Kievan power grew under Prince Svyatoslav, who engaged in victorious campaigns against other centers of Viking power in the region, against Khazars, and against Volga BULGARS. He also intervened in the Byzantine-Danube Bulgar conflicts of 968–971. But Svyatoslav was neither a lawgiver nor an organizer.

The role of state builder fell to his son, Vladimir I (see sidebar, p. 669), who established the dynastic seniority of his clan over the scattered territories of Rus. In 988 he converted to Christianity and invited or permitted the patriarch of Constantinople to establish an Eastern Orthodox see (a region under the authority of a bishop) in his territory. Vladimir extended the realm—the principality of Vladimir—to include the watersheds of the Don, Dnieper, Dniester, Neman, Western Dvina, and Upper Volga; destroyed or incorporated the remnants of competing polities; and established relations with neighboring dynasties. The newly established religion strengthened the upper class and wealthy merchants through the placement of influential leaders within administrative centers, religious schools, and the bureaucracy.

After Vladimir

The successes of Vladimir's long reign made it possible for the reign of his son, Yaroslav, in 1019–54 to produce a flowering of cultural life. But neither Yaroslav nor his successors in Kiev were able to provide lasting political stability within the enormous realm. The political history of the Rus, like that of their ancestors in Scandinavia, is one of competing trends toward independence and toward centralization, inherent in the contradiction between local settlement, on the one hand, and the hegemony of the clan elder, ruling from Kiev, on the other hand. As Vladimir's 12 sons and innumerable grandsons prospered in the rapidly developing territories they inherited, they and their retainers engaged in conflict both with one another and with the Kievan central authority. The conflicts were not confined to Slavic lands: The Turkic nomads who moved into the southern steppe during the 11th century became involved in the constant internecine rivalries, and Rurikid and Turkic princes often fought on both sides. In 1097 representatives of the leading branches of the dynasty, together with their Turkic allies, met at Liubech, north of Kiev, and agreed to divide the Kievan territory among themselves and their descendants. Vladimir II later made a briefly successful attempt to reunite the land of Rus.

The Decline of Kiev

The primacy of the prince of Kiev depended on both the cohesion of the clan of Rurik and the relative importance of the southern trade, both of which began to decline in the late 11th century. The First Crusade in 1096–99 seems to have made the route from the Black Sea to the Baltic less attractive to commerce. At the same time conflicts among the Rurikid princes became more regional and separatist as a consequence of new patterns in export trade that diverted the focus of different cities in the region to trading interests in different directions. The unifying force of the Byzantine trade no longer existed. Novgorod, in particular, began to gravitate toward closer relations with the cities of the German Hanseatic League, which controlled the Baltic trade. Smolensk, Polotsk, and Pskov became increasingly involved in trade along western land routes, while Galicia and Volhynia established closer links with Poland and Hungary. The princes of these areas still contested the crown of the "grand prince of Kiev and all of Rus," but the title had become an empty one. When Andrew Bogolyubsky of Suzdal won Kiev and the title in 1169, he sacked the city and returned to the Upper Volga, apparently seeing no advantage in establishing himself in the erstwhile capital. By the middle of the 12th century the major principalities, which had benefited from the prosperity of the Kievan period, had developed into independent political and economic entities. In the late 12th century the power of Kiev declined further in the face of constant nomad attacks and warfare with other Slavic princes, and in 1240 the city was completely destroyed by the MONGOLS under Batu Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan.

After the Mongol invasion princes needed the approval of the khan to become grand prince. Rivalry developed among the princely houses, and Tver and Moscow became more influential than Kiev. The grand principality of Moscow was eventually formed.

CULTURE

Economy

During the Kievan Rus period trade was the most important economic activity. Rus society was hardly feudal in the Western sense, with

complex and clearly defined interrelationships among rulers of greater or lesser power; more important, the land and agriculture played only a minor role in the Kievan economy, which was based on trade.

Many hoards of Arab silver coins, minted in Baghdad in the eighth century, have been found buried in Sweden, suggesting that Russia was only a waystation en route to the Rus's real goal: the riches of the Arab world. It is thought that their furs were bartered for Arab silver. Rus traders set up a trade network between northern Russia—where Finnic tribes trapped coveted beaver, sable, and ermine—and Baghdad.

Government and Society

The early social and political institutions in Kievan Rus were rudimentary. Unlike the Normans, who had the example of the political institutions of the FRANKS and ANGLO-SAXONS to imitate, the Rus settled among tribal peoples. The Rus themselves until well into the 10th century had little interest in institutions more elaborate than those necessary for the exploitation of their rich new territory. The territory of Rus, moreover, was immense and sparsely settled. The scattered towns, some little more than trading posts, were separated by vast primeval forests and swamps. Early Rus leaders thought of their domains as clan possessions rather than as territorial or national states.

The government of the Rurikid dynasty, with a system of grand prince and regional princes that began in 1097, is thought to have evolved out of the necessities of maintaining unity, with power shared among the members of the ruling clan. Seniority passed from elder brother to younger brother and from the youngest eligible uncle to the eldest eligible nephew. Clan members served apprenticeships in the various territories of the realm, allowing control of trade and giving them knowledge of lands they might someday rule from Kiev.

Rurikid princes maintained military retinues led by boyars, an aristocratic order with special privileges second only to those of the princes. Princes and boyars collected annual taxes from the free peasant population. The earliest known law code, from 1016, known as the "Russian Law," dealt primarily with fines imposed by princes or representative boyars for offenses.

With the adoption of Christianity by Vladimir in 988 society became more regulated. Vladimir seems to have realized that one political element, the presence of an organized religion, distinguished both Byzantium and the newly established principalities in Poland and Hungary from his own. The anointing of Vladimir as first Christian of the realm clothed him in a mantle of spiritual as well as temporal authority and he was further able to propagate Byzantine principles of imperial power.

Military Practices: The Varangian Guard

The Byzantines as a regular practice recruited barbarians into their armies; some among the Rus were invited to form the elite Varangian Guard, who protected the Byzantine emperor. The Varangian Guard was founded by Emperor Basil II in 988, with 6,000 Rus warriors, possibly sent by Vladimir to gain favor with the emperor. (In Byzantium the term Varangian applied not only to the Rus, but to anyone of a nationality other than "Greek"; there is reason to believe, then, that Varangian was a term used for a foreigner in the service of the Byzantine government.)

Rus warriors had been serving in the Byzantine army and navy for some time already when Basil formed them into a distinct regiment. They were known as the ax-bearing guard, from the enormous two-handed axes they carried. They served at the forefront of many of the empire's battles, fighting Normans, Bulgars, Turks, and various nationalities participating in the Crusades. They also performed garrison duty in the Byzantine Empire's cities.

The Varangian Guard were the best paid of all the Byzantine troops. It may have been common for Vikings to go to Byzantium from all over Scandinavia and Russia, spend time in the Varangian Guard, and return home rich. The guard were unusual in conspiracy-ridden Byzantium in their loyalty to the emperors; this trait was possibly a legacy of their Viking forebears, for whom disloyalty was one of the most shameful of transgressions.

Dwellings and Architecture

Most Rus buildings were of wood, although some were stone; streets were often paved in wood as well. Dwellings had multiple rooms—typically a main room, a hall, and an extra room, which was used for storage in the winter. At the center of the main room was a hearth (in later centuries a stove). Stories might be added; buildings might also be added and connected by a gallery, an enclosed walkway. Buildings were elaborately carved and painted. The dwelling was surrounded by wood or wattle fencing. Some buildings had windows of mica; oil lamps were used for lighting after dark. Furniture included carved wooden tables,



This church in St. Petersburg, Russia, is named after Vladimir I (St. Vladimir). *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-101811])*

chairs, benches, beds, and washstands with copper ewers and bowls. It is assumed that icons adorned the walls.

The ruling families had the largest dwelling, very likely of stone, with several interconnected multistoried buildings. After adopting Christianity the Rus built a great number of churches, which also served as libraries, warehouses, treasuries, and defensive structures if necessary. The 11th-century Cathedral of St. Sophia, modeled on Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, is known for its mosaics, frescoes, and icons. The ninth-century St. Vladimir Cathedral is famed for its murals.

Clothing

Materials and Dyes The clothing of the Rus in the beginning of their sojourn in Russia was probably similar to that of the VIKINGS. Later, during the Kievan period, the Rus wore bleached linen as well as the woven wool of their forebears. Cloth was interwoven with multicolor threads or printed. Remains of clothing found in burials show that at least by the 12th and 13th centuries a kind of checked wool fabric was worn. Wool was imported to Novgorod during the 13th century from England, Holland, and Flanders. Cotton was also imported; some cotton was produced in the village of Zandana not far from Bukhara. The majority of the populace wore a local homespun wool for their outer garments.

The clothing of the nobility was made of fabric imported primarily from Byzantium, but also from Asia and Europe. These fabrics included *aksamit* samite (fabric with golden tracery), taffeta, brocade (silken fabric with monochrome patterned design), velvet with stamped designs, and golden velvet (with gold embroidery). The most common were gold brocade, velvet (with a pattern formed by gold or silver thread tied and woven into a dense silk warp), overall-gold *altabas,* and lightweight silken taffeta covered with a monochromatic pattern. These expensive imported fabrics were called *pavolok*. *Pavalok* generally had a typically Byzantine pattern of dark-red (cinnabar), crimson (carmine), purple, and azure. One princess owned dresses of fabrics ranging from silk to brocade to velvet to chiffon, called "cloth of air" because this cotton fabric was so light and thin.

The overgarment of princesses in the 10th to the 13th centuries was sewn of eastern embroidered silk or tightly woven fabric with gold or silver threads, similar to velvet. Ibn-Fadlan noted that noble women of the Rus wore *xilu* (Oriental robe), an upper silk garment. The chronicles mention such a garment as holiday clothing called *rizy.*

The Rus commonly wore fur. It was used in linings of winter clothing and as ornamental edgings and borders, especially on hats. Furs were worn in the winter by even the poorest. The wealthy had coats made of fox, ermine, sable, marten, lynx, otter, and beaver. The most expensive furs (such as ermine and sable) are mentioned in chronicles only in reference to princely women's clothing. Poorer men and women wore wolfskins, sheepskin, fox, she-bear, hare, wolverine, and squirrel; the most accessible and durable was sheepskin. Unmarried women might wear rabbit or squirrel furs, which were considered too frivolous for married women.

Ancient frescoes show that the nobility wore multicolored clothing and used striking combinations of fresh, rich tones. Letters written on birch bark in Novgorod mention green and sky-blue clothing. Favored colors included various shades of red (crimson, magenta), blue (dark blue, sky blue), and sometimes green. The most popular color was red, as demonstrated in archeological finds, among which more than half are fabric of reddish brown

tones. Other colors were black, bluish, green, and light brown.

Fabrics were dyed mainly with vegetable dyes, but also with animal dyes. Blue dye was made from cornflower, blueberry/huckleberry, and bilberries. Yellow was from blackthorn and birch. Golden-brown was obtained from onion skins, oak, and pear bark. Red-brown dyes were made from buckwheat, St. John's wort, alder, and buckthorn. Linen worn by nobles was dyed, but unbleached linen predominated in peasant clothes, with bleached white linen appearing in separate costume elements.

Fabric was blockprinted by using black, dark blue, bright red, yellow, or white dye on unbleached linen, which was then dyed dark blue or green. This was used in peasant clothes and the everyday clothing for the nobility. Motifs include stylized plant forms, and animals such as horses, deer, and birds were common. The lower classes favored these styles as well, substituting simpler geometric patterns such as diamonds, triangles, stars, and sunbursts.

As with most medieval cultures in this period the various classes did not adopt different styles (except the parade costumes worn by princes), but exhibited their wealth through the quality of fabric and the amount of ornamentation. Underclothes for all classes were made of linen (from flax or hemp), the fineness of weave dictating the quality. Ukrainian and Russian embroidery still incorporate many motifs favored by the Rus. They were particularly fond of the combination of red thread on white linen, adding other bright colors to augment the designs of geometrics, animal, and plant motifs. As were the Byzantines, the Rus were fond of pearls and incorporated them into the embroideries, used them for borders, or seeded them all over a tunic.

Men The basic garment worn by men was the shirt. The wealthy would add multiple layers on top of the shirt; poorer people used it as the main layer of clothing. The shirt was commonly embroidered around the neck. Those who could not afford embroidery often substituted strips of red cloth.

Sleeves were cut longer than the arms so the wearer could tuck his hands inside for warmth. To keep the sleeves out of the way for everyday activity, the Rus either added a wristband or used bracelets. The shirt had no collar; there was a deep slit down the front, which was held shut with a button. The shirt fell nearly to the knees and was always worn untucked, with a narrow belt of fabric or leather. The other essential garment was a pair of linen breeches. The rich added a pair of wool breeches over these, and princes sometimes wore silk breeches. They were held up by a belt or rope in drawstring fashion and were tucked into the tops of the shoes or boots.

Finally there was a traditional outer garment similar to traditional "Cossack style" coats of the Russians and Ukrainians today. This was cut nearly straight, with only a slight widening toward the bottom, of wider wool fabric. It fit the torso closely, with a slit to the waist area closed by three or four buttons, and fell between the knee and calf. The aristocracy often decorated these with horizontal strips of braid or cloth. The sleeves fit closely as well, tapering slightly to the wrist. The garment was often lined or trimmed in fur and worn with a wide belt of fabric.

Princes adopted modified Byzantine fashions for their parade dress. The very long Byzantine *talaris* favored by the upper classes was cut slightly shorter by the Rus. The princes also used the Byzantine chlamys, a semicircular robe hung over the left arm and fastened on the right shoulder with a brooch.

Women Women wore a shirt similar to that of the men, except longer. Two were usually worn together, one (sometimes called a dalmatic) slightly shorter than the other, belted at the waist. The edges of these garments were decorated as were those of the men, but women are often depicted with an additional strip of fabric or embroidery down the front of the garment. Sometimes a triangular "shawl" called a *superhumeral* was worn over the tunics. Empresses and other high-ranking ladies seem to have also worn separate jeweled collars.

Royal women also wore the chlamys. Jeweled mesh hairnets seem to have been common, along with the ubiquitous veil.

Transportation: The Trade Route

The route frequented by Vikings and Rus south from northern Russia to the Black Sea was some 2,000 miles through swamps, forests, and steppe. Much of the vast Russian interior was interlaced with rivers, not all of them connected. On one route from Staraja Ladoga the traders headed south across Lake Ilmen and had to row or sail upstream on the Lovat River. After a few hundred miles the Lovat narrows and eventually shrinks to a shallow stream. Here they would have to portage their boats;

those they used on these journeys were much smaller than long ships, probably only 40 feet long. Even so the Rus probably relied on local labor to carry boats and provisions over the long portages.

Settlements sprang up at these portage points, as local tribes joined to haul the boats. They would also take in food and other provisions for the Rus traders. Many of these settlements became important trading centers. Smolensk is situated near an important portage site between the Western Dvina and Dnieper Rivers.

Art: Icons

A characteristic art form in Russia dating from the time of the Rus was the icon, the pictorial representation of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. Icons play an integral part in Russian Church ritual; processions through the church to kiss the icons are a part of the liturgy. Icons are expected to heal and work miracles.

The creation of icons had been strictly regulated since the Seventh Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 787. The sanctity of icons derives from their high degree of stylization prescribed by church law, which arouses reverence for their prototypes that date from the time of Christ.

The earliest icons were introduced to Kievan Rus from Constantinople, and the first masters of icon painting who worked in the country were Greek. An icon created in Byzantium in the early 12th century, the *Vladimir Virgin,* is considered one of three images of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke himself and consequently one of the holiest objects by modern Russians. Yet the Rus eventually developed their own stylistic characteristics. The Byzantine style retains its roots in Greco-Roman art, with an emphasis on naturalism and spatial values, whereas the Russian eschews spatial masses in favor of a rhythmic use of line, perhaps a heritage of the decorative styles of the Vikings.

Music: *Byliny*

A *bylina* (pl. *byliny*) is a Russian folk song of epic or balladic character, sung in Old Russian or Russian. The oldest *byliny* relate a cycle of tales about Kievan Rus in the 10th to 12th centuries, centering on the deeds of Prince Vladimir I and his court, including warfare against the Mongols. *Byliny* endured as a tradition, for a time in the area around Kiev and now among peasants living in northwestern European Russia and northeastern Siberia.

Literature: Old Russian Literature

Russian literature is said to have begun with various texts from the oldest Kievan period, written for religious and sometimes utilitarian purposes, and is referred to as Old Russian literature, although Ukrainian and Belarusian literature also began with these texts.

Religion

The pagan Rus in all probability shared the Nordic gods and beliefs common to the people of Scandinavia. Pagan Slavs worshipped Perun, the god of lightning and thunder. The Rus probably identified him with Thor, the Viking god of rain and thunder. The Rus also believed in good and evil spirits among the wood and river spirits, known as the *rusalki*. They were typically depicted as female. The evil spirits lured travelers to become lost in the woods or drown.

The conversion to Christianity, which happened earlier in the south closer to Constantinople and in urban areas, did not mean cessation of all pagan practices. Many Rus maintained a double faith, attending church yet continuing to participate in pagan festivals, such as summer solstice celebrations. With time the two faiths merged into one, as pagan mythological became identified with Christian historical figures. Perun was identified with the prophet Elijah, depicted as riding a fiery chariot.

Vladimir reportedly chose the Eastern Orthodox religion over that of the church in Rome because of the beautiful liturgy practiced in Constantinople, designed to create an experience of "heaven on Earth."

The Vikings who became known as Rus had developed a prestige goods economy and a warrior society as a result of contact with the ROMANS. Slowly penetrating farther eastward along the Baltic Sea and then southward into and through the Russian interior, they completed the circle whereby the wealth of Arab civilization and the wealth of "Rome in the East" both reached "Rome in the West," that is, the Carolingian Empire of the Franks. In doing so the Rus linked the future Russian nation with both East and West. And in importing to Russia the Eastern Orthodox religion they helped foster elements of the advanced culture of Byzantium. Thus by putting the Slavic Russian interior into contact with the outside world the Rus helped set the stage for early

Russia's development into an early modern political state.

The Rus as a distinct people may always have been confined to the upper classes, descendants of the Vikings who had created the Kievan trading empire. With each succeeding generation distinctions between Germanic and Slavic peoples in the region faded more and more.

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Russians: nationality (people of Russia)

GEOGRAPHY

Russia is flanked to the north by extensions of the Arctic Ocean; to the east by extensions of the Pacific Ocean; to the south by China, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea; to the southwest by Ukraine; to the west by Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and the Gulf of Finland; and to the northwest by Norway. The Kaliningrad Oblast is a Russian enclave along the Baltic Sea that borders Lithuania and Poland. The total vast area of Russia is 6,592,800 square miles. The principal islands of Russia include Franz Josef Land, Novaya Zemlya, Vaygach Island, Severnaya Zemlya, the New Siberian Islands, Wrangel Island in the Arctic Ocean, and the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin in the Pacific Ocean. Vast plains lie to the west and north; mountain belts (notably the Ural Mountains) and plateaus (notably the Central Siberian Plateau) lie to the south and east, and mountainous terrain dominates Siberia to the west. The Ural Mountains separate European Russia from Siberian Russia. Within the Caucasus Mountains, which form the southwestern border with Georgia and Azerbaijan, lies the extinct volcano Elbrus (18,510 feet), Russia's highest peak. Northern Russia is marked by swampy flatlands and lakes; rich soils provide farmlands in southern Russia. Principal rivers include the Ob', the Irtysh, the Amur, and the Lena. Lake Baikal is the largest lake.



This portrait from the late 17th or early 18th century shows a young Peter the Great of Russia. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-121999])*

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Kievan Rus was founded in the late ninth century C.E. The power of the Rus declined in the 11th and 12th centuries as their holdings divided into separate principalities. In the early 13th century the Mongols and Tatars invaded, leaving the nation in anarchy. In 1301 the principality of Muscovy (Moscow) formed; Ivan III the Great expelled the Mongol Golden Horde. Throughout the 16th century Muscovy expanded its territory and autonomy by annexing surrounding lands, notably parts of Sibera.

In 1610 Poland invaded and occupied Moscow. Russian militia expelled the Polish in 1613, and Michael Romanov was elected czar, beginning a dynasty that lasted until 1917. During Peter I the Great's rule (1689–1725) Russia undertook massive modernization and

RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Russia (Rossiya); Russian Federation (Rossiyskaya Federatsiya)

derivation of name:
From Rus the name of a people

government:
Federation

capital:
Moscow

language:
Official language is Russian; more than 100 languages are spoken in the Russian Federation most notably Tatar, Ukrainian, Chuvash, Bashkir, Mordovian, Belarusian, and Ingush.

religion:
Over half of the population are Russian Orthodox Christians; Muslims are the largest religious minority; small numbers are Jewish Protestant, Catholic, and Buddhist.

earlier inhabitants:
Caucasians; Cimmerians; Scythians; Sarmatians; Goths; Huns; Avars; Turkics (Bulgars; Khazars; Kipchaks; etc.); Slavs; Vikings; Rus; Mongols; Tatars; Cossacks

demographics:
More than 80 percent of the population are Russian; more than 60 ethnic groups are recognized in Russia.

Russians: nationality time line

C.E.

882 Kiev and Novgorod are united under state of Kievan Rus.

1240 Mongols invade Kiev; Mongols and Tatars establish Golden Horde near Volga River.

1405 Andrey Rublyov works on icons of Cathedral of the Annunciation in Moscow.

1480 Grand Prince Ivan III (Ivan the Great) of Moscow defeats Tatars.

1547 Czar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) is crowned czar; during his reign he annexes two Tatar cities, Kazan and Astrakhan, and expands Russian territory to the south.

1598 Rurik dynasty ends with the death of Figodor I Ivanovich, starting period of anarchy with boyars (great nobles) attempting to seize power.

1613 Michael Romanov becomes czar, first of Romanov dynasty.

c. 1672–75 Avvakum Petrovich writes *Zhitie,* first Russian autobiography.

1689–1725 Czar Peter I (Peter the Great) rules; founds capital of Saint Petersburg.

1700–1721 Russia defeats Sweden in Great Northern War; wins access to Baltic Sea.

1735 Vasily Kirillovich Trediakovsky writes treatise calling for transition from syllabic versification to metric verse, more suited to sound of Russian.

1747–50 Aleksandr Petrovich Sumarokov writes first Russian-language classical tragedy, *Khorev,* and first comedy, *Tresotinius.*

1755–57 Poet and scientist Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov writes Russian grammar.

1762–96 Under Catherine the Great Russia gains north shore of Black Sea, Crimea, and part of Caucasus region.

1772–1814 Russia gains parts of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldavia, and Georgia.

1795 National Library (originally Imperial Public Library) is founded in St. Petersburg.

1803 Novelist Nilolay Mikhaylovich Karamzin is appointed court historian.

1812 Napoleon I Bonaparte of France invades Russia but his troops are forced to retreat.

1831 Poet Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin meets Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol and influences his fiction writing.

1836 First Russian national opera, *Zhizn'za tsarya* (A life for the czar) by Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, opens.

1853–56 Great Britain, France, and Turkey defeat Russia in Crimean War.

1856–64 Russia battles Caucasian tribes; North Caucasus in annexed.

1861 Emancipation Edict abolishes serfdom under Alexander II.

1862 *Otsy i deti* (*Fathers and Sons*), novel by Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev, is published.

1865–69 *Voyna i mir* (*War and Peace*), novel by Leo Tolstoy, is published.

1866 *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (*Crime and Punishment*), novel by Fyodor Mikhaylovich Dostoyevsky, is published.

1868 Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky composes his first symphony.

1874 After previously rejecting it, Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg mounts production of Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Gudunov.*

1875–78 Russo-Turkish War is last in series of wars between Russians and Ottoman Turks from 18th century on.

Westernization. In a bid to make Russia a maritime power Peter launched the Great Northern War (1700–1721) successfully conquering many lands along the Baltic, including Estonia and parts of Finland. In 1703 he founded St. Petersburg in the newly acquired Gulf of

1889	Nikolay Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov and Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov finish opera begun by Aleksandr Porfiryevich Borodin in 1869.
1897	Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko and Konstantin Stanislavsky found Moscow Art Theater.
1898–1903	Composer Aleksandr Nikolayevich Scriabin teaches at Moscow Conservatory.
1899–1904	Plays by Anton Palovich Chekhov—*Dyadya Vanya* (*Uncle Vanya*), *Tri sestry* (*The Three Sisters*), and *Vishnyovy sad* (*The Cherry Orchard*)—are performed at Moscow Art Theater.
1903	Bolshevik and Menshevik factions of Social Democratic Party are formed.
1905	Popularly elected assembly, or Duma, is formed under Nicholas II.
1908	Sergey Sergeyevich Prokokiev debuts as pianist in St. Petersburg.
1909	Sergey Pavlovich Diaghilev organizes Ballets Russes in Paris; in subsequent years Igor Fyodorovich Stravinsky composes ballets for company.
1910	Wassily Kandinsky paints *First Abstract Watercolor,* considered first abstract painting.
1914	Germany and Austria-Hungary defeat Russia at beginning of World War I.
1917	Russian Revolution overthrows emperor and places Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, in power.
	Winter Palace and Hermitage, built in St. Petersburg in 18th century, are declared state museums.
1918	World War I ends.
1922	Russia organizes Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union; USSR)
1924–25	Dmitry Dimitriyevich Shostakovich writes his first symphony.
1925	Sergey Mikhaylovich Eisenstein's silent film *Potemkin* recounts revolutionary activity in 1905, with famous sequence showing massacre of rioters and innocent bystanders by czarist troops on Odessa steps.
1933	Novelist Ivan Alekseyevich Bunin wins Nobel Prize in literature
1934	Aleksey Maksimovich Peshkov (Maxim Gorky) becomes first president of Soviet Writers' Union.
1941–44	During World War II Soviet Union is invaded by Nazi Germany.
1950	Physicist Andrey Sakharov, father of Soviet nuclear weapons program, begins work on development of hydrogen bomb; in 1953 first successful test is made; in 1975 Sakharov wins Nobel Peace Prize for his many years of human rights involvement in the face of repression by Soviet government.
1957	Soviet Union launches *Sputnik I,* the first artificial satellite into space.
1958	Poet and novelist Boris Leonidovich Pasternak wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1961	Yuri Gagarin becomes first human in space and first to orbit around Earth.
1963	Valentina Tereshkova becomes first woman in space; Alexei Leonov becomes first human to walk in space.
1965	Novelist Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1966–71	Andrey Tarkovsky's film *Andrey Rublyov,* epic of medieval Russia, is banned in Soviet Union.
1970	Novelist Aleksandr Isaevich Solzhenitsyn wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1991	Soviet Union collapses; Russian Federation is formed.
1993	President Boris Yeltsin suppresses resistance of conservative legislators; new constitution is adopted.
1994–96	Warfare erupts between the Chechens and Russians over Chechnya's independence.
1999–2000	War again is waged in Chechnya.

Finland and made it his capital. Peter also had limited success in expansion toward the Black Sea, losing much of his conquest in that region to the Ottoman Empire only to regain it and more during the Russo-Turkish Wars of the late 18th century.



This portrait from the mid- to late 19th century shows Catherine the Great of Russia. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-116782])*

Successive Romanov rulers, especially Catherine the Great, further extended Russia's empire; at its height before the onset of World War I (1914–18) the empire included more than 8 million square miles.

The empire did not survive the war. After defeat at the hands of the Germans and Austrians in 1917 the Russian, or Bolshevik, revolution, led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, erupted. Most of Russia's lands were absorbed into the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922. In 1991 the Soviet Union dissolved into 15 separate nations, and the Russian Federation was formed.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Central to modern Russia's self-identification is its status as a great power, one moreover with a unique "mission" to mediate between East and West. This polarity formerly referred to Eastern and Western Europe, but the "East" now extends into Asia and includes Islamic and Asian countries to the east and south. During the Soviet era this image of Russia's unique mission (upheld by political theorists called "statists") provided legitimacy for Soviet Russia's bid to dominate territories beyond the bounds of Russia itself. As had the Slavophiles of the 19th century the statists argued that Russia's unique status made it a natural ally of weaker peoples trying to protect themselves from the predations of the West.

The claim to a unique relationship between Eastern and Western Europe has an early historical basis in fact, as it is nearly certain that VIKINGS from Sweden, called the Rus, played a central role in the formation of the first Russian state in the ninth century and at least highly likely that the Rurikid dynasty that made early Russia great, founded in legend by Rurik, a Norse chieftain, was originally Norse. Russians, however, have tended to downplay or even deny the involvement of the Vikings in the rise of Kievan Russia, and some scholars claim that it was solely the achievement of indigenous SLAVS. What is not in doubt is that whatever the exact lineage of the Rurikids and their followers they quickly took on a largely Slavic cultural identity, and early Russia was preeminently a product of the Slavic Russian people. But the Viking Rus episode was the beginning of Russia's long relationship, if somewhat tenuous, with Western Europe.

The Russian Orthodox Church has been a crucial element in Russian identity, one that decisively moved Russians into the sphere of Christian Europe, but as part of the Byzantine Eastern or Greek Orthodox Church they were within what was for centuries a powerful opposite pole to Roman Catholic western Europe, and later a periphery to western Europe's core. Byzantine culture immeasurably enriched early Russian literature, music, and art, and the Byzantine church gave Russians its courtly and elaborate religious liturgy.

Mongol rule of medieval Russia isolated Russians from Europe, and laws and customs of the Turkic-speaking Tatars made their mark on the country. At the same time Sweden and the Germanic Teutonic Knights were putting pressure on the principality of Novgorod, which caused the Russian princes, following the lead of Alexander Nevsky, to cast their lot with the Tatars. The support of the Tatar khanate helped the princes of Muscovy to extend their power widely across Russia. When Muscovy ultimately threw off the Tatar yoke in the 15th century its rulers began to take the title of czar (tsar), a word Russians formerly used both for the Byzantine emperors and the Tatar khans, showing how the very concept of a Russian imperial state was powerfully influenced by the East. This was especially so in the great centralization of power in the hands of the czars at the expense of the class of nobles known as boyars, so different from the continual tug-of-war between kings and nobility that was more typical in the West.

Ivan the Terrible set the pattern of supreme czarist rule that would brook no opposition. So accustomed had Russians become to autocratic rule by a single czar that when the boyars exploited a period of disarray in the central government, the subsequent anarchy convinced many even among the boyars that a return to centralized leadership was essential. Russians thus voluntarily put themselves under the Romanov dynasty.

Absolute rulers, Eastern-style, the Romanovs nevertheless set about the reform of Russia on western European lines. It was a top-down reformation of Russia of which Peter the Great's forcible debearding of his court and military to conform with Western style is only a mild and rather amusing example. But the Romanovs eventually succeeded in moving Russia into the wider European sphere of influence, and German, French, and other European cultural influences were of great importance.

The process of acculturation had mixed effects on Russian cultural identity as everything Russian was demoted in favor of foreign influences. By the early 19th century some children of the upper classes spoke only French; Russian had become a foreign language to them. In his greatest work, *Eugene Onegin,* Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin portrays the "ridiculous" or "superfluous" man. Full of education and refinement, Western-style, the ridiculous man is full of energy and desire but without an outlet for his passion and wastes his time and energy on nothing of substance. Cut off from the heart and soul of the true Mother Russia he is superfluous to life; he is useless and spiritually empty. How is he to find fulfillment? Such dislocation became a common theme throughout the rest of Russian literature.

Meanwhile the inherent contradiction in an absolute government's promoting of Western ways and ideas—which by the 18th century included the ideals of freedom and democracy—gave birth to social tension and ferment, as Russian writers who had lived in France and conversed with French Enlightenment intellectuals began to examine their own country through an Enlightenment lens. They saw the vast inequalities of Russia, the inhuman treatment of peasants, the corruption of local government officials, and the like. As romanticism swept Russia writers began to promote the idea that society's problems lie in cultural disunity, with an educated class having strayed from Russian roots that still nourished the peasantry.

The problem of Russian cultural identity in some ways resembles that of the British, as a result of the centuries-long promotion and imposition of one language and culture—in their case Russian—on the weaker peoples who were under the umbrella of the Russian Empire. The process of "Russification" was worked out under the rubric of transcending individual ethnicities in the name of blending people into a great empire, for the greater good of all. To some extent this ideal may have diluted the specificity and distinctness of Russian ethnicity into something more general and international. Today many "Russians" have several identities. If they belong to one of the many ethnic minorities whose first tongue is not Russian (some 100 different languages are spoken there), language may be the basis of their identity. Religious affiliation may furnish another identity. Profession, political ideology, and other facets of modern life may provide others.

It is tempting to see in many of the artistic productions of Russians a character that arises out of the vastness of the Russian landscape, a sweep and a grandeur, and also a melancholy that is the product of an individual confronting the forces of nature, sometimes crushing, sometimes beneficent. Certainly the land, sometimes called Mother Russia, lies at the heart of what it means to be Russian. In the Russian imagination the land is imbued by spirituality.



A priest of the Russian Orthodox Church stands outside the Verkhoturskii Monastery in Russia in 1910. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-69729])*



Three Russian women offer berries to visitors outside their house near the Sheksna River. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-prok-11043])*

Yet the forces of humankind, from Ivan the Terrible to Joseph Stalin, have also stalked that land with acts of almost unimaginable cruelty. The Gulag Archipelago, a country within a country imagined by the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitisyn as consisting solely of the forced labor camps known as *gulags*, forms an inextricable part of the Russian mental landscape. It is perhaps emblematic of the contradictions that have animated Russian society to the present that in the service of unbridled industrial development to promote the Communist agenda (itself based on an ideology introduced from the West), the Soviet regime presided over wholesale pollution of the Russian land, its rivers, and air, of which the Chernobyl nuclear disaster is only the most prominent example.

The new Russia since the breakup of the Soviet Union has maintained the tradition of an axis of East-West themes, with Western pop culture taking hold even as ancient Russian folklore is still celebrated.

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Rusyns (Rusins; Rysin; Russniaks; Carpatho-Rusyns; Carpatho-Rusin; Ruthenes; Ruthenians; Ruthanians)

The name Rusyns has been applied to SLAVS who speak related dialects, with primarily Ukrainian and Slovak elements, in Transcarpathia, that is, the Carpathian Mountains and surrounding regions in present-day southwestern Ukraine, eastern Slovakia, western Poland, and northern Romania. Slavs have inhabited the region at least since the sixth century C.E.

The historical region known as Ruthenia, formerly a part of Czechoslovakia, is now the Zakarpats'ka subdivision in western Ukraine, and the alternate name Ruthenians (as is RUTHENES) is sometimes used for the people of this region. One also sees the name Galicians for some of the Rusyns, because the historical region known as Galicia included the upper valleys of the Vistula and Dniester Rivers in the northern Carpathians. Among the highlanders grouped as Rusyns are the BOIKOS, HUTSULS, and LEMKOS. A Rusyn national movement furthers their identity as a distinct ethnolinguistic group.

See also UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY.

Ruteni (Rutheni; Rutenai; Rutini)

The Ruteni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Rodez in southern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Segodunum on the site of Rodez became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Rodez takes its name from the tribal name.

Ruthenes (Ruthenians; Ruthanians)

The name Ruthenes or Ruthenians has been used variously with regard to the SLAVS. It has been applied to all the Eastern Slavs, that is, those Slavic-speaking peoples living in present-day Ukraine, Belarus, and western Russia. Among them are tribes such as the DREGOVICHIANS, DREVLYANS, DULEBIANS, KRIVICHIANS, POLIANIANS, POLOCHANIANS, RADIMICHIANS, SEVERIANS, TIVERTSIANS, and ULICHIANS. Most of these peoples were under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality in the second half of the ninth century C.E. The name has also been used in reference to all Ukrainians (*see* UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY), or more specifically to peoples of the historical region Ruthenia, now the Zakarpats'ka subdivision in western Ukraine and formerly a province of Czechoslovakia. And finally the name Ruthenes or Ruthenians has been applied to the RUSYNS, an ethnolinguistic group of mostly Ukrainian peoples in the Transcarpathian region.

Ruthenians

See RUSYNS; RUTHENES.

RUSYNS

location:
Carpathian Mountains and vicinity in southwestern Ukraine, eastern Slovakia, western Poland, and northern Romania

time period:
Sixth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
East Slavic



SAAMI

location:
Lapland (northern Norway, northern Sweden, northern Finland, and part of Kola Peninsula of northeastern Russia)

time period:
First century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Lappish (Finnic)

Saami (Saam; Sami; Sámi; Sämi; Same; Samis; Saami Sabme; Lapps; Laplanders)

The Saami people, widely known until recently as Lapps or Laplanders, are the indigenous people of Lapland, a region of northern Europe that includes, west to east, northern Norway, northern Sweden, northern Finland, and part of the Kola Peninsula of northeastern Russia. They are associated with reindeer herding, tentlike dwellings, and blue, red, green, and yellow clothing, although not all modern Saami live traditionally.

There are different opinions among scholars to the origin of the native name Saami (or Saam or Sami). It is theorized, as is the case with many Native American tribal names, that it means "human" or "person" or "first people." The Swedish term Lapp refers to a patch of cloth for mending, a derogatory derivation, suggesting that the Saami wore only old clothing. The derivative term Laplander designates any person living within the geographical region of Lapland, including nonnatives. Moreover part of the Saami population have always lived to the south of the region known as Lapland. In Norway the Saami formerly were referred to as Finns.

ORIGINS

Saami origins are theoretical because of archaeological evidence. Some scholars theorize that Saami ancestors migrated from central Asia, pushed to the northern reaches of Europe by migrating fellow FINNO-UGRIANS, GOTHS, and SLAVS. Or they may have migrated to the region by boat, following the coastlines. Another theory holds that they originated in the Alps. Still other scholars theorize that the Saami have been living on the Scandinavian Peninsula since before the last Ice Age, isolated from other European groups. In any case, it is surmised on the basis of archaeological evidence that Saami families populated the Scandinavian Peninsula along the Norwegian coast by about 9000–8000 B.C.E. and inland three-two millennia later. It is also theorized that Saami reached the Kola Peninsula in Russia before the Christian Era.

LANGUAGE

The Saami language, Lappish, is Finnic, of the Finno-Ugric group, a subfamily of Uralic. Saami may have assumed their language in the last millennium B.C.E. through contacts with other peoples. Dialects vary from region to region, often mutually unintelligible; the three main subcategories are eastern, northern, and southern. Most Saami are presently bilingual; others no longer speak their native language.

HISTORY

Lapland

Lapland, or Sapmi to the Saami, includes the Norwegian provinces of Finnmark and Troms

and part of Nordland, the Swedish provinces of Norrbotten and Västerbotten, Lappi in Finland, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Most of Lapland is within the Arctic Circle. Winters are long and severe, with few hours of sunlight. For part of the winter the Sun never rises above the horizon and for part of the summer it never sets. To the northeast much of Lapland's environment is tundra, treeless rolling plains with only mosses, lichens, and stunted shrubs for vegetation; *tundra,* in fact, is a Saami word that has spread to several languages. Other parts of Lapland are mountainous, especially in Norway and Sweden; the highest point of 6,965 feet at Kebnekaise, Sweden. In the more southern parts of Lapland are extensive forests, as well as many lakes and rivers. Kirkenes and Narvik in Norway are the chief maritime outlets for Scandinavian Lapland, and Murmansk for Russian Lapland.

Saami time line

C.E.	
c. 200	Domestication of reindeers among Saami
c. 1500	Reindeer herding provides primary subsistence for Saami.
1542	Swedish king Gustav I Vasa lays claim to unused land, promoting settlement in Saami territory by Swedes.
1603	First Protestant Church is built in Lapland.
1635	Start of forced labor in silver mines of northern Sweden
1673	Official sanction of the colonization of the Saami homeland
1917	Start of Russian policy forcing Saami to be sedentary
1971	Reindeer Husbandry Law
1986	Adoption of Saami flag; Chernobyl nuclear disaster threatens Saami traditional way of life.

Ancient Saami

The oldest written mention of people in the far north who may be the Saami appears in a work of the Roman historian Tacitus from 98 C.E. He describes the "Fenni" as a people dressed in animal hides, who did not own anything or work the land, who slept on the ground, and who manifested wild behavior. The Germanic writer Jordanes of the sixth century C.E. mentions a people, the Adogit, living in the far north, land of midnight Sun, although he mistakenly classifies them as a Germanic people. In 555 the Byzantine historian Procopius referred to Scandinavia as Thule, and its inhabitants as Skridfinns. All of those descriptions may refer to other real or imagined peoples.

Modern Saami

Expanding populations from the south led the Saami to settle farther north. In 1500–1700 Norway, Sweden, and Finland actively promoted the settlement of their northern holdings (*see* NORWEGIANS: NATIONALITY; SWEDES: NATIONALITY; FINNS; NATIONALITY). In 1542 the Swedish king Gustav I Vasa declared, "All unused land belongs to God, us, and the Swedish Crown." Starting in 1635 with the discovery of silver in northern Sweden many Saami were forced into slave labor in the mines. In 1673 the government officially sanctioned settlement by nonnatives in the Saami homeland.

Growing numbers of non-Saami villages in their midst and the creation of international borders led to greater restriction of movement over the years. Forced assimilation became governmental policy. After the Russian Revolution in 1917 the government took over their reindeer herds and forced the Saami to become sedentary (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Yet Joseph Stalin later used them as living propaganda to demonstrate that the Soviet Union (USSR) actively supported a variety of cultures.

The Saami, a minority group in all four countries, number about 85,000, with more than half in Norway (one province is known as Finnmark because of the great number of Saami). There are 2,000 Saami people living in Russia. Saami have never had their own sovereign state. Because of economic development many Saami groups have been pushed to the northern extremes of Lapland. Yet in all four countries Saami live outside Lapland as well, having migrated in search of work. Many now live in major Scandinavian cities, such as Stockholm and Oslo.

Saami Identity

There are Saami political, cultural, and youth organizations in all four countries, as well as a Saami parliament in each of the three Scandinavian ones that serves as an advisory committee to the national parliaments. Despite the fragmentation there is a sense of a greater Saami nation among the various groups. The Saami flag, designed by a Norwegian Saami, with the four colors taken from traditional colors used in Saami clothing, was approved at the 13th Nordic Saami Convention in 1986. The flag is displayed outside Saami homes on certain days important in Saami history: February 6, Saami National Day; August 15, the day the Saami flag was adopted by the Nordic Saami Council in 1986; August 18, founding day of the Nordic Saami Council in 1956; October 9, founding day of the Saami parliament in 1989;

and November 9, founding day of the Finnish Saami parliament in 1973.

CULTURE

Economy

The earliest archaeological evidence indicates that the Saami were hunters and gatherers. They fished and hunted sea mammals in addition to land game. In about 200 C.E. they started to tame reindeer, originally using them as pack and decoy animals. In about 1500 reindeer husbandry became the primary source of subsistence for the Saami; large herds were kept and around them was shaped a nomadic way of life. In addition to every part of the reindeer's being used—for food, clothing, and artifacts—the animal is milked and used for transport.

Currently only about 10 percent of the Saami population actually derive their livelihood from reindeer, wintering in the lowlands and summering in the western mountains. The families of herders are likely to reside year-round in modern housing. Although individually owned, the reindeer are herded communally. About two-thirds of Norwegian Saami are coastal fishermen. Other Saami communities depend on freshwater fishing, hunting, farming, and forestry; many Saami now work in business, industry, government, and education. Most Saami do, however, have a relative involved in some capacity with reindeer. So the reindeer is still fundamental to Saami culture and society.

Government and Society

The nuclear family has been the predominant Saami social organization, with loose groupings of extended families sometimes forming larger bands and traveling together. Shamans traditionally played an important role as healers, advisers, and arbitrators.

Dwellings and Architecture

The traditional Saami dwelling is known as the *goahte*. The mobile, tentlike variety is constructed from poles and reindeer skins or textiles. The permanent variety is covered with turf. A campfire is built at the center of the dwelling for both light and heat, with a smokehole at the top. Wood is stacked just inside the opening flap. The dogs stay near the entrance, as do guests until invited farther in. It is considered a spiritual activity to sit by the fire. Among nomadic Saami as many as five or six families inhabited a *goahte*. The Saami also built longhouses for public gathering places. One of the various kinds of longhouses has a saddle roof.

Clothing

Saami traditional clothing utilizes four colors: blue, red, yellow, and green. Women weave the cloth for shirts, skirts, trousers, and hats. Reindeer skin and fur leather are also used, sometimes as rawhide or tanned as leather. Many of the contemporary reindeer herders wear traditional clothing.

Art

To the Saami art originally was part of religious practices or utilitarian in nature. The earliest-known Saami images are rock art painted with red ochre. In the coastal areas the most prevalent images were of the reindeer, small mammals, or fish; in the deep forest the most popular image was the elk. Saami also decorated objects used in daily life.

Today Saami craftspeople work in horn and leather from the reindeer and wood from the arctic birch. During the 20th century a number of skilled Saami artists made names for themselves, some in traditional media and others in fine art.

Religion

In the traditional Saami worldview reality can be separated into three realms: the heavens, the earth, and the underworld. Gods and spirit beings live in all three realms. The gods that created the world live in the heavenly realm; other gods that manifest themselves in natural phenomena live in the earthly realm, as do humans and animals; and the spirits of the dead inhabit the underworld. Saami demonstrate respect to gods through offerings. A shaman mediates between humans and the spirit world. People turn to this central figure in society in times of trouble. To connect with the other worlds he enters a trance through what is commonly referred to as *joika,* a type of singing without words that attempts to express the essence of nature. The term *joika* actually applies to only one of several modes of singing; the other modes, *lavlu/laavloe/vuelie,* have words and narratives. Accompanying the singing and chanting are drums, the bullroarer, and the flute. Through the music a soul travels with the help of protective spirits, typically a totemistic animal. Men's rites focus on the hunt and control of wind and weather; women's rites center on home and family.

As Lapland became colonized, missionaries settled among them. In 1603 Scandinavians built the first Lutheran Church in Saami territory. The Russian Orthodox Church also strove to convert the indigenous population in their

domain. The Saami people resisted the new religions in their midst, but by the mid-17th century Saami holy places were destroyed and drums burned. The majority were Christianized by the 18th century, mostly Lutheran, but Russian Orthodox in the east. There is, at least in most of the northern Saami communities, a strong Lutheran evangelical movement known as Laestadianism after the part Saami Lars Levi Laestadius, in which the Saami language is considered a holy language. Shamanistic healing rites are still performed among some groups.

The Saami people face political, economic, and cultural challenges. As for their political status the Norwegian government recognizes the Saami as an ethnic minority and separate people and is the only nation to observe the United Nations (UN) Declaration for Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights. Saami language is taught in schools and Saami institutions and museums have been created. Sweden recognizes the Saami as an ethnic minority but has not signed the UN declaration. A separate education organization does, however, exist. Sweden's Reindeer Husbandry Law of 1971 allows the Saami some special protective rights for economic life within the native communities. Only those Saami who practice reindeer herding have any native land and water rights. Saami fishermen and hunters have never been covered by law. According to Finnish law the Saami have no special rights to land and water.

Economic development is altering the Saami homeland: the clear cutting of forests; the mining of iron ore in Sweden, of copper and nickel in Norway, and of apatite in Russia; the drilling for oil in Russia; and the construction of hydroelectric power plants. Industries are polluting the tundra with heavy metals that pass through the food chain to be consumed by humans. Acid rain is defoliating the local forests. Maintaining the traditional Saami way of life is becoming more difficult. In 1986 as a result of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in the Ukraine some 73,000 reindeer in Sweden alone had to be destroyed. Tourism is also growing in Lapland, leading to some commercialization of native crafts.

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Sabines (Sabini; Sabaens)

SABINES

location:
East of Tiber River in west-central Italy

time period:
Ninth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

The Sabines, classified as a tribe of Italics, lived east of the Tiber River in the western Apennines in parts of the present-day regions of Lazio, Abruzzi, and Umbria in west-central Italy. Their immediate neighbors to the north were the Latins and to the south the Umbrians, possibly distant relatives. They had early contacts with the Romans and perhaps played a part in the founding of Rome. They were possibly the parent group of the Samnites. One of their oldest towns was Amiternum (modern San Vittorino).

ORIGINS

The Sabines may have lived in their homeland as early as the ninth century B.C.E. One theory maintains that they migrated to the Italian Peninsula from along the Sava River in the homeland of the Illyrians.

LANGUAGE

The Sabine language was probably one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan branch of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marrucinian, Marsian, Paelignian, Vestinian, and Volscian. The Sabines are thought to have adopted writing from the Etruscans.

HISTORY

The Sabines are associated with the founding of Rome—the date, perhaps legendary, given as 753 B.C.E. One tradition maintains that the Sabines settled on the Quirinal and Esquiline Hills and eventually joined with the Latins on the Palatine Hill to form Rome. Another speaks of the capture of Sabine women by the followers of Romulus, supposedly the first

Sabines time line

B.C.E.	
753	Legendary founding of Rome, perhaps with Sabine involvement
290	Romans defeat Samnites and Sabines.
268	Sabines gain Roman citizenship.

king of Rome. In the legendary event, as told by the Roman historian Livy of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. and the Greek historian Plutarch of the first and second centuries C.E., the Romans, in need of women to procreate and populate their newly built town, attempted to intermarry with neighboring tribes. After they were being refused, they invited the Sabines to attend a feast in honor of the god Neptune, whereupon they abducted and raped Sabine maidens. Romulus personally assured the women that the Roman husbands, sympathetic to their wives because they had left their homes, would live in honorable wedlock and that they would be the mothers of free Roman citizens. When the Sabine men returned to rescue their women, the legend goes, the nowwed women interceded and prevented war. The story, whether true or not, indicates a connection between the early Romans and Sabines.

The period of Sabine expansion was probably the sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E. The rise of Rome as the dominant power in the region, after the Romans eliminated the occupying Etruscans in 509 B.C.E., curtailed this growth. Intermittent warfare between the Sabines and Romans occurred in the fifth century B.C.E., with a major Roman victory in 449. One Sabine subtribe requested permission to move their entire population onto Roman territory and become Romans, forming the Claudian family, who were important in Roman history.

In the fourth century the Sabines became caught up in the struggle for power in the region involving the Samnites. After what is known as the Third Samnite War in 295 B.C.E. the Roman general Manius Curius Dentatus conquered the Sabines. In 268 B.C.E. the Sabines were granted full Roman citizenship; they eventually lost their identity as a distinct people. They did not take part in the Social War, a revolt of many of the Italics in 90–88 B.C.E.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

The Sabines were a farming people. The majority of their population lived in small villages in the mountains; there were a few large towns in the valleys.

Because the Sabines inhabited land so close to Rome, it is difficult to distinguish their ruins from those of the Romans who moved to their lands. They were known in the ancient world for their religious cults, especially animal worship, which influenced the Romans. The principal Sabine deity was Sabo, or Sabino, thought to be their original ancestor.

Because of the story of the Sabine women the Sabines are among the best known of the ancient peoples of the Italian Peninsula. Numerous artists have depicted the "Rape of the Sabine Women," including the Flemish sculptor Giovanni da Bologna in the 16th century, the French painter Nicolas Poussin and Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens in the 17th century, and the French painter Jacques-Louis David in the 18th century.

Sacae *See* SCYTHIANS.

Saii *See* ESUVII.

Salasses Saliensienses

The Salasses Saliensienses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Mediterranean around present-day Castellane in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Salentini *See* MESSAPI.

Salian Franks *See* FRANKS; SALII.

Salii

The Salii are classified as a Germanic tribe. Their name is thought to mean "salty." They lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany. In the fourth century C.E. they were settled by the ROMANS west of the Rhine in present-day Netherlands and Belgium. The Salii and other GERMANICS in the region—the AMSIVARII, BRUCTERI, CHAMAVI, CHATTUARII, and TUBANTI—became known as Salian FRANKS as distinct from the Ripuarian Franks.

Saluvii (Salluvii; Sallurii)

The Saluvii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the mouth of the Rhône in southeastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS conquered them in 124 B.C.E. and soon established a province in the region, known as Provincia Romana (modern Provence).

Salyens

The Salyens are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Arles in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The Albioci were a subgroup.

Sami *See* SAAMI.

Samnages

The Samnages are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul near the Lower Rhone in present-day southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Samnites

The Samnites, classified as ITALICS, lived in the Apennines in the present-day region of Abruzzi and part of Campania in central Italy, a territory formerly known to them as Safinum and to the ROMANS as Samnium, south of Roman-controlled Latium (part of modern Lazio). The Samnite capital was Maleventum (modern Benevento), east of modern Naples. The Samnites resisted Roman expansion from the fourth to the first century B.C.E., and several wars are named after them.

ORIGINS

The Samnites displaced earlier peoples, known as the OPICI, in the mountainous country of Samnium. Some writers claim they were descendants of the SABINES, out of the northwest. By the late fifth century B.C.E they were organized into the Samnite League of four subtribes, the Carecini (Caraceni), Caudini, Herpini (Hirpini; Erpini; Irpini), and Pentri.

LANGUAGE

The Samnite language was part of the Oscan grouping of the Osco-Umbrian branch of Italic. The Samnites had no written language until the late fifth century B.C.E., when they penetrated western Campania and had contact with the Greek colonists in Neapolis (modern Naples) and learned the Greek alphabet.

HISTORY

The first official contact of the Samnites and Romans was a treaty signed between them in 354 B.C.E., perhaps because of outside threats from the CELTS who had attacked Rome. Peace lasted just over a decade, however; the intermittent struggle between the Samnites and Romans for dominance of central and southern Italy is discussed as three wars in the fourth–third centuries B.C.E., yet Samnite resistance continued into the first century B.C.E.

First Samnite War

In 343 B.C.E. the First Samnite War erupted over a dispute between the Samnites and the SIDICINI, allies of the CAMPANI. The Samnites invaded Campania and defeated the Campani near modern Capua on the Volturno River. The Campani requested help from the ROMANS, who defeated the Samnites in 341 B.C.E., ending what is known as the First Samnite War. The next year some Samnites joined the Romans in a campaign against the LATINS, which led to the dissolution of the Latin League in 338 B.C.E.

Second Samnite War

In 328 B.C.E. the Romans established a colony at Fregellae (a town originally of the VOLSCI) on the Liris River in territory claimed by the Samnites. The next year the Samnites gained control of Neapolis and installed a garrison there. Although the poor Neapolitans generally supported the Samnites, some wealthy citizens sought help from Rome, which sent a force to remove the garrison in 326 B.C.E., considered the start of the Second (or Great) Samnite War.

Over the next years the Romans, who had a treaty with the Neapolis inhabitants, carried out a series of indecisive border raids in an attempt to limit Samnite power. In 321 B.C.E. they organized an invasion of Samnium and moved on Maleventum, but the Samnites managed to trap them in a valley at Caudine Forks and attack successfully from the slopes above, bringing about one of the greatest military

SAMNITES

location:
Central Italy

time period:
Fifth century to 82 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)



This detail of a frieze shows Samnites in the fourth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Samnites time line

B.C.E.

354	Samnites and Romans sign treaty.
343–341	First Samnite War; in 341 Romans victorious against Samnites.
326–304	Second Samnite War; in 321 Samnites victorious against Romans at Caudine Forks.
298–295	Third Samnite War; in 295 Romans victorious against Samnites at Sentinum.
280–275	Samnites participate in Pyrrhic War.
217	Samnites battle Carthaginians; some among them later join Carthaginians against Rome.
90–88	Samnites participate in Social War.
82	Romans invade Samnium and disperse Samnites.

defeats in Roman history. Roman prisoners were spared after a treaty agreement in which the Romans agreed to give up border colonies, but they were forced to march out of the valley under a "yoke" of spears, a sign of humiliation.

The Romans invaded new lands and forced new alliances with the APULI to the east and the LUCANI to the south in the hope of surrounding the Samnites. The Samnites meanwhile expanded their lands toward Rome. Hostilities again erupted in 316 B.C.E. The next year the Romans were defeated at Lautulae, whereupon the Samnites plundered southern Latium. Yet the Romans soon regained control of the Upper Liris and founded colonies there. They also constructed the Via Appia from Rome to Campania in 312 B.C.E. Other tribes in the region saw Rome as a threat to their security and joined the Samnite cause. In 309 B.C.E. a confederacy of the MARRUCINI, MARSI, PAELIGNI, and VESTINI backed the Samnites. Other tribes—the AEQUI, FRENTANI, and HERNICI—also offered some support. All were pacified by 304 B.C.E. Meanwhile in 311 B.C.E. the ETRUSCANS in the north joined the anti-Roman cause but with little success.

Third Samnite War

The tenuous peace endured until 298 B.C.E. and new campaigns. The Samnites, once again to counter the Romans, sought an alliance with the Celts, Etruscans, and Umbrians. Roman legions under Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus met the coalition in battle at Sentinum (near modern Ancona) in Umbria in 295 B.C.E. The Romans were victorious. Five years later when they invaded Samnium the Samnite resistance had weakened, and they became unwilling *socii* (allies) of the Romans.

Later Conflicts

The Samnites supported the GREEKS under Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who led a force to Italy to protect Tarentum and other Greek colonies of Magna Graecia in 280 B.C.E. in the Pyrrhic War. After earlier victories the allied force was defeated by the Romans at Maleventum in 275 B.C.E. The town became a Roman colony in 268 B.C.E. and was renamed Beneventum (that is, changed from ill wind to good wind). In the Second Punic War of 218–201 B.C.E. the Samnites at first opposed the CARTHAGINIANS under Hannibal, even defeating them in battle in 217 B.C.E., but later joined them against the Romans.

Final Defeat and Dispersion

During the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E. the Samnites joined other Italic tribes in revolt against Rome to achieve equal rights as citizens. In 87 B.C.E. the Italics were granted citizenship. In 82 B.C.E. Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who considered the Samnites a continuing threat to Roman interests, invaded Samnium and overcame them. To ensure the end of resistance he slaughtered thousands of prisoners and dispersed the remaining Samnites; afterward the Samnites disappeared from history as a distinct group.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

Economy

Although they grew crops in the sparse soil of their homeland, the Samnites were known more as herders of livestock and as hunters. They were proficient with slings for hunting birds. With expansion and increasing contacts with other peoples they grew to depend also on trade.

Government and Society

Samnite society was structured around tribes, clans, and families. Confederations of towns formed for both economic and military reasons. Yet the isolated and fortified mountain villages remained politically autonomous. (One such remote village, Pietrabbondante, now an archaeological site, was situated in the mountains of the province of Isernia.)

Military Practices

In the early stages of their history the Samnite typical weapon was a light, crooked javelin. They also used slings to hunt birds. Yet even so the Romans considered the Samnites among the most warlike people of the Italian Peninsula—hence the Roman name *belliger Samnis* for them, which translates as "warrior Samnites." They eventually organized their armies into cohorts and legions, like the Romans', and some of them fought from horseback. They built polygonal fortifications on hilltops.

Clothing

The Samnites wore bearskins for warmth.

Of all the peoples on the Italian Peninsula, the Samnites sustained the longest resistance against Rome to the point that even after two centuries of occupation of their lands the Romans still felt the need to exterminate them. The Roman historian Livy of the first centuries

B.C.E. and C.E. wrote, "Only death could conquer their resolution." Moreover the Roman defeat at Caudine Forks resonated throughout Roman history; the modern Italian expression *le forche Caudine* means "downfall."

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Samogitians (Samogytians; Zemaitians; Zemaiciai; Zhmud; Zsnudz; Zcnzailcy)

SAMOGITIANS

location: Western Lithuania

time period: Ninth to 15th century C.E.

ancestry: Baltic

language: Lithuanian (Baltic)

The Samogitians were a tribe of Balts who inhabited the region known as Samogitia (Zemaitija) in present-day western Lithuania. Their name means "lowlanders"; they lived to the west of the Aukstaiciai, or "highlanders," the latter tribe sometimes referred to as Lithuanians proper. (Although the Samogitians are known as lowlanders, some among them lived in the Zemaiciai Upland, separating the coastal region from the Baltic Highlands, with the Middle Lithuanian Lowland in between.) To the northwest of the Samogitians lived the Curonians and to their south and southwest the Skalvians.

The Samogitians are considered among the ancestors of modern Lithuanians (*see* Lithuanians: Nationality), as well as of those peoples living in the Kaliningrad Oblast, an enclave of Russia to the south of Lithuania and to the north of Poland (*see* Russians: Nationality).

ORIGINS

Baltic-speaking peoples migrated westward to the Baltic Sea region by about 2000 to 1500 B.C.E. By the ninth century C.E. identifiable tribes had coalesced.

LANGUAGE

The Samogitian dialect, or Low Lithuanian, is one of the two major speech patterns of the Lithuanian language; the other is Aukstaitich, or High Lithuanian.

HISTORY

By the 13th century Lithuania was ruled by local noblemen. The Samogitians played a central role against the Germanic crusaders. Their resistance prevented the two primarily Germanic religious and military orders—the Knights of the Sword in the region of Livonia (part of modern Latvia and Estonia) to the north and the Teutonic Knights of the Cross in the region of East Prussia (now part of Poland and Russia)—from uniting their occupied lands.

In the 13th century the Samogitians competed with the Lithuanians for control of the region. The Samogitian Vykintas competed against the Lithuanian Mindaugas, who was in the process of uniting different Lithuanian principalities under his banner. Vykintas died in battle in 1251. In 1263, Treniota, possibly the son of Vykintas, took part in the assassination of Mindaugas and succeeded him as Lithuania's ruler until his own death the next year. No other Samogitian prince ever ascended the Lithuanian throne.

After their fortresses were attacked and their farms and crops burned by crusaders, many Samogitians took refuge in the forests and marshes. In 1329 crusaders managed to take the fortress of Medvegalis, in which several Samogitians had taken refuge. But the resistance continued. Between 1345 and 1382 the Teutonic Knights out of Prussia carried out some 70 forays against the Samogitians and their allies from other tribes; the Livonian Knights of the Sword made 30 military forays. The allied Balts retaliated with 31 expeditions into Prussia and 11 into Livonia. Samogitia was

Samogitians time line

C.E.	
ninth century	Identifiable Baltic tribes coalesce.
1263–64	Treniota rules Lithuania.
1329	Medvegalis, where several thousand soldiers, women, and children take refuge, stormed by crusaders.
1401 and 1409	Samogitians successfully revolt against Teutonic Knights.
1410	Allied Lithuanians and Poles defeat Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg.
1413	Samogitians accept Christianity.
1422	Lithuanians defeat Teutonic Order; Lithuanian Grand Duchy established.

SAN MARINIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
San Marino; Republic of San Marino (Repubblica di San Marino)

derivation of name:
After Saint Marinus of Rimini

government:
Independent republic

capital:
San Marino

language:
Italian is the official language.

religion:
About 90 percent of the population are Catholic; a small numbers of citizens have no religious affiliation.

earlier inhabitants:
Italics; Illyrians; Celts

demographics:
Population of San Marino consists primarily of San Marinians and Italians.

surrendered in 1382, 1398, and 1404, but the Samogitians revolted in 1401 and 1409. Allied Lithuanians and POLES defeated the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (modern Stebark in northern Poland) in 1410. In 1413 the Samogitians officially accepted Christianity. In 1422 Samogitia became part of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

Government and Society

Samogitians developed a social and political structure different from that of the rest of Lithuania, with more free farmers and fewer big estates than in eastern Lithuania.

Clothing

The Samogitian women favored bright colors, wide striping divided into checks, and fancy scarves. Their costume consisted of a white blouse with long sleeves, a long wide bright-colored skirt, and an apron. Skirts were mostly striped lengthways; Aukstaiciai skirts were checked. Girls used to cover their heads with wreaths or ribbons; married women wore white linen kerchiefs called *nuometas*. All women, young and old, liked to wear amber necklaces as well as glass and metal trinkets.

Men's clothes were of a more simple fashion—gray overcoats of coarse heavy cloth, while linen shirts, and striped or checked trousers. They wore broad colorful sashes. The traditional footwear called *nagines* was made of leather at home. The chief footwear in Samogitia, wooden sabots called *klumpes,* were often decorated with floral or herringbone patterns.

Art

Samogitia was famous for its woodcarving. The statuettes of the saints made by rustic artists were used to decorate churches, wayside chapels, and crosses. Such folk artists were called *dievdirbiai* (god makers).

In the early 19th century, descendants of the Samogitians were central to a Lithuanian revival, opposing influences of Russians and Poles and promoting the native Lithuanian language. Samogitia is now perceived as an ethnographic and historic region in Lithuania and is not defined administratively.

Samoyeds *See* NENETS.

San Marinians: nationality
(Sammarinese; Sammarinesi; people of San Marino)

GEOGRAPHY

San Marino is an enclave of Italy. It lies in the eastern foothills of the central Apennines, southwest of Rimini. San Marino's area is 23.4 square miles. The three peaks of Mount Titano (2,425 feet) make up most of the terrain. Principal streams include the Ausa, the Marano, and the San Marino.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The region that became San Marino was originally inhabited by ITALICS, ILLYRIANS, and CELTS. According to legend a Christian stonecutter, Marino, settled on Mount Titano around the fourth century C.E. Within the next century an isolated sovereignty formed. San Marino expanded in 1463 when given the cities of Fiorentino, Montegiardino, and Serravalle by the pope. The next year the town of Faetano became part of the state, establishing its present-day boundaries. The Roman papacy recognized San Marino as an independent nation in 1631.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

San Marino is completely surrounded by Italy and consequently has strong cultural and ethnic ties to it. Yet San Marino also has a long tradition of independence, which is due to its long legacy of political autonomy, and the Sammarinese, as they call themselves, have a strong sense of national identity that dates to the founding of the nation in 301 C.E. The commune has been able to remain independent despite encroachments by neighboring bishops and lords largely because of its isolation and its mountain fortresses. San Marinians are proud of their long history as a republic and are today in the forefront of European initiatives to promote democracy in developing countries all over the world. Many international conferences are held there.

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San Marinians: nationality time line	
C.E.	
301	San Marino is founded by Marinus, Christian exile from Dalmatia.
1243	Government becomes duumvirate.
1464	Town of Faetano joins San Marino, establishing its present borders.
1599	San Marino drafts constitution.
1631	San Marino's independence is recognized by papacy in Rome.
1739	San Marino is temporarily occupied by Vatican forces.
1815	Congress of Vienna recognizes San Marino's independence.
1839	National Library and Book Patrimony is founded in city of San Marino.
1862	San Marino signs treaty of cooperation with Italy.
1899	State Museum of San Marino is founded in city of San Marino.
1939–45	During World War II San Marino remains neutral although Allies bomb it.
1945–57	San Marino is governed by Communist-Socialist coalition.
1956	Contemporary and Modern Art Gallery is founded in city of San Marino.
1960	Women are granted right to vote.
1966	St. Francis' Museum is founded in city of San Marino.
1973	Women are granted right to hold public office.
1988	San Marino joins Council of Europe.
1992	San Marino joins United Nations (UN).

SARACENS

location:
Mediterranean islands and coastal regions

time period:
Seventh to 15th century C.E.

ancestry:
Arabic; Berber

language:
Semitic; Hamitic

Santones (Santoni; Santonae)

The Santones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Saintes in western France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were perhaps related ancestrally to the TOLOSATES. Santones fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Mediolanum Santonum on the site of Saintes became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Saintes takes its name from the tribal name.

Saracens (Sarraceni)

The term Saracens (from the Greek Sarakenoi) originally was used by GREEKS and ROMANS in the early centuries C.E. in reference to an Arab tribe of the Sinai Peninsula in present-day northeastern Egypt, perhaps an adaptation from the Arabic word *sharqiun* for "easterners." Over time it was used to designate any Arab tribe.

After the rise of Islam in the seventh century the BYZANTINES applied the term to all Muslims, whether Arabs or TURKICS. It was commonly used by Europeans for the Arab corsairs (pirates) active in the Mediterranean Sea, who raided European islands, including the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, as well as Mediterranean coastal settlements, especially in southern Italy. After establishing a base on the Bay of St. Tropez in present-day southeastern France they carried out raids inland. Otto I, king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, destroyed the base in 972. The MOORS of North Africa, a combined Arab and Berber people who invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century, were known as Saracens to some Europeans. During the Crusades of the 11th to 13th century when Europeans sought to liberate Near Eastern lands from Muslims the term was also widely used.

The name Saracens carried through the era of the Barbary pirates, or corsairs. The countries that became known as the Barbary states—independent states controlled by Muslims—were Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Tripolis (also known as Tripolitana). Barbary was named for Barbarossa ("redbeard") or Khayr ad-Din, a Turkish pirate. Active in 1516–46, he regularly plundered the shores of Greece, Spain, and Italy. In 1518 Barbarossa captured the port city of Algiers from Spain

SARMATIANS

location:
Southern European Russia and the Balkans

time period:
Fifth century B.C.E. to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Indo-Iranian

language:
Iranian

and turned it over to Turkish control. His pirates would sail from their protected harbors into the Atlantic Ocean and take gold, silver, slaves, and other plunder from the Spanish treasure ships returning from the Americas. Their piracy was so costly that most countries found it less expensive to pay them tribute than to suffer a complete loss of their cargoes. The tribute and the goods of the pirate industry became the basis of the economy in North Africa.

Sardinians (people of Sardinia)

The name Sardinians refers to people living in an autonomous island of Sardinia, situated in the Mediterranean Sea. PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, and CARTHAGINIANS all occupied the island in the centuries B.C.E. Sardinia was conquered by the ROMANS in 238 B.C.E. The VANDALS annexed the island in the fifth century C.E., the BYZANTINES ruled it as of the sixth century. The Arabs frequently invaded Sardinia from the eighth to the 11th century. The country was then alternately controlled by Austria, Italy, and Spain, until it joined Piedmont and Savoy to form the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1720. The Kingdom of Sardinia united with other Italian states to form the Kingdom of Italy in 1860 (*see* ITALIANS: NATIONALITY).

Sardones

The Sardones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the northern Pyrenees near present-day Perpignan in southern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Sarmatians time line

B.C.E.	
fourth century	Sarmatians compete with Scythians.
second century	Sarmatians settle west of the Don River.
c. 179	Sarmatians sign peace treaty with king of Pontus.
first century	Sarmatians join people of Pontus in attacks on Romans.
C.E.	
first century	Sarmatians join Dacians in attacks on Romans.
168–175	Sarmatians join Marcomanni and Quadi against Romans.
370s	Sarmatians battle Romans.
451	Sarmatians fight on both sides in battle between the Romans and Visigoths against Huns.

Sarmatians (Sarmatae; Sarmats; Sauromatae)

The Sarmatians were a nomadic Indo-Iranian people. They included the ALANS, AORSI, IAZYGES, ROXOLANI, and SIRACES as well as other peoples, the names of some of whom did not survive history. They were originally associated with the plains north of the Caucasus Mountains between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, but they spread westward and southward in the late centuries B.C.E. and early centuries C.E., when their history converged with that of the GERMANICS. Some among them, the Alans in particular, settled in western Europe.

ORIGINS

By the fifth century B.C.E. the nomadic Sarmatians, known for their riding skills and horse breeding, lived on the Eurasian steppes, between the Volga River and Aral Sea, after they had branched off from other Iranian-speaking peoples. By the second century B.C.E. some among them lived west of the Don River. Some eventually settled in the Balkans; others settled in the Caucasus.

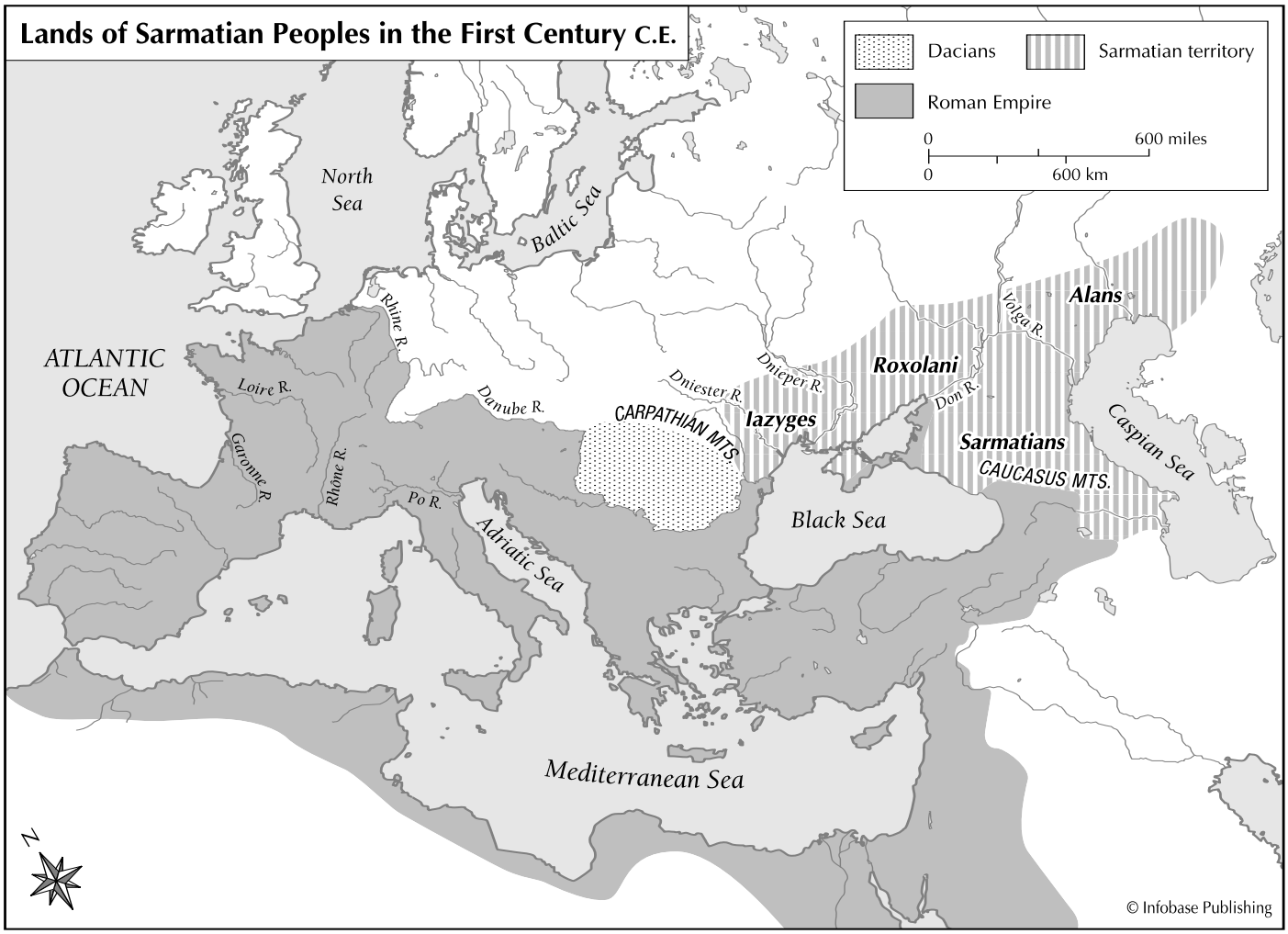
LANGUAGE

The Sarmatians spoke an Iranian language, part of the Indo-Iranian family (the eastern branch of Indo-European). One of the Sarmatian dialects, Ossetic of the Alans, survives to this day among the OSSETS. The Sarmatians and SCYTHIANS of the same language family have been referred to as European Iranians.

HISTORY

From Sythia to Sarmatia

The first mention of a people who were probably Sarmatians is by the ancient GREEKS. The historian Herodotus mentions a people, the Sauromatae, living east of the Don River (which, according to the ancients, was the dividing line between Europe and Asia) in the fifth century B.C.E. To the west of the Don were the Scythians. Greek texts of the fourth century B.C.E. mention the Syrmatae west of the Don, competing with the Scythians, earlier nomads from the Eurasian steppes, for territory. Archaeological findings indicate that the Sarmatians controlled much of Scythia (a general term referring to Scythian territory in eastern Europe) by the third century B.C.E. Much of this territory was referred to as Sarmatia. Inhabitants of present-day Ukraine who had been known as Royal Scyths became part of the Sarmatian coalition.



Allies against Rome

West of the Dniester in present-day Moldova and Romania the Sarmatians displaced, absorbed, or made alliances with GETAE and DACIANS. The BASTARNAE, considered the easternmost of the GERMANS, who settled in Sarmatia by the third century B.C.E., probably consisted of Sarmatians as well as Germans and CELTS.

Early Sarmatian names known from the second century B.C.E. are those of King Galatus and Queen Amage, who signed a peace treaty in about 179 B.C.E. with the king of Pontus, a civilization in Asia Minor in present-day Turkey. The next century Sarmatians, recorded as Iazyges, joined King Mithridates VI Eupator (Mithridates the Great) of Pontus in his wars against Rome. The allied forces were forced to retreat to the Crimea in present-day Ukraine by a Roman force under Pompey in 66 B.C.E. Mithridates, facing capture, ordered a slave to kill him. The Sarmatians continued to fight under Mithridates' son, Pharnaces II, but the allies were defeated by Julius Caesar in 47 B.C.E. at Zela (modern Zile in north-central Turkey). After this victory Caesar sent back to the Roman senate his famous message *Veni, vidi, vici* (I came, I saw, I conquered).

Sometime after 20 C.E. the Iazyges crossed the Carpathian Mountains and settled on the Hungarian Plain in present-day Hungry along the Tisza River. Later, in alliance with Dacians, Sarmatians carried out attacks on the ROMANS, whose legions guarded the Danube *limes* (border). They were known to have penetrated present-day Bulgaria south of the Danube during the reign of the Roman emperor Nero.

Sarmatians and Germans

In the second century C.E. Sarmatians also became allies of Germanic peoples against Rome. In 168–175 the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius waged successful warfare against the MARCOMANNI, QUADI, and Sarmatians, mostly Iazyges, restoring the Danube frontier. Aurelius, who took the name Samarticus, conscripted 8,000 Iazyge cavalry and sent 5,500 of them to



This archer, possibly Sarmatian, dates to about 6500 B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

reinforce Roman forces in Britain in frontier units of 500, some of them along Hadrian's Wall (*see* BRITONS).

In the third century the GOTHS expanded their presence in occupied Sarmatian lands. More and more Sarmatians migrated southward. The Alans migrated to the southeast to the northern foothills of the Caucasus and the Roxolani, probably to the Hungarian Plain with the Iazyges.

In 332 when the Iazyges were attacked by the Goths the Roman emperor Constantine I went to their aid. During this period Sarmatian slaves (Sarmati Limigantes), who had been armed by the ruling class (Sarmati Argaragantes) against the Goths, revolted and drove them from their homes. Constantine helped them by establishing Sarmatian communities in the Balkans, in present-day Italy, and in Germany on the Rhine as buffers against the Germans. Constantine's son, Constantius II, also settled Sarmatians in parts of the Roman Empire as allies.

Some among the Sarmatians became allies of the VISIGOTHS and QUADI, however. The Roman emperor Valentinian I waged successful war against an allied force in 373–375. In 378 Theodosius I defeated the Tizra Sarmatians, who had continued their resistance against Rome.

By the late fourth century the HUNS, advancing from the east, were seizing lands held by Sarmatian and Germanic groups; the period is considered the end of Sarmatia. Some Sarmatian peoples maintained independence, while others fell under Hunnic control. Sarmatians were part of the great army assembled by Attila that invaded Gaul in 451. Some Alans, who had earlier invaded Gaul with VANDALS and SUEBI, fought against them as allies of the Romans and Visigoths. In the sixth century some Iazyges merged with the LOMBARDS and settled northern Italy with them.

CULTURE

Economy

The nomadic Sarmatians kept herds of horses and other livestock and were known in ancient times for their horse breeding but did not practice agriculture. They hunted and raided other peoples for food, sometimes enslaving farmers and living off their produce.

Government and Society

Sarmatian society was originally matriarchal, and women took part in the governing process. Male chieftains ruled the migrating tribes. Later in their history after settlement in eastern Europe the Sarmatians were ruled by kings and classes of society developed.

Military Practices

The Sarmatians typically fought from horseback. Unmarried women sometimes fought alongside men and may have helped inspire the Greek legend of the Amazons, a tribe of warlike women who supposedly inhabited Asia Minor. Weapons included long spears, long and short swords, and daggers. An original long sword design featured a hilt of wood with gold lacing, topped with a knob of agate or onyx.

Transportation

The Sarmatians, known for their horsemanship, rode bareback, directing their horses with knee pressure and shifting of weight.

Personal Habits

Some of the Sarmatians, as did the Scythians and Huns, practiced cranial deformation, elongating the head of newborns through hand pressure and bandaging.

Art

In addition to brightly colored geometric patterns the Sarmatians were known for animal and floral motifs in their decorative art. Horses were a common theme, as well as other animals, such as deer and dolphins. Sarmatian jewelry included bracelets, rings, diadems, brooches, buckles, and buttons.

Literature

No Sarmatian written texts have survived to modern times. The only ancient Sarmatian words to have survived in writing are tribal names, personal names, and place-names.

Religion

The Sarmatians worshipped a god of fire to whom they sacrificed horses. They practiced inhumation. The earliest burials included no artifacts. In later times the men were typically buried with weapons; the women, with jewelry; and the children, often with bells of bronze.

The history of the Sarmatians, actually a number of different ancient steppe tribes who migrated westward, is related to that of the Scythians and Huns, fellow steppe peoples originally out of Asia, as well as that of the Romans and various Germanic tribes of Europe.

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Saxons (Saxones)

The Saxons, a Germanic tribe, originally occupied territory on the southern Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark and Germany and on several neighboring islands. They were among the GERMANICS—the Angles, FRISIANS, and JUTES—who in the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. migrated to Britain and eventually became known as ANGLO-SAXONS (the name Saxons also being applied to all these peoples). Those who remained on mainland Europe—the Old Saxons, as they were called—held extensive territory in present-day northwestern Germany. The term also has been used for inhabitants of different regions of Germany known in its history as Saxony. The name Saxons (possibly from *scramasax,* a single-edged sword used by Saxons, or possibly from *seax,* a two-edged dagger) was also applied to German settlers who migrated during the 13th century to southeastern Transylvania in present-day Romania.

LANGUAGE

The Saxons spoke Old Saxon (or Old Low German), a now-extinct Low German dialect. After their migration to Britain the dialects of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes grew grammatically closer to one another and out of them English emerged. The modern Low German dialects developed from Old Saxon. During the medieval period the language of the Saxons on the mainland grew closer to High German.

ORIGINS

The peoples near the North Sea had long been impacted by their proximity to the seaways, which allowed contact with distant cultures. During the Neolithic Age people along the Atlantic coastal zone constructed megalithic burial monuments. As did other northern peoples after the beginning of the Bronze Age ancestors of the Saxons experienced rapid introduction of innovations, iron making soon after bronze making, that caused profound changes in society. The Saxons had early contacts with the FRANKS of the Rhineland and the THURINGI farther south, as attested by grave goods that include Frankish metalwork and glass and brooches from Thuringia. Such artifacts may be evidence of intermarriage as well as trade.

HISTORY

The first recorded mention of the Saxons is that of the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy in the second century C.E. In competition with other Germanic tribes of Jutland, such as the CIMBRI, the Saxons expanded southward in the third and fourth centuries along the Elbe and Weser Rivers in present-day northwestern Germany and eventually absorbed the CHAUCI and other small tribes. They also competed for territory with the BURGUNDII and CHERUSCI to the south and FRISIANS to the west. The Saxons pressed into territory held by the ROMANS, especially after the withdrawal of the legions in the fifth century.

SAXONS

location:
Southern Jutland Peninsula in Denmark and northwestern Germany; Britain

time period:
Second century to 843 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Old Saxon (Germanic)

Saxons time line

C.E.	
second century	Saxons mentioned by Ptolemy.
third–fourth century	Raiding expeditions along coast of North Sea.
fifth–sixth century	Saxons, Angles, Frisians, and Jutes occupy parts of Britain.
531	Old Saxons (those on mainland) conquer Thuringia.
566	Old Saxons forced to pay tribute to Franks.
782	Charlemagne annexes Saxon territory into Frankish Empire.
780s	Charlemagne's order that Old Saxons adopt Christianity sparks rebellion led by Widukind; massacre of 4,500 Saxon prisoners by Franks.
785	Widukind submits to Charlemagne and is baptized.
804	Last resistance against Franks ends.
843	Old Saxon lands become part of East Frankish empire as duchy of Saxony.
12th century	Duchy of Saxony dissolved.
15th century	Duchy of Saxony granted to German dynasty outside traditional Saxon territory.



This 1645 illustration shows King Egbert of the West Saxons with his coat of arms above a warrior and map of Great Britain. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-120670])*

Saxon Raids in the West

From around the third century Saxons, along with Frisians, Angles, and Jutes, carried out piratical raids along the North Sea coast, especially during the period of Roman decline. The Romans, who indiscriminately called all these raiders Saxons, for this reason referred to the coastal regions where they erected defenses against them—in Gaul between the mouth of the Scheldt River in the present-day Netherlands and the Loire, in present-day France, as well as the southeast coast of Britain—as *litora Saxonica* "Saxon shores."

According to a traditional story recorded by the Briton writer Gildas and the Anglo-Saxon Bede in the sixth century and afterward Vortigern, a king of the BRITONS, invited the Saxons to Britain, along with the Angles and Jutes, to help fight the PICTS. The time frame given for their arrival is 446–454, although Germanics had migrated there earlier after governance by the Romans ended in 410. The impetus for the Saxon migration were the conditions in their homeland, however; there is evidence that flooding along the coast had eroded arable land. The inherent instability of the aggressive warrior society of the Saxons, which required war to maintain it, and population increases were important causes. The migration of the Saxons should be seen in the light of the Germanic migrations that began in winter 406–407, when they crossed the Rhine frontier and overran Roman Gaul. The Saxons were not a direct part of this movement, but they must have been affected by it. During the years 446–454 perhaps the greatest number of Germanics crossed from the mainland to Britain.

The Saxons and other Germanics seem not to have had a major impact on Britain in terms of conquest and migration until the sixth century, possibly because the Romano-Britons were able to hold them off until then. Saxons occupied much of present-day southern England, founding the kingdoms of Essex, Wessex, and Sussex. The Venerable Bede classified the inhabitants of each the East, West, and South Saxons, although he may have grouped the Angles and Jutes among them. Wessex eventually became dominant. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes in Britain collectively became known as the Anglo-Saxons as early as the seventh century.

Old Saxons

The scholar Bede referred to the Saxons of continental Europe as the Antiqui Saxones, "Old Saxons." There were early Saxon migrations to parts of the mainland in addition to the British Isles.

In 531 Saxons conquered the kingdom of Thuringia in central Germany. Some Saxons also settled in coastal Gaul, near Bayeux in present-day Normandy, the Calvados region in the Somme basin, and the Pas de Calais, as well as on the west coast around the mouth of the Loire.

The Old Saxons competed with the Franks for territory and were forced to pay tribute to them in 566. Two years later some Saxons joined the LOMBARDS in their invasion of Italy across the Alps. Yet, rather than live under Lombard laws, this group returned to southern Germany, where they continued to compete with the expanding Franks.

King Pippin III of the Franks waged war against the Saxons; in 772 his son, Charlemagne, campaigned against them, and by 782 he had annexed Saxon lands in northern Germany as a province in his empire. His order to convert the Saxons to Christianity resulted in

rebellion under a leader named Widukind. During this rebellion Charlemagne is said to have executed 4,500 Saxon prisoners. Although Widukind fled to Denmark, the Saxons continued fierce resistance. In 785 Charlemagne offered Widukind safe conduct to negotiate peace; Widukind's submission to the emperor and conversion, with Charlemagne's standing as sponsor, pacified most of the Saxons, although sporadic resistance continued until 804.

In 843 the Treaty of Verdun divided Old Saxon lands; Saxony became a duchy under Frankish sovereignty, part of the East Frankish kingdom, the foundation of modern Germany. The duchy of Saxony was composed of lands conquered between about 200 and 700 by the Saxon tribe. This territory included Holstein and the area west of the lower Elbe River, in what is now the German Land (state) of Lower Saxony. In the early 10th century the dukes of Saxony became rulers of all of Germany; their royal line, known as the Ottonian dynasty, held the German Crown until 1024. Under the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa the duchy was broken up in 1180, and only two small and widely separated territories retained the Saxon name: Saxe-Lauenburg, southeast of Holstein, and Saxe-Wittenberg, along the Middle Elbe (now north of Leipzig). The duchy was dissolved in the late 12th century. In the 15th century the duchy of Saxony was bestowed on the Wettin dynasty, whose lands were in central and eastern Germany, far from the original homeland of the Saxons.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

The impact of the Romans on the economy of the Saxons, along with those of the other tribes in the region, can be seen archaeologically near the village of Flogeln in Lower Saxony, where the number of workshops began to increase in the early third century C.E. Metalworking and probably tanning were practiced on a larger scale.

Government and Society

The Saxons were ruled by chieftains, but all classes except slaves were represented in their assemblies, where issues of war and peace were discussed. There is evidence that the Saxons served as soldiers under their Carolingian Frank overlords.

Military Practices: The *Scramasax*

The weapon called the *scramasax,* from which the name Saxon may have been derived, was actually a sword type common to many Germanic tribes. Its shape was similar to that of a machete, slightly curved and tapering to a point, with only the outer curve having a sharpened edge. The length of the *scramasax* could range from as little as half a foot to a full yard. It was customarily carried by Lombard warriors from the fourth to the ninth centuries as an adjunct to other weapons, to be used as a last resort, and as a sign of rank.

Transportation: Road Building

The wet, boggy land of parts of Lower Saxony—and of the homeland of the Angles, Jutes, and Frisians—necessitated and then preserved timber trackways laid across marshlands. They were built of brushwood pegged into place, sometimes supplemented with planking.

Literature

Few works in Old Saxon have survived. A life of Christ in alliterative verse, known as *The Heliand,* was written in about 830, along with a fragment of a translation of the biblical book of Genesis.

Religion

The Liebenau cemetery in the Weser valley provides evidence of the timing of Saxon conversion to Christianity, since it was in continuous use from the fifth to the ninth centuries C.E. Pagan burials with grave goods predominated until the eighth century. Horses were buried here as well. Coinciding with the conversion of Widukind in 785 Christian burials without grave goods began, although the inclusion of grave goods did not cease completely for many years.

The conversion of the Saxons was as much a political as a spiritual process, as signaled by the felling of Irminsul, the sacred oak of the Saxons, at the start of Charlemagne's campaign of conquest in 772. The Carolingian Franks used Christianity as a means of pacifying, and later civilizing, the Saxons. Baptism was considered a test of submission to Frankish rule, and in 785 Charlemagne decreed the death penalty for any Saxon who refused baptism or who transgressed against the sacraments—for example, eating meat on Friday. The ruthlessness of the Franks naturally caused the Saxons to despise them, and it was Anglo-Saxon missionaries, who could distance themselves to some extent from the Franks (and spoke a language close to Old

SCIRI

location:
Poland; Ukraine; Bulgaria; Italy

time period:
First century to 493 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
East Germanic

Saxon), who were ultimately successful in converting the Saxons.

The Saxons, whose kingdom of Wessex in England became the foundation of the English monarchy, are considered to be among the most influential of the many Germanic tribes whose migrations broke up and transformed the Roman world, setting the stage for the shift in European dominance from south to north, which has continued to the present. They, with the other Anglo-Saxon tribes, were the only Germanic people to replace the culture of their new territory with their own; the original Celtic culture of Britain was subsumed or displaced by the Saxons' own Germanic culture, a process unmatched in the French-speaking Frankish kingdom, in Visigothic Spain (*see* VISIGOTHS), or in Ostrogothic Italy (*see* OSTROGOTHS). They also contributed to the history of modern-day Germany (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

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Scandinavians (people of Scandinavia)

The name Scandinavians refers to people who inhabit the Scandinavian Peninsula in northern Europe, which comprises present-day Sweden to the east and Norway to the west, in addition to people on the Jutland Peninsula, which comprises present-day Denmark to the south. A number of islands are grouped with them and thus include Scandinavians. The geographical region of Scandinavia in some usage includes Finland across the Gulf of Bothnia from the great peninsula and even Iceland in the North Atlantic because of its historical connection to Norway and its current political union with Denmark. Scandinavians who were active as traders and raiders in other parts of Europe from the late eighth to the 11th century are referred to as VIKINGS.

See also DANES: NATIONALITY; FINNS: NATIONALITY; ICELANDERS: NATIONALITY; NORWEGIANS: NATIONALITY; SWEDES: NATIONALITY.

Sciri (Schiri; Skiri; Scires; Scirians; Skirians)

The Sciri were a tribe of GERMANICS. They lived at various locations in eastern and central Europe, their history entwined with that of the OSTROGOTHS, ROMANS, HUNS, and HERULI. Odoacer, who ruled Italy for a time in the fifth century C.E., is thought to have been Scirian.

ORIGINS

Little is known with certainty about early Scirian history. The Sciri are thought to have originally lived on the Vistula River and its tributaries in present-day northwestern Poland with other Germanic peoples. According to the sixth-century Byzantine historian Procopius the Sciri were a Gothic nation, that is, part of the large confederacy of tribes called collectively the GOTHS. Their name may mean "pure ones."

LANGUAGE

The Sciri spoke an East Germanic dialect.

HISTORY

By the third century C.E. some among the Sciri had migrated to the Black Sea in present-day southern Ukraine. There they met and mingled with a heterogeneous population, many of whom eventually joined in a large confederation dominated by the Goths, probably Sciri among them. In the fourth century because of pressure from the Ostrogoths the Sciri migrated to the Carpathian Mountains to the northwest. They eventually were ruled by the Huns and served among them.

In 455 Sciri and Germanic allies under Ardaric of the GEPIDS defeated remnants of the Huns in the Battle of Nedao in the Roman province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary). The Sciri settled along the Middle Danube. In 469 the Ostrogoths defeated the

Sciri time line

C.E.	
455	Sciri help defeat Huns.
469	Ostrogoths defeat Sciri.
476	Sciri, Heruli, and Rugii under Odoacer depose last Western Roman emperor.
493	Odoacer killed by Ostrogothic king Theodoric.

Sciri, who then scattered to both the Western and Eastern parts of the Roman Empire; many served as mercenaries in Roman legions. Some reportedly were settled in the Roman province of Lower Moesia (modern northern Bulgaria).

Odoacer

Odoacer (see sidebar), who defeated and deposed the last Western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus in 476, was probably Scirian. Many of his soldiers were Heruli. Odoacer was a Roman general whose coup d'état was only one of many such depositions of Roman emperors by Roman generals throughout Roman history. The great difference in this case was of course that Odoacer was a German. However, by this time the distinction between Roman and Germanic had dwindled considerably. A portrait of Odoacer shows him clean shaven with a short Roman haircut and wearing a toga. It was in Rome's interest to have a stronger ruler than Romulus Augustulus had shown himself to be. Perhaps with this in mind the Roman Senate approved Odoacer's claim to be king. Odoacer communicated with the Byzantine imperial government in Constantinople (modern Istanbul), advising them that because Western Roman authority no longer extended beyond Italy, there was no longer need for a Western emperor, and that he, Odoacer, claimed to rule only Italy. Odoacer's accession did then in this sense bring about the end of the Roman Empire in the West, but the idea that it resulted from a barbarian invasion and takeover was promoted by the writer Jordanes, working in Constantinople in the 550s.

In any case there is actually considerable uncertainty as to Odoacer's ethnic identity, and the forces he led were ethnically mixed. He had risen to power in Attila's diverse court, where Huns rubbed shoulders with Goths, Gepids, and many others. Odoacer's father, Idico (Edeco), had established the small Scirian kingdom on the Middle Danube. When it was shattered by the Ostrogoths, Odoacer went to Italy and entered imperial service; he rose to the command of the federate armies of Italy, made up of a diverse mix of peoples.

Odoacer's followers settled in Italy largely peacefully, with only a brief flare of conflict with the indigenous inhabitants in 477–478. Odoacer allowed the Roman administrative machinery to function with little interference. He was even able to extend Roman control to Dalmatia in present-day Croatia and was successful against the VANDALS in Sicily.

Odoacer: First Germanic Ruler of Italy

Odoacer, the son of Idico (Edeco), thought to be of the Sciri tribe, was born in 435 C.E. His name, also spelled Odovocar, is derived from the German *Audawakrs,* meaning "watchful of the wealth." He is known as the chieftain of the allied Heruli and Rugii, as well as the Sciri.

Odoacer joined the Roman army in Italy and soon earned the rank of commander. When the Western Emperor, Julius Nepos, was overthrown by General Orestes, who then failed to distribute promised land to tribal leaders, Odoacer led a revolt. He soon won the favor of his troops and followers, who in 476 declared him king. Odoacer soon executed Orestes; overtook Ravenna, the capital of the Western Romans; and deposed Orestes's son, Romulus Augustulus. The Eastern Emperor Zeno was subsequently forced to recognize Odoacer, who tactically decided to rule Italy as a representative of the empire, under the overlordship of the emperor. Zeno reluctantly granted him the title of patrician, although Odoacer still acknowledged himself as king.

As a leader of almost the entire peninsula of Italy Odoacer gained the support and favor of the Roman senate, who allowed him to distribute lands to his followers. Though an Arian Christian, he did not intervene in church affairs and kept the government and church separate. He expanded his domain into Dalmatia.

Threatened by Odoacer's growing power, Zeno appointed Theodoric, leader of the Ostrogoths, as king of Italy. Conquered by Theodoric, Odoacer was forced to surrender the Italian Peninsula. In 493 after a period of joint rule Theodoric invited Odoacer to a banquet feast, where he assassinated him, according to legend with his own sword.

Odoacer is hailed as the first ruler of Italy after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

Odoacer was in turn deposed by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, who invaded Italy in 489. After four years of struggle Odoacer's last stronghold was Ravenna. The besieged city fell on March 5, 493; 10 days later, on the Ides of March, Theodoric, in an apparent peacemaking gesture, invited Odoacer to a banquet, where he killed him. After Odoacer's death the Scirian identity disappeared from history. Scirian descendants probably contributed to the mix of peoples in northern Italy, the Alps, and the region between the Alps and the Danube. They have been mentioned as one of the tribes ancestral to the BAVARII.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

It is probable that the Sciri were not a "tribe" in the ancient Germanic sense of a more or less sedentary grouping of familial clans, but rather a group that emerged out of the contest for power in the Black Sea region. The rate of ethnogenesis—the birth of new peoples—tended to increase among Germanic peoples in times of stress, and the arrival of the groups that would form the Sciri in a new region inhabited by a bewildering mix of other peoples of many different ethnicities would have been such a time.

SCLAVENI

location:
Balkan Peninsula

time period:
Sixth to seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Slavic

Certainly by the period of Odoacer Scirian social organization was different from that of their ancient Germanic tribal forebears, who had no permanent war leaders or kings.

Although the identity of Odoacer is uncertain and many of his followers were in fact Herulian, his probable Scirian roots make the Scirians an important people in the history of Italy as well as of the Germanics in general.

Sclaveni (Sclavenes; Sclavini; Sclavesians; Sclavenoi, Sklavenoi; Sklavoi; Sclaci; Slovonici)

Sclaveni is the name applied by ancient historians to those SLAVS who migrated to the Balkan Peninsula from a homeland as yet undetermined, probably somewhere in the region bounded by the Lower Danube River on the southwest, the Ukraine on the east, and the Pripet Swamp on the north. Claims for a homeland in present-day Poland were based on unreliable dating of archaeological material; the Slavic material found there is now thought to be considerably later than that found along the north bank of the Danube and in the Ukraine.

The name Sclaveni dates at least to the sixth century C.E., when Jordanes, the historian of the GOTHS, as well as historians among the BYZANTINES, used it. The earlier name VENEDI used by the ancient GREEKS and ROMANS for people of much earlier times is probably the etymological source. (Slavs who settled to the west were called WENDS by scholars who derived the name from Venedi, and those to the east as ANTES, although the exact makeup and geographies of these classifications are uncertain).

Some of those peoples who became known in the sixth and seventh centuries as the Sclaveni, a general term applied by some writers to all the Slavs (and from which is derived the name Slavs), may have branched off from the groups originally referred to as Antes or Wends. It is believed that the HUNS had Slavic-speaking peoples among them in their expansion westward in the fifth century. The "crystallization" of the Slavic ethnicity may have occurred during this time under Hunnic influence. Those groups identified as Balkan Slavs, Macedonian Slavs, and Pannonian Slavs relate to those peoples grouped as Sclaveni as do all the Southern Slavs. Their various Slavic dialects evolved into Bosnian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovenian.

SCORDISCI

location:
Serbia; Greece

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

Scordisci (Scordisii)

The Scordisci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived around present-day Belgrade in present-day Serbia. The ancestors of the Scordisci settled the Danube basin in the fourth century B.C.E. and were among those CELTS, referred to as GALATOI, who invaded Greece in 279 B.C.E. After being repelled some returned to the Danube. One group, led by Bathanatos, settled on the site of present-day Belgrade, and became known as the Scordisci, one of the powerful groups in the region. The Scordisci were probably a confederation of smaller groups. In about 60 B.C.E. along with the BOII and TAURISCI they were defeated by the DACIANS invading from the east.

Scots (Scotti; Scoti; Scotch; Scottish; Caledones; Caledonians; people of Scotland)

The name Scots is applied to all the peoples of Scotland, a region in northern Britain. It is derived from Scotti, or Scoti, an Irish Celtic word meaning "pirates" or "raiders," a name given by the ROMANS to raiders from Ireland, CELTS who increasingly settled in western Scotland in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. (A tribe of the name Scoti may have originally lived in parts of present-day Northern Ireland and parts of the Republic of Ireland.) The Romans referred to all the tribes in Scotland as CALEDONIANS; some of them were Celts and others PICTS.

After the ninth century C.E. the descendants of the Celtic Scots were united with the Picts in a kingdom called Alba. The kingdom was soon called Scotia, because the Scots and their language were dominant, and the distinct identity of the Picts, as well as their language, disappeared. In the ensuing centuries within a few generations the kingdom of Scotia expanded to include most of present-day Scotland. The Scots, as inhabitants of the island of Britain, can be classified as BRITONS, although a distinction based on language differences is generally made between the Scots and the Britons. With Scotland now part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland modern Scots can be said to be British subjects (*see* BRITISH: NATIONALITY), but they have maintained their own cultural traditions.

ORIGINS

People living in Scotland in the Bronze and Iron Ages had a culture broadly similar to that in the rest of Britain, of Ireland, and across a large area of temperate Europe. Elements of

Bell Beaker culture along with bronze making arrived in Scotland around 2000 B.C.E. These included the increasing importance of single graves—in Scotland lined with stone—containing finely wrought clay pots called beakers, for women as well as men, as well as daggers and barbed flint arrowheads for men alone. Fortified sites began to appear during the Bronze Age, showing that warfare, although apparently on a limited scale, was becoming a common occurrence in people's lives. As in the rest of what in the Iron Age would become "Celtic" Europe a cultural complex that would change only slowly until the last part of the Iron Age was largely established by the end of the Bronze Age. This complex probably included a local variant of the language called Common Celtic.

In about 750 B.C.E. the use of iron began to become important in Scotland, although it never completely replaced use of bronze. It may have been at this point with the change from bronze to iron that tribal chiefs began to emerge: Chiefdoms and fortified settlements

SCOTS

location:
Scotland

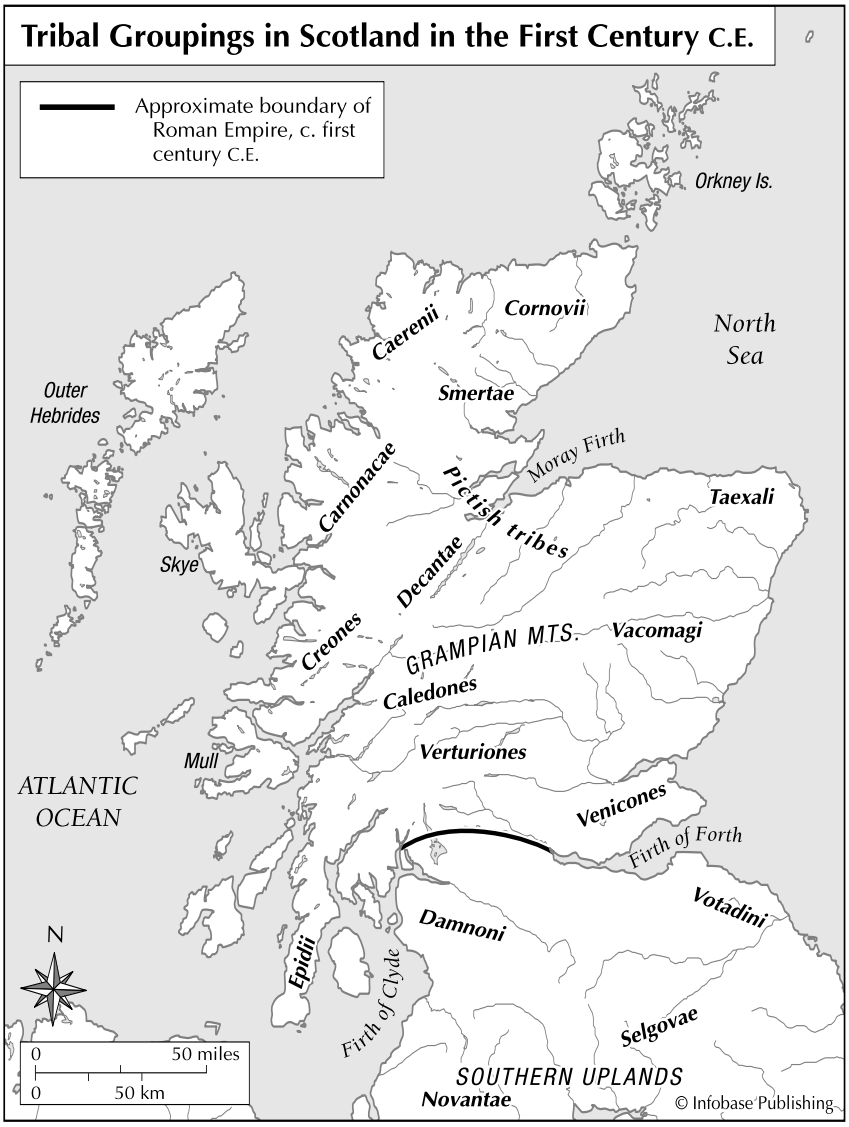
time period:
Eighth century B.C.E. to 11th century C.E.

ancestry:
Primarily Celtic

language:
Scottish Gaelic (a branch of Insular Celtic) and English

Scots time line

B.C.E.	
eighth century	Beginning of Iron Age in Scotland
C.E.	
79–85	Agricola's northern campaign against Scots; defeat of northern tribes by Romans at Mons Graupius in 84
122	Roman emperor Hadrian tours Britain and has Hadrian's Wall built.
142	Antonine Wall built.
208–211	Campaign of Septimius Severus against Scots
fourth century	Irish Celts migrate to Scotland.
397	Bishop Ninian founds first monastery in Scotland at Whithorn.
843	Kenneth I MacAlpin, king of Scots, creates kingdom of Alba, which includes Picts; Alba evolves into Scotia.
1034	Alba united with territories of Lothian, Cumbria, and Strathclyde into region approximately comprising modern mainland Scotland.
1263	Scotland obtains Western Isles (Outer Hebrides) from Norway.
1314	Robert I (Robert Bruce) defeats Edward II of England at Bannockburn.
1371	Robert II, first of the Stuarts, ascends throne.
1412	St. Andrews, first college in Scotland, founded.
1472	Scotland obtains Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands from Norway.
1557	First Presbyterian church founded in Scotland.
1560	Parliamentary acts establish Calvinism in Scotland.
1603	England and Scottish Crowns are united under James I.
1638	National Covenant resist attempts by Charles I to control Presbyterian churches.
1651	English parliamentary leader Oliver Cromwell defeats Scots.
1658	Scottish parliament reconvened.
1707	In Act of Union Scottish parliament is absorbed by English Parliament.
1745	Charles Edward (Bonnie Prince Charlie), a Stuart, leads Jacobites, mostly Highlanders, in revolt and captures Edinburgh.
1745–76	Legislation weakens independence of Highlanders.
1746	Charles Edward defeated at Culloden.
1792	King's Birthday Riots against English
1997	Scotland gains legislative independence from United Kingdom.





This bronze collar was worn by a Scot in the first or second century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

are typical of the Iron Age. Bronze and iron objects show that Scotland continued to receive influences from the Continent by way of Britain and also Ireland. In common with Britons to their south craftsmen in Scotland adopted elements of the Hallstatt and later La Tène cultures associated with Celts in areas of what are now Germany, France, Poland, and neighboring countries. These influences on people in Scotland were much less than on southern Britons, however.

LANGUAGE

Scottish Gaelic evolved from the Irish Gaelic of the ancient IRISH, who settled in western Scotland mostly in what is now Argyll in the middle of the first millennium C.E. The Gaelic (or Goidelic) languages are distinct from the Brythonic Celtic dialects spoken in Britain during Celtic times. Irish and Scottish Gaelic are very similar; the differences between them are mainly the result of the influence of VIKINGS, who settled in Scotland after the eighth century C.E. Scottish Gaelic did not truly diverge from Irish Gaelic until about the 13th century.

HISTORY

Agricola's Invasion: 79–84 C.E.

In 79 C.E. Gnaeus Julius Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain, sent a fleet to survey Scotland's coast. His attention had been on northern Britain (or Caledonia, the name given by the Romans to the territory north of the firths of Clyde and Forth) because of unrest and rebellion there throughout the 70s C.E., particularly among the BRIGANTES in Yorkshire. This had been quelled by his predecessors by 74 C.E., but either as a measure to prevent Caledonian tribes from aiding the Brigantes or from motives of personal political ambition, he determined to lead an expedition deep into Caledonian territory. The details of this campaign are supplied by Agricola's son-in-law, the Roman historian Tacitus, in the *De vita Iulii Agricolae* (Life of Julius Agricola), published in 98 C.E.

Agricola led his legions slowly northward, building roads and fortifications as they went. Unsurprisingly the Caledonians responded by skirmishing and harassing the Romans troops with increasingly large forces. Finally in a surprise night attack the Caledonians very nearly wiped out the whole Ninth Legion, which was only saved by Agricola's cavalry.

Agricola continued his advance until in the summer of 84 C.E. he had reached the Caledonians' stronghold in the northeast, hoping to force them into a major battle that would allow him a decisive victory. Somewhere on this march at a place called Mons Graupius (the Grampian mountain, perhaps at Bennachie near Inverurie) the Caledonians confronted them.

Occupying the high ground 30,000 Caledonians faced a Roman army about half that size. Roman discipline and tactics, however, made the most efficient use of every soldier, whereas the Caledonians, as did other Celtic warriors, fought more as a mob of individuals, so that the difference in numbers mattered little. At one point the Caledonians, using their greater numbers, outflanked the Romans only to meet hidden Roman cavalry suddenly closing in on them.

When the trap closed on them the Caledonians were subjected to a merciless bloodbath in which 10,000 were slaughtered.

Many fought valiantly to the end; more fled into the surrounding woods and hills, burning their houses or in fear of Roman reprisals, according to Tacitus, even killing their own wife and children.

Despite this victory Agricola was recalled from Britain by the emperor Domitian the following year, and his successful campaign was not pursued further.

The Hadrian and Antonine Walls

Continued raiding by tribes in southern Caledonia incited the emperor Hadrian in the year 122 C.E. to build a fortified wall 73 miles long, reaching from Solway Firth on the Irish Sea to the mouth of the Tyne River. This was followed 20 years later by the construction of another wall to the north, called the Antonine, across the narrowest part of Scotland, from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde. Roman legions used Hadrian's Wall to stage incursions into southern Scotland as shows of force to discourage the tribes there from raiding. Recently rows of stake holes have been found against the north face of the wall. They are thought to have held sharpened forked posts, designed to fend off heavy attack. Because such holes have been found in parts of the wall far from one another, they may have been a common feature of its construction. This indicates that the Romans considered the Caledonian tribes a serious threat.

The Campaign of Lucius Septimius Severus: A Caledonian Genocide?

A different strategy was attempted by the emperor Lucius Septimius Severus and his son, Caracalla, in Scotland between 208 and 211 C.E. Recent archaeological research suggests that Severus had adopted a scorched-earth strategy tantamount to genocide, accomplished by a systematic devastation of crops and livestock. His policy, moreover, seems to have been successful, as peace beyond the northern frontier lasted for most of the following century.

The principal evidence consists of military bases dating from the time of Severus's campaign. At South Shields, overlooking the Tyne estuary, a fort dating from Hadrian's time was reconstructed as a gigantic provisions depot. Upriver the great base at Corbridge underwent major refitting that included the building of granaries. Far to the north on the south banks of the Forth and Tay estuaries forts were established at Cramond and Carpow. The purpose of these appears to have been to provision by sea large armies campaigning north of the Forth, thus avoiding the long and vulnerable lines of communication through southern Scotland used in earlier Roman incursions.

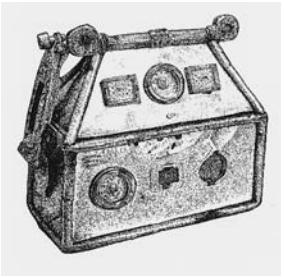
Several linear series of Roman camps are known in eastern Scotland beyond the Forth. They trace lines northeastward through Strathmore toward Aberdeen, along the Angus coastlands, and into Fife. A similar pattern is followed by another line of camps, which thrusts inexorably from the Forth to the head of Strathmore. The camps are set on average 10 or 12 miles apart, a comfortable day's march for a large army.

This pattern is unknown elsewhere in the Roman Empire and contrasts with the Romans' usual practice, which was to crisscross a territory with a network of roads and strong points to rout native armies and establish control, imposing the Pax Romana on the local population, which could then be incorporated in the Roman economic and governmental system. In contrast Severus's lines of camps run through Caledonia's primary agricultural regions, suggesting the possibility that his plan was to destroy all crops and livestock, thus subjecting the native population to starvation. In any event peace ensued in the region, although one perhaps resembling that prophetically described by a British chieftain quoted by Tacitus 200 years before: "They create a desolation and call it peace."

Raiders from Ireland

By the fourth century and perhaps earlier, raiders from Ireland were carving out territories for themselves in southwestern Caledonia and entering into conflict with earlier inhabitants called by the Romans PICTS (painted people). These people were identified by later historians with a line of kings traced in pseudohistorical medieval Irish annals and called the DÁL RIATA or Dalriada, whose territory roughly corresponded with the modern county Antrim in Ireland. The region was named as the territory of the ROBOGDI by the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy in the second century C.E. on his map of Hibernia. The continuing tensions between these two groups finally spilled south, and in 367 Picts overran southern Caledonia, forcing the Romans to retreat behind Hadrian's Wall. In 410 the Roman political and military apparatus left Britain permanently.

The raiders continued to consolidate their hold on western Scotland. Their main stronghold may have been a hill fort in Argyll known as Dunadd, which had been a fortified site possibly as early as 400. Angus, one of the most



The so-called Monymusk reliquary was used by Scots in the eighth century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Kenneth I MacAlpin: Unifier of Scotland

Kenneth MacAlpin succeeded his father, Alpin of Kintyre, a member of the Gabhran clan, to the throne of the Scots of Dalriada in about 834 C.E. He eventually became king of the Picts as well. The exact events leading to his unification of the two kingdoms are not known. It is thought that because his mother was descended from the Pictish royal house of Fortrenn, Kenneth claimed the Pictish throne and began a military campaign to seize power.

According to tradition the last Pictish resistance was eliminated when Kenneth invited their leaders to a feast at Scone. In the middle of the feast the Scots removed the pegs in the Picts' chairs, which had been loosened beforehand, so that the Picts all fell to the floor, allowing the Scots to slay them in great numbers in the ensuing confusion. This event is referred to as MacAlpin's Treason. The Stone of Destiny, used in coronation rituals at Dunadd, was subsequently moved from Dunadd to Scone, signaling the creation in 843 of the new united kingdom called Alba, comprising all the territory north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

Because of attacks by Vikings on the island of Iona Kenneth transferred the remains of the sixth-century missionary Saint Columba to Dunkeld on the river Tay, the center of the Scottish Columban church. He died at Forteviot near Scone in about 858, and his brother, Donald I, succeeded him.

powerful Pictish kings of the eighth century, is said in the annals to have conquered Dunadd.

Angus's seizure of Dunadd must have been only a temporary victory, as the Scots maintained their hold on Argyll and made repeated efforts to extend their power eastward during the ensuing centuries, despite temporary setbacks. One setback was the defeat of one of their greatest kings, Aidan, by the ANGLES, Germanic-speaking invaders from across the North Sea, in 603 at Degsastan near the later Scottish border.

In 841 Kenneth I MacAlpin (see sidebar), the son of a Scottish king and a Pictish princess, became the 36th king of the Dál Riata. Because the Picts were matrilineal, tracing descent through the mother rather than the father, Kenneth claimed lordship over Picts as well as Scots. His military campaigns against the Picts to make good his claim were aided by the fact that the Picts were also being attacked from the east by Vikings. In 843 he founded the united kingdom known as Alba (from the Irish Gaelic word for Britain). The culture of the Scots was dominant, and the Pictish language all but disappeared by the 10th century.

By 1034 through a combination of conquest and intermarriage Alba was united with the territories of Lothian, Cumbria, and Strathclyde into a region that approximately constituted modern mainland Scotland. By the 14th century the name Scotland referred to the whole land, and all its inhabitants were called Scots, whatever their origin.

Fragile Unity

In the 11th century Scotland continued to be divided between the kingdom of Alba in the north, itself composed of the kingdoms of the Picts and the Scots that had been unified in the ninth century by Kenneth MacAlpin, Lothian in the southeast, and Strathclyde in the southwest. These three parts were joined by Malcolm II, king of Alba, after he conquered Lothian at the Battle of Carham on Tweed in 1018. Although Norse leaders ruled areas of present-day Scotland and the Orkney and Shetland Isles, the Scottish kings of Alba became the most powerful rulers in northern Britain.

For some three centuries after the unification of Scotland in the 11th century the various groups in Scotland—the Scots of Alba, the ANGLES of Lothian, the Britons of Strathclyde, the Vikings in the west, and the NORMANS (who invaded England in 1066)—were led by the strong and increasingly powerful monarchs of the Canmore dynasty, founded in 1058 by Malcolm Canmore and his wife, Margaret. Malcom Canmore was the Malcolm in Shakespeare's play *Macbeth,* son of King Duncan, whom the real-life Macbeth had murdered to attain the throne. Although Shakespeare portrays Duncan's murder as an unnatural act that visits on the guilty Macbeth both natural and unnatural disasters, in reality Macbeth's deposition of Duncan by murder was typical of Scottish dynastic politics at the time.

Over time the Viking Norse areas of Scotland, which nominally had been ruled from Norway, were increasingly under the influence of Scottish kings. By the late 12th century only the Western Isles (the Outer Hebrides), the Orkneys, and the Shetlands were still in Norse hands. King Magnus III of Norway traveled to the isles to subdue the chieftains there and in 1098 persuaded the Scottish Crown to recognize his rule over them. Close cultural ties between the isles and Norway may be indicated by Magnus's nickname of Barelegs, earned because he wore the customary garb of the isles, a linen shirt falling to the knees and no leg coverings. In the 12th century Somerled, a Gaelic chieftain about whom little is known, led a Celtic rebellion against the Norse in the West Highlands, winning control of Kintyre and Argyll and later wresting the Hebrides from the Norse kingdom of Man. His exploits ended only after he went to war against the Scottish Crown and was killed in battle in 1164. After a victory in 1263 Scotland gained control of the Western Isles, but the Norse still controlled the Orkneys and Shetlands until 1472.

Scotland's independence was repeatedly threatened during this period by the aggressive and ambitious monarchs among the ENGLISH of Norman descent, who tried to assert their sovereignty over Scottish kings. In the 13th century the death of the heiress to the throne, who had been betrothed to Edward I of England, gave the English leverage in Scotland, and when the claimant to the throne backed by Edward, John de Baliol, was victorious, he accepted Edward as overlord. A series of strong Scottish war leaders, notably William Wallace and Robert Bruce, led revolts against English sovereignty. The latter, crowned Robert I in 1306, finally defeated Edward II at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

The long-lasting royal dynasty of the Stuarts (or Stewarts), of Norman descent, formerly a hereditary lineage of stewards of Scotland, began with Robert II, who ascended the throne in 1371. The first Stuart monarchs ruled over a country thrown into socioeconomic chaos by the Black Death epidemic, which killed nearly a third of the population. A succession of kings who were plagued by ill health or who had gained the throne in their minority prevented the Stuarts from exerting strong control over the country, as did wars over the succession, with unruly nobles or with the English.

Yet for all of the turmoil of royal politics, the economy slowly recovered, as the burghs proved resilient; many Scottish nobles administered their estates well and prospered. Perhaps as telling an event for Scotland's future as any of the wars of the time was the founding of Scotland's first university, St. Andrews, in 1412. Other universities founded in the 15th century were Glasgow (1451) and Kings College in Aberdeen (1495).

With James IV the Stuarts finally gave Scotland a strong leader. James was able to control the nobility; in the ensuing period of peace and stability he worked to improve the administration of his government and to promote manufacturing and shipbuilding. James's marriage in 1503 to Margaret Tudor, the daughter of Henry VII of England, began a succession that would put the Stuarts on the English throne exactly a century later, in 1603. Yet James was not immune to the temptations of power politics, and his marriage to Margaret was preceded by seven years of war with Henry VII to depose him in favor of a pretender to the English Crown whom James supported. And in 1513 James's attempt to invade England (in support of France, which had been attacked by England the same year) ended in the disaster of Flodden Field, in which James was killed and the flower of Scottish nobility was decimated.

Under Mary, queen of Scots, French influence in Scotland increased after she married Francis, dauphin (heir to the throne as Francis II) of France, and actually signed over Scotland's sovereignty to France should she predecease her husband. Her reign saw suppression of the emerging move to Protestantism in Scotland. In the 1550s tensions between Catholics and Protestants in Scotland had flared into an open civil war in which both sides were backed by foreign powers—Catholics by the French at the behest of Mary's mother, the French-born Mary of Guise, and Protestants by the English. John Knox, founder of the Protestant church, was recalled from exile by Protestant nobles to serve as moral leader. The war was ended by treaty in 1560, but on the death of Mary of Guise the Protestants had a clear field in which to act, and that year the parliament abolished papal jurisdiction over Scotland and approved a Calvinist Confession of Faith drawn up under Knox's leadership. Because the parliament had met without the authority of the Crown Queen Mary refused to ratify the acts on her return to Scotland after Francis died in 1560. However, she made no move to abolish Protestantism and accepted its legitimacy in the realm as long as she and fellow Catholics were free to worship according to their own tenets. Not content with this Knox thundered against Mary and her religion, both from the pulpit and in personal confrontations.

Mary's Catholicism and her French culture (she had lived in France from the age of five) and retainers revived the animosities that had led to the civil war just ended, and her political ineptitude and questionable judgment and personal probity made her a flash point of intrigue and violence, exacerbated by Knox and his followers. By 1567 she was deposed as queen by the Protestants, and her young son, James VI, a committed Protestant, was crowned in her stead. The parliamentary acts of 1560 establishing Calvinism in Scotland were finally ratified.

Her son, James, managed to impose his will on the Scottish nobility; after he succeeded Elizabeth in 1603 to become James I, king of England, the Scottish and English Crowns were united, leading to a period of peace between the two peoples. Many of the nobility followed James to England as the center of national political gravity shifted to London. This union of the Crowns was deeply unpopular among

Scots, especially since James seemed to be placating the English by trying to Anglicize Scotland.

Although ostensibly Protestant, James's son, Charles I, instituted policies aimed at making the Scottish and Anglican Churches more like the Catholic Church. Yet Charles's true goal was power, and his government persecuted Catholics and nonconformists—Puritans in England and Presbyterians in Scotland—alike, causing large emigrations of both groups to America. His main efforts against the Scottish Presbyterians were directed toward establishing an episcopacy, a church organization led by bishops, which would have displaced the presbyters (elders) as leaders of the church. Once again Charles's goal was to gain more control over the Scottish Church by imposing on it his own appointed bishops. His efforts were bitterly resented by Scots, including the nobility, who saw king's bishops as trespassing on their own traditional prerogatives, and when a National Covenant of mutual support, in opposition to Charles's policies, was drawn up in 1638, many signed it in their own blood. A prayer book he attempted to institute in Scotland caused riots. The signers of the Covenant (often called "Covenanters") openly rebelled against Charles in 1639 and again in 1640, gaining significant concessions from him, including the right to a free church assembly and a free parliament. The successful seizure by Scots of territory in northern England in 1640 and Charles's need for funds with which to pay the Scots an indemnity he had promised them forced him to convene what became known as the Long Parliament, so-called because it issued the declaration that it could not be dissolved without its own consent and consequently sat without adjournment for years.

When Charles's inability either to compromise with or to control the English Parliament politically led to the outbreak of civil war the parliamentarian side had much support in Scotland, in part because of the Puritan leadership in Parliament, in spite of Charles's concessions to the Scottish Presbyterians. Yet Charles had supporters among the Scots, most prominently James Graham, earl of Montrose, who led Highland troops and through brilliant leadership almost succeeded in winning Scotland for the king in 1644–45. The increasing radicalism of the Presbyterians alienated many among the nobility, who began to see in them at least as great a threat as the king.

After initial success in the war Charles's armies suffered a series of defeats until in May 1646 Charles surrendered himself to a Scottish army; a year later because Charles refused to compromise with the Covenanters and accept Presbyterianism, he was given into the custody of the English Parliament, although after a few months he escaped to the Isle of Wight. Perhaps because of the Covenanters' action in surrendering Charles, who after all was a Scot, sympathy for him began to grow among many in Scotland, and most of the Scottish nobility repudiated the Presbyterian Kirk (Church) and sided with the king in what was called the Engagement. In 1648 a Scottish army invaded England but was soon defeated by Oliver Cromwell and Charles was recaptured.

The defeat of the Engagers gave nearly total power to the radical Presbyterians of the Kirk, who declared that henceforth Scotland would be under the "Rule of Saints." They imposed tight social discipline, with adultery punishable by death. Nobles were called before Kirk sessions and humiliated for their moral lapses, and those who had supported the Engagement were excluded from office, parliament, and the army.

The execution of Charles in 1649 caused a wave of revulsion in Scotland, and the Scottish parliament retaliated by appointing Charles's son as Charles II, king of Scotland, England, and Ireland on condition that he accept the Covenant, and he did. This situation was intolerable to the English, and Oliver Cromwell, leader of the parliamentary regime, quickly invaded Scotland. By 1651 he had utterly defeated the Scots; parliament was abolished and Scotland became an occupied country, forcibly unified with England. Fortifications were built in Ayr, Leith, Perth, Inverness, and Inverlochy. For the first time in its history the nation of Scotland had been conquered.

Cromwell's rule over Scotland was harsh and humiliating to Scots, with occupation forces and only token Scottish representation in the London Parliament (most "Scottish" members were actually Cromwellian soldiers), making Scots feel that taxation imposed on them was in effect foreign tribute. The situation improved dramatically when Cromwell's regime collapsed after his death in 1658, Charles II was restored to the monarchy, and Scotland's parliament was reconvened.

The Killing Times

The excesses of the Rule of Saints caused a counterrevolution; bishops were once more imposed on the Presbyterian Kirk to put it under royal control and parliament was made

more subservient to the king. Presbyterian ministers who refused to renounce the ideals of the National Covenant of 1638 were purged from their parishes. The new regulations caused thousands in the Lowlands to abandon their churches and meet with their ministers in secret, often open-air locations; such meetings were called Conventicles. Government forces hunted down renegade preachers and imprisoned them. In retaliation many Covenanters armed themselves and resisted government forces; in 1678 Presbyterian risings occurred across the south and west of Scotland in a general rebellion. The rebels were defeated in the Battle of Bothwell Brig in 1679; as many as 1,200 Covenanters were taken prisoner, many of them were shipped to penal colonies in the West Indies. The period following this became known as the Killing Times, as government troops hunted down the remaining rebel preachers and in some cases shot them on sight. Their congregations were administered an oath acknowledging the king as supreme in matters of religion, with refusal punishable by execution on the spot. These measures increasingly marginalized the few remaining radical Presbyterians, whom most of the population considered fanatics.

The accession in 1685 of Charles's brother James II (James VII of Scotland), deeply troubled even mainstream Scots Protestants, because James was Catholic. His deposition by the Protestant William of Orange was welcomed by many, and Presbyterians who had fled the Killing Times returned. A convention drafted the *Claim of Right,* which demanded the return of a free parliament and Presbyterian Kirk. The exiled James VII ordered the convention to obey their rightful king, but parliament proclaimed William king of Scots and reclaimed their political power.

Massacre of Glencoe

The ouster of James was divisive and he continued to have many supporters (called Jacobites), especially in the Highlands. The Scottish parliament had agreed to support William on condition that the Scottish government remain strictly separate from that of the English and that William refrain from interference with the Scottish Kirk. William agreed to this, but because of continued sentiment in favor of James William's government instituted a policy whereby all clan chiefs in the Highlands were required to sign an oath of loyalty to the Crown or be subject to punitive measures by the military.

William had little understanding of or interest in the intricacies of Scottish politics; in spite of his occupation of the British throne his main focus continued to be his war in defense of his homeland against Louis XIV. What he wanted from his ministers in Scotland was that they produce a peace as quickly as possible. Thus a blunt ultimatum took the place of the delicate and time-consuming negotiations begun previously. Although most of the chiefs complied and took the oath, William's chief adviser in Scotland, Sir John Dalrymple, determined that an example should be set. He had had his eye on the Macdonalds of Glencoe, because they were Catholic, but also because they were a small clan whose narrow, steep-sided glen could easily serve as a trap. When Alasdair of Glencoe took his oath too late to meet the prescribed deadline, Dalrymple moved quickly and ordered that the Macdonalds of Glencoe be rooted out. In January 1692 a force of soldiers, who had been billeted among the Macdonalds in Glencoe for two weeks and received their cordial hospitality, attacked their hosts, killing 38 people outright and forcing countless others to flee into the deep snow of the mountains, where many perished. Among the soldiers were members of the Campbell clan, who had feuded with the Macdonalds for many years. Their regiment may have been chosen with the purpose of passing the incident off as a product of clan rivalry—as many Scottish Lowland historians subsequently did. But the evidence is that some of the Campbell soldiers (who were regulars in the British army acting under orders), perhaps feeling Gaelic loyalty to the Macdonalds, helped some of them escape.

In fact Dalrymple, as attested in a letter written shortly after the massacre, felt no scruples at all about it, saying his only regret was that any of the Macdonalds got away. By this time many Lowland Scots considered the Highlanders wild, semibarbarous thieves who deserved to be exterminated. Nevertheless Scots in general were appalled by the massacre (particularly the cold-blooded way in which the soldiers had received the hospitality of the Macdonalds before turning on them), and the Jacobites made good use of it for propaganda purposes, publishing Dalrymple's orders to the troops who carried out the killings, countersigned by King William himself. The Scottish parliament declared the affair an act of murder and Dalrymple lost his office. This incident deepened the distrust of many Scots of William and the British Crown for years and helped the Jacobite movement to remain alive.

Union with England

The Act of Union of 1707 by which the Scottish parliament was absorbed by the English Parliament in London was achieved only after the English government resorted to strenuous measures, ranging from threats, such as a boycott of all trade with Scotland, to an outright bribe of more than 300,000 pounds. The Scottish poet Robert Burns gave voice to the feelings of the Scots over the union in his song "Parcel o' Rogues." The move to unify the governments occurred after the Scottish parliament refused in 1701 to ratify the succession of Hanoverian monarchs to the English throne. The union was meant to secure the succession and put an end to Stuart pretensions to the throne. The deal was sweetened for Scots landowners with several provisions favorable to them, but for most people it only added a new tax burden and failed for decades to improve the struggling economy. The east coast towns actually suffered famine, and food riots occurred. The suffering and dislike of "German Geordie," as George I, the first Hanoverian, was called in Scotland, attracted some but by no means all Scots to the Jacobites. The fact that they were viewed as favoring Catholicism weighed more with many Protestant Scots than any other factors.

Stuart "Pretenders"

The son of James II, James Edward Stuart, also called the Old Pretender, became the focus of Jacobite aspirations after the accession of George I. In 1715 a year after George became king, the first in a series of Jacobite rebellions occurred, none of them at all successful. Another attempt was made in 1719, and others through the 1720s. But a serious Jacobite threat only emerged under the leadership of James's son, Charles Edward, "the Young Pretender" or "Bonnie Prince Charlie." He arrived in Scotland in 1745 and led Scottish troops, mostly Highlanders, to two victories over unprepared government forces, taking Edinburgh and marching into northern England, despite the fact that Charles had been unable to convince France to give him any support. When a government army (which included many Scots in its ranks) met Charles at the Battle of Culloden, however, he was soundly defeated and afterward fled to France. Because Highlanders were the locus of remaining Jacobite sentiment in Scotland, severe reprisals were enacted against them. The wearing of tartans and playing of bagpipes was forbidden. Legislation of 1746 and 1747 was passed to weaken the independence of the Highland lairds and their absolute power over their clans.

The Highland Clearances

Meanwhile an agricultural revolution was under way in Scotland, with the development of new breeds of sheep that produced valuable wool. Many lairds and tacksmen, because of economic hard times, were falling into debt. A tempting solution to this was to convert their lands into sheep grazing grounds, clearing the tenantry from their small farms to do so. Sometimes lairds or their lands, sold for debts, fell under the influence or into the possession of Lowlanders, who were untroubled by feelings of clan loyalty and in fact subscribed to utilitarian ideas that the pursuit of economic self-interest was in the best interest of society as a whole. For such reasons a deliberate policy of eviction of Highlanders from their farms by force was carried out all over the Highlands and the islands for over a hundred years, from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century. A harbinger of what was to come took place on Skye in 1739, when crofters were lured aboard a ship and then imprisoned for the purpose of transporting them as slaves to American plantations. Although the plan failed and its perpetrators were arrested, the later legal clearances were equally brutal: People were forced aboard ships, their houses and crops destroyed so that they had no option but to emigrate; others were compelled to leave their home because of impossibly high rents.

In spite of the poverty they endured most Highlanders resisted being cleared—many escaped to the hills, and others rioted—as so many had earlier refused to emigrate voluntarily, considering that to leave Scotland was the worst fate that could befall anyone. But resistance was sporadic; full-blown rebellions did not occur, in part because of lack of leadership—after all it was their own laird, their natural leader, who required their eviction, and the habit of obedience to him ran deep, as did the belief that the laird would ultimately relent. In general ministers of the Kirk condoned the clearances, preaching to their flocks obedience "to the laws of God and men" on pain of damnation, though some criticized excesses of brutality in removing people and destroying their dwellings.

Not all lairds sent their former tenants abroad; in some cases they encouraged them to settle along the coasts on what had formerly been wasteland, supplementing their income with fishing. As a result of this practice and of

agricultural innovation land in Scotland that had never been farmed was in some cases astonishingly productive. One innovation was a method of removing peat from bogland by pouring flowing water into a bog and using it to float away cut peats. The soil uncovered in this way was often highly fertile.

Radicalism and Cultural Identity

Many Scots, still smarting over the enforced union with England, viewed the American Revolution with intense interest; Scotland's long struggle to maintain its independent parliament gave them a perspective different from that of the English on the Americans' fury at being taxed without representation in the English Parliament. Because of the Scottish Enlightenment Scots were in touch with the latest thinking in France, and revolutionary assertions on human rights found favor among many in the growing Scottish middle class. Perhaps because Scotland had recently undergone such radical changes in such a short time, many Scots were more disposed to contemplate radical change than many in England.

After the French Revolution Scots planted Liberty Trees (symbol of the Revolution) and openly debated revolutionary ideas. In 1792 in Edinburgh in what became known as the King's Birthday Riots thousands protested for three days, burning effigies of British officials, and attempted to burn down the lord advocate's house. Only when soldiers opened fire on the mob were authorities able to suppress the riot, and they worried that rioting might lead to revolution as in France. The "Terror" in France in 1793, in which many aristocrats and priests were guillotined, further hardened the British government's response to the Radicals. Measures restricting freedom of speech were passed, and many leading Radicals were arrested and transported to the penal colony of Botany Bay in Australia. Radicalism became an underground movement, only resurfacing after the Napoleonic War, when an economic downturn caused widespread unemployment and inflation. In 1820 tens of thousands marched across the west of Scotland in support of reform; government forces retaliated with mass arrests, including that of a band simply for playing Burns's song "Scots Wa' hae," a stirring call to arms in defense of liberty thinly veiled as a war song of the 13th-century king Robert Bruce. In response to Radical leaders' calls for a general strike to sweep away the government and assert human rights and universal male suffrage, work in factories stopped for days until the organizers were arrested; after their execution the impetus for the Radical movement died away.

Increasingly after the union with England when the united nations became Great Britain the political history of the Scottish was intertwined with that of the English, and the Welsh and Irish. Similar socioeconomic trends occurred in industrializing Scotland and England. Corrupt and outmoded local institutions were reformed. The great changes in society produced stresses leading to outbreaks such as the Crofters' War of hard-pressed tenant farmers in the 1880s. From Scotland's mines emerged some of the first of Britain's labor leaders. A powerful miners' union developed in the 1860s, and as a result the first labor representatives in Parliament were from Scotland.

The potato famine of the 1840s affected Scotland both directly and indirectly, as Highlanders suffered the same crop losses as did the Irish, and many Irish emigrated to Scottish industrial areas in search of a better life. The Catholicism of the Irish caused tensions with Scots similar to those felt in Northern Ireland.

The revival of interest in Scottish culture had begun during the romantic movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Tartans and bagpipes, whose proscription had ended in 1782, as well as Scottish Highlands music and dances became very popular.

By the end of the Victorian era Scotland had become one of the most heavily industrialized countries in Europe. The country's products included steam locomotives, textiles, and ships; Scotland's expanding industries were fueled by its coal reserves. After World War I, however, rivalry with the English industrial Midlands reduced Scottish industry to regional importance. Scotland felt the depression of the 1930s more acutely than the rest of Britain. Meanwhile the Labour Party rose to power, promoting issues such as land reform, housing, education, free trade, and Scottish Home Rule.

The early 20th century saw a massive emigration of Scots, many of them the skilled and educated, causing the country a loss of confidence. Between 1904 and 1913 a total of 600,000—almost 13 percent of the population—emigrated for North America and other parts of Britain. A further 400,000 people left in the decade between 1921 and 1931.

When demobilized soldiers returned from World War I (1914–18) to find poor housing and job prospects, labor unrest escalated,



Scottish women in stovepipe hats sit around a table of vegetables in about 1860. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-79437])*

culminating in massive demonstrations and strikes in January 1919 that were put down by troops and tanks sent to Glasgow by Prime Minister David Lloyd George Labour militants in this period subscribed to Marxist ideas, earning them the nickname Red Clydesiders (for Glasgow's river, the Clyde).

In 1924 the Scottish Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald formed Labour's first administration in the British Parliament, but fears among moderate Britons about Marxist ideologues in the Labour ranks strengthened the Conservative Party, and MacDonald's first government fell.

Scottish industrial zones were heavily bombed by the Germans in World War II (1939–45), a testament to their continuing importance for Britain. The Clyde took over from the Thames as Britain's main port. A blitz of the Clydebank, an industrial center, in 1941 almost totally destroyed the town and its factories, but within six weeks some production had resumed and by the end of the year nearly full levels of production had been reached. Factories here made the Mulberry Harbors, the mobile pierheads that made possible the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944.

The postwar period saw great changes in Scotland. The political will existed to address Scotland's economic ills and successive governments invested large amounts of money and resources to improve the country's infrastructure, industry, and standard of living. In politics the emergence of the Scottish National Party (SNP), with its focus on winning independence from Great Britain, showed a growing belief that the status quo, which had led to ruinous world wars and economic decline for Scotland, needed to be changed. Eventually a majority of the people of Scotland came to accept the idea of devolution, separation from Britain's Parliament. The boom in the electronics industry of the 1980s and the discovery of North Sea oil reserves in Scottish waters further fueled Scots' sense that it was time to go their own way as a nation.

Legislative Independence

In a referendum in 1997 Scotland voted "yes" for devolution: 75 percent for an independent Scottish parliament and 64 percent that it should have taxation powers. Thus by the end of the 20th century Scotland, along with the other non-English nations of the British archipelago, who had maintained remarkably distinct cultures and identities, had gained legislative independence from the United Kingdom.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

Ancient Farmers Scots farmers in the Iron Age grew much the same crops as did their counterparts in Europe. They kept cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs and produced dairy products, including butter. The typical Celtic practice of keeping cows for milk rather than meat is considered an advance over herding of meat cattle,



Two children dance in Scotland in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-112123])*

since it requires greater understanding of the cow's reproductive cycle and sophistication in handling animals, separating cows from bulls and from their calves. But even in remote regions such as the Outer Hebrides of the Western Isles there is evidence that the inhabitants were farming animals for milk as early as 500 B.C.E., despite the islands' harsh environment. Traces of cow's milk were detected in fragments of 2,500-year-old cooking pots at Cladh Hallan, South Uist. Bones of calves were also found at the site, suggesting that the Iron Age farmers were slaughtering the young animals to maintain milk production. Milk may have been mixed with barley in a sort of porridge; oats were not grown at that time.

This evidence illustrates the wide-ranging nature of the Celtic way of life and the processes in which inhabitants of regions different from central temperate Europe, where many aspects of Celtic culture seem to have originated, made that way of life their own at a very early date, with little apparent sign of coercion by invading peoples.

Cottage Industries In common with peoples in the rest of Celtic Europe Iron Age Scots engaged in "cottage" industries in population centers. Such industries included turning wooden objects, such as bowls and wheel spokes, and making clay pottery on lathes.

Government and Society

Early Settlement Patterns in Scotland A window on the life of ordinary Scottish Iron Age farmers is provided by the island dwellings called crannogs, where aquatic conditions preserve much organic material. More than 400 crannogs are known in Scotland, and the more than 30,000 lochs (lakes) in Scotland suggest that a sizable proportion of the population could have lived the crannog life, making it a typical lifestyle of the Scots in some regions.

At Oakbank Crannog in Loch Tay, Perthshire, surviving structural remains include the original pointed alder posts of the supporting platform, floor timbers and hazel hurdles forming walls and partitions, as well as the posts that once provided a walkway to the shore. The finds from the site include wooden domestic utensils, finely woven cloth, beads, and even food and plant remains. We know that the crannog dwellers kept cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs and produced dairy products that included butter, which in one instance was found still adhering to a wooden dish that was probably only discarded because it had split.

Most crannogs are located near good agricultural land, and the discovery of a wooden cultivation implement at Oakbank Crannog, together with grain and pollen evidence, indicates a local population of peaceful farmers. They grew a range of cereal crops including spelt, an early form of wheat previously thought to have been imported by the Romans. These loch dwellers also used parsley, which is not indigenous to Scotland, and therefore perhaps is indicative of trade with people farther south or on the mainland.

The loch dwellers supplemented their diet with a range of nuts and berries, including hazelnuts, wild cherries, sloes, and cloudberries, which only grow up on the mountains, showing that they made extra effort to obtain desirable foods. They also made special trips to higher ground to collect branches of pine to make tapers or "fir candles." All this suggests a lifestyle, even among common folk, that exceeded mere subsistence.

How Irish Were the Dál Riata? The information that the Dál Riata were originally from Ireland appears in the writings of the Anglo-Saxon of the seventh–eighth centuries known as the Venerable Bede and in the *Irish Annals,* a compilation of early Irish historical writing, and the *Senchus Fer nAlban* (History of the Men of Scotland), both of which derive from seventh-century sources that were compiled and augmented in the 10th century. The language spoken in Argyll in the early medieval period was Irish Gaelic; however, both at that time and centuries earlier during the Iron Age the cultures of Argyll and eastern Ireland differed significantly. The invasion of the Robogdi from Ireland could have been a legend used for propaganda purposes by early medieval Scottish kings to legitimize their dynasty by calling themselves descendants of the royal Dál Riata. The existence of the older Irish language in western Scotland may reflect only the isolation of this region from language developments in Britain. This could represent a form of "language conservatism" similar to that which has preserved Scottish and Irish Gaelic in remote areas to the present day, rather than a large-scale migration of people from Ireland. The Irish Gaelic language could have come to western Scotland much earlier than the fourth century when raids known to history began, and could have been brought by peaceful means, perhaps through settlement and intermarriage. There had clearly been much contact between Scotland and Ireland from as early as the

Neolithic Age, which may account for the language similarity, even as people on each side of the 12-mile sea barrier maintained distinct cultures in other ways.

Canmore Dynasty The Canmore dynasty sought to integrate Scotland in the sphere of European culture and politics, and under them the Scots experienced many of the same trends and developments as did other medieval kingdoms. Queen Margaret, who had fled England after the Norman invasion and defeat of the ANGLO-SAXONS, was deeply religious and fostered Christianity in Scotland; after her death she was made a saint. Scottish kings sought to promote foreign trade by inviting FLEMINGS to develop trading centers called burghs. Burghs were granted a royal monopoly of trade in their regions in return for duties paid to the Crown. Later Canmores employed Norman knights to fight for them to Scotland and gave them lands in return, in feudal fashion.

Lowlands and Highlands: Differing Worlds The differentiation between the societies of the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland grew marked in the 11th and 12th centuries as Lowlanders increasingly adopted the feudal system with feudal property laws, while the Highlanders retained the clan system, based on blood relationships and personal loyalty to a chieftain.

The increase of literacy brought about by the advent of printing fostered the spread of new ideas among ordinary Scots as pamphlets, tracts, and books crossed the border, giving them news about the travails of fellow Protestants in England. Lowlands Scots in the cities were more affected in this way than the Highlanders isolated in their glens. The cultural and socioeconomic differences between Lowlanders and Highlanders that had begun in the feudal period, marked especially by language, as Lowlanders spoke a dialect of English and Highlanders spoke Gaelic, were now greatly exacerbated by religious differences. The Lowlanders were predominantly Presbyterian and the Highlanders tended to adhere to the "Auld Religion" of Catholicism.

The 18th century saw the deepening of the socioeconomic divide between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. During the first half of the century economic and industrial development took place mostly in the Lowlands, while the continued Jacobite unrest kept alive the fierce clan loyalties of Highlanders and the warrior ideal that had its roots in the remote Celtic past. With the weakening of the clan system after Culloden, many Highlanders left Scotland for Canada and America. Many of the emigrants were large farmers or "tacksmen," who held a portion of land from their laird, which they in turn sublet. As former chiefs were reduced to mere lairds, some of them began to demand more than a nominal rent from their tacksmen; such demands had seldom been made before. In clan tradition the chief was considered the father of his people, bound to them by moral and emotional bonds and obligations. It came as a deep shock to people that the laird should ever think of anything so mercenary as rent, or of letting his farms to the highest bidders. Because of all the interference with the old ways of the Scottish parliament Highlanders considered it an alien government; that their own chiefs, the heads of their race, for whom they were ready to lay down their life, had turned against them they found inexplicable and unbearable: a world turned upside down. In the 1760s and 1770s possibly as many as 20,000 people left the Highlands.

The population in the Highlands had for a long time far exceeded the capacity of the land to maintain it; clan loyalty alone had kept people on their traditional lands; in many cases only the indulgence of lairds who made minimal demands of rent and services from their tenants prevented their starvation. Perhaps because of their physical and linguistic isolation from the economic progress in the rest of Scotland many Highland crofters, as they were known, were content to eke out a miserable way of life according to modern and even contemporary ideas, knowing nothing else.

As Highlanders during the Clearances were engaged in the struggle—willingly or unwillingly—to give up a social organization little changed from that of the Iron Age before the Common Era Lowland Scots were creating an industrial revolution that rivaled that of the English. Scotland had begun to gain an international banking reputation after the creation of the Bank of Scotland in 1695. Over succeeding centuries banks to encourage particular industries, such as the British Linen Bank, and savings banks were important in fostering the industry in Scotland.

Scotland had abundant iron and coal deposits, and an important source of capital was the American tobacco trade, which Scotland dominated. As in England a massive population shift from rural to urban areas took place. In the space of a generation after 1750 lowland Scotland was transformed into a mod-

ern, capitalist society through scientific and technological breakthroughs. Through its universities Scotland had become one of the intellectual centers of Europe, where crucial steps in the development of Enlightenment philosophy were in progress, especially in the work of David Hume and of Adam Smith and James Hutton; the latter decades of the 18th century have been called the Scottish Enlightenment.

Dwellings and Architecture

Neolithic Age In 1850 a violent storm in the Orkney Isles to the northeast of mainland Scotland tore away the sand dunes to reveal the Neolithic village of Skara Brae, located by the Bay of Skaill, which had been buried beneath the sand. Dated to between 3100 and 2450 B.C.E., it is the best-preserved Neolithic village in northern Europe. Skara Brae's remarkable survival through the ages is due to the design of the original builders who buried the stone-slab walls up to roof level in clay soil and waste material to provide insulation and protection from the elements. Unlike most Neolithic dwellings, those in Skara Brae village adjoined one another in a single complex, each dwelling area laid out in much the same way as all the rest, with a stone central hearth, stone beds that would have been filled with bracken and woolen and skin bed coverings, and a large stone structure resembling a dresser opposite the entryway, which may have been used for display of prized objects or as an altar.

Hill Forts and Brochs As in the rest of Celtic Europe hill forts in Scotland were centers for the control of trade and metalworking, which produced wealth, power, and status for their elite owners. Hill forts are most commonly found in the south and east of Scotland. An example is Traprain Law in East Lothian. Often located on hilltops or coastal promontories they were powerful fortresses surrounded by earthen ditches with wooden palisades or stone walls.

Some regions of Scotland are dominated by a few of the large stone towers known as *brochs,* rather than the many single-story stone roundhouses found elsewhere, suggesting a different, more stratified social organization. These roundhouses stood two, three, and even more stories high. Inside their double walls were galleries on different levels from those of the stories inside, reached by stairs. Though the primary function of the space between the double walls was probably insulation, the galleries suggest some supplementary use, which so far is unknown. At places such as Gurness in Orkney villages grew up around *brochs*. Fragments of pottery found there show that the owners imported wines and olives from the Mediterranean. In about 100 C.E. *broch* building declined, though the communities and settlements around them continued to flourish after the *brochs* were no longer inhabited.

Atlantic Roundhouses Dwellings of the Scots, as of other Celtic peoples, were typically round. Because of a scarcity of trees in Scotland, houses were often made of stone. Many remains of these dwellings, called Atlantic roundhouses, still exist. They were built of two concentric windowless stone walls with a conical, probably thatched roof. The double walls are thought to have provided insulation. Despite their resemblance to castles, the fact that such dwellings are found evenly spaced across the countryside, often located in the midst of moderately sized blocks of arable land, suggests that their inhabitants were ordinary farmers.

Duns *Duns* were similar to *brochs* but smaller. They are circular or oval dry-stone structures most often built on rocky outcrops or natural defensive positions. Their walls were usually built of two thick dry-stone walls, with a solid core of rubble used as infill between them. Some used timber to lace the structures together. They are located across southwestern and western Scotland, with the greatest concentration in Argyll.

Although some earlier timber-laced duns have been dated to the sixth or fifth century B.C.E., most appear to have been built during the period after the Romans entered Scotland, during the second and third centuries C.E. They may thus be a response by natives to the incursions by the Dalriadic Scots from Ireland that may have begun by this time. Some show evidence of occupation, abandonment, and reoccupation, suggesting that they were used only in times of danger and then were abandoned for more spacious settlements nearby. They also show signs of a far longer occupation than do the *brochs* to the north or the hill forts to the south and east. Dun Cuier on Barra was used until around 500 C.E., Kildalloig in Argyll appears to have remained in use as late as the eighth century, perhaps having been adopted by the Dalriada for defense against the Picts. Unlike the *brochs* or hill forts, most *duns* appear to have been little more than fortified homesteads or farms.

Atlantic Wheelhouses Atlantic roundhouses ceased to be built sometime between the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. In some areas they were replaced with a distinctive new form, called the Atlantic wheelhouse. The name refers to the radiating stone walls similar to the spokes of a wheel, thin at the base and thickening as they rose up, before arching over to support roofs 20 feet or more above the floors. Wheelhouses were sunk into the ground, only their thatched roofs and upper walls visible from the outside. In contrast to the earlier roundhouses the wheelhouses were used for ritual activity, attested by animal and, more rarely, human remains that were deposited between the walls. Wheelhouses are found only in the Western Isles and Shetland, but not in Orkney.

Crannogs As in Britain the crannog, an artificial island linked to the shore by a stone causeway or timber gangway, was a common construction type. The remains of crannogs are found in many Scottish lochs, particularly in the Highlands. Prosperous farms were located on crannogs, though whether for defensive purposes or for reservation of scarce arable land for farming rather than settlement purposes is unclear. The settlement would have consisted of a single roundhouse, with cattle and crops tended in nearby fields, and sheep on hill pastures. Remains found on a crannog in Loch Tay, dating from 500 B.C.E., show that the crannog dwellers were skilled weavers who could make woolen and leather items. It had a circular timber platform, built on oak piles driven deep into the loch bed, supporting a large timber roundhouse. The walls were made of hazel rods woven together and a thatched roof. Inside, the floor was probably covered with bracken and ferns. A stone fireplace stood in the center. The fire would have been kept burning continuously and would have been the focus of family life.

Clothing: History of the Kilt

The kilt as known today actually dates only to the 18th century, when displaced Highlanders found themselves working in factories such as iron foundries or joined the British army. Their garb at this time, called a great kilt, consisted of a large rectangular piece of cloth, part of which was folded into pleats and belted around the waist, with the rest passed over one shoulder and pinned in place. Such a loose garment was probably found to be dangerous in settings with open fires and molten metal and inconvenient to work in; therefore a smaller kilt was devised, lacking the shoulder sash and with its pleats sewn into place. Even the great kilt developed relatively recently; as late as the 16th century the basic garments of Highlanders were a long, loose linen shirt, sometimes dyed with saffron (hence its name, saffron shirt) and a mantle or cloak called a plaid that seems to have been belted around the waist into pleats and pinned over the shoulder in a fashion similar to that of the great kilt. The disappearance of the saffron shirt in the 17th century in favor of a sort of waistcoat led to the great kilt's being the primary garment of Highlanders. The great kilt could be used as a cover when sleeping on campaign or hunting.

Personal Habits: Tartans

The identification of tartans with particular clans, which became well known, was not an ancient practice. It had largely begun during the proscription period (1745–82) as a means of preserving a sense of national identity; even then, however, tartans were mostly identified with districts rather than clans. The practice of weaving woolen cloth with perpendicular bands and stripes of different colors dates from earliest Celtic times. One of the earliest written references to a tartan is that of the Lennox district, worn in the 16th century by the mother of Queen Mary's second husband. Another early reference, dated 1703, mentions only that one could tell where a man lived by his plaid, and that each island and region had its own tartan. In some cases the colors of tartans reflected the plant dyes available in given districts; plants used included alder, willow, lichen, and certain roots. But judging by documents written after the Battle of Culloden, men identified their clan membership by the sprigs of plants worn in their bonnet (for example MacDonalds wore heather)—the means by which Jacobite clansmen among the dead and wounded were distinguished from British soldiers in Highland regiments who were also wearing kilts. There is some evidence, however, that as early as the 17th century some clan chiefs were encouraging uniformity in the tartans worn by their men (perhaps in imitation of the uniforms being adopted at the time by the armies of many European countries).

The prowess of the Highland regiments in Britain's wars overseas had changed British attitudes toward Highlanders. The Black Watch regiment, founded in the mid-18th century from a collection of independent companies composed of members of many different clans,

adopted an entirely new tartan for its soldiers in order not to offend clansmen by using an existing design of any one clan or district. The Black Watch and other regiments with their own tartans reinforced the idea of tartan as a means of identification. The military use of tartan cloth led to the establishment of tartan manufacturies in the Lowlands, of which the largest was Wilson's of Bannockburn.

Meanwhile Highland societies were founded in London in 1778 and in Edinburgh in 1780 by gentlemen who had Highland connections—most were absentee landowners—but little actual knowledge of the Highland clans. Possibly to reinforce their sense of ownership of their Highland possessions members of the Highland societies became interested in tartans. The London Society was one of the foremost promoters of clan tartans, and in about 1815 the society compiled a collection of tartan patterns, many of them obtained by Wilson's. Wilson's had gone to great lengths to obtain the most authentic patterns possible, sending agents to the Highlands and writing to clan chiefs asking for their clan designs. In many cases Wilson's inquiries caused clan chiefs to establish their clan tartan for the first time. In others chiefs wrote to Wilson's to ask what their tartan was, an answer the manufacturer was only too eager to supply, seeing it as an excellent marketing opportunity. The attribution of tartans was often arbitrary, as shown by the pattern books, in which the same tartans were attributed to different clans at different times.

The movement to adopt clan tartans gained great momentum after the 1822 visit to Scotland of King George IV, the first king to visit the country since Charles II. Masterminded by Sir Walter Scott, whose novels had played a great role in romanticizing Scottish history, George's visit, during which he wore full Highland regalia, resulted in the design of 150 new tartans by Wilson's. George had commanded a great number of Highland chiefs to attend him wearing their tartans; those who lacked a tartan turned to Wilson's to supply one.

Other Technologies

The technology of people in Bronze and Iron Age Scotland was similar to that in other regions of Europe.

Chariots were in use in Scotland during the Iron Age, as attested by the remains of a chariot, including the two wheel rims and hub hoops, yoke fittings, harness, and horse bits that were found buried with its owner in a grave near Edinburgh.

Despite their remoteness craftsmen in Scotland received technological innovations at an impressively rapid rate in prehistoric terms. An example of this is a find from the Oakbank Crannog in Loch Tay, Perthshire. A wooden disk found there, preserved in the watery conditions at the site, seems to have been waste material from a bowl or plate that was manufactured on a lathe. Oakbank was occupied from about 800 to 400 B.C.E. The disk could date from as early as 700 B.C.E., the date of the earliest wheel-turned object found in Europe, a complete bowl from Corneto in Italy.

Turned wooden objects, such as bowls, spindles, tool handles, spoons, wheel hubs, and spokes, are more frequent later in the Iron Age from about 300 to 200 B.C.E. The Oakbank disk shows that the bowl was lathed at the crannog. Lathes allowed a single worker to make a bowl in minutes rather than half a day.

Torcs (torques) were neck rings made of metal wires twisted together so as to resemble a rope or cord, with an opening in the front and molded terminals welded to the ring ends. Some found in Scotland are very different from those elsewhere in the Celtic world. An example found in a peat bog near Cumlangan Castle in southwestern Scotland in the 1840s is a beaded angular torc made from brass, found inside a bronze bowl. One half of the torc is a solid, heavy bar cast in one piece; the other half is made of hollow brass beads threaded onto a bronze or iron wire. The collar could be worn with either the decorated plaque or the beaded section showing at the front. The torc was made sometime between 50 and 200 C.E.

Massive armlets are a distinctive type of ornament found almost exclusively in northeastern Scotland. Of only 21 that have been found 20 are from Scotland and one from Ireland. Although they are usually called Iron Age armlets, most were probably made between 43 and 200 C.E.

Such armlets would have been worn on the upper arms; they are sometimes found in pairs. Some examples are so heavy that it has been suggested that they could not have been worn by people, but instead might have been intended for the statue of a god, which must have been made of perishable wood, no life-size statues are known.

Art

Although in the European La Tène tradition, metalwork produced in Scotland between the

sixth century B.C.E. and 100 C.E., as in the rest of the British Isles, has its own distinctive style.

Coronation Carvings at Dunadd A unique group of rock carvings is found at Dunadd, just below the summit fort. They include a rock cut "basin," two carved footprints (in separate locations), the incised outline of a boar or pig, and an inscription in the Irish linear script known as ogham, a combination unparalleled anywhere in Britain or Ireland. The footprints are thought to have been used in coronations, marking the place where the new king would stand during the ritual and where his subject nobles would stand to swear loyalty to him. The basin may have held some anointing substance. Boars appear often in Celtic mythology and art and seem to be associated with fertility, wealth, courage, and success in battle—all qualities important to kingship.

The Celtic Cross A distinctive form of monumental freestanding stone cross was developed on the island of Iona and others of the Western Isles during the eighth century C.E. It may have derived from a combination of inscribed stone pillars made by the Picts with Christian symbolism. Such monuments typically were large slabs with gable-shaped tops having a high-relief cross on one face and narrative scenes on the other. Such monuments often have complex ornamentation of interlaced snakes and spirals similar to that of the *Book of Kells,* part of which was created on Iona. Celtic knotwork, a development of earlier linear styles in which lines are plaited to form knots, is used extensively on these stones. When the St. Columba monastery was transferred to Kells in Ireland at the beginning of the ninth century because of Viking raids, the stone cross tradition underwent an evolution into the ringed stone cross type known as the Celtic Cross.

Music

Musical instruments used in Scotland were similar to those in the rest of Celtic Europe. The boar-shaped bell of a bronze horn called the *carnyx* dating from the first century C.E. and found in northeastern Scotland is similar to those of the *carnyxes* shown in the Gundestrup Cauldron, a large silver vessel made for Celts in central Europe. The *carnyx* was held vertically over the player's head, the bell curved and facing forward. Experiments with surviving instruments show they were capable of tremendous sound. The carnyx was used in battle. Scots also used harps, lyres, and double flutes and pipes. No examples or illustrations have been found of the bagpipes so broadly associated with Scots—until the medieval period this was a wind instrument consisting of a reed melody pipe and from one to five drones with air supplied continuously either by a bag with valve-stopped mouth tube or by bellows.

Triple pipes were used with the *clarsach,* the brass-stringed assymmetrical Gaelic harp, and probably drum, in early Christian worship. Central to that worship were the Psalms of David, the shepherd king and musician. The "Altus Prosator" is a famous Latin poem by Saint Columba, which vividly describes the Last Judgment. Adomnan, an abbot and the biographer of Saint Columba, writes that he sang a psalm so loudly, sounding like thunder or a melodious lion, that he terrified the Druids of King Brude. It is thought that he may have been using a technique called subharmonic or throat singing, which can produce two pitches, a fundamental drone sound and a whistlelike harmonic that resonates high above the drone.

Iron and bronze bells were also used by Christian missionaries in the eighth and ninth centuries. One type is the Scottish quadrangular bell, which is capable of producing three different notes from three of its four faces, perhaps symbolizing the Holy Trinity.

Literature

Scots in Arthurian Legend Several sources, including the *Life of Columba* (c. 700) by Abbot Adomnan, and the *Annals of Tigerach,* written in the 12th century by Tigernach, abbot of Clonmacnoise and Roscommon in Ireland, mention a Dál Riata prince named Artur, son of Aedan (or Aidan), who lived in the latter sixth century C.E. Artur participated in the Dál Riata Scots' wars with the Picts. Adomnan tells a story of how the Irish missionary Saint Columba of the sixth century predicted that Artur would die fighting his father's battles. His prophecy was fulfilled soon after as Artur was killed in a battle against the Miathi, possibly a Pictish or at least southern Caledonian people known to the Romans as the MAEATAE.

In Artur's lifetime the legend of King Arthur was beginning to take shape; the Welsh poem "Y Gododdin" (c. 600) contains the earliest known reference to Arthur. Encircling the Firth of Forth, the kingdom of Gododdin was divided into Manau and Lothian. The poem concerns a failed attempt by forces from Gododdin to take Catraeth (modern Catterick) from the invading SAXONS. Gildas, who was

born in Dumbarton, the capital of the British kingdom of Strathclyde in southern Scotland, mentions a great battle that took place at Badon Hill at which the British won a historic victory against the Saxons; there was a Badon Hill in Scotland. Later writers on Arthur, including Nennius, say that he was the victor of this battle and that he fought campaigns against the Picts and the Scots. In one version of the Arthurian legend he was slain at a battle sometimes called Manaan, which may refer to the Gododdinian province of Manau, and the leader of the Pictish and Scots forces arrayed against him was Modred or Medraut, variously his own illegitimate son or the son of Lot (recalling Lothian), king of the Picts. Modred is sometimes said to have been born or at least brought up in Orkney, which was a Pictish territory. It seems the existence of a Dál Riatan prince named Artur around the time the Arthurian story was developing conflated some of Arthur's history with that of Artur, although Arthur was supposed to have lived a century earlier.

Robert Burns The 18th-century poet Robert Burns has had an importance for the Scots as a people unusually deep and intimate even for a great artist. An important reason for this is the fact that Burns nearly single-handedly introduced the Scots language into mainstream literature. A dialect of English, Scottish in Burns's time was falling into disuse among educated people and certainly was seldom used for formal writing or literature. But inspired by a recent movement among several poets to revive the vernacular, Burns composed many poems in Scottish, among them his greatest works. His poetry in English tends to be stilted and imitative; Scottish seems to have unleashed his originality and genius.

His brilliance first took fire in composing satires, a number of them directed at the extreme Calvinism of the Scottish Church; these ultimately became an important force in the theological liberation of Scotland. His contributions to the Radical movement have already been mentioned.

Burns is also beloved by Scots for his role in collecting Scottish folk tunes and ensuring their immortality by writing lyrics to them. Burns worked in collaboration with several collectors, including George Thomson, who had formed remarkable connections with the first composers of the day, including the German Ludvig van Beethoven, engaging them to compose accompaniments for the Scottish tunes.

Ossian The beginnings of the Victorian Scottish craze lay in literature of the romantic movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Among the first and most important manifestations in Scotland of the Romantic interest in the folk roots of national cultures (which in Germany, for example, would cause the Grimm brothers to compile German folk tales) were the poems of "Ossian," purportedly a warrior bard of the third century C.E. whose works were translated from the Gaelic in the 1760s by the poet James Macpherson, but in actuality were composed by Macpherson himself. Macpherson composed some 80,000 lines of epic poetry, based on genuine fragments of Gaelic poetry, telling of the exploits of the Irish heroes Finn mac Cumhail and Cu Chulainn. The eloquent descriptions of wild Highland scenery and the prevailing atmosphere of melancholy were highly influential on the romantic poets of England and of Germany. The Ossian poems create a heroism of sentiment in which the action—battle, death, victory—is less important than the hero's feelings about it. The hero's compassion for his slain and defeated enemies was greatly moving for Ossian's 18th-century readers. Yet the poems are as stylized and artificial as the 18th-century genre of pastoral (which prompted aristocrats of the French royal court to play at farming—great ladies dressing as milkmaids and lords building faux dairies for them to frolic in). Their passion for the outdoors is that of one who has never really experienced the rigors of camping; their longing for solitude is that of the city dweller who has known only the quiet of city parks, not the profound isolation of Highland glens. Violence becomes merely the occasion for emotion, its attendant agonies, gore, and death details for the hero to overcome. Heroism is presented in shining armor and the ignorance and hatred that energizes war is forgotten. The immense popularity of Ossian shows just how far the Scots had moved away from the realities of their violent and turbulent past.

Religion

The religious practices of the Scots were very similar to those elsewhere in Celtic Europe. They were affected by Beaker burial practices and the Urnfield shift from inhumation to cremation in the Bronze Age; at that time they also began the typical Celtic use of pools and springs as sites for worship. Christian missionaries began to work in Scotland after 500 C.E.

Burials In the Early Bronze Age the single-tool-and-pot-furnished burial typical of the Bell Beaker culture became fairly common in Scotland, showing both an increased emphasis on the importance of the individual and a clear belief in an afterlife in which the implements accompanying the deceased would be useful. Only some of the people were buried in Beaker graves.

In Scotland as well as in much of Europe during the second millennium B.C.E. cremation became the burial method of choice. Pottery vessels of a shape different from that of the beakers—which accompanied inhumations earlier in the Bronze Age and held the ashes of the dead—have been discovered in the Lothians, Fife, Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire, dating from about 1600 B.C.E.

The use of pools, springs, and other watery sites for ritual, important in the Celtic Iron Age in Britain, had begun in Scotland by the Early Bronze Age. At the head of the Kilmartin Valley in Argyll, site of one of Scotland's richest concentrations of prehistoric ritual monuments, an Early Bronze Age timber circle containing an inner ring of what are thought to have been totem poles was set around a deep sacred pool. At the base of one of the poles beside the post-hole that is all that remained of it was a cremation burial under a stone. No metal votive deposits have been found in the peat bog that is all that remains of the pool, but organic deposits could have been made. From the outer ring of 30 oak posts some 154 feet in diameter a timber-lined processional avenue appears to have led down to the valley floor. In and around the timber circle were six contemporary cyst burials. In one a woman in her 20s or 30s was buried with a decorated food vessel. The decoration on the pot had been created by pressing a fingernail repeatedly into the wet clay. Farther down in the Kilmartin valley there was a line of Bronze Age cairns, called a linear cemetery.

Stone Circles and Their Astronomical Alignments Stone circles were built in Scotland long before the Bronze Age, yet continued to be built for centuries thereafter, showing that the arrival of Bell Beaker values and practices did not completely displace older ones. From the middle of the Neolithic Age stone circles that had significant astronomical alignments were built. An example is the circle at Callanish on the island of Lewis, built sometime around 2900 to 2600 B.C.E. Set in a landscape of Neolithic fields and houses its central ring of stones is built around a small chambered cairn and has four avenues of standing stones roughly aligned on the points of the compass. The northern avenue also points to a burial cairn, and from the southern avenue the Moon can be seen to skim along the top of the hills every 18.6 years, a significant astronomical (and apparently religious) period: the period required any given relationship between lunar and solar cycles to recur. At Balnuaran of Clava near Inverness, built sometime around 2000–1700 B.C.E., a chambered cairn enclosed in the stone circle is oriented to the midwinter Sun.

Recumbent Stone Circles A type of stone circle peculiar to northeastern Scotland, the recumbent stone circle has the distinguishing characteristic of a massive slab, laid on its side in the southwestern or southern arc of the ring and flanked by the two tallest stones of the circle. It is believed that the recumbent and flanking stones form a kind of false horizon or frame through which to view the setting of the Moon. Recumbent stone circles were probably primarily communal, seasonal ritual centers, some of which were subsequently adapted to cremation burial.

Arrival of Christianity An important early Christian missionary in Scotland was Saint Ninian, or Bishop Ninian, who founded the first monastery in Scotland at Whithorn around 397 C.E. Ninian was probably a Briton. He seems to have been an exponent of the Roman Church, perhaps after receiving training in Rome, rather than the early Celtic Church founded by his fellow Briton, Saint Patrick.

The Irish monk Saint Columba was enormously influential in promoting Celtic Christianity, with its emphasis on monasticism and the rule of abbots, as opposed to bishops in Scotland. Saint Columba arrived at the island of Iona in 563 with 12 companions, having crossed the sea in a curragh of wickerwork covered with hides. The island, according to medieval Irish sources, was granted to the monastic colonists by King Conall of Dalriada, Columba's kinsman. For 32 years Columba traveled through Scotland preaching, his words often attended by miracles, and founding numerous churches and monasteries. He helped raise Aidan, Conall's successor, to the kingship of the Dál Riata in 574.

Saint Kentigern of the sixth and seventh centuries performed important missionary work and may have founded a monastery at Govan and another at the site of Glasgow

Cathedral. He may have established a bishopric for the kings of Dumbarton. Kentigern was also known as Mungo, meaning "very dear one." Myths and tales surrounding him reflect a special concern for the common people.

Arrival of Protestantism During the 16th century Protestant ideas became influential in Scotland. Their most powerful champion was John Knox, who founded the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1557. Knox may have learned about Protestant thought at St. Andrew's University and was converted from Catholicism by George Wishart in 1545. The next year Wishart was tried and burned at the stake for heresy, and his followers retaliated by murdering the cardinal who had had Wishart arrested. Knox joined the conspirators when they took refuge in St. Andrew's castle. After he was captured Knox served for 19 months in French galleys before his release in 1549 through the efforts of the English government of Edward VI. During the interlude in the 1550s of a return to Catholicism under Mary I of England and Mary of Guise, regent for her daughter, Mary, queen of Scots, Knox wrote *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment [Reign] of Women* from voluntary exile in Geneva, Switzerland, where he was much influenced by the ideas of John Calvin, a French Protestant theologian.

Although the name Scots is from the Irish Celtic group that furnished part of Scots' lineage, the Scots may perhaps more clearly be seen as a protonational grouping that emerged from the intertribal struggles let loose all over Europe by the collapse of the Roman Empire. The centuries-long rivalry between the Scots and the Picts, later joined by Britons and by Germanic ANGLO-SAXONS and Vikings, was analogous to similar conflicts in the former Gaul, for example, that culminated in dominance for the FRANKS. The importance of the Germanic groups in Scotland, particularly the Vikings who drew Scotland into their North Sea–North Atlantic hegemony, cannot be overstated. The emergence of the Scots occurred at a time when the history of peoples in the territory of Scotland was poised between a tribal past and a nationalist future.

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Scythians (Scyths; Scythae; Skythians; Skythai; Sai; Sakâ; Sacae)

SCYTHIANS

location: Southwestern Russia; Ukraine

time period: Eighth to second century B.C.E.

ancestry: Indo-Iranian

language: Iranian

The name Scythians is applied to the earliest known nomadic people from the steppes of Asia to enter Europe. Some among them reached the region north and northeast of the Black Sea by the eighth century B.C.E. and established an extensive empire, centered in present-day Ukraine. They are also known as among the first people to use their highly skilled horsemanship in warfare.

ORIGINS

From royal inscriptions it is known that the Persians of present-day Iran identified at least six different groups of nomadic steppe peoples whom they called Sakâ, who lived to the north in western Asia and eastern Europe north of the Caspian Sea and Black Sea at varying times. (Their name for themselves

Scythians time line

B.C.E.

eighth century Scythians arrive in territory between Black Sea and Caspian Sea and expand into west Asia, where they have contacts with Assyrians.

seventh century Medes drive Scythians into Europe.

c. 513 Scythians repel army out of Pontus in Asia Minor.

fourth century Sarmatians arrive on Scythian territory.

second century Scythians displaced or absorbed by Sarmatians.



was Skudat, thought to mean archers, evolved into Sakâ or Sacae among the Persians; the Chinese knew them as Sai.) One of these groups, who migrated to lands controlled by CIMMERIANS north of the Black Sea in Ukraine as early as the eighth century B.C.E., were known to the Greeks, such as the historian Herodotus of the fifth century B.C.E., as Skythai. Their homeland was known as Scythia. The Romans later applied the name Scythians to the Germanic GOTHS, who absorbed steppe peoples among their tribes.

LANGUAGE

The Scythians spoke an Iranian language, part of the Indo-Iranian family (the eastern branch of Indo-European). They and the SARMATIANS, who spoke a related language, have been referred to as European Iranians.

HISTORY

In the eighth century B.C.E. there occurred on the Eurasian steppe a domino effect as people dislodged other peoples. According to Chinese accounts a group of steppe pastoralists from Mongolia (the Hsiung-Nu, who may have been ancestors of the HUNS of the first millennium C.E.), impelled to leave by severe drought, tried to enter China but were repulsed. Near Eastern and Greek accounts from the same period tell of the Massagetae, perhaps dislodged by the Hsiung-Nu, who moved into what was Scythian territory around the Aral Sea. The Scythians also migrated in this period, entering Cimmerian territory to the west. After some 30 years of warfare the Scythians defeated the Cimmerians, absorbing some and driving others across the Caucasus Mountains into Asia.

Scythian and Cimmerian warriors were known to have fought against the Assyrian king Sargon II soon afterward. He is reported to have been killed in combat with them in 705 B.C.E. Assyrian accounts also tell of the marriage in about 674 B.C.E. of an Assyrian princess to the king of the Aš-ku-za (Scythians), Bartatua. Several decades later this group, possibly in alliance with the Assyrians, destroyed the kingdom of Urartu in eastern Asia Minor and annexed the kingdom of Media in present-day northwestern Iran and beyond along the eastern Mediterranean.

In the seventh century B.C.E. the Medes drove the Scythians out of Asia back north of the Caucasus Mountains. In about 513 B.C.E. Darius I of the Persians launched a campaign against the Scythians living in Ukraine, but his forces were repelled.

In the fifth century B.C.E. the royal family of Scythia first intermarried with Greeks. By the fourth century B.C.E. Kamenka, a fortified settlement on the Dnieper River, became the center of the Scythian kingdom, ruled by Ateas. The Crimea was also a focal point of their civilization. Ateas was killed in a battle against the MACEDONIANS under King Philip II in 339 B.C.E.

From the fourth to the second century B.C.E. the Sarmatians, also Iranian speaking, became competitors in the region, originally occupying territory east of the Don before making inroads westward. The Scythians were eventually absorbed by the Sarmatians; some among the Royal Scyth, the Scythian ruling class, constituted one of their tribes. In the late

second century B.C.E. Palakus, who was the last Scythian ruler known to history, battled Mithridates VI Eupator (Mithridates the Great), the king of Pontus in Asia Minor, on behalf of the Sarmatians.

The Parthians, who created a kingdom in present-day northeastern Iran from the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. and whose empire expanded into additional territory by the first century B.C.E., may have been of Scythian stock. They too were famous as horsemen and archers.

CULTURE

Economy

Although originally a pastoralist (nomadic) people who lived by herding, some of whom had taken up raiding, the Scythians became farmers and traders, trading grain to Greek cities. They are also known for introducing the chicken to Europe. Burials and hoards of steppe elites demonstrate the enormous range of their exchange networks. Grave goods could include furs from the Arctic—in one case used to edge a Persian carpet—bronze and iron weapons of the CAUCASIANS, and commodities from China including silk. One grave contained cheetah fur and coriander from the Near East. Metal hoards contained metalwork from Greece, Persia, Celtic lands, and India.

Government and Society

New Metal, New Elites The Scythian conquest of the great swathe of territory north of the Black Sea benefited from the shift from bronze to iron use in eastern Europe that took place sometime around the turn of the second and first millennia B.C.E. This shift in metal use had profound social consequences. For thousands of years reliance on bronze had been made possible by trade routes that carried both tin and copper, usually from widely different regions, which could be alloyed into bronze. The elites who controlled these routes and thus the supply of tin and copper emerged for the most part early in the Bronze Age and retained their control over many generations, never moving far from their established trade routes. Bronzesmiths were dependent on the chiefs, who alone could supply them. Societies stabilized around such small-scale chiefdoms in which social stratification was not great and, because status was inherited, there was little need for personal ostentation. Pottery from the Bronze Age found in eastern Europe shows considerable regional differences in shape and ornamentation, used as a means of ethnic identification for peoples who never strayed far from their tribal homeland.

The adoption of iron, the ore of which was much more readily available over a wide region, broke these age-old social ties in a process of detribalization, as artisans became independent of their local chiefs and the sources of wealth were more widely distributed. This trend fostered the emergence of new, mobile elites whose control of wealth was no longer dependent on place but rather on their prowess as warriors who could force their control on artisans and farmers. Pottery became plainer as the locus of ethnic identity shifted from place to the human body, both in life—with the development of styles of dress and jewelry—and in death—using increasingly more ostentatious burial rites and grave goods. As in all warrior elite societies successful warriors gathered followers around them by bestowing on them booty from raids. The more followers, the more powerful and successful these warriors-cum-chiefs would become in an ever increasing feedback loop.

In the region that was to be under domination by the Scythians the social changes caused by the adoption of iron created a fertile field of operations for mobile warrior elites; not only indigenous groups exploited this opportunity but incomers from the eastern steppes.

Steppe Pastoralists and Their Elites For millennia nomads in the vast steppe lands of central Asia had lived in a symbiosis with more sedentary groups in adjacent forest and mountain areas, trading horses, livestock, and milk products for metals, wood and other forest products, and agricultural produce. Even on the steppes nomads engaged in a certain amount of agriculture in sheltered river valleys. Meanwhile the supreme skill in horseback riding of the herders gave those among them with a bent for warfare a mobility that allowed raiding far afield, outside the home territory. Rather than trading for them, warrior bands tended to take commodities they wanted from sedentary populations, often in the form of tribute in exchange for protection against other warrior groups. In this way Scythian society became dominated by rich warrior elites and finally kings. Herodotus believed that the name Scythian itself derived from the name of a king, perhaps founder of the ruling dynasty.

The Scythians had a class of chieftains known as Royal Scyths (known from their elaborate graves). One Royal Scyth was sovereign,

his authority inherited. Farmers, who grew wheat for sale, formed a class of their own.

Arrival of Scythians in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe The archaeologically identified Srubnaya-Khvalynsk culture of the Caucasus has been identified with the Scythians. Around 700 B.C.E. burials of a completely different type from those made earlier appeared in cemeteries in Nagorno-Karabakh, featuring rich grave goods and bodies of sacrificed retainers of a different physical type from the deceased. Farther west in eastern and central Europe Scythian-style burials from this time have been found. The Hungarian plain seems to have attracted Scythians for its resemblance to the steppe. Burials have been found in Transylvania and Poland.

Real Scythians versus Scythian-Type Elites The artifacts in Europe west of the Caucasus are often called "Scythian-type" since there is disagreement as to whether they belonged to "real Scythians" from the steppe or to natives who had taken up a Scythian lifestyle. Scythian horses traded to Europe by the mid-first millennium B.C.E. could have fostered the emergence of local warrior bands. New iron sources had been found around this time in the Transylvanian Alps, and warrior burials that have been found in the southern Carpathian piedmont near important routeways to the iron mines show signs of being those of local people who had adopted the Scythian lifestyle. Pottery found in the graves has affinities to earlier pottery cultures in the region; the graves also contained Scythian-style weapons (including a copy of a Scythian-style sword) and horse accoutrements. The cultural group here (the Ferigile-Bîrseşti culture) engaged in clearance of upland pastures for summer grazing as well as in mining.

Ancient sources such as Herodotus shed little light on the question of "real" versus "imitation" Scythians, because their tendency was to identify all steppe nomads as Scythians. Greeks thought of Scythia as a discrete tract of land, sandwiched between Thrace on the west and the Sea of Azov on the east. Because Herodotus believed in a theory of geographical symmetry, he thought the mouth of the Danube, the western limit of Scythia, must be due north of the Nile delta and thus much farther east than it really is. This idea caused him to shrink the area of Scythia and to believe that Thrace was much larger than it was. Thus some of the peoples he called Thracian because of their location may actually have been Scythian or have lived under Scythian rule.

Herodotus on Scythian Society Herodotus did try to distinguish among different groups of Scythians. He mentions a group called Agathysae who lived in Transylvania, saying they were an indeterminate mix of Thracian and Scythian. He also tells us that Thracians and Scythians, including their elites, intermarried. This, with the cultural similarities between elite burials in Scythia and Thrace, seems to document a warrior elite ethnicity that transcended geographical and socioeconomic differences. (Thracians were not nomads as the Scythians were.) The mobile elites of Scythia and Thrace may have had closer relations with one another than with other social entities in their respective territories. Such other entities probably included tribal groupings of agriculturalists—herders and farmers—and "service" ethnic groups consisting of "guilds" of craftsmen and traders.

One of the crafts that Herodotus mentions was the making of drinking cups from skulls; elsewhere he reports that Scythians sawed off the skull top of their worst enemies and had it gilded inside. There may be some relation between this practice and another, that of warriors' making sworn agreements with one another by drinking from a bowl of wine into which they had let some of their own blood—a form of "blood brotherhood."

Herodotus's picture of Scythian government is a complex one, and he mentions administrative districts, showing that Scythian control of their territory exceeded a loose alliance of elite groups. The importance of the Royal Scyths implies a fairly tight central control of matters in Scythian territory.

Contacts with Greeks From the seventh century B.C.E. Greek traders opened up trade in the Black Sea region chiefly for grain and slaves in exchange for wine and olive oil. As in the case of the Celts and GERMANICS contact with Mediterranean civilization had a profound effect on the Scythian elites who became rich beyond anything they had known before. As did the Hallstatt Celts, the Scythians quickly developed a great enthusiasm for wine, which, however did not replace the cannabis they used. Herodotus says that they did not water their wine (the Greek practice) and often were drunk, a state that probably much eroded their warrior prowess in both the short and the long term as they fell out of condition and practice in the exacting skills of cavalry warfare. Luxuries from the Mediterranean must have tempted many to settle into a more sedentary life. The resounding defeat of Ateus by Philip

of Macedon (whose military machine was the most powerful in the Mediterranean world at this time, however) may attest to the dwindling of the Scythians' war capacities. By the next century the Scythian elite had lost control of the steppe to a new martial elite, the Sarmatians, and their power was centered on their capital of Neapolis in the Crimea.

Amazons, Enarees, and Gender Roles There is ambiguous evidence as to the role of women among the Scythians. In nomadic societies the status of women tends to be low because the nomadic lifeway, in which agriculture, often the women's province in subsistence societies, is little practiced, puts them at a disadvantage. The constant travel of nomads makes child rearing difficult and places women in a position of total reliance on men for protection. However, there is both textual and archaeological evidence of women among the Scythians (albeit a minority) who enjoyed a fairly high status.

The textual evidence consists of the famous Amazons, whose name is from the Greek *a-mazos* (without a breast), from their alleged custom of arresting the development of one breast to facilitate using the bow. Although the Amazons are featured in Greek myth, Herodotus, when he traveled in the Black Sea region, heard tales of actual women who had been warriors and war leaders.

A significant number of burials of warrior women have indeed been found, some with evidence of battle wounds. In the Scythian region west of the Don 40 such burials had been found by the late 1990s, some in conjunction with royal grave mounds, and in the region Herodotus called Sauromatia, east of the Don, some 20 percent of excavated warrior burials from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. were of women.

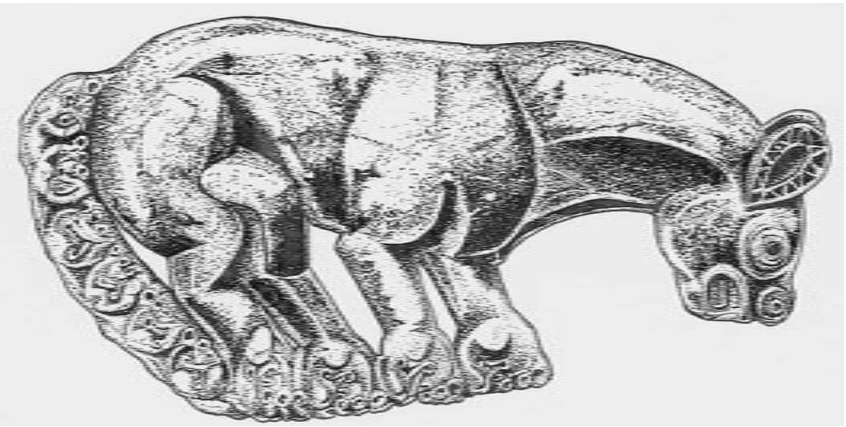
Herodotus connects the Amazons, whom the Scythians called Oiorpata, "man-slayers," with the Sauromatians, who he says were a mixture of Scythians and Amazons and spoke Scythian. Herodotus's Sauromatians seem to be distinct from the Sarmatians who later displaced the Scythians from the western steppe (and for whom there is no evidence of warrior women). Herodotus says that Sauromatian women had to kill three of their enemy before they were allowed to marry. The appearance of warrior women in Scythian society appears to be a late phenomenon, judging by the age of burials, and may have been a reaction of some sort to the great change in Scythian society brought about by contact with Greek civilization, or, on the other hand, by social changes set in motion among indigenous peoples in the Black Sea region by the arrival of the Scythians. Such a change would be unlikely for the "real" Scythians from the steppe, among whom male dominance was already great when they arrived in the Black Sea region. The Sauromatians, however, might have been indigenous people, among whom there was relative gender equality, which led some women to become warriors.

On the other side of the coin Herodotus also writes of gender reversal among Scythian men. A class of Scythians called Enarees were, he says, "androgynes"—"men-women" who suffered from the "female sickness." Although the Scythians themselves said that this ailment was inflicted on the Enarees by a goddess whose temple Scythian warriors had once pillaged, Herodotus, following a theory of Hippocrates, believed that jolting from constant riding and wearing of trousers was to blame. It is known that jolting and constriction of the genitals can cause erectile dysfunction and that trousers can raise the temperature of the testes, causing infertility. The affliction affected elite Scythians who did the most riding. The Enarees wore women's clothes and did women's work, claiming to have lost their manhood.

They also, however, became seers who practiced divination, a circumstance that points to a quite different motivation for becoming an Enaree. Peoples across central Eurasia have practiced shamanism from earliest times, and a feature of shamanism in some societies was that male shamans dressed and behaved in all ways as women. In the recent past shamans of a number of Siberian nomadic tribes were mostly or all women, and people in these tribes theorized that men who felt called to become shamans took on the identity of women in the hope of either being as successful as the women shamans or protecting themselves from impotence.

Military Practices

Scythian warriors were freemen who were provided with food and clothing and earned booty through victory. Scythians who arrived in the Caucasus quickly adopted the superior Caucasian weapon types, double-curved bow and bronze trefoil-shaped (trilobate) arrows capable of piercing armor, iron sword (called an akinakes sword type with butterfly-shaped pommel), and heavy iron spears. After the Scythians were established in Europe warriors typically wore Greek-style bronze helmets and chain-mail jerkins and carried a Persian-style sword. Some groups were also known to use



Scythians crafted this leopard, perhaps the centerpiece of a shield, in the seventh to sixth century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

battle-axes. Each warrior had at least one horse; the wealthy owned large herds.

Herodotus wrote that the Scythians kept the scalps of their enemies for use as napkins, which were hung on the bridle rein, or even as cloaks. This use may have had the purpose of demonstrating one's prowess as a warrior, as the more scalps a warrior had the more highly he was esteemed by his fellows.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Scythians lived in tents for which they made felt rugs.

Clothing

The Scythians against whom Darius I of Persia campaigned were called by the Persians "pointed hat Scythians." Articles of clothing were decorated with embroidery and appliqué; some had attached small gold-embossed plaques.

Personal Habits

The Scythians, as did other steppe peoples, practiced cranial deformation, elongating the head of newborns through hand pressure and bandages.

Transportation

The Scythians, who had a highly developed horse culture, were known to use saddles, unlike the Sarmatians, who reportedly rode bareback.

Technology and Art

The Scythians worked in silver, bronze, iron, electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver), wood, leather, bone, and appliqué felts (for wall hangings). They produced elaborate goldwork, including gold figures representing recumbent stags (known as Animal Art), measuring some 12 inches, perhaps used as ornaments on shields. They also crafted jewelry, along with trapping for tents, wagons, and horses. Their artwork fused the styles of varying cultures of Asia and Europe. The Animal Art style grew out of the Scythians' adoption of Near Eastern metalworking techniques and motifs (such as the winged lion-griffin).

Religion

Funeral Rites and Burials The Scythians practiced funeral rites that seem to have been common throughout the Eurasian steppes and were practiced in later centuries by HUNS, MONGOLS, and others. Herodotus mentions the custom of gashing arms, forehead, and nose in honor of the deceased, and the immolation and burial of servants and horses around the corpse.

Herodotus described in dramatic detail the funeral rites of a Scythian king. The king's body was stuffed and waxed and taken on a procession around his vast territories. Returning to the burial place, he was buried with his courtiers, who had been strangled, and the grave was covered with a large mound. A year later 50 more of his retainers were strangled and their horses killed. The bodies of these were stuffed and mounted in a circle around the mound. The funeral rites included the use of cannabis for purification; the deceased's relatives inhaled the fumes of seeds thrown on hot stones in small hemp tents.

Archaeology has confirmed and supplemented this picture of Scythian funeral rites. The greatest concentration of burial mounds has been found in the Lower Dnieper valley. Excavation has shown that they had been made in a conical shape with steep sides of extremely compacted earth to foil robbers, covered with turves of grass, perhaps symbolizing an entire world covered with grasslands where the dead could ride freely forever. One mound excavated in the northern Caucasus contained one layer with the skeletons of 360 horses, and many more, along with skeletons of masses of donkeys, sheep, and cattle, in higher layers that had probably been buried later, as Herodotus recounts.

Evidence for stuffing of bodies, which seems to have been a custom in many regions of the steppe, is from burials in the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia. Bodies were freeze-dried in the permafrost, their intact skin showing elaborate tattoos and signs of skillful taxidermy with removal of muscle and other tissue. (The muscle might have been ritually eaten, as Herodotus records of the Issedones.) They were stuffed with many of the herbs Herodotus mentions. One grave contained a

fur bag with cannabis seed, a censer filled with stones, and the frame of an inhalation tent.

Enarees The Enarees, Scythian shamans, practiced divination using the bark of a lime tree. They split the bark into three parts and somehow achieved their prophetic visions through braiding and unbraiding the pieces of bark.

Although originally a nomadic people, the Scythians, as did other steppe peoples over the following centuries, developed a localized European empire with permanent settlements and sophisticated artwork.

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Sea Peoples

The term *Sea Peoples* has been used for a number of peoples on the move in the Mediterranean Sea, especially in the 13th century B.C.E. The Sea Peoples may originally have been small-scale raiders on the trade network of the MYCENAEANS who joined forces into armies when the latter attacked them. (They may have been similar in this way to the multiethnic confederacies of GERMANICS, who banded together to fight the ROMANS in the first half of the first millennium C.E.) The theory that a wave of migrations occurred before and around 1200 B.C.E. results from archaeological evidence of a pattern of destruction in the eastern Mediterranean, on mainland Greece, and on Crete, that led to the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations of the Mycenaeans and MINOANS. These attacks are associated with small war bands who may have been ancestors of a general grouping of Hellenic peoples known as the DORIANS in ancient texts. These proto-Dorians, who probably came from north of the Balkans, may have joined with the Sea Peoples in their raids.

The Hittites, who controlled much of Asia Minor and the Near East at the time, also lost cities to Sea Peoples, as did the Egyptians, who documented the attacks with inscriptions and reliefs in the reigns of the pharaohs Merneptah and Ramses III.

The names of some of the peoples cited relate to known place-names of the ancient world; for example, the Shardana have been associated with the ITALICS on the island of Sardinia west of the Italian Peninsula, and the Shekelesh with the island of Sicily, and the ELYMI, SICANI, and SICULI. Bronze figurines made in Sardinia in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages have horned helmets much like those of the sea raiders depicted by the Egyptians. One theory maintains that after being repelled by the Egyptians, the Shardana eventually settled on Sardinia. The Shardana may have been mercenaries from Sardinia.

Other peoples classified by some as Sea Peoples are the Danya, who are identified with the Danaoi mentioned in the *Iliad* (presumably written by Homer in the ninth or eighth century B.C.E.); the Ekwesh; the Lukka, who may have originated in Lycia in Asia Minor; the Peleshet; the Tjeker, identified with Teucri of northwestern Asia Minor, who, after raiding Egypt, finally settled in northern Palestine; the Tyrsennoi; and the Weshesh. Some scholars have maintained that these groups possibly sailed out of the northern Aegean. What is not in contention among scholars is that the period in question was one of upheaval.

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SEA PEOPLES

location:
Eastern Mediterranean region

time period:
17th to 13th century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Unknown



This bronze figure of an archer from the island of Sardinia, possibly a warrior of the Sea Peoples, dates to the ninth to seventh century B.C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Seduni (Sedunni; Sedunes)

The Seduni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the western Alps around present-day Sion (Sitten) in southwestern Switzerland at least by the first century B.C.E. Julius Caesar battled them to open an Alpine pass before campaigning in Gaul against other CELTS in the 50s B.C.E. The name Sion (Sitten), known as Sedunum during the occupation by ROMANS, is derived from the tribal name.

SELONIANS

location:
West-central Latvia

time period:
Ninth to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Segontiaci

The Segontiaci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain probably north of the ATREBATES in present-day southern England and are classified as CELTS or BRITONS. According to Julius Caesar the Segontiaci surrendered to the ROMANS in 54 B.C.E., along with the ANCALITES, BIBROCI, CASSI, and CENIMAGNI.

Segovellauni (Segovellaunes; Segouellauni)

The Segovellauni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Valence in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Segusiavi

The Segusiavi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul on the Saône River around present-day Feurs in eastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the AEDUI. Forum Segusiavorum on the site of Feurs became a *civitas* capital during the occupation by the ROMANS.

Selgovae

The Selgovae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day southeastern Scotland and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or SCOTS. The Selgovae, whose name is thought to mean "hunters," were possibly allied with the VOTADINI, a confederation of smaller tribal groups. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E.

Selonians (Selones; Selians; Selijans; Selen; Selhen; Seli; Sels)

The Selonians were a tribe of BALTS, who lived along the Western Dvina (Daugava) River and its tributaries, especially the Dubna in present-day west-central Latvia, by the ninth century C.E. The Selonian dialect may have been closer to dialects of the western Balts, who lived near the coast, than of the inland people they are most often associated with historically and culturally, the LETTS. (The Selonians are even classified as a subgroup of Letts by some scholars. Selonian lands bordered on the territory of the Letts who lived to the north and northeast; of the SEMIGALLIANS to the west (and beyond the Semigallians along the coast, the CURONIANS); and of the LITHUANIANS in the south.

In the early centuries C.E. ancestors of the Letts and Selonians were living in the region known as Latgale (eastern Latvia). They were pushed farther east and north by the expansion of SLAVS.

By the 12th century the Selonians had settled lands along the Western Dvina, which they farmed. In 1209 the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword defeated them. In 1254 Pope Innocent IV confirmed the order's right to Selonian land.

The Selonians are among those peoples considered ancestral to contemporary Latvians (*see* LATVIANS: NATIONALITY).

SEMIGALLIANS

location:
Central Latvia and portions of northern Lithuania

time period:
Ninth century to 1561 C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Semigallians (Semigalleons; Semigalls; Zhemgala; Zemgali; Zemgalians; Ziemgalians; Hellespontians; Daugavians)

The Semigallians were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe. They lived in present-day central Latvia and northern Lithuania. Many of their homes were situated along the Western Dvina (Daugava) River (an alternate name for them was Daugavians). Their territory, known as Semigallia, extended to the Gulf of Riga around present-day Riga. To the west were the Curonians, whose homeland became known as Courland. With the Curonians, LETTS, SELONIANS, and assimilated Finnic-speaking peoples (such as from among the ESTHS, LIVS, and VOTES), they are among those peoples considered ancestral to contemporary Latvians (*see* LATVIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

Identifiable tribes coalesced in the Baltic region by the ninth century C.E. The Semigallians, although they are thought to be close relatives of other tribes of the Baltic language family, are associated with other peoples on the basis of their names. The Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (who wrote in the 13th century) mentions "Daugava town" of the Hellespontians, which corresponds with the Semigallian hill fort Daugmale. According to one explanation the name Hellespontians was applied to the inhabitants of the shores of the Daugava (Western Dvina) because the river was an important trade route to Greece, connecting the Baltic Sea with the Hellespont (the Dardanelles). Thus it is possible that the term Hellespontians refers not to the place inhabited by the Semigallians, but to their possible origin. Bartholomew, an English writer of the 13th century, theorized that the

Semigallians—that is, semi-Galats—originated from the Galatians, Celtic peoples who had migrated to Asia Minor beyond the Hellespont (*see* GALATOI), the name could have been from semi-Gauls, that is, another tribe of CELTS. (The fifth-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus mentioned Gelons, supposedly SCYTHIANS, a name also associated with the Semigallians.)

LANGUAGE

The Semigallian language was related to other Latvian dialects, such as Curonian.

HISTORY

The VIKINGS had contacts with the Semigallians by 950, as indicated by written Danish sources that mention Semigallia. The name of Semigallia appears on several Swedish rune stones from 1001. Two centuries later in 1201 the German prelate Albert von Buxhoevden began the construction of Riga in Semigallian territory at the southern extremity of the Gulf of Riga, which, because of its location, became the center of trade and military expansion in the Baltics.

In Semigalia in the 13th century seven major regions existed—Dobe, Dobele, Rakte, Spârnene, Silene, Tçrvete, and Upmale—each with at least one heavily fortified castle. The importance of the Tçrvete castle reached beyond frontiers of that specific territory in that its ruler, Viestards, raised his army from other regions as well to combat the Germans.

In 1236 the Brothers of the Sword suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of LITHUANIANS and Semigallians at Saule, not far from present-day Siauliai. Eager for conquest new German recruits ventured into the southern regions of the Semigallians. In summertime the marshlands made passage difficult and facilitated guerrilla-style warfare. The Germans suffered catastrophic losses. This defeat brought about the end of the Brothers of the Sword. The remnants of the order reorganized as the Livonian Order of the Brothers of the Sword, a branch of the Teutonic Knights.

Another leader who sought to unify all of Semigallians later in the 13th century was Nameisis, the last Semigallian chief named in medieval chronicles. The Semigallians rose up against the Brothers of the Sword, now united with the Teutonic Knights, in a number of engagements between 1259 and 1272. In 1290 the Brothers of the Sword and Teutonic Knights pacified the majority of Semigallians, although some resistance persisted. The dominant Letts also managed to assimilate some Semigallians.

Semigallians time line

C.E.

ninth century	Identifiable Baltic tribes coalesce.
950	Viking contacts with Semigallians
1201	City of Riga founded by Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden.
1202	Bishop Albert establishes military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.
1236	Lithuanians and Semigallians defeat Brothers of the Sword at Saule in northern Lithuania.
1259 to 1272	Semigallians resist Livonian Order.
1290	Brothers of the Sword occupy Semigallia.
1561	Brothers of the Sword dissolve their order and combine Courland and Semigallia into duchy of Courland, which becomes Polish fief.

The Rhyme Chronicle of Livonia (the history of the Order of Livonia in two volumes written in rhymes) from 1300 records that many Semigallians left their homeland to join the Lithuanians against the crusaders and that some of their lands were then populated by people from surrounding regions, including the Letts.

The name of the Semigallians disappeared by the 16th century; the name Semigallia (or Zemgale) was thereafter used only to describe the territory that they had once inhabited. In 1561 the Brothers of the Sword dissolved their order and combined Courland and Semigallia into the duchy of Courland, which became a Polish fief.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

Rich soils of their lands provided Semigallians with surplus agricultural products, which they traded with their neighbors.

In Samigallian burials have been found short one-edged swords; spears; bronze ornaments, including headbands and pins; and farming tools.

The location of the Semigallians along the Western Dvina River and the Gulf of Riga led to numerous contacts with outside peoples.

Semnones (Semoni)

The Semnones are classified as a Germanic tribe, a subgroup of the SUEBI. They lived around the Elbe River in present-day northeastern Germany in the first century C.E. and were allies of the MARCOMANNI. Some of them

SENONES

location:
South of Po River in northeastern Italy

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Celtic

moved south and west to the Rhine-Danube area and became caught up in conflicts with the ROMANS and shifting alliances of GERMANICS. Some thought to have merged with the ALAMANNI in the third century. Those who stayed in their ancestral homeland became known after 534 as the Norsavi for North Suebians. In the seventh century they joined the SAXONS against the SLAVS.

Senones (Senonians; Serones)

The Senones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived on the Adriatic Sea south of the Po River in present-day northeastern Italy in the fourth century B.C.E. They became allies of the non-Celtic ETRUSCANS, SABINES, and UMBRIANS against the ROMANS. Senones reportedly captured and held parts of Rome in about 390 B.C.E., until they were paid off by an offer of 1,000 pounds in gold. The Senones were defeated in 283 B.C.E., the first of the CELTS to be defeated by the Romans.

Another group with the same name, possibly related ancestrally, lived in Gaul along the Loire around present-day Sens in north-central France and are discussed as Celts or GAULS. Some among this group fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Agedincum on the site of Sens became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Sens takes its name from the tribal name.

Sequani (Sequoni)

The Sequani are classified as a Celtic tribe although they probably had some Germanic ancestry as well. They lived in Gaul around present-day Dole in eastern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were traditional enemies of the AEDUI and HELVETII and allies of the Germanic SUEBI. In 60 B.C.E. tribal members joined the Suebi under Ariovistus in a successful attack on the Aedui. Some among them also supported the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E.

SERBS

location:
Southern part of Balkan Peninsula

time period:
Sixth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Serbian (South Slavic)

Serbs (Serbians; Serbi; Serboi; Sirboi)

The ancient Serbs were a tribe or tribes of Southern SLAVS who settled in the central and western Balkans by the seventh century and perhaps as early as the sixth century C.E. They are ancestral to the Serbs presently living in Serbia and parts of present-day Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and neighboring parts of the Balkans.

ORIGINS

A mid-10th-century C.E. account by a Byzantine writer, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Byzantine emperor Constantine VII), one of whose informants lived in Dalmatia (Adriatic coastal parts of modern Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia), says that Serbs and CROATS settled there in the reign of Heraclius in the first half of the seventh century; Heraclius invited them to migrate there, provided they convert to Christianity, as allies against the AVARS. There are several problems with Constantine's account, however. A settlement of Croats and Serbs at this time would antedate any known Slavic archaeological remains in the Balkans. Given the scarcity of any signs at all of the Slavs in the Balkans in this century, however, this early settlement by Croats and Serbs is not impossible. Yet there is not enough archaeological evidence of early Serbs to know when and where they lived, and it is still uncertain when they arrived at the territory that would later become the Serbian state.

Some of the material in Porphyrogenitus's text appears more legend than straightforward account, with elements characteristic of Slavic folktales, such as the tale of the five Croat brothers, and there are duplications suggesting it may have been simply a compilation of earlier material—different versions of the same story as in many medieval annals and histories, which often are collections of oral traditions—with no attempt at verification. Second versions of the story are given for both the Serbs and Croats, and each of these is similar to the other; some sentences of the Serbian account seem to be copies drawn from the Croat account.

Both versions emphasize that the Croats' and Serbs' settlement was at the behest of the emperor; this material may be from a Byzantine source, and the emphasis may have been for the purpose of promoting imperial claims of suzerainty over the Croats and Serbs, a political motivation that casts some doubt on the veracity of the account. Each story also locates the homelands of the Serbs and Croats in, respectively, White Serbia and White Croatia, both located near Bavaria on the border of the Frankish kingdom. The Serbian account mentions that the region was called Boiki, which could be Bohemia. However, no such people are known in this area; there was a tribe called the SORBS north of the Carpathian Mountains in western Poland. White Serbia may be no more than a literary fantasy. If Serbs (or their antecedents not yet calling themselves Serbs)

entered the Balkans from near Bavaria, their sojourn in the latter area must have been brief, since Slavic expansion westward from the Lower Danube region into southern Austria toward Bavaria had only begun sometime in the sixth century. It is entirely possible that Serbs and Croats were initially part of this movement, but then for unknown reasons broke away and headed south into the Balkans. The movements of early Slavic groups are too little understood either to rule this out or to provide evidence for it.

In particular there is little archaeological evidence and no consensus on when or where the Serbs' first settlement in the Balkans took place. It is also unclear when they first settled the later Serbian heartland in the Upper Drina watershed. A number of tribal names in this region are known from Constantine's time, including the Zachlumianie (in behind the hills); some of these could later have formed a tribal confederacy calling themselves Serbs. Current political considerations—an attempt to legitimize Serbian territorial rights after the Bosnian war—very probably underlie assertions by Serbian scholars that Serbs were invited to this area by a Roman emperor in the fourth century (long before any Slavs at all are thought to have emerged as a distinct ethnic group) or that Serbs constructed early burial mounds (called *gromilas*) that are found here.

LANGUAGE

The Serbian dialect is part of the South Slavic branch, which includes Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Slovenian. Serbo-Croatian consists of three dialects: Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian.

HISTORY

In the late eighth century C.E. Serbian tribes were united under a grand *zhupan* (leader) under Byzantine suzerainty, with territory as far north as the Sava River. Cemeteries from the early ninth to 11th centuries provide the first unambiguous evidence of the Serbs. The first organized Serbian state, known as Rascia (or Raska), is thought to have been founded in the early ninth century in the mountains of Bosnia, whence it expanded into Serbia. The expanding influence of the BYZANTINES and BULGARS, as well as internal disputes, countered Serbian growth. Bulgarian weakness after Khan Simeon's reign allowed the Serbian tribes to achieve a short-lived independence in 933, but after the collapse of the Bulgarian empire the Byzantines moved in and subjugated them later in the 10th century. The Serbs thus fell under the influence of Byzantine culture and the Eastern Church and adopted the Cyrillic alphabet.

In the ninth century a kingdom was formed near the Adriatic in present-day Montenegro, southern Bosnia, and Herzegovina by an alliance of Slavic tribes. Known as Doclea (Duklianie or Duklja), it was known as the kingdom of Zeta from the 11th century.

In 1167 Stefan Nemanja founded the Nemanjic dynasty of Serbian princes, which made Serbia the dominant power in the southern Balkans, achieving the status of an empire until it was under the hegemony of the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) in the 14th and 15th centuries. Montenegro evolved out of Zeta in 1389, when Serbs took refuge from the Ottomans in the region and founded a new kingdom (*see* MONTENEGRINS).

Serbs time line

C.E.

seventh century Serbs on the Balkan Peninsula

early ninth century Serbs found Rascia, first organized Serbian state.

ninth century Serbs convert to Christianity; kingdom of Doclea founded.

933 Serbs gain independence from Bulgarian khanate.

mid-10th century Byzantines expand into Balkans.

10th–11th century Doclea gains independence from Serbs.

c. 1167 Nemanjic dynastry founded.

1389 Kingdom of Montenegro founded.



A Serbian boy fiddles on the streets of Belgrade at Christmastime in 1918. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-90501])*

SERBS AND MONTENEGRINS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Serbia and Montenegro (Srbija i Crna Gora)

derivation of name:
Serbia is possibly of Sarmatian origin; Montenegro is a Venetian name meaning "black mountain."

government:
Republic

capital:
Belgrade

language:
Official language is Serbian (Serbo-Croatian); Albanian and Hungarian are also spoken.

religion:
About 70 percent of the population are Eastern Orthodox Christian; Muslims are the largest religious minority; Protestants, Catholics, and those who adhere to no religion make up remaining minorities.

earlier inhabitants:
Thracians; Illyrians; Celts; Romans; Heruli; Gepids; Slavs (Serbs etc.); Bulgars; Byzantines

demographics:
About 60 percent of the population are Serbs; Albanians make up about 17 percent; Montenegrins, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and Muslims are other minorities.

Enduring Identity

In part because of the regionwide hegemony of the Serbs in the Balkans before the entry of the Turks, and because of movements, both voluntary and forcible, in ensuing centuries, people who consider themselves Serbs live in a number of the modern states in the Balkans in addition to Serbia and Montenegro (*see* SERBS and MONTENEGRINS: NATIONALITY). In order of Serbian population size these are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia. Smaller numbers of Serbs also live in Romania and Hungary.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

According to their folk belief the Serbs, as were other Southern Slavs, were sometimes visited by demons or spirits called *vila,* beautiful naked warrior maidens armed with bows and arrows. The *vila* danced on mountaintops as did witches and earlier the Valkyries in Germanic lands. As late as the 13th century men left offerings for the *vila,* who lived in springs and caves and under trees and stones.

A divisive factor between the Serbs and the Croats to their west has been their religious affiliations: The Serbs adhere to the Eastern Orthodox Christian creed and liturgy and the Croats are Roman Catholic.

It is possible (although there is no evidence for it) that a precursor Slavic group or groups had made their way to the Upper Drina watershed in the Balkans in the fourth century, a hundred years and more before the Slavs as we know them had "crystallized" into an ethnic group speaking the ancestor (proto-Slavic) of all modern Slavic tongues. The whole of central and eastern Europe had been a boiling pot of peoples of all ethnicities forming, migrating, settling, moving on again, grouping together, then breaking apart, for centuries and continued in this manner well into the era of the Slavic expansion. There probably will never be much certainty about the details of these processes. Even if this precursor group called themselves Serbs, it seems unlikely that they had, in any meaningful way, more than a tenuous connection to modern Serbs in terms of their national territorial aspirations or even genealogical background. In nearly all sociopolitical, religious, and cultural characteristics, as well as language, the ancestors of the first Serbs (wherever they may have lived) are divided from modern Serbs by more than 1,500 years of great social change and turbulent history. The ideological constructs held in common by modern Serbs (importantly based on the pride of power of the medieval Serbian empire and its subjugation by the Ottomans) would therefore have been largely unknown to them.

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Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality (Serbians; people of Serbia and Montenegro)

GEOGRAPHY

Serbia and Montenegro border Hungary to the north, Romania and Bulgaria to the east, Albania and Macedonia to the south, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the west, and the Adriatic Sea to the southwest. The total area is 39,449 square miles. Fertile plains are situated in the north; the Dinaric Alps lie in the southwest; and basins of the Carpathian and Baltic Mountains lie in the east. Mount Daravica (8,714 feet), the highest peak, is located along the Albanian-Montenegrin border. Principal rivers include the Danube, Drava, Sava, Drina, and Tisza. Lake Scutari is the country's largest lake.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Tribal SERBS first occupied the Balkans during the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. and were unified in a Serbian nation, Rascia, around the ninth century. Rascia expanded its territory during the 10th century although subject to the BYZANTINES. Serbia continued to expand in the 13th and 14th centuries, notably under the leadership of Stephen Dušan. Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) invaded the territory, and in 1459 Serbia lost its independence to them. For centuries Serbia was a Turkish province ruled by local Turkish officials out of Belgrade. Serbs won brief independence under the Treaty of Bucharest in 1812, ending the Russo-Turkish War, and in 1817, after a successful rebellion, Miloš Obrenović declared himself Prince of Serbia.

By the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 Russia forced Turkey to recognize an autonomous

Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality time line

C.E.

1167 Stefan Nemanja, grand *zhupan* of Serbia, establishes dynasty.

1177–89 First written work of Montenegrin literature, *Kraljevstvo Slavena* (The kingdom of the Slavs) by Pop Dukljanin of Bar, is published.

1346 Stephen Dušan becomes czar of Serbia; expands domain to include present-day Serbia, Danube region, Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, East Bosnia and Herzegovina, and northern Greece.

1389 Kingdom of Montenegro is founded.

1459 Ottoman Turks annex Serbia.

1494 *Ostoih* (Book of psalms) is published, believed to be first book printed in Cyrillic from South Slavic region.

1521 Hungary cedes Belgrade to Turks.

1783 *Život i prikljucenija* (Life and adventures), autobiography of Dositej Obradović, is published.

1804 Karageorge rebels against Turks, attempting to liberate Belgrade.

1812 Under Treaty of Bucharest Turks recognize Serbian autonomy.

1818 Serbian-German-Latin dictionary, compiled by linguist and folklorist Vuk Karadžić, helps establish Serbian modern literary language.

1829 Under Treaty of Adrianople Serbia is granted self-rule under Russian protection.

1832 National Library is founded in Belgrade.

1844 National Museum is founded in Belgrade.

1847 *Gorski vijenac* (The mountain wreath), epic drama by prince-bishop and poet Petar Petrović Njegoš, is published.

1856 Congress of Paris, ending Crimean War, places Serbia under collective guarantee of European powers while continuing to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty.

1868 Serbian National Theater is founded in Belgrade.

1878 Congress of Berlin recognizes Serbia's independence and territorial expansion.

1885 Serbia loses war with Bulgaria over Eastern Rumelia.

1908 Serbia creates Balkan League, which includes Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece, to retaliate against Austro-Hungarian and Turkish rule of Balkan Slavs.

1912 Balkan League declares war and defeats Turkey.

1913 During Second Balkan War Bulgaria defeats Serbia.

1914 Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip assassinates Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand; event leads to World War I, lasting until 1918.

1917 Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins form Union of Southern Slavs.

1918 Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, led by Peter I of Serbia, is established.

1929 Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes becomes known as Yugoslavia.

1939 Mihail Popović's film *The Battle of Kosovo* is released.

1941–45 During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Serbia.

1945 Serbia becomes Communist republic under Yugoslav Socialist Federation.

1953 Montenegrin National Theater is founded in Podgorica; *Kora* (Bark), book of verse by Vasko Popa, makes use of French surrealism and Serbian folk traditions rather than typical socialist realism of period.

(continues)

Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1961	Novelist Ivo Andrić wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1971	Belgrade International Film Festival is founded.
1989	Serbia invades Kosovo, ending its autonomy.
1992	Serbia and Montenegro form Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
1998–99	Secessionist rebellion in Kosovo against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ends in bombing of Yugoslavia by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and withdrawal of Serbian forces.
2001	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Albania reestablish diplomatic relations.
2002	Montenegrin government collapses over differences on new union of Serbia and Montenegro.
2003	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia becomes Serbia and Montenegro.

Serbia. Serbia declared war on Turkey in 1876, once again drawing Russian aid into the conflict. By 1878 the Congress of Berlin recognized a completely independent Serbia and expanded its borders.

Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. The various Balkans powers struggled over territory in the two Balkan Wars (1912–13). The assassination of the Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Serbian nationalist in 1914 led to the outbreak of World War I. At the end of the war, in 1918, Serbia's former territory became the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which became known as Yugoslavia in 1929.

The German invasion of 1941 led to the dissolution of Yugoslavia; at the end of World War II in 1945 it was reconstructed; it changed its name to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963. In 1991–92 Yugoslavia broke up when Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence. In 1992 Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Internal tensions between the two republics led to a pact in 2002, giving greater autonomy to each side yet retaining shared foreign and defense policies. The state union of Serbia and Montenegro was officially recognized in 2003.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The peoples of the state of Serbia and Montenegro, formerly the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), a recent political construct (or rather the remnants of an older political construct), do not share a common cultural identity. By far the most numerous people in the country, who constitute two-thirds of the population (about 10.5 million), are Serbs. The next most numerous group is made up of Albanians, 17 percent of the population. Montenegro has a population of somewhat less than 700,000, 60 percent of these MONTENEGRINS (largely ancestrally Serbs but with a different historical tradition) and the rest Serbs, Albanians, and Muslims. The FRY was the remnant of the former Yugoslavia after its constituent republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, reacting to attempts at domination by the Serbs, all declared their independence. The makeup and indeed the very existence of the FRY were a consequence of modern Serbian aggression, and for many years among its most important objectives as a nation was active support of extreme Serbian nationalist aims in the neighboring countries of Bosnia and Croatia, support that led to war and a return to the genocidal tactics of World War II in what was infamously called "ethnic cleansing" of other groups by Serbs. The Serbian-dominated government engaged in human rights violations against minorities in the FRY, especially Albanians in Kosovo, who have resisted the Serbian government since the province lost its autonomy. A guerrilla group called the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) formed in the mid-1990s and targeted Serbian police repeatedly in late 1997 and early 1998. Actions of Serbian forces in their crackdown on Albanians in Kosovo were so severe that they were deemed war crimes by the International Criminal Court, and the Serbian president, Slobodan Milošević, was indicted and tried in the Hague. After a peace accord was reached a United Nations peacekeeping force was stationed in Kosovo to protect returning KOSOVARS from the Serbians.

Montenegrins in the FRY distanced themselves as much as possible from the Serbs, splitting off from the Serbian Orthodox Church to form their own, and as a result of political power plays by Milošević in the federal government Montenegrins began to regard the federation as

an illegitimate institution. Negotiations between Serbia and Montenegro in 2002 led to the creation in 2003 of a much looser federation of the two republics, one that could be dissolved by referendum by either republic after three years.

Given this historical context it is hardly surprising that the only national cultural identity most of the population in the federation maintain is the Serbian historical identity, recognized by Serbs. The atrocities fomented by the Serb-dominated government put great pressure on the self-identity of many Serbs who recognize that the actions of their government have been driven by a process of national cultural identification and promotion gone badly awry. The extremity of Serbia's actions has generated international discussion in the Balkans, one that seeks means of developing, instead of a national cultural identification, a multicultural outlook that values differences among peoples instead of attempting to eliminate them by force and oppression.

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Sessuvi *See* Esuvii.

Setantii

The Setantii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain around present-day Liverpool in northwestern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Britons. They are considered a subgroup of the Brigantes.

Severians (Severyane; Severiane; Severyans; Siveryans; Siverianians)

The Severians were a tribal confederation of Eastern Slavs, who lived between the Dnieper River and its tributary the Desna in present-day northern Ukraine, southeastern Belarus, and eastern Russia. They were related to the Ilmen Slavs living nearby. Sometime in the eighth or ninth century C.E. they established a principality with the capital Chernigov. In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples they were under the suzerainty of the Rus of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the Byzantines of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

Sexovii

The Sexovii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in present-day northwestern France and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. The Romans referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy), occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E.

Sibusates

The Sibusates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Sobusse in southwestern France and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Sobusse takes its name from the tribal name. They surrendered to the Romans under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Sicambri *See* Sugambri.

Sicani (Sicans; Sicanians)

The Sicani, along with the Elymi, are the oldest known inhabitants of the island of Sicily south of the Italian Peninsula. They are often confused with the Siculi, because of the similarity of their name and the lack of clear archaeological evidence distinguishing the

SICANI

location:
At one time all of Sicily; then driven into central, western, and southwestern Sicily

time period:
c. Third millenium to fifth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Sicanian (affiliations unknown)

language:
Sicanian (probably Indo-European)

Sicani time line

B.C.E.

third millenium Sicani appear in western Sicily, then slowly spread throughout island.

1050 Legendary arrival of Siculi on Sicily; Sicani driven away from east coast in pitched battle.

c. 800 Arrival of first Greek colonists in Sicily

415 Athenians pillage Hyccara, chief city of Sicani.

fifth–fourth century Sicani caught up in conflict between Greek and Carthaginian colonists on Sicily.

two. Ancient historians, however, were emphatic in classifying the two peoples separately, the Sicani living to the west and the Siculi to the east.

ORIGINS

The fifth-century B.C.E. Greek historian Thucydides wrote that the Sicani were from the east coast of Spain, and archaeological digs place their arrival in western Sicily sometime in the third millenium B.C.E. Most modern scholars associate the Sicani with the Late Bronze Age Fossa Grave culture of southern Italy, theorizing that they migrated from Italy to Sicily across the Strait of Messina.

LANGUAGE

Hardly anything is known of the Sicani language, but it is generally regarded to be from non-Indo-European.

HISTORY

About a millennium after the arrival of the Sicani on Sicily their relatives, the Siculi, also arrived from the mainland, driving the Sicani west and south (and defeating them, it is said, in a large pitched battle).

The principal Sicani centers were Hyccara, Omphake, and Camicus. Camicus was the mythical seat of King Cocalus, whose palace was legendarily constructed by the Minoan architect Daedalus.

There is ample evidence of contact between the Sicani and the MINOANS and MYCENAEANS of the eastern Mediterranean. Dated around 1500 B.C.E. Mycenaean trading posts are to be found on Sicily along with a ready supply of Mycenaean goods.

The Sicani were enemies of the early Greek settlers, who arrived in Sicily around 800 B.C.E. They were pressured by the continual establishment of Greek settlements, which ended in 580 B.C.E. The Sicani city of Hyccara was pillaged by the Athenians in 415 B.C.E. During much of the fifth century B.C.E. the Sicani were caught up in and eventually swallowed by the conflicts between GREEKS and CARTHAGINIANS for control of the island.

CULTURE

The Sicani lived in small independent towns, based on agriculture. Trade was important to their culture. Sicily and the Sicani were an important link on the trade route between Spain, with its rich supply of copper (an important part of the manufacture of bronze), and the eastern Mediterranean.

The fact that the Sicani were active traders might have been one reason the ancients identified Spain as the origin of the Sicani.

SICULI

location:
Eastern and southern Sicily; Aeolian Islands

time period:
c. 1050 to fifth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown; perhaps Italic

language:
Siculan (probably Indo-European)

Sicels *See* SICULI.

Sicilians (people of Sicily)

The name Sicilians refers to people living on the Italian island of Sicily, situated in the Mediterranean Sea. Ancient tribes included SICANI, SICULI, and ELYMI. GREEKS settled the island in about 800 B.C.E. CARTHAGINIANS invaded the island in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. In the third century B.C.E. Sicily was conquered by the ROMANS and became the first Roman province. The VANDALS and OSTROGOTHS seized the island in the fifth century C.E., after which it was ruled by the BYZANTINES. The SARACENS (Arabs) invaded the island in the course of the ninth and 10th centuries. The NORMANS claimed the island in the 11th century, uniting it with Naples, to form the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Over the next centuries the island was alternately controlled by the Holy Roman Empire, France, Spain, and Austria. In 1734 Spanish Bourbons reestablished the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Sicily became part of the Italian kingdom in 1860 after its invasion by the Italian patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi. Sicily became an autonomous region of Italy in 1947 (*see* ITALIANS: NATIONALITY).

Siculi (Sikeloi; Sicels; Sikels)

The Siculi were the native inhabitants of the eastern regions of the island of Sicily south of the Italian Peninsula; the island takes its name from the tribe. The GREEKS encountered them when they colonized Sicily in the eighth century B.C.E. Modern archaeologists have had difficulty differentiating the Siculi from the SICANI, another group of natives the Greeks encountered. Ancient accounts assert that the Siculi and Sicani were distinct, however.

ORIGINS

Both the Siculi and Sicani are similar in physical culture to the third native population of Sicilians, the ELYMI. The physical remains of Sicilian settlements tie them to the Late Bronze Age Fossa Grave culture of the mainland of

southern Italy, which is characterized by trench graves lined with stone slabs and a certain kind of ax called the shaft-hole ax. The pottery of the Fossa Grave culture is handmade, plain, dark, and burnished with forms similar to those of the Apennine culture from which developed the Italic tribes, such as the SAMNITES.

Origin Myth

The archaeological evidence lends credence to the legendary history of the migration of the Siculi to Sicily in 1050 B.C.E., about 300 years before the arrival of the Greeks, as told by Thucydides in the fifth century B.C.E. and other Greek historians. The Siculi supposedly took their name from their ancestral king, Siculus, brother of the king Italus from whom Italy took its name. At the time the Siculi were said to live in Campania and northern Calabria but were supposedly driven south and west by ITALICS, and further pushed by Greek colonization until they crossed the Strait of Messina on rafts. Legend has it that the Siculi met the Sicani and defeated them in a large pitched battle.

LANGUAGE

Evidence of the Siculi language comes is the fifth or sixth century B.C.E. Possibly a drinking song, the incomplete inscription in the Greek alphabet from a wine vessel, as well as small fragments preserved as glosses by ancient writers show an Indo-European language—perhaps related to the Italic languages (*see* ITALICS)—which has yet to be deciphered.

HISTORY

By the eighth century B.C.E. the Siculi were restricted to eastern and southern Sicily, though there were isolated settlements on the Aeolian islands to the north of Sicily, notably Lipari, which was reported by the first-century B.C.E. Greek historian Diodorus Siculus to have a population of about 500 Siculi when the Greeks arrived in 580 B.C.E. The Siculi lived in completely independent towns. The main Siculi settlements were Agyrium, Centuripa, Henna, and three cities named Hybla—Hybla Major on the Symaethus River; Hybla Minor on the east coast, north of modern Syracuse; and Hybla Heraea in southern Sicily.

Greek colonization drove the Siculi into the central regions of Sicily. The battle between the Greeks and CARTHAGINIANS for control of Sicily in the fifth century B.C.E. further squeezed the Siculi until they, along with the Sicani, had been completely absorbed.

CULTURE

The three cities called Hybla were named for one of the principal deities of the Siculi. Siculi gods were primarily of the underworld, perhaps resulting from the dependence of the Sicilians on agriculture for sustenance and from the heavy volcanic activity on the island. The divinities called Palici, protectors of agriculture and sailors, had a temple and a lake, devoted to them along the Symaethus River, as well as a temple to Hybla. Adranus, another god, a volcanic god, like the Greek Hephaestus, who had in his temple a constantly lit flame. The cult of the goddess Phersephatta, combining elements of the worship of Demeter and of Persephone, found at the Greek settlements of Syracusa, Naxos, and Selinus, was probably adopted from the Siculi and ties them to the same cults on the Italian mainland in Calabria, at Locri, Medma, and Hipponion.

Because the Siculi defeated the Sicani, legend has it, their island home bears the name Sicily instead of Sicania.

Sidicini

The Sidicini were a tribe of unknown language affiliation, living in the southern part of Latium (part of modern Lazio), a region in present-day west-central Italy. It is assumed that they were living there before the Indo-European-speaking ITALICS settled the region. Their principal city was Sidicum, and they were a farming people, who raised livestock.

In 343 B.C.E. the First Samnite War erupted over a dispute between the SAMNITES and the

SIDICINI

location:
Region of Lazio in west-central Italy

time period:
Fourth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Sidicinian (affiliations unknown)

language:
Sidicinian

Siculi time line

B.C.E.

1050	Legendary arrival of Siculi on island of Sicily, after crossing Strait of Messina from mainland Italy.
800	Beginning of Greek colonization of Sicily; Greeks encounter Siculi in east and southeast of island; call them Sikeloi.
580	According to Greek historian Diodorus Siculus Greeks encounter a population of about 500 Siculi on island of Lipari.
fifth–fourth century	Siculi caught up in conflict between Greek and Carthaginian colonists on Sicily.

SILESIANS

location:
Along Oder River in western Poland

time period:
Ninth to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

Sidicini, allies of the CAMPANI. The Samnites invaded Campania and defeated the Campani near modern Capua on the Volturno River. The Campani then requested help from the ROMANS, who defeated the Samnites in 341 B.C.E.

That same year the Sidicini joined the confederation known as the Latin League in a revolt against the Romans; in addition to the Campani their partners were the AURUNCI, LATINS, and VOLSCI. The alliance collapsed by 338 B.C.E. under both Samnite and Roman pressure.

Silesians

The Silesians were a tribe of Western SLAVS, who lived along the Upper and Middle Oder River in present-day western Poland by the beginning of the ninth century C.E. As were all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS.

Along with the POLANIANS, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, the Silesians are among the ancestors of the POLES. The name of the region known as Silesia in southwestern Poland and adjoining parts of the Czech Republic and Germany probably evolved from the name Silings, a subgroup of the Germanic VANDALS, who lived there centuries before; the name later was applied to the Slavs who migrated there.

The name Silesians is also applied generally to inhabitants of Silesia, the name of a duchy established as part of the kingdom of Poland in the 12th century, and the name Silesian is also applied to a West Slavic dialect still spoken in the region.

SILURES

location:
Southern Wales

time period:
First to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Brythonic (Celtic)

Siling Vandals *See* VANDALS.

Silures (Silurians)

The Silures are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day southern Wales and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or WELSH.

Because of their shorter stature and darker and curlier hair than that of other Britons, the first–second-century Roman historian Tacitus thought that they were descended from peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. Modern scholars now believe that there was movement of peoples and cultural practices as well as trade along the Atlantic seaways from Iberia to Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales and back again. The position of the Silurian territory along the Severn estuary makes such contacts feasible, although the Silurians seem not to have engaged in trade on a large scale. But their pastoral way of life was in many ways similar to that of the CELTIBERIANS.

The Silures offered resistance to the ROMANS for years, for a time allied with the CATUVELLAUNI under Caractacus (Caradoc) and the ORDOVICES, but were subdued during the governorship of Sextus Julius Frontinus in the mid-70s C.E. Venta Silurum on the site of present-day Caerwent became a *civitas* capital during the Roman occupation until 410 C.E.

SKALVIANS

location:
Western Lithuania and near Kalingrad in western Russia

time period:
Ninth to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Silvanecti (Silvanectes)

The Silvanecti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Senlis in northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Siol Gangain *See* GANGANI.

Siraces

The Siraces were an Iranian-speaking tribe among those classified as SARMATIANS. They lived along the Kuban River and on the steppes to the northeast of the Black Sea and northwest of the Caucasus Mountains in present-day southwestern Russia by the first century C.E. The Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. recorded that in about 65 B.C.E. they had 20,000 horsemen serving under King Abeacus, a much smaller cavalry than that of the AORSI, fellow Sarmatians living to their north.

Skalvians (Scalovians)

The Skalvians were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe, by the ninth century C.E. Like the NADRUVIANS living to their south, they are thought to have been linguistically related to the BORUSSIANS, but it is possible that their dialects were closer to those of the LITHUANIANS, who bordered their territory on the east. The Skalvian homeland stretched inland from the Baltic Sea on both sides of the Neman River in present-day western Lithuania and the northern part of the enclave of Russian territory around Kaliningrad.

The territory of the Skalvians and that of the Nadruvians lay between lands seized by Germanic military and religious orders, the Livonian Knights of the Sword in the north and the Teutonic Knights to their south. In 1274 the united orders occupied this region. Along with other Baltic peoples of the region the Skalvians were ancestral to inhabitants of the modern nations of Lithuania and Russia (*see* LITHUANIANS: NATIONALITY; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).

Slavs (Slays; Slaves; Sclavi; Sklavoi; Sclaci; Slaveni; Slovani; Slovonici; Sclaveni; Sclavini; Sclavenoi; Sclavenes; Sclavesians; Sklaveni; Sklavini; Sklavenoi; Sklavenes; Sklabenoi; Sthlaboi; Sporoi; Esklabinoi; Antes; Venedi; Vinadi; Vinades; Wends; Welatabians; Slavic peoples)

The name Slavs applies to all those European peoples speaking the Slavic language throughout history, known by a variety of names. There were many ancient tribal groups, some among whom have endured to modern times, maintaining an ethnic identity despite extensive intermingling among fellow Slavs and among other groups as well. Like the CELTS and GERMANICS before them the Slavs spread through a vast portion of Europe.

SLAVS

location:
Central and eastern Europe

time period:
Late fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Slavic

ORIGINS

Perhaps for no other of the major peoples of Europe has the process of identifying how and



Slavs time line

C.E.

late fifth century	Slavs possibly living on eastern flank of Carpathian Mountains along Dniester, Prut, Seret, and Southern Bug Rivers.
520–550s	Slavs from north bank of Lower Danube raid south in Byzantine territory as reported in first historical mention of Slavs.
531	Byzantine commander Chilbudius halts raids and invades across Danube homelands; Chilbudius is killed.
545	Lombard prince Ildigis leads Slavs and Gepids across Middle Danube.
547–549	Large Slavic forces raid Illyria and Thrace, taking town of Topir near Constantinople, massacring 15,000, and taking thousands of slaves.
559–561	Avars settle along north bank of Danube, subjugating Slavs.
599 and 600	Byzantine forces defeat Slavic armies.
590–602	Byzantines drive Avars and Slavs from Balkans and crush Avars.
late sixth century	Slavs, possibly from Ukraine or Danube region, have reached Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland.
late sixth–seventh century	Avars and Slavs engage in large-scale raids in Balkans, attacking rich coastal towns on Adriatic, Aegean, and Black Seas; Slavs begin settlements in Balkans; second phase of Slavic expansion in Ukraine and northern areas (Poland, Czechoslovakia, eastern Germany).
seventh century	Avars and Slavs return to Balkans and northern Greece; Byzantines abandon Balkans to Slavs; Bulgars arrive in Lower Danube region and conquer Slavs there.
623	Frankish merchant named Samo leads Slavs in successful revolt against Avars on Middle Danube; he creates kingdom that lasts until 658.
680	Bulgars overrun Slavic territories in Balkans, subduing tribe of Seven Clans and Sieverzane.
seventh–eighth century	Byzantines subjugate Slavic tribes in eastern Balkans.
793–796	Avars crushed by Carolingian Frank-Bulgarian alliance, giving Bulgarians control over large areas of Transylvania and part of Carpathian basin.
eighth–ninth century	Carolingians launch campaigns against Slavs in modern-day eastern Germany.
ninth century	Moravian state founded; Moravians subjugate Bohemians.
876–879	Croatian state formed.
906	Magyars overrun Moravia.
10th century	Bohemian state rises to power, and Polish and Kievan Rus states founded.
933	First Serbian state founded, annexed by Byzantines.
972	First Bulgarian Khanate destroyed by Byzantines.
11th century	Slavic state of Doclea in region of present-day Montenegro, southern Bosnia, and Herzegovina gains independence; Polabian state formed in eastern Germany.
12th century	Serbs gain independence from Byzantines; Polabian state conquered by Saxony.
1102	Croatian state conquered by Hungary.
13th century	Precursor to modern Bulgarian state emerges.

when they emerged as a distinct ethnicity been more shrouded in uncertainty and controversy than for the Slavs. Slavic identity is importantly based on linguistic ties; the first Slavs emerged in part as a communication community all speaking the same language, a fact stressed by one of the models for the meaning of the Slavs' name, that it derived from the word *slovo*, meaning "word" or "speech"—that is, that the Slovani, in contrast to their neigh-

bors, the Germanics, whom they called Nemcy (the dumb, mute), were the people of the word or of commonly intelligible speech. (Another theory maintains that Slavic is derived from *Slava* for honor or glory.) But a common language is not enough to establish a common ethnic identity, especially in the ancient world in which the Slavs emerged. It was common for ancient peoples, especially those living in border regions with many ethnicities, to speak a number of tongues. In the Western Roman Empire (*see* ROMANS) most people spoke Latin in addition to their native tongue. Slavs who migrated into the Balkans during the sixth century and later probably spoke Greek as well as Slavic, and possibly the language of the AVARS. Other elements than language are needed to knit a group together in an ethnic entity.

Modern concepts of what is meant by an "ethnic group" have evolved as a result of archaeological and ethnographic study. The latter widened the term beyond the meaning it was given early in the 20th century as being based on types or assemblages of archaeological material, conceived of as "cultures." The concept of "communication communities" enlarged but did not replace the archaeological culture model, because material culture is, of course, another kind of communication between people and a potent means of self-identification, of belonging to a specific group. Additional components of what goes to create an ethnic group in current thinking include a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity. Among tribal societies such as that of the Slavs the sense of solidarity and the myth of common descent were often provided by the tribal leaders and their dynasties, who in a sense formed the core family or clan linked (more in a mythic than an actual genealogical sense) to all the other clans in the tribe. The thrust of current thinking about ethnicity is that it is created rather than inborn, more a cultural construct than something inherited or "in the blood."

It is obvious that none of these components can be seen directly in the archaeological record, but only, very tentatively, inferred. The realities behind what are used as "markers" for given ethnic groups—such as Early Slavic pottery or Lombard fibulae—were probably far more complex and are very uncertainly known. A piece of broken pottery tells us, by itself, absolutely nothing about its user's language, for example. It has to be said that many scholars of the early Slavs (especially Polish and Ukrainian ones) have seriously overinterpreted the available evidence and even indulged in wishful thinking on occasion.

This is certainly the case for claims that the origins of the Slavs can be seen in cultures of the distant past, for example, the so-called Pit Grave or Kurgan culture of the fifth millennium B.C.E. Questionable also is the claim that by about 2,000 B.C.E. the Slavs occupied the whole basin of the Vistula and most of the Oder, in addition to their eastern settlements between the Pripet Marshes and the Black Sea. Beyond the fact that the uncertainties noted in postulating the existence of an ethnic group from material remains alone are multiplied many times over when studying people so far distant in the past, it is nearly certain that the common ancestor of modern Slavic languages, which constitute such an important part of the Slavic identity, emerged thousands of years later, in the middle of the first millennium C.E. This proto-Slavic may well have emerged from precursors bearing a resemblance to modern Slavic languages, but these too must have been of relatively recent date and can have had only the most distant of relations to languages spoken by people several millennia earlier, according to the rate of language change over time known to linguists. Since the makers of the Pit Grave culture must have spoken a language (or languages) with only the remotest resemblance to proto-Slavic, it is hard to see that they or any other people of their time can be claimed as being "Slavs." (It is not even certain that they spoke an Indo-European language.)

Such misconceptions are fueled by the assumption that people today assume and think of their own ethnicity in the same way peoples in the distant past did. Citizens of modern nation-states are assigned their ethnicity from birth and are "socialized" to think of themselves as a nationality. The process of group identification in tribal societies was far different and more fluid, particularly in the case of the mobile warrior societies that dominated central and eastern Europe after the Neolithic Age. Warriors with their families could choose to belong to a tribe or decide to leave it for another—a decision often based on the success of a tribe or group of tribes in waging war and obtaining plunder, and in providing security for lands and herds. In the tumultuous period when the historically known Slavs first appeared tribes had become less important than large multiethnic confederacies open to any warrior bands who wished to join them. Furthermore central and eastern Europe, on the edge of the great central steppe lands

crossed for ages by tribes of mobile warriors and nomads from the time of the Pit Grave culture and before, were a meeting place of peoples from all over a vast region. For this reason the idea that groups there, living in periods some 4,000 years apart from one another, had any beyond the faintest of links is highly improbable.

Part of the problem in identifying the first Slavs lies in the great simplicity of their material remains. Their pottery especially is so plain and simple in shape that it provides few easily read distinguishing characteristics. The earliest claimed Slavic pottery, called the Korchak type, is actually quite similar to pottery made earlier over a wide region of central and eastern Europe, in places where there is no reason to believe Slavs lived at the time. This has made finding an original homeland of the Slavs an extremely difficult and contentious issue. Tracking the emergence and development of Slavic culture by using pottery has by necessity been an esoteric pursuit carried out by specialists. And here nationalist agendas, endemic among Slavs of different countries for centuries because of their long and troubled histories, can find a foothold. For it is all too easy for claimed affinities between different pottery assemblages found in different areas to be "in the eye of the beholder"—a scholar with the agenda to claim his country as the original homeland of the Slavs, for example, may see his pottery assemblage as more closely related to Korchak pottery than that from another country. Problems of dating also have plagued archaeological studies of Slavic material.

The archaeological remains of the earliest Slavs have been identified by excavating areas where the earliest of written sources place them—along the Danube in the sixth century C.E. and somewhat later in the Balkans. There is linguistic evidence that early Slavs may have lived in Moravia (modern Slovakia) and Bohemia (the modern Czech Republic), Ukraine, and other areas, and these places have been excavated as well. The material found in all of these regions shows enough similarity to assume, tentatively, that the Slavs at this time had "crystallized" into a group with a consciously shared ethnicity based on language, a common material culture, and possibly a shared ideology and religion. Before this period the existence of a distinctively Slavic ethnic group becomes a matter of increasingly tentative speculation.

The crystallization of Slavic identity may have taken place in the context of the conquest of the GOTHS, a German-led multiethnic confederacy north of the Lower Danube and the Black Sea, and by the HUNS, a Turkic steppe people, in the fifth century. It is thought that part of the process of forging a Slavic identity involved the Huns. The latter's disruption of the previous Gothic power structure may have opened opportunities for the first Slavs; some among them very probably joined the Hunnic forces, learning from them how to fight on horseback and thus becoming formidable and mobile warriors. Slavs may first have entered the Middle Danube region to the west, where they later lived, as part of the Hunnic hordes. The Huns' example may have served the Slavs well as they began in the sixth century to spread quickly over a wide area of eastern and central Europe into most of the countries where Slavic peoples live today.

This expansion was probably not a wholesale migration, because there is little evidence of depopulation in the areas inhabited by the earliest Slavs, nor of a reason why large groups would travel to lands far distant to settle. More likely, small bands of young Slavic warriors made such journeys into lands formerly held by Germanic elites, such as the VANDALS and LOMBARDS, who had departed to take advantage of the crumbling of Roman power in the south and west. These Slavic warriors may have been followed by small farming groups who were taking advantage of lands vacated by migrating Germanics and others.

LANGUAGE

All modern Slavic languages are thought to have diverged from a common language no longer in existence (and thus called proto-Slavic). Features of this hypothetical language have been reconstructed by comparing modern Slavic languages, but attempts through linguistic study to discover where and when proto-Slavic was first spoken have not yielded a theoretical consensus. Various places of origin proposed center on the general area between the Danube delta and the Pripet Swamp and from the Oder River in the west to the Dniester in the east. The fact that the different modern Slavic languages, even those geographically distant from one another, are similar enough that their speakers today can roughly understand one another strongly suggests that they diverged from proto-Slavic in the recent past, probably not long after the earliest evidence for the emergence of Slavic ethnicity around the late fifth and early sixth centuries C.E., when archaeological evidence of these early Slavs appears in the different regions of Slavdom.

There are three basic groups of Slavic languages. East Slavic languages are Ukrainian

and Belarusian, and Russian. South Slavic languages include Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian (with separate Serbian and Croatian dialects), Macedonian, and Slovenian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin, also of the Serbo-Croatian group, have recently been cited by their national groups to be separate languages. West Slavic languages include Polish, Kashubian, Sorbian, Czech, and Slovak. Old Church Slavic (Slavonic) is an archaic form of the South Slavic language that was spoken in Bulgaria and Moravia; it was adopted in Bulgaria for use in Christian liturgy in the ninth century and is still used in the ritual of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Polabian is a Slavic language, now extinct, that was spoken in the region around the Elbe River east to the Oder. It is probable that there were other Slavic tongues, which have disappeared, especially in the isolated valleys of the Balkans.

HISTORY

First Phase of Expansion: The Problem of a Slavic Homeland

Problems of dating the earliest Slavic archaeological finds have made it extremely difficult to identify a single homeland from which the Slavs expanded into the territories where they later dominated. Slavic material dating from the sixth century has been found, as noted, in Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and elsewhere.

By using early manifestations of pottery of the Slavic Korchak culture, named for a region in Ukraine where it was first identified, and of the small, sunken-floored dwellings that are typical of Slavs, four important movements of early Slavs have been identified: first, along the east flank of the Carpathian Mountains toward the Danube plain and the Balkans; second, along the north flank of the western Carpathians through southern Poland; third, along the southern flank of the western Carpathians toward the Middle Danube and the Elbe; and fourth, eastward in Ukraine. These movements, perhaps emanating from two separate centers, one in Ukraine and the other along the Danube, or possibly all from Ukraine, are too little understood to resolve fully the question of the original Slavic homeland.

Danube Plain and the Balkans

The appearance of Korchak pottery of the late fifth and early sixth centuries near the Lower Danube and the Balkans may have resulted from the crystallization there of a Slavic cultural identity possibly by a process such as that outlined previously. It could also have been carried there by peoples who were taking advantage of the depopulation of this region north and south of the northern Roman imperial frontier. If this happened, the most natural route would have been from the western Ukraine along the arc of a forest steppe beside the eastern and southern Carpathians, through Moldova and Romania, open country making for ease of movement. This scenario would furnish a strong argument for Ukraine as the homeland of the Slavs, because the other known Slavic movements consist of an expansion from the Lower Danube upriver, an expansion into Poland that could have originated in either the Danube region or Ukraine, and an expansion from the western Ukraine eastward. On the other hand, if the dating of Slavic sites along the Danube to the late fifth century is correct, they would predate Ukrainian Korchak pottery by more than half a century.

It is the Slavs along the Danube border with the Roman Empire who first appear in records written by the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire, referring to raids by a people they called SCLAVENI, who were also joined by another group called ANTES. The sixth-century Roman writer Procopius says that the Antes were once a single people called Sporoi, a word that is close to a proto-Slavic word meaning "multitude." He describes their raiding in the 550s, which they had begun in the 520s. Thus the Slavs who had arrived in the previous century may have been peasant communities rather than war bands, and indeed this accords with the character of their material culture. Several Germanic groups, probably including the Lombards, GEPIDS, and HERULI, remained in the area at this time. The Slavs settled away from these groups but met and mingled with the complex mix of other peoples in the area, natives of the region, people attracted by the lucrative Roman trade, and others introduced there as part of the multiethnic confederacies that had long impinged on this area so close to the Roman border. When the Slavs later began to raid Roman territory, it is thought that they probably took enough slaves with them back over the Danube to make a significant contribution to the population there. These and all but the Germanic groups soon adopted the Slavic Korchak pottery and house types, indicating that the Slavs were the most dominant non-Germanic group in the region.

Along the North Flank of the Carpathians into Poland

A variant of Korchak-type pottery is thought to represent the Slavs who moved along the Carpathians into Poland. When it was first

made is unclear, but its later phase has been dated to the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries. Dates have been claimed for earlier such pottery found in Moravia as early as the late fifth century, but the most reliable dating is for the middle or later sixth century. Procopius, describing the migration of the Germanic Heruli north to Scandinavia in 512, writes that they passed through territory of the Sclaveni, but his account is ambiguous as to where this was. The Olsztyn culture (named for a region in northern Poland) shows substantial signs of change that began just before the middle of the sixth century and lasted for about a hundred years, its cemeteries containing what appear to be Slavic fibulae from the Lower Danube delta, and at least one site containing possibly Slavic pottery. The Olsztyn culture from this period seems to be a mixed one, with both Germanic and Slavic elements. The change in this culture may document the arrival of the Slavs, but whether from the Danube region, where the earliest historical accounts document the presence of Slavs, or from the western Ukraine, which is closer to Poland, is uncertain (although the Danubian Slavic fibulae suggest that they originated there).

Most signs of Germanic culture had disappeared from Poland by the early sixth century, but BALTS continued to live in the northeast.

Expansion Eastward in Ukraine

Korchak pottery first appears at its type site in Ukraine around the middle of the sixth century. By the end of the century Korchak pottery makers seem to have expanded over large areas of the western Ukraine to the Dnieper in the east. Villages were built on terraces just above river floodplains, consisting of five to 10 huts. These were built in the Slavic style—of timber, square with sunken floors and a stone-built oven in one corner. Their dead were buried in small cremation cemeteries, some in urns and some not. On the basis of a text by Jordanes, a sixth-century historian of the Goths, some Russian scholars believe these to have been the Antes, whom Jordanes places from the Dniester to the Dneiper, but also near the Black Sea, a region that is steppe land different from the forest steppe and deciduous forest regions to the north where the makers of Korchak pottery lived. This region was probably a route frequented by warlike steppe nomads, therefore a dangerous area for settlers. Jordanes's account of the Slavs is considered suspect because of his uncertain geography, which in some instances is nonsensical.

Early Slavic Expansion

The timing of this initial phase of Slavic expansion is highly uncertain; it could have taken as little as 50 years or more than twice as long. In either case the expansion was remarkably rapid, whether accomplished by a large movement of people or by influences exerted by Slavic warriors on the natives in the new lands. Written sources suggest that the latter was accomplished, at least in part, by the Slavs' practice of allowing prisoners taken in war to join their ranks and become Slavs. However it was achieved, by about the middle of the sixth century Slavic culture was established in an area several thousand kilometers in extent, with a population density estimated at several people per square kilometer.

Procopius writes that the Antes began raiding Byzantine territory in the reign of Justin I (518–527), when they were decisively defeated. When Justinian I ascended to power in 527 he turned much of his attention to regaining the territory of the Western Roman Empire. The Slavs' many raids in the 530s may have benefited from undermanning of the empire's frontier along the Danube as a result of Justinian's campaigns in the west. Procopius mentions that the Slavs and Antes were joined in these raids by Huns. In 531 the commander Chilbudius halted the raids and carried the war into the raiders' homelands, so that the Slavs and Antes assembled in massed armies. A large Sclaveni army met Chilbudius, who was killed in the melee.

The Sclaveni and Antes were not firm allies and sometimes even fought one another. The Byzantines probably exploited this friction to divide and conquer the raiders by enlisting the Antes as *foederati* (federates), or allies. This possibility is suggested by the fact that in the middle of the sixth century after their war with the Sclaveni had been resolved Justinian offered the Antes an abandoned fort and surrounding lands on the northern bank of the Danube, and a large sum of money to protect that part of the frontier, ostensibly against the Huns, but possibly against their brother Slavs, the Sclaveni. The Antes accepted the offer; 300 of them even joined in a war against the OSTROGOTHS, formerly part of the Gothic confederacy that had taken Italy.

Justinian took steps to strengthen the Danube border against the Slavs, restoring many forts and building new ones; he also seems to have brought all trade across the border to a halt, judging by the lack of coins of his reign in the territories beyond the Danube. The large imperial armies were unsuccessful against the small mobile war bands of the Slavs, and

the Byzantines' countermeasures only encouraged the Slavs to become more organized.

In about 545 the Lombard prince Ildigis led a group of Slav and Gepid warriors across the Middle Danube possibly from southwest Slovakia or northeastern Austria. Procopius describes a Slavic army as large as 3,000 men raiding Illyria in 547–548; a Byzantine army of 15,000 in the area failed to engage with them, for unknown reasons. The Slavs raided Illyria again the next year and moved into Thrace as well. Their incursions placed them close to Byzantium itself when they took the fortified town of Topir nearby. Procopius writes that they massacred most of the men, some 15,000, leaving the area covered with unburied corpses, and took all women and children into slavery. According to Procopius their methods of killing were brutal (at least by modern standards, perhaps less so by theirs), including impaling the enemy through the anus on sharp stakes, beating them, and burning them alive. There seems little reason to doubt that Procopius's account had at least some grounding in fact. The fruits of these raids for the Slavs included huge numbers of slaves, cattle, and sheep—too many of the latter to take away with them so that some were shut up in huts with their masters and burned to death. Numbers of the slaves taken north across the Danube were later ransomed and allowed to return home; some of these chose to stay and were accepted into Slavic society.

The Slavs were not always successful, and a raiding party on Thessalonica on the Greek Peninsula in 550 called off their attempt when they heard of the proximity of an imperial army led by Germanus. The Byzantines are known to have defeated Slavic forces in 599 and 600, according to letters of congratulation from Pope Gregory I.

There was an apparent cessation in raiding from the 550s to the 570s; then at least in part under the influence of the Avars, nomads out of Mongolia, raiding began again, now deep into the Balkans. The Avars had arrived and settled on the north bank of the Danube in 559–561, absorbing the Slavs as subject allies into their probably multiethnic confederacy made up of peoples the Avars had swept into their train as they moved across central Eurasia. They stopped for a time on the Pontic steppe, before continuing westward. Slavs from the east probably also accompanied the Avars.

The Byzantines again attempted their divide-and-conquer tactic, paying the Avars large amounts of gold to fight the Slavs and to desist from attacking Byzantium; the Avars were allowed to settle in Pannonia. Accordingly the Avars attacked Slavs living along the Lower Danube and an intense struggle ensued. Meanwhile in 578 after Avar forces were ferried across the Danube they began making incursions onto Byzantine lands ostensibly for the purpose of furthering their war against the Slavs. These led to a series of raids deep into Byzantine Greece, attacking rich coastal towns on the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black Seas. Slavs later followed in the wake of the Avar raids, which made their penetration easier, raiding in their turn and then settling lands depopulated by war and by an outbreak of bubonic plague that had decimated the population in the 540s. In addition Justinian's legislation and fortification program seems to have destroyed the peasant economy of the Balkans. By the early seventh century the Avars had established a powerful hegemony in central Europe, from the eastern Carpathians to the eastern Alps. The Slavs participated in this by way of tribute and service provided to their Avar overlords, but some of them also in time became members of the Avar warrior elite. In this their earlier experience with the Huns may have helped them; at least some among the Slavs probably became masters of steppe-style warfare.

In all probability it was at first as part of the Avar order that the Slavs eventually spread their culture throughout the Balkans. From the end of the sixth century to the middle of the seventh a large-scale Slavic settlement of the Balkans occurred. These Slavs made no attempt to use abandoned Roman forts, suggesting that they were peasant farmers rather than warriors. But even while this peaceful migration occurred, Slavic warriors continued to conduct destructive raids on Byzantine cities at will, taking plunder.

It is unclear to what extent Slavs settled in Greece in these centuries; there is little archaeological evidence of them there at this time or in the southern Balkans. Few of the typical Slavic sunken-floored huts, pottery types, and burials have been found. Written sources claim that Slavs displaced Greeks in the western Peloponnese, sending them fleeing to Sicily; the region around Thessalonica became known as Macedonian Sclavinia. There is strong linguistic evidence for their presence at least by the seventh century in the number of Slavic place-names in the southern Balkans. It may be that at this time Slavs in Greece and the southern Balkans had abandoned their simple material culture, a strong likelihood if the accounts of their becoming rich through raiding are true.

The former province of Dalmatia (in modern Croatia), where Slavs began raiding in about

550, had been the last surviving Western Roman province and was currently part of the Eastern Empire. By the time of the arrival of the Slavs a significant number of the Romanized but multiethnic population had remained there. Over time as rapprochement between the Slavs and the Dalmatians took place the latter's culture had a strong effect on the Slavs, perhaps greater than in any other Slavic territory, and was important in the development of Moravian culture. Slavs and Avars increasingly penetrated this area after the fall of Sirmium gave them access to the western Balkans, from the 570s to the 590s destroying towns and settlements all the way to the coast.

The Byzantines concluded a peace treaty in 590 with their great enemy, the Persians, which allowed them to divert a large part of their military resources from the east to their northern border. There they began a full-scale war on the Sclaveni and Avars, aided by their allies, the Antes, who had been attacking Sclavene settlements since the 580s. The Byzantines mounted a massive invasion across the Danube, defeating the Avars and killing the Avar khan's four sons along with possibly as many as 30,000 Avar warriors. After the emperor Maurice Tiberius was assassinated in 602 in a military revolt provoked by the hardships of the war against the Avars, under his weak successor Phocas internal strife prevented the Byzantines from maintaining pressure on the Avars. They in turn recovered and attacked the Antes, who may have been destroyed or driven them from the region, for they are never mentioned in written sources again.

Byzantine disorder allowed the Avars and Slavs again to raid deep into the Balkans and Greece, concentrating on Dalmatia. In the period from 612 to 614 Slavs attacked Salona, the capital of Dalmatia, and its populace sought shelter inside Diocletian's walled palace at Split. They then turned to Thessalonica on the east coast, using siege machines, an indication of the increasing sophistication of the Avar and Slav fighting forces. The chronicler Isidore of Seville in Visigothic Spain writes that in the fifth year of the rule of the emperor Heraclius (615) the "Slavs took Greece from the Romans." During this period Slavs settled in abandoned countryside in the Balkans, where there is evidence of extensive soil erosion at this time (the thick deposition of soil in rivers that occurred is called the Younger Fill), which could have been caused by overgrazing or climate change and probably contributed to the collapse of the Byzantine economy in the 650s, when use of coins was abandoned for barter.

The weakening of the Byzantine military through lack of funds caused Heraclius to roll back the northern frontier and withdraw all troops from the Balkans, making a virtue of necessity and opening up the area to Slavic settlement, which continued to be sparse, in part because of the degradation of farmlands through the great erosion event of the Younger Fill.

Slavs were part of the siege of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) by combined Avar and Persian forces in 626, serving mainly as infantry but also manning dugout boats to ferry Persians across the Bosporus to the western side. The Byzantines were able to sink many of these and many Slavs drowned; this reverse caused most of the Slavs to leave the battle, which turned into a disaster for the Avars and Persians. The defeat and the Slavic loss of life seem to have caused a crisis of confidence among Slavs concerning the Avars, whose influence on the Slavs declined for several decades.

Slavic settlement of the Balkans continued throughout the seventh century, in Macedonia; near Thessalonica, Dalmatia, northern Thrace; and elsewhere until large areas were in Slavic hands. Local groups began to organize into tribes during this period, as their settlements stabilized. The former province of Lower Moesia along the Danube, which was probably one of the earliest areas settled, became known to the Byzantines as Sclavenia. Tribes here known from Byzantine sources include one called the Seven Clans; another was called the Sieverzane. A large number of tribes emerged in Macedonia in the region of Thessalonica (which remained in Byzantine hands). The mountainous interior of the Balkans seems to have been avoided by Slavic settlers—as few tribal names here are known. Only a few clearly Slavic archaeological sites in the Balkans in general have been found from this period, but several of those found were fairly large, comprising as many as 60 and more than 100 of the typical Slavic huts; these settlements had no defensive walls. They were not towns, however, and Byzantine towns and forts were mostly abandoned. Excavation of these has yielded coin and silverware hoards and destruction layers dating to the time of the Slavic raids.

Contrary to Isidore's comment, important areas of Greece remained in Byzantine hands, particularly coastal areas near ports, as well as areas of the southeastern Balkans. Athens and the surrounding regions of Attica and Boeotia were still controlled by Greeks, and Athens remained a cultural center where scholarship and education thrived. The Byzantine theme

(administrative region) of Hellas, which included Athens and surroundings, was established by the end of the seventh century. The region of Thrace surrounding Constantinople also continued under Byzantine control.

Gradually the Byzantines imposed their control on Slavs in the eastern Balkans, partly driven by the impoverished empire's need for revenue. Tribes here were subjugated by the emperors Constans II in 656–657 and Justinian II, who consolidated control in campaigns in 688–695 and 705–711. A Thracian theme was created in 680–687, and Slavs there were obliged to pay tribute and supply military aid, including grain. Slavs in Macedonia and Greece were more resistant against expeditions sent against them in 656 and 686. Numerous Slavs were taken prisoner in these campaigns; some of these were recruited into the Byzantine army; others were resettled in Bithynia in Asia Minor. The subjugated Slavs revolted repeatedly. In areas where Slavic tribes remained independent, some developed new, more organized political institutions, probably to mount more effective resistance to any Byzantine attempts to subjugate them. As in the case of Germanic tribes near the Roman borders in the first centuries C.E. Slavs soon became influenced by Byzantine civilization and its governmental and military system, whether they were part of the empire or not.

In the western Balkans Slavs expanded up the valleys of the Drava, Sava, and Mura Rivers into the flanks of the eastern Alps and had settled large areas of Dalmatia, including coastal regions and islands, by 642. Slavs ransomed prisoners and religious relics to Pope John IV around this time. As elsewhere archaeological remains of the Slavs from the seventh century here are sparse. Those in the eastern Alps apparently joined with indigenous populations, including Germanics, to develop the Carinthian culture of the seventh and eighth centuries, which has Germanic elements as well as elements rooted in the culture of late antiquity (*see* CARANTANIANS).

According to a mid-10th-century account by a Byzantine writer, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (the emperor Constantine VII), one of whose informants lived in Dalmatia, CROATS and SERBS settled in the eastern Alps in the reign of Heraclius in the first half of the seventh century. This would antedate any known Slavic archaeological remains in the Balkans; yet, given the scarcity of any signs at all of the Slavs there in this century, this early settlement by Croats and Serbs is not impossible. Yet some of the material in this text has features that make it appear more a legend than a straightforward account, with elements characteristic of Slavic folktales, and there are duplications suggesting that it was simply a compilation of earlier material—different versions of the same story, as in many medieval annals and histories, which often are collections of oral traditions—with no attempt at verification. Along with factual errors and other problems, this makes it difficult to assess how far Porphyrogenitus's account can be trusted.

Slavic Expansion beyond the Balkans

In the latter sixth and seventh centuries Slavic societies elsewhere continued to expand their territory and to consolidate settlement in lands already occupied; their social organization also stabilized. Some archaeologists identify a "second wave" of Slavic migration to the area north of the Danube, possibly from Ukraine, in the middle of the sixth century; these settlements have much less material from other cultures and are more "purely" Slavic. The new territories elsewhere were mostly located in the forest zone of central and eastern Europe, marking a break in the former Slavic concentration on forest steppe lands. In spite of the new ecology the Slavs confronted, which probably necessitated new methods of subsistence, Slavic material culture remained remarkably uniform over its whole extent.

A puzzle in this uniformity is the question of why the huge quantities of plunder that the Danubian Slavs took in the raids on Byzantine territory seem to have made so little impression on Slavic culture until the mid-seventh century. Where did all of the gold and silver go? Where are the great stores of weapons taken from Byzantine cities? Why indeed are iron weapons not found in Korchak sites? And again, if theirs was a deliberately simple culture in terms of material goods as some scholars have suggested, why did they raid at all? Even though only the Danubian Slavs took part in raids, it would seem likely that given that people over a wide area seem to have become part of a pan-Slavic culture, some of this loot would circulate through the Slavic lands, to Ukraine, Poland, and elsewhere. This is one of the many mysteries that shroud early Slavic history, which may in time be elucidated with more archaeological finds and the secure dating provided by the recently developed science of dendrochronology (tree-ring dating).

Slavic sites found in the Middle Danube in southwestern Slovakia and northeastern Austria may date from the mid-sixth century, because an incursion by Slavs and Gepids into

Byzantine territory noted by Procopius, which took place in about 545, seems to have originated here.

In Ukraine the second wave of Slavic expansion involved the Penkova culture, named for a site near the village of Penkova. Penkova sites occur in a zone distinct from that of the Korchak culture, located to the southeast over a wide area from the edge of the Pripet Marshes across the Dnieper into eastern Ukraine. Some Penkova huts had hearths freestanding rather than in one corner, and the pottery is more varied in form and sometimes decorated with pinched rims to give a frilled effect. The general impression given by Penkova pottery—to the nonspecialist, however—is that it is nearly identical to Korchak pottery. Abandoned iron tools have been found in Penkova contexts, in contrast to Korchak sites, and some decorative metalwork.

Further expansion in Poland beyond the rich farmlands in the southeast during this time was limited, mostly following the major river valleys, and the culture remained largely unchanged here. Material from the latter sixth century in southern Slovakia, Moravia, and Bohemia is very similar to that from contemporary Poland to the north, and the Czech and Slovak languages in their early stages were similar to South Slavic languages, making the origin of the Slavic groups here uncertain. Material in Bohemia has been called the Prague Culture, although it is very similar to that found in Ukraine and elsewhere.

Prague-type pottery from the latter seventh century (dated by dendrochronology to the 660s) is found in former Germanic areas near the Elbe, Saale, and Havel Rivers, in the later territory of a tribe called the SORBS (whose language has survived to the present). Slavs here moved into areas formerly settled by Germanic peoples that were reverting to forest. In the northern part, north of Brandenburg in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, where until the 19th century a now extinct Slavic language called Polabian was spoken, a distinct culture, named for the town of Sukow in Mecklenburg and Dziedzice in Pomerania, has been identified. The Sukow-Dziedzice culture differed from that of most Slavs in having ground-level rather than sunken-floored dwellings and almost no cemeteries, and their pottery is more varied. The Sukow-Dziedzice culture also occurs over much of northwestern and western Poland. This distinct tradition may have resulted from assimilation of native Germanic peoples with incoming Slavs.

Arrival of the Bulgars in the Danube Region

In the seventh century the Slavs in the Danube frontier region were under the control of the BULGARS, a Turkic-speaking people who had emerged as a power in the steppe region near the Sea of Azov; their coalition may have included Hunnic remnants, Avars, and possibly ALANS. The breakup of a powerful confederacy of Bulgars on the Don and Caucasus steppe (sometimes called the Khanate of Great Bulgaria) caused one group of Bulgar horsemen to ride westward, they reached the eastern fringes of Avar territory on the north bank of the Danube, where they established hegemony over the Slavs.

These Danubian Bulgars, led by Khan Asparukh, began attacking the Byzantine frontier and imperial territory in Thrace. In 680 they overran the former Lower Moesia, now the largely Slav-settled "Sclavenia," subduing the Seven Clans and the Sieverzane. Emperor Constantine IV (Pogonatus) could do no more than cede the Bulgars this territory, although the Bulgars agreed to pay tribute.

Continuing Slavic Expansion

A third phase of Slavic expansion was marked by relative stability in Slavic territories, and by a slow development away from the simple egalitarianism of the past, as Slavs began to accept non-Slavic influences, especially from the Byzantines, the Lombards in Italy, and the Avars. The pace of this change increased greatly in the mid-seventh century, as new pottery types developed, made more regular in form apparently through the use of a kind of turntable (not a potter's wheel), and the use of mounds to cover burials was adopted.

Developments North of the Carpathians

In the Polish region north of the Carpathians significant changes in material culture, from the mid-seventh century, seem to signal a departure from the simple Slavic culture of the past. In southern Poland more accomplished pottery was made, finished on what is called a "slow wheel" that allowed for a more regular shape. Pottery was decorated and made in a greater variety of shapes; influences from south of the Carpathians are apparent. Dwellings continued to be of the familiar sunken-floor type, but burials of cremated remains now were commonly covered with earthen barrows and placed in small cemeteries, possibly for clan or family members. Such burials, memorials to the dead that would have been visible in the landscape, may signal a deeper connection

with place than the mobile Slavs had ever had. In eastern Poland hilltop strongholds (albeit with relatively weak defenses) were first built in the early seventh century. Rich ornamental metalwork has been found in these strongholds, showing mixed influences of Byzantine, Lombard, and Avar cultures.

The impetus for some of these changes seems to have been the Avar khanate, where pottery similar to the southern Polish type was made. The change to barrow burial started south of the Carpathians, moving first to Moravia and Bohemia and then northward, but because Avars themselves did not make barrow graves, this change was not a matter of direct influence. It may be that the raising of barrows commemorating the dead was of a piece with the Slavs' new interest in a more elaborate material culture. Personal ornaments and barrows may signal the rise of a sense of pride and individualism among elites, similar to that of the Germanic elites. The style of Slavic metalwork at this time shows influences from the late Cherniakhovo culture, the Ostrogoths in Italy, and the Gepids in the Carpathian basin. A type of fibula particular to the Slavs (called the Slavic fibula) was made in a considerable variety of forms, thought to have symbolic significance and to announce group affinities. Slavic fibulae are found from the Mazurian Lake district in northeastern Poland to the lower Danube and Crimea, in Southern Slavic areas, in Penkova lands in eastern Ukraine, but rarely in the former Korchak territories on the west bank of the Dnieper, where a distinct style of fibula developed, or in Western Slavic areas. Fibulae in parts of the Balkans derived their form from Late Roman models.

Another common ornament whose variants seem to show relationships between groups in different regions was the temple ring; numbers of these were worn by women attached to a leather headband (hence the name temple). Similarities in temple rings from the Danubian area and Penkova lands may suggest cultural links between these two areas. By the eighth century temple rings here were being influenced by Byzantine fashions. Temple rings are found in Western Slavic areas sporadically in the seventh century and more commonly in the eighth.

Avar Influences in the Seventh Century

A zone between the Danube and the southern Carpathians east of Bohemia has cemeteries where both Avars and Slavs were buried. Some of these are large; one near Bratislava has a thousand graves. Most of these were inhumations. Some burials had grave goods, either Avar or Slav; a typical artifact of the latter were S-shaped temple rings. Pottery was decorated by incising the wet clay with a comb-shaped implement to make parallel lines, either straight or in "squiggles," or by stamping. Some pots were wheel-thrown. In general Slavs here had reached a higher state of development, under Avar influence, than had their brethren elsewhere. The wide-ranging Avar society combined traits from Byzantine and Frankish Merovingian cultures.

This Slavo-Avar culture is found in present-day Slovakia and Hungary, where large cemeteries attest to the stability of settlements. There is major disagreement between Hungarian and Slovakian researchers as to the ethnic affinities of the deceased in these cemeteries. Although there are graves with clearly Slavic material and others with Avar artifacts—one of the markers of difference is the presence or absence of the Avar stirrup—Slovakian scholars claim that some of the apparently Avar graves are of Slavs who had adopted Avar dress and equipment, whereas Hungarians believe them to be foreign nomads. Skeletally Mongol or Asian features are claimed for some of the bodies, possibly evidence of a new wave of steppe nomads. Artifacts of late Avar type from the eighth century found in these cemeteries could have been introduced in this migration, although they could also have been the products of a local development. In any case the material culture here was rich by Slavic standards; there are even glass vessels, probably imported from Francia.

Avar-style belt mounts are found in many male Slavic graves south of the Carpathians, the material expression of elite status and allegiance to the Avar power bloc.

Kingdom of Samo

The importance of Frankish influence south of the Carpathians is shown by the activities of a Frankish merchant named Samo, who in 623 according to a Frankish account written in the 660s led Slavs living somewhere on the Frankish borders in a successful revolt against the Avars. Fredegar, the writer of the account, says that Samo became *rex* (king) of his Slavic followers, adopting Slavic customs (including the taking of 12 wives). Samo's polity is unlikely to have been worthy of being called a state in any medieval or early-modern sense of the term, for when he died it vanished without a trace. The most notable event of Samo's reign was a victory over forces sent against him by the Frankish king Dagobert in 631. There has been considerable controversy over the location of Samo's kingdom; no archaeological trace of such a political

organization has been found. It may have been in the region of Vienna on the fringes of the Slav-Avar territory, far enough away from Francia to have stretched Dagobert's military to its limits; if it was, that could explain how the Slavs were able to prevail over the most powerful and successful of Merovingian kings since Clovis. Wishful thinking and national pride of some archaeologists have led to claims, without concrete evidence, that Samo's kingdom was located in the Morava River valley (in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia) or present-day Slovenia; this is unlikely because these areas were not under Avar control. Samo's reign lasted until 658.

Slavs in Ukraine

There is not enough evidence to assess how Slavic culture may have developed in present-day Ukraine in the seventh century. An important development that would affect the Slavs later was the rise in power of the KHAZARS, an ancient Turkic people who had emerged in the Transcaucasus in the second century C.E. By 650 they dominated the steppes from north of the Caspian Sea, over much of Caucasia, and north of the Black Sea between the Dniester and Don Rivers. They absorbed the Bulgars who had remained in the steppe lands and the Alans. Their influence on peoples living in the forest zone north of the steppes crystallized the ethnic identity of the MAGYARS, who would later invade and take control of the region of present-day Hungary.

Separation of Early Slavic Unity into Regional Zones

During the eighth and ninth centuries three major and discrete Slavic traditions that paved the way for the development of the medieval Slavic states emerged. In the region north of the Carpathians people in Poland and Slavic regions to the west became part of the Western Slavic zone. East of Poland Slavs living in modern Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine made up the Eastern Slavic zone; south of the Carpathians Slavs from the head of the Adriatic, through the Balkans and northern Greece to the western Black Sea coast, became part of the Southern Slavic group. Major revisions in dating of the Slavic material that documents these new traditions, some of it as much as 200 years later in date than had been thought (now believed to be eighth century rather than sixth), have led to a telescoping of developments, and to the realization that this division happened much more swiftly and dramatically than had been thought.

There is evidence that at least in Western and Eastern Slavic regions the eighth and ninth centuries saw an increase in Slavic populations. In Poland detailed field-walking surveys to locate and measure the size of archaeological sites have documented that by the end of the ninth century settlements and dwellings had increased to a number that could have supported a population three times that of the sixth century. Larger populations were probably among the factors that led to a more complex and organized society.

Slavic societies had closer relations with more advanced neighboring cultures in this period; to a great degree (although not entirely) these took the form of what is called a core-periphery relationship, with most influence moving from the more developed core outward, as in the case of the Roman Empire and the Germanic peoples along its borders. The Southern Slavs (Bulgars, Serbs, and, at first, Croats) were in the Byzantine sphere of influence. The Eastern Slavs were affected by the Khazars and other steppe cultures, and by the Islamic states of central Asia. In the ninth century raiders and traders from Scandinavia played a crucial role in the formation of the Kievan state (*see* RUS; VIKINGS). The expansion of the FRANKS under the Carolingian dynasty influenced the Western Slavs.

Southern Slavs

Slavs south of the Danube were at the forefront of developments over all Slavic lands from the eighth century. The scarcity of Slavic material remains in the Balkans ends for the latter seventh century and beyond as villages or hamlets of that age and later have been uncovered. They consisted of a few sunken-floored huts that were being replaced as they deteriorated, so that the same settlement sites were used for several centuries. This stabilization of settlement coincides with the emergence of tribes documented in Byzantine sources. Perhaps because the Slavs first crystallized as an ethnic group in the context of larger confederacies of groups, first on their own and then as part of the Hunnic and then Avar confederacies, the new tribes south of the Danube soon formed larger coalitions, such as the Seven Tribes (or Clans), who lived along the southern bank of the Lower Danube. The name given by the Byzantines to Slavic lands in the Peloponnese of Sclavonia terra may document an organization of tribes that had joined to combat the Byzantines.

This self-organization ended as the Bulgars overran the territories of the Seven Clans and

the Sieverzane in the process of creating a powerful khanate. However, as they had with the Avars, the Slavs were able to retain their cultural identity under the Bulgars, possibly because of the usefulness of their language as a lingua franca for all the groups that were under Bulgar domination. Slavic elements played an important role in the distinctive Bulgarian ethnicity that later emerged.

Not until the mid-eighth century as internal political turmoil ended were the Byzantines able to mount a serious attack on the Bulgars. In 756 they launched the first in a series of bloody campaigns over several dozen years that ultimately failed. The continued strength of the Bulgar khanate allowed the Bulgars to participate in the war of the Franks against the Avars in 793–796. The collapse of the Avar hegemony gave the Bulgars control of large areas of Transylvania and part of the Carpathian basin, while the Carolingian Franks' power stopped short of the great bend of the Danube east of Vienna. The Bulgar polity became increasingly centralized under Khan Omurtag in the ninth century. The enormous territory of the khanate was divided into 11 areas, each with its own governor appointed by the state.

Although many Slavs were resettled in territories apart from their tribal homelands, breaking up earlier groupings, their continuing importance to the Bulgar rulers made their culture increasingly dominant in the khanate until in the ninth century a Slavic language (Old Bulgarian) became the state language. The government of the khanate was modeled on that of the Byzantines, and Bulgars adopted many elements of Byzantine culture. Thus the Bulgarian state lost its nomadic character—large urban centers, as with the Byzantines, played a central role in society.

Contacts of Khan Boris with the Frankish king Charles the Bald and with the East Frankish kingdom seem to have impressed him with the benefits of religious unity in states; religious dissension in his realm had become troublesome, and he accepted Christianity, ultimately of the Byzantine creed. The liturgy was conducted, however, in the Slavic language. Boris then forcibly converted his subjects, including the polytheistic pagan Slavs.

Southern Slavs outside the Bulgarian Khanate

The rejuvenated strength of the Byzantines in the eighth century, although it proved inadequate against the Bulgars, did enable them to retake lands in southern Greece from the Slavs. In 782 Constantine VI reconquered Hellas and then took the Peloponnese, creating a new theme there. In spite of this some Slavs were able to retain their autonomy and culture.

Slavic areas in the northwest Balkans were the scene of a power struggle between the Byzantines and the Franks from the end of the eighth century and fell under the domination of the Carolingian Empire, although indigenous leaders were allowed to continue to rule semiautonomously, subject to Frankish colonization. Carinthia in the eastern Alps, in which Slavs and indigenous Germanic peoples had joined into a distinct ethnicity, were under the domination of Bavaria and in the ninth century of the Carolingian Empire. The name of modern Slavs in this area, SLOVENES, was not used until the 16th century; earlier names given them in medieval Latin documents include Sclavi and Sclavini, as well as Vinadi and Vinades.

Another group in the Balkans who lived alongside Slavic groups without joining them were the Albanians, apparently the remnants of the ILLYRIANS who had lived there long before the invasion of the Romans, since at least the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. The Albanians lived scattered throughout the Balkans in small settlements, where the centuries of invasions had driven them.

With the final collapse of Avar power in the 790s Slavs moved into Lower Pannonia in the great bend of the Danube, among them Croats and OBODRITES from the region of the Elbe River. Upper Pannonia to the west, the region around Vienna, remained under Frankish domination. By the latter half of the ninth century the Slavs there had organized themselves into a polity under Prince Pribina, who was in effect a vassal of the Carolingian king Louis the German, who had given him lands along the Zara River. Pribina encouraged colonization of forest and swamplands and showed his allegiance to Louis by accepting Roman Christianity and becoming part of the diocese of Salzburg. His son, under the influence of Slavic missionaries, accepted the Slavic rite of the Byzantine Church. This area was devastated by the Magyars in the 890s and later became the core of the Hungarian state.

Eastern Slavs

The distinction between Eastern and Western Slavs has received much attention. But before the ninth century the cultures east and west of the usual dividing line drawn along the border of Poland and the former Soviet Union were



This pagan obelisk was constructed by the Slavs. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

relatively uniform. The division seemed more of a "back-projection" into the past based on subtle differences in pottery types that are often more in the eye of the beholder than real. Soviet and Polish archaeologists working together to interpret material from this period agreed to demarcate the boundary between cultures as being along the Bug River—the modern boundary between their two countries, which again raises the question of how valid a division this was in the period of the early Slavs.

The expansion of the Germanic-led Rus, from the end of the ninth century, began to foster a markedly distinct cultural pattern in the east. Earlier, in the eighth century Slavs in the region that would become the Kievan state lived in forest steppe zones west and east of the Dnieper. These territories on each side of the river differed in their settlement patterns, and the region to the west seems to have become Slavic several centuries earlier than that to the east. The forest zone to the north had more sporadic Slavic settlement.

More strongholds were built in Ukraine after the eighth century. At least 25 have been identified, most of these along the periphery, the Pripet swamplands, and by the edges of the Carpathians. The earliest enclosure at Kiev in the center of the region was constructed at this time, and eight other sites were clustered around Kiev. This may suggest the development of a sense of political cohesion and of the need to defend it from the outside world.

Villages in the eastern Ukraine were larger than earlier, although still made up of sunken-floored huts. Some of them were fortified. Barrow graves were common in cemeteries that were sometimes large, with rich grave goods, but people were still also buried in more inconspicuous flat graves. A considerable amount of Islamic silver, by Slavic standards, in the form of both ornaments and coins, entered the area in the eighth century, particularly east of the Dnieper, and was buried in hoards and graves. Northeast of the Dnieper in a region that had previously had a Baltic culture a Slavic culture appeared in the eighth century, associated with fortified settlements perhaps attesting to tensions accompanying the changeover. Slavs seem to have gone upstream following tributaries of the Dnieper, and their settlements are found along them. The distribution of finds of this group accords with the territory of a tribe mentioned in sources called the SEVERIANS, which means "northern people" (possibly with reference to the Khazars to the south). Another group settled on the Upper Don around Voronezh and Lipetsk in Russia, also making strongholds—one site had ramparts made of limestone. It is unclear how much of a Slavic component this group had, and some of its sites are located within an area characterized by the culture of the FINNO-UGRIANS. Recent study suggests that this group may have been the CHORVATI, whose name may be the root of the word Croat. It is unclear what relationship these Chorvati may have had to Croats in Southern and Western Slavic lands.

To the southeast of the Slavic regions from the Middle Don to the Lower Volga was a zone dominated by the culture of the Khazars. Sites here contain wheel-made pottery and high-quality metalwork, with nomadic types of horse harnesses and weapons. This region seems to have had an important influence in the development of the Slavic cultures to the north. The interface between the Slav and Khazar zones is marked by a line of what are called white stone fortresses built around the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries. The people in the Severian and Chorvati areas may have gained their (albeit modest) wealth by controlling long-distance exchange routes passing through their territories from the Khazars perhaps to the BALTS, for amber and the furs that abounded in the north. This accounted for the rise of the Kievan Rus in the latter ninth century. However, Kievan tradition does not mention previous important trade centers that the Rus took over from earlier peoples, and the trading empire that the Rus built seems to have had little or no precedent. The flow of Islamic silver from the Khazars into the region around Kiev was limited before the Rus entered, even with the large enclosure on the future site of Kiev. It has been suggested that the Slavic Kievans of the earlier ninth century were acting as tribute takers for the Khazars, and that the enclosures in the region were for the purpose, not of defense, but of rounding up and holding herds and traders with their goods to collect and store this tribute. At the end of the ninth century a huge enclosure the size of a town was built near Kiev.

In the regions northeast of clearly Slavic lands were cultures with many similarities to Slavic culture (and vice versa). Some Slavic archeologists see them as Slavic, whereas according to linguistic evidence (place-names) these should have been Baltic lands. Here again the great simplicity of the material culture of peoples throughout northeastern Europe makes it very difficult to find strongly characteristic traits with which to make such distinc-

tions. Furthermore, it is likely that proto-Slavs, before the crystallization of Slavic culture in the early sixth century, intermingled with proto-Balts. Soviet scholars postulated, with little evidence, that a Slavic culture had arisen in these regions in the Iron Age. The pottery here from Korchak-Prague-Penkova times has many similarities with these and dwellings were sunken-floored huts with, however, central clay hearths rather than the typically Slavic stone corner oven. There were few strongholds here, flat rather than barrow burials, and some communal pit graves; altogether the people seem to have lived in a different world from that of the Slavs, a circumstance perhaps due to the very different forest ecology they experienced. Deeper into the forest zone to the north the pottery becomes different from the Korchak type, and the only pits found are irregular in shape; they seem to have been cellar holes of above-ground structures. These were probably built by Finno-Ugrian peoples, despite claims to the contrary.

At least by the ninth century there clearly was some form of Slavic penetration of these areas; the timing of the beginning of this process is as yet unclear. Slavs moved farther up the Dnieper and its tributaries, and up other rivers. Tribes that later formed in the northeast included the DREGOVICHIANS, RADIMICHIANS, VYATICHANS, and, farthest north, the SLOVIENIE.

Western Slavs

Early medieval writers sometimes discussed the Western Slavs as VENEDI (a name derived from ancient Greco-Roman texts and originally applied to peoples living east of the Germanics in the early centuries of the Roman Empire; the Franks, emulating the imperial Romans in so many ways, likewise called the peoples to the east Venedi). Several new features appeared in Western Slavic cultures during the eighth and ninth centuries, while there was considerable continuation of what had gone before. For unknown reasons the stone ovens of the past were replaced by clay ones; some huts had no ovens at all. Stronghold building continued but intensified, evidence both of development of social organization and of unrest, probably at least in part caused by the increase in material wealth that also occurred. Trading centers were established on the Baltic coast.

The style of pottery made during this time, especially in the west, seems to have been influenced by that of contemporary Frankish pottery. In general the quality of pottery improved during the period, although the potter's wheel had not been adopted; instead the slow wheel continued in use. In spite of an increasing tendency toward regionalization, certain pottery features continued over the whole region, documenting contact of widely scattered communities.

Long-distance trade is documented by the increasing flow of Islamic silver to the region from the early ninth century. The coastal strip of Pomerania (named for the Slavic POMERANIANS) between the Oder and Vistula Rivers shows signs of social changes that must have been caused by this trade. Localized cultures with different settlement patterns seem to have been subsumed into a regionwide culture characterized by many small, circular enclosures covering the countryside and an increasing density of settlement as well as settlement of new areas. These signs of a more centralized sociopolitical structure did not result in the formation of a state at this time, however. Northern Polabia, to the west of Pomerania, had a distinct culture; POLABIANS built hilltop sites with multiple enclosures with dense settlements. By the latter ninth century several large trade and production centers had been built in Slavic areas along the Baltic coast. The impetus for these may have been the PRUSSIANS east of Pomerania, people related to the Baltic LITHUANIANS, who had built a trading emporium at Truso near the mouth of the Vistula by the early ninth century. A number of silver hoards near the mouth of the Vistula attest to the rich trade carried out. As the ninth century progressed, however, activity shifted west to the mouth of the Oder, where sites from this time have been found. Polabia became the locus of trade in Islamic silver on this part of the Baltic coast.

Increased centralization of power elsewhere in Western Slavdom developed under the influence of the Carolingian Empire, particularly with Charlemagne's wars against the Saxons, in which Slavs became involved. Different groups became allies of the Saxons and of the Franks, developments that increased Frankish interest in the Slavs. The *Royal Frankish Annals,* a yearly recounting of events, after the year 780 mentions the name of Slavic tribes, including the Linones, Nordliudi, Smeldingi, Sorbs, and Wilzi (VELETIANS). The most important tribe for the Franks were the Obodrites. As the Byzantines had, Charlemagne made some tribes his allies against their fellow Slavs. The thrust of (or the pretext for) Charlemagne's campaigns in Saxon and Slavic territories was to draw peoples into the Christian fold, efforts that reinforced his legitimacy as the church-anointed emperor, and some of his Slavic allies converted, at least

Cyril and Methodius: Apostles to the Slavs

Cyril and Methodius made possible the birth of a Slavic, distinctly eastern European civilization. They did this by providing the means for Slavs to partake of Christian religious worship in their own language, through both liturgy and scripture, and to embody their culture and ethnicity in works of literature. Before they began their work, all literate persons in Europe wrote in one of the languages sanctioned by the "Three Languages" theory—the languages of the inscriptions on the Cross at the time of Christ's crucifixion, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

In the ninth century C.E., when in German lands it was unthinkable to use the vernacular for religious or literary productions, Moravia's chief prince Rostislav appealed to the pope in Rome to send missionaries conversant in the Slavic language. In his appeal, Rostislav mentions the simplicity of the Slavs as the reason they needed translators to learn about Christian truth. But Rostislav's motivation was probably to some extent political, to counter the missionary efforts of the Germanic Franks. And St. Cyril himself insisted upon the equality of all peoples (on whom sunshine and rain fell all alike, he said) and their languages, an assertion of the importance of cultural identities other than the Greco-Roman civilization that had dominated Europe for so long.

The emperor Michael III of the Byzantine Macedonian dynasty received Rostislav's embassy gladly. The Byzantines saw the Christianization of the Slavs as a way of gaining them as allies and also as a counterweight to expansion of Arab Muslim power. They chose for the mission Constantine the Philosopher, of Thessalonika, better known by the name that he assumed on his deathbed, Cyril, a missionary, linguist, and philologist of renown. There is disagreement as to whether Cyril and his brother Methodius were Greek or Slavic, but they knew the Slavic dialect spoken in Macedonia, adjacent to Thessalonika. The alphabet they devised was similar to the Greek alphabet, with aspects of Hebrew. Eventually, two separate alphabets, the Cyrillic, which has survived in most Eastern Orthodox countries, and the Glagolithic, came to be ascribed to Cyril. He may have devised the latter, which is less like Greek, to placate suspicion in Moravia about Byzantine Greek motives. Cyrillic may actually have been devised by the brothers' followers.

The brothers' mission to Moravia starting in 863 was successful at first but soon attracted the animosity and rivalry of German ecclesiastics. In response Cyril and Methodius traveled to Rome to ask for the pope's blessing on their efforts, which they received. The pope sanctioned their use of the vernacular as well. Cyril died in Rome in 869. Methodius returned to Moravia, where he was made archbishop of Sirmium. Nevertheless, German prelates there blocked his efforts, imprisoning him for a time. After his death in 884 his followers fled to Bulgaria, where they were welcomed by Boris I, sovereign of Bulgaria, who had decided to Christianize his country. The legacy of Cyril and Methodius was later embraced by Boris's son Simeon, a great lover of learning, who inaugurated a project of translation of many works into the Slavic language used in the khanate, which became known as Old Church Slavonic. Church Slavonic became medieval Europe's third lingua franca after Greek and Latin.

The feast day of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, May 11th (24th New Style), is still celebrated in Bulgaria as the Day of Culture, Public Education, and Slavonic Writing and is in general a national holiday. In many Slavic countries the brothers are hailed for their role in the birth of Slavic literature.

nominally. The Wilzi (Weltabi) were enemies of the Franks, and Charlemagne mounted a major expedition against them, his army crossing the Elbe on fortified wooden bridges and laying waste to their lands. An edict of Charlemagne that forbade the export of Frankish swords to the Slavs suggests an appreciation of the dangers they posed to his empire. (Nevertheless, a number of Frankish swords have been found in Slavic areas.) Ongoing Frankish interest in the Slavic tribes and their territories is documented by a report on the tribes and the numbers of their strongholds from about 840, by a writer known as the Bavarian Geographer, entitled *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubiae*—"Description of fortified towns and regions north of the Danube." The main interest of this document lies in its having been written at all, rather than in its reliability.

A major phase of stronghold building by Slavs, with concentrations along the Frankish frontier, took place from the ninth through the end of the 10th century. The largest of these strongholds, however, are in the northern Polabian–eastern Pomeranian area away from the frontier. This could document the emergence, either because of or despite the Carolingians, of strong leaders who promoted the building of fortifications on the fringes of Frankish power and built large centers for themselves in the interior. Slavic leaders could have consolidated power either through association with the Carolingians or through success in fighting them (or through a combination). When Frankish power was at its height under Charlemagne alliances with them must have been advantageous, whereas during periods when their power waned under weaker rulers Slavs in all probability took the opportunity to raid Frankish territory, such as the eastern march territories of Saxony and Thuringia. One such period of weakness began with the Treaty of Verdun (843), by which the Carolingian realm was divided among Charlemagne's grandsons, and lasted to the reign of Henry the Fowler (918).

Moravia: The First Western Slavic State

The Moravian state formed in the early ninth century in the region northeast of the Danube's great bend and southwest of the Beskid Mountains (modern Slovakia) centered on the Morava River valley. The Avaro-Slavs of the lower Danube region influenced Moravian culture, and the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Avar khanate gave Moravians scope for expansion both east- and westward through the ninth century; the extent of this expansion is a matter of controversy (former claims of Moravian annexation of Silesia and even Pannonia have come into question). The Moravian prince Rostislav gained legitimacy for the state by founding a Moravian Christian

church with the help of two Slavic brothers from Thessalonica, Cyril and Methodius (see sidebar, p. 752). Moravian power was repeatedly challenged by the Franks, and Louis the German on capturing Rostislav is said to have caused him to be deposed by having him blinded. The brief flourishing of the MORAVIANS ended in 906 with an invasion by the Magyars (*see* SLOVAKS).

Bohemia

While the Moravian state was coming into being a number of strong but independent tribes had emerged to the west of Moravia centered on the valley of the Moldau in the Bohemian basin. Among these were CZECHS, Lucane, Lemuzi, Zlicane, Croats (probably these were the CHORVATI or White Croats who figured in the southern Croats' origin story), and DULEBIANS. Their strongholds were large, with inhabited outer enclosures; some of the inhabitants were craft workers. The tribal ruler Lecho (or Becho) fought Charlemagne in 805. In the 840s and 850s forces of Louis the German conducted raids on Bohemia. Moravia annexed Bohemian territory in the 880s and fostered the rise of the Premyslid dynasty, which accepted Christianity in 884. The Premyslid ruler Borivoj made Prague his capital, building there a church dedicated to St. Mary. The collapse of the Moravian state freed Bohemia of its domination, and its rulers augmented Bohemia's natural defenses—its wall of mountains—by building an ingenious system of strongholds that formed a circle around Prague, itself heavily fortified. In this way the BOHEMIANS avoided the fate of Moravia, and by the 10th century their state had become one of the most highly developed regions of Europe.

State Formation Elsewhere in Slavdom

In the ninth and 10th centuries Slavic states emerged in other locations where Slavic ethnic groups had settled in the previous centuries. Since their formation most of these polities based on ethnicity have endured to the present (although the histories of many have been turbulent). The process of state formation among the Slavs, then, provided the basis for the modern political map of central and eastern Europe.

States among the Southern Slavs

The First Bulgarian Khanate was destroyed by the Byzantines in 972; a remnant of the Turkic Bulgar state located in the Macedonian mountains, the West Bulgarian empire, was crushed in 1018. The precursor to the modern Bulgarian state emerged in the 13th century.



These playing cards from the 1920s represent historical figures of Bohemia (now the Czech Republic). *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-76009])*

The Serbs' first state came into being in 933 but was annexed by the Byzantines in the 10th century; the Serbs achieved independence in the 12th century.

Slavic tribes in the region of present-day Montenegro, southern Bosnia, and Herzegovina—the DUKLIANES, centered on the abandoned Roman town of Dioclea, and the Travunianie to the west—together formed the state of Doclea (Duklianie) at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. Doclea was conquered in turn by the Serbian kingdom, the Byzantines, the Western Bulgarians, and the Byzantines again and gained independence in the mid-11th century.

Farther to the west on the coast of the Adriatic the Croatian state was formed in 876–879 and united with the inland province of Slavonia in the early 10th century. Later in the 10th century internal dissension caused some regions of Croatia, including Bosnia, to secede. Croatia was conquered by Hungary, the state formed by the Magyars, in 1102.

The Carantanians (or Carinthian Slavs) occupied Austria and Slovenia during the seventh and eighth centuries. The western part of Carinthian territory was annexed in the late eighth century by Charlemagne and with Pannonia joined to form the province of Ostmark. The German emperor Otto I incorporated this region into the Duchy of Carinthia (later Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria).

At the turn of the ninth and 10th centuries the Magyars conquered Slavs in the Carpathian basin in present-day Hungary (including the

Avaro-Slavs with their mixed steppe-Slavic ethnicity) and settled there, in Slovakia, and in part of Transylvania. The Hungarian state was created in the 10th century.

States among the Eastern Slavs

The medieval Russian Kievan state was rooted in the Slavic tribal confederacy known as the POLIANIANS (people of the field) centered on the massive stronghold that had been built at Kiev in the eighth or ninth centuries; by the 10th century a number of other fortified towns had been built nearby in the valley of the Dnieper, possibly by other tribes that had joined the Kievan confederacy. At some time around the turn of the ninth and 10th centuries a war leader named Oleg—claimed by a chronicle written a century or more later, under the aegis of the rulers of the Rus state, to have been a kinsman of Rurik, a possibly legendary Scandinavian founder of their dynasty—subjugated the Eastern Slavic tribes that had been under Khazar domination. These included the Polianians, the Severians, and the DREVLYANS (people of the forest). Oleg thus ejected Khazar power from the region. After this the Kievan state quickly grew to be the dominant power of a wide region, and Kiev grew wealthy from trade previously controlled by the Khazars.

Territories north and east of the Kiev region known as Outer Russia, where Slavic groups had begun migrating before the ninth century to join the Baltic and Finno-Ugric people already there, were nominally part of the early Russian state. They included the regions around Novgorod, Pskov, Ladoga, Rostov, Vladimir, and Smolensk.

States among the Western Slavs

In about 840 a Polabian prince by the name of Chrosciszko founded the Piast dynasty, which would create the first Polish state in the late 10th century. At this time in Polabia Slavic tribes joined in a confederacy to drive out the German elite who had ruled there since the reign of Otto I in the mid-10th century. The tribes involved included the Obodrites, Redari, Lutize, Stodorane, and Brzezani. By the 11th century these tribes had formed an independent Polabian state. In 1160 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, in a crusade against the pagan Polabian Slavs (whom they called WENDS) defeated them; afterward German settlers and missionaries settled the region.

South of Polabia the Sorbs, whose territory lay between the Saale River, a tributary of the Elbe, and the Neisse River, a tributary of the Oder in present-day eastern Germany, had been annexed by the Ottonian German Empire. In the 10th and 11th centuries instead of forming an independent state they were being absorbed into the social and political system of the German Empire. To the north coastal Pomerania in the eastern part of Polabia remained free of German domination for several more centuries and successfully resisted Polish expansion into their region; in the 11th century they broke away from the Polish state. Only in the mid-12th century was Germany able to take the region and to colonize it.

In the 10th century the POLANIANS, a tribe that had emerged along the Warta River in the seventh century, became a dominant political entity under their leader Miesko I, gaining hegemony over other tribes in the Oder-Vistula region (which includes most of present-day Poland), among them the GOPLANIANS, KUYAVIANS, LEDZIANIANS, MAZOVIANS, SILESIANS, VELETIANS, VISTULANS, and WOLINIANS, and founding the Polish state. The various tribes became known as POLES. In 966 Mieszko was christened as a Catholic.

CULTURE

Economy

Early Trade Trade in Baltic amber, which had been important in central Europe for centuries, initially halted with the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. By the seventh century, when the Slavs and others in their regions began to value luxury goods, West Balts began exporting small amounts of amber, a trade that would increase after the seventh century. The geographical position of many Slavs, particularly those living in present-day Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and along the Baltic coast, was on a crossroads of great trade routes: one between Byzantium and the Islamic Near East, and the other on Baltic seaways connecting the fur regions in northeastern Europe to Scandinavia and ultimately the Carolingian Empire. This strategic location made the Slavs middlemen in an increasingly lucrative trade, which probably had its most lucrative base in furs. This trade is documented by the gold and more common silver coins from Byzantium and the Islamic states that have been found here. Silver in other forms, jewelry and hacksilver (pieces from silver objects that had been cut up), was also used as a medium of exchange. Coins were not used as in the modern world, according to a valuation set and agreed on by states, but as barter, based on weight.

The trade of the early Slavs was similar to the gift-exchange process of most tribal societies, in which gifts were given to fulfill social obligations and a gift placed an obligation on the recipient. Such a network, dependent on common goodwill and enforced by fear of society's disapproval of ingratitude or miserliness, served to bind members of an egalitarian society. Later, with the rise of warrior elites, gift giving furnished the means by which leaders and followers were bound for mutual support. In response to the demand for gifts merchants traveled to foreign lands seeking goods whose exotic character would increase their desirability and value.

The inverse of gift giving in warrior societies, of course, is the taking of plunder, and leaders were created also by their ability to lead successful raids in which their followers could enrich themselves with loot. This aspect of the use of material goods as a means of social cohesion no doubt led to social inequality, for the ability to lead in battle, the possession of sufficient will, charisma, and self-certainty to draw men to follow one, is not a common trait. And once a leader had proved himself successful, drawing more followers into his orbit, his power was likely to increase in a sort of snowball effect: The more retainers he attracted, the greater his likelihood of military victory in the future, and the greater the personal wealth he could confer on his followers.

This form of economic activity led directly to the expansionism displayed by Slavs and virtually all of the societies with which they had contact. It lay behind the expansion and great migrations of Germanic peoples in the first half of the first millennium C.E. and the migrations of Celtic peoples a thousand years before that. Raiding and counterraiding tended to increase in scope over time, at least in part because of the snowball effect mentioned, as war bands were replaced by larger forces and finally armies, placing an ever greater burden on the economy of a region. Warrior societies' most frequent means of dealing with this was to expand the war into another territory, thus obtaining plunder as well as tribute from subject societies.

Appearance of Trading Centers With the rise in importance of trade, trading towns were built in Slavic areas. Many such emporia were constructed on the south Baltic coast in the eighth and ninth centuries. They were used not only for trade but also for craft production. These centers were not urban at this time and show little sign of the presence of a centralized administration regulating activities. Instead they appear to have been "contact zones" for people of many ethnicities from all over a vast region. Such emporia were controlled to some extent by local rulers, whose military strength kept the peace and who exacted tributes or tolls from traders. But the writ of local authority extended little beyond this until after the ninth century.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which trading towns along the Baltic and those penetrating the Russian interior along rivers in the eastern Baltic region were built solely by Slavs or by the Scandinavian Norse who had been trading in the region for centuries before the Slavs arrived. It seems probable that Scandinavians played an important role in the development of trade in the region. Here as elsewhere (for example, Ireland and Britain) Scandinavians probably pioneered the creation of trading towns, with local Slavs soon and eagerly taking part. Scandinavian burials are found near many trading emporia, and contemporary Norse rulers were taking an increasingly active role in regulating trade, founding and organizing the layout of trading towns, and, from the ninth century, minting coins. The *Frankish Annals* record that the Danish king attacked and destroyed the emporium of Reric in the territory of the Obodrites, deporting the craftsmen and traders there to Denmark, where he settled them in his newly built town of Hedeby.

Some Slavic scholars have assumed that the people carried off by the Danes were Slavs. It seems unlikely that the Danes, who had been highly accomplished traders and craftsmen for centuries (the latter for over a thousand years), had any need for Slavic traders and craftsmen. If this incident occurred, its cause could have been an attempt by the Danish king to curb the growing competition between the Slavic trading towns and his own traders, who had previously completely dominated the region. It may even be that the traders and craftsmen he deported were Danes who had taken up residence in Reric. In assessing events of early medieval times it is important to avoid thinking in terms of nation-states and national territories. Many of the areas where Slavs lived in this period cannot be considered wholly and simply "Slavic," as today's Poland is Polish. There were no firm national borders at this time (even strong states such as Carolingian Francia and Anglo-Saxon England had "march" lands with mixed populations to act as buffers between them and rival polities), and many regions where Slavs had settled—the Baltic coasts, the Ukrainian steppes, and others—had much of the character of march lands, with no single power in control. Only

with the rise of Slavic states from the 10th century can we begin to speak of strongly "national" regions in their territories.

Trade in Slaves Slavery existed among the Slavs as among other pagan warrior societies; the nature of slavery among them was different, however, from the chattel slavery practiced, for example, in America until the Emancipation, in which a slave was considered a commodity and evaluated in numerical, monetary terms. (It can be argued that this form of slavery is far more unethical than that practiced by the Slavs and others, because it transgressed the most fundamental religious and moral tenets of society, whereas slavery among the Slavs did not.) In contrast the status of slaves among the Slavs was far more fluid, and they apparently were able to join Slavic society with little difficulty. Often they were taken simply for ransom and were released as soon as that was paid. Slaves seem to have been considered as less the possessions of any individual than assets of the tribe as a whole, working alongside their Slavic captors. Later with the rise of elites, however, slaves were kept in some households.

In the eighth century, with the rise of the Islamic Empire the slave trade became an important component of the economy in a number of Slavic areas. Because Muslim law forbade the enslavement of any Muslim or any non-Muslim who was a citizen in good standing of the Islamic Empire Muslims obtained slaves from elsewhere. So many were from Slavic lands that in both Arabic and Latin the word for "slave" became conflated with the name for Slavs (al-Saqlabi in Arabic meant both Slav and slave). Enslaved Slavs served as the praetorian guards of Umayyad caliphs of Córdoba in Spain (although these may have been captured by Carolingian forces); slaves from Slavic lands passed through Venice, located on the fringes of Slavdom.

Farming In spite of the importance of trade, agriculture was the basis of the economy of the early Slavs, without which no other social activity would have been possible. The Slavs were no different in this from any other European society since the Neolithic Age. They had a mostly pastoral farm economy supplemented by hunting and fishing. In the forest steppe and forest zones in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia hunting of fur-bearing animals was especially important, both for domestic use and, at least by the eighth century, for export.

Pseudo-Maurice (so-called because he ghostwrote a report for the Byzantine emperor Maurice), wrote that the Slavs had all kinds of animals and agricultural produce in abundance, indicating their success as farmers and the importance of agriculture for them. After Slavs had migrated into their new lands in the sixth century their agriculture steadily improved with the development of new techniques and new and improved tools. Over time they began to produce surpluses. They used the alternating fallow system, in which, in alternate years, fields would be worked or left fallow. Even this system led eventually to the complete exhaustion of the soil, however, leading people to move away, resulting in the land reverting to forest. This method was possible because population densities continued to be low for several centuries.

Forest clearance in the lands abandoned by Germanic tribes and others, such as in the Balkans, as well as land not worked before, such as north of the Carpathians and north of Ukraine, was accomplished with fire, and the ash produced contributed to soil fertility. There is evidence that Slavs used manure for fertilizer. During the initial migration period Slavs settled in the best lands, usually along river valleys. Only in later centuries as populations grew was it necessary to clear the more heavily forested lands and work less ideal soils.

The crops of the Slavs were little different from those that had been cultivated from at least the Late Bronze Age across most of Europe, perhaps an indication that the ancestors of the peoples who formed the Slavic ethnicity had been living and farming in central and eastern Europe for centuries. Millet was an important crop because of its hardiness; barley, rye, oats, and several kinds of wheat were also grown. Vegetables included onions, carrots, radishes, turnips, parsnips, cucumbers, pumpkins, and cabbage. Legumes included peas, broad beans, lentils, and vetch. The Slavs grew fruit trees—cherry, apple, pear, several kinds of plums, and peaches. Cultivation of vines spread north into Western Slavic lands as the climate improved toward the so-called Medieval Warm Period, which seems to have begun around the ninth century. Oil-producing plants grown were flax and hemp; flax also provided linen and hemp used to make rope.

Livestock had multiple uses, one of which was to fertilize fallow fields as they grazed on them. They were used for meat, milk, and leather. Oxen were also used as draft animals, pulling wagons or the light plows the Slavs used. As did the Celts, Slavs prized their pigs and often let them roam free to forage in the

forest. Beyond the steppe regions Slavs kept few sheep or goats, but on the steppes herders had large numbers of cattle and sheep, probably for elite masters, members of the Avar, Bulgar, or Magyar aristocracy.

There are a number of regional variations in the proportion of different animals that were kept. In Pomerania, for example, pigs predominated, perhaps because forests there were denser than in the region to the east, where more cattle were kept. Horse meat was rarely eaten. As in the case of Celtic and Germanic people, Slavs practiced little selective breeding and their animals were small. Herds do not seem to have been kept in barns, but rather in some cases in ditched compounds. Selective culling of the herds took place in the autumn. The presence of long scythes in some settlement sites has been interpreted to mean that these Slavs cut hay and cured it to use for winter feed. Meat was smoked or salted.

Slavs also kept chickens, and probably ducks and geese (although this is difficult to determine from bones, since domestic ducks and geese differ little from their wild cousins). Written sources mention that Slavs obtained wax and honey from bees, but whether these were wild or domesticated is unknown.

Hunting continued to provide a small amount of meat—rarely more than 10 percent of bones found in excavations are of wild game, such as boar, deer, hare, elk, bear, and aurochs. Game was more important for furs, and Slavs hunted beaver, marten, ermine, sable, lynx, weasel, squirrel, and fox for their fur.



Slavic people haul flour in an ox-drawn cart in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-92364])*

Government and Society

Earliest Slavic Society The early Slavic material is far simpler in style and technique than that of the Cherniakhovo culture (probably created by the Goths) and other cultures that it replaced in much of central and eastern Europe. They used few metal ornaments. Their pottery was crude, hand-rather than wheel-made, fired in bonfires rather than kilns, with a gritty surface, little or no ornamentation, and a restricted range of shapes. Their dwellings were small, insubstantial timber huts, in some areas with sunken floors and stone ovens, built to last no more than 10 or 15 years, in undefended settlements. Few burials are found; in Ukraine there are about six burial sites to every 100 settlements, most of them simple urned cremation cemeteries. The world of the early Slavs was a far cry from the complex, highly stratified societies of earlier peoples in central and eastern Europe, for whom a rich material culture formed the basis of society—the "glue" that held everything together. The Slavs' pottery is similar to earlier pottery found across central Europe and in Ukraine, and sunken-floor huts were made during the Cherniakhovo period in the Cherniakhovo culture zone, suggesting that the earliest historical Slavs and their prehistoric precursors had been living alongside the Goths but not taking much part in Gothic society or the other elite societies in central Europe. (Late Cherniakhovo fibulae and other metal objects have been found in Slavic huts, however.)

The undistinctive simplicity of their pottery shapes has made it difficult to identify where the Slavs originated—to pinpoint which assemblage of earlier pottery was ancestral to that of the Slavs. Archaeologists in a number of modern Slavic countries have found similarities between early Slavic pottery and older pottery, usually that found in their own countries. Thus the honor of being the original Slavic homeland has been claimed for their countries by Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, and others. The truth may be that the historically known Slavs emerged from a mix of ethnicities, from among the peoples from all over central and eastern Europe and beyond who had been impelled toward the border of the Eastern Roman Empire along the Danube by a variety of historical and economic forces. These possibly included invasions, the lure of trade with the Romans, and, for steppe peoples who migrated there, a crisis caused by the harsh steppe climate—drought, or a severe winter. Thus the peoples who would become the Slavs may have had many homelands.

Recent work has found Slavic pottery tentatively dated to the fifth century, making it the

earliest found, which seems to be associated with the last manifestations of the probably Gothic Cherniakhovo culture on the eastern flank of the Carpathian Mountains along the Dniester, Prut, Seret, and Southern Bug Rivers. This region is a forest steppe zone north of the former Cherniakhovo area, which by now was occupied by the Huns, steppe people who invaded Gothic territory in the fourth century. There are Cherniakhovo burial mounds here with Cherniakhovo grave goods, but also Slavic-style square, sunken-floor huts containing wheel-made pottery, which is much easier to date than the Slavic pottery also found there; these huts also had some Cherniakhovo fibulae and metalwork. Similar assemblages of the same date have also been found in Moldova and Romania; one site in Moldova yielded a bronze mirror similar to others found in Hunnic contexts. Fibulae and belt buckles of the late fourth and early fifth centuries that have been found in apparently Slavic graves along the north bank of the Danube suggest that at least initially peoples living a Slavic lifestyle were experiencing a rapprochement of some kind with their Gothic neighbors. This rapprochement lasted only until the collapse and disappearance of the Cherniakhovo culture, when the more monotonous material culture of the earliest historically known Slavs took hold.

Puzzles Concerning Slavic Expansion The Slavs' rapid expansion over a wide region seems to have been accompanied by an expansion of the Slavic language that has posed a conundrum to linguists: How could a few war bands impose their language on peoples over a vast region in such a short time? Linguistic theory suggests that even though the first speakers of the earliest Slavic language (called proto-Slavic) were few, in a short time most people in the lands where they settled had begun to speak proto-Slavic as well. This rapid expansion of the language is assumed because modern Slavic languages are similar enough that their "common ancestor" must have been of fairly recent date. According to linguistic theory when peoples sharing a common language live far from one another their local languages gradually diverge from one another into dialects and finally fully independent new languages with only a family resemblance to their common ancestor. These divergences take place at a fairly steady rate known to linguists; thus the resemblance between modern Slavic languages, close enough that speakers of Polish can roughly understand Serbian and Croat, implies that all Slavs spoke a common tongue in fairly recent times.

Another puzzle is that this apparently recent origin seems to negate the idea that a Slavic language group had emerged in a large area of central and eastern Europe in earlier times, in parallel with the Celtic and Germanic language groups in western and northern Europe, respectively, whose common ancestor may have emerged as long ago as the second or third millennium B.C.E. Yet competing linguistic theories have assigned the claimed birthplace of proto-Slavic to different places over a wide area—ranging from the region west of the Middle Dnieper to that south of the Carpathians and elsewhere—that roughly comprises the region where Slavic languages are spoken today. This seems to imply that Slavic languages had indeed been spoken throughout this wide region before the emergence of proto-Slavic and thus must have had an earlier common ancestor.

A possible solution to this problem arises from considering what might have happened to the earliest Slavs and other peoples in their region in the context of the tumultuous events in the century or so before the Slavs first appear in historical accounts. It seems possible that Slavic-speaking groups and others in the region could have formed a confederacy similar to that of the Goths, which had arisen out of troubled times for the mutual protection of its members. There could have been a core Slavic group around which all the rest coalesced, even as the Germanic tribe of the Gutones formed the core group of the Goths. And as the Germanic language spoken by the Gutones became the lingua franca for all members of the Gothic confederacy, including those who had their own local Germanic dialects, evolving into the pan-Gothic language, so the language of the core group of the Slavic confederacy could have become their lingua franca.

In this way we can resolve the apparent paradox of a single proto-Slavic language dating only from about the mid-first millennium C.E., ancestor of all modern Slavic languages, holding sway over a wide region that seems to have had a degree of cultural commonality before then, which commonality may have been embodied in a Slavic language family with individual languages possibly as different from one another as Germanic languages spoken in ancient Scandinavia were from those in the North European Plain. According to this theory members of the Slavic confederacy speaking their lingua franca, proto-Slavic, in their war bands quickly spread far and wide over central and eastern Europe and took control of lands held by locals, chiefs and commoners, many of whom spoke their

own local version of Slavic. (They also moved into areas vacated by Germanic tribes during the latters' migrations south and west.) The first known documents written in a Slavic language—Church Slavonic—would have used the language of these warrior bands, while the older Slavic tongues spoken by the common people remained unwritten. Gradually the Slavic lingua franca would have been adopted by local chiefs and common people in the various territories—a process made quicker and less difficult because of its kinship with their own languages. (The modern Slavic language group survived while Gothic did not, because the Gothic peoples lost their cohesion and were subsumed into other groups.)

It should be stressed, however, that evidence for the existence of an ancient Slavic language family parallel to, for example, the Celtic language family, is sparse and speculative. It may even be that the region where the Slavic peoples emerged after about the fifth century C.E., located on the edge of the steppe zone with its mobile populations, had from prehistory been too turbulent a meeting place of peoples to allow the culture and language of any one large group to mature; that peoples here lacked the relative isolation and peace, experienced by peoples in western and northern Europe, needed to develop a regionwide culture on a par with the pan-Celtic culture that in the Iron Age spanned modern-day southern Germany, France, Britain, and northern Spain, or the ancient Germanic culture of Scandinavia and the North European Plain. However, it is possible that languages related to Slavic had been spoken for a long time before proto-Slavic emerged in isolated pockets of the Balkans or by small, inconspicuous groups in the forest steppe regions of eastern Europe, whose very vastness protected them from marauding steppe warriors, or in the Pripet swamp area claimed as the homeland of the Slavs by some theorists.

Although the evidence for the spread of proto-Slavic is indirect, that for the spread of their culture—their unimpressive pottery and the rest—is not. The problem of why people over a wide region would in a short time abandon their traditional culture for a new one may in part be answered by this linguistic commonality between at least some of them and the newcomers. (The problem of how they were able to do so is not great, given the low level of technology needed to make Slavic-style objects.)

Analysis of Slavic culture in the new territories together with anthropological research and linguistic studies of loanwords in Slavic languages all demonstrate that the indigenous populations remained in the region and contributed to the biological and cultural makeup of later populations, including areas that had formerly been Germanic. But even in Germanic areas most traces of distinctively Germanic culture disappeared after the Slavs arrived.

Byzantine Attitudes toward the Slavs Byzantine descriptions of early Slavic society cannot be taken at face value; as in the case of Western Roman writings on the barbarians beyond their borders the Byzantine Greek worldview has to be taken into account. Some modern historians (especially in modern Slavic countries) have uncritically accepted the Byzantines' description of the Slavs' form of government as being a democracy. But this word had a pejorative sense for the Byzantines (as it would not have had for the Athenians of classical Greece) referring to the lack of firm government or the apparent disorder—*ataxis*—that prevailed among the barbarian Slavs, the very antithesis of that *taxis* or order flowing from high to low—from the emperor down to all of his people of every degree—that lay at the heart of and made possible the *oikoumene,* the civilized world.

It is more probable that the warrior society of the early Slavs, although far more egalitarian than that of the Byzantines or many contemporary Germanic societies, was organized into different ranks, with warriors and their leaders at the top of the social order (especially after they began to assemble in large armies, which of necessity have to be led by overall commanders) and common farmers beneath them. Procopius, describing the Slavs' raids in the sixth century, wrote of their being governed by "democratic" decisions. His account was probably based on reports given to him by Byzantine soldiers, and it may well have been the striking contrast between the Slavic forces and their own highly hierarchical Byzantine Roman army that gave them an impression of Slavic democracy. Slavic forces, as in most relatively undeveloped warrior societies, were probably governed through the means of a give-and-take between leaders and common warriors, the former leading partly by persuasion and promises of booty to their followers. One can imagine a Byzantine soldier, accustomed to the strict discipline of his own military, witnessing a Slavic war leader giving his men a rousing speech—they replying with a roar of approval (or disapproval)—and concluding that the Slavic army was like a mob of citizens being addressed by an orator seeking their votes (as in ancient days in Athens). In

this, Slavic society had one but not all of the elements that constitute *democracy* as we mean the term today.

Indeed some Byzantine accounts of the Slavs should be viewed with great skepticism, such as one by Theophilactus Simokattes about three men presented to the emperor Maurice Tiberius in about 591 who said they were a people from the Western Ocean (the Greek term for the Atlantic); they bore no weapons but carried only citars (an instrument ancestral to the guitar) because, they said, they were not a warrior nation, and they had even refused rich gifts from the Avars to induce them to join their army. Their land had no iron, they said. This obvious tall tale (refuted in every detail by archaeological evidence as well as other contemporary accounts) has nevertheless been used by many modern scholars in Slavic countries to demonstrate that early Slavic society was a peaceful utopia, and to claim that the reference to the Western Ocean meant that the Slavs had settled at this time on the Baltic coast.

A military manual written around the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries by Pseudo-Maurice, the *Strategikon,* is more probably accurate because it was written to aid Maurice's war against the Sclavenes. In this account the Sclavenes and Antes are said to live hidden in forests and swamps, from which they emerge to raid neighbors. The author describes their weapons and says that they were led only by petty chiefs and were constantly feuding among themselves, a situation that accords well with what is known of other undeveloped warrior societies, such as those of the Celtic and early Germanic tribes.

By the early seventh century the Slavs in the Danube area had become fully absorbed into the culture of the steppe nomadic Avars; archaeology demonstrates a mixed Slav-Avar material culture, with the Slavic elite emulating aristocratic Avar dress. Proto-Slavic may have served as a lingua franca for the mixed Avar confederacy, a circumstance that would have been facilitated if, as theorized, the language had emerged as a lingua franca for the groups that formed the earliest recognized Slavic culture. Many of the Avars' allies probably spoke or understood either proto-Slavic or one or more of the Slavic languages that may have preceded it.

However, the material culture of most Slavs continued to be simple, and in many areas they continued to build their sunken-floored huts, each with an oven in one corner. The presence of a warrior elite in Slavic society is eloquently demonstrated by the fact that the typical Slavic type of spur is rare and almost never found in unfortified villages but more usually in strongholds.

Hoards of Plunder in the Seventh Century Hoards dating from the seventh century found in Ukraine contain a wide variety of metal objects, including Byzantine silver vessels, some stamped as being made in the reign of Justin II (565–578). These hoards finally end the puzzling absence in earlier Slavic settlements of the fruits of the documented Slavic plundering forays of the sixth century. Objects found in some of these hoards give a sense of the wide-ranging contacts of their owners: with the Byzantines and with peoples in the Volga area, the Azov and northern Caucasus region, and Sassanian Persia.

The hoards fall into one of two groups: Those dating from the mid-seventh century document the appearance of Byzantine prestige goods in Ukraine, possibly evidence of an alliance of Ukrainian Slavs with the empire. They also coincide with the end of the Penkova cultural tradition. A second group dates from the latter part of the seventh century and has affinities with new cultural traditions that may have emerged in response to the rise of Khazar power. The new Khazar hegemony created trade networks that introduced to Slavs, especially those in the east living near the north Pontic steppe, influences from a far wider world than ever before.

First Strongholds Problems of dating have caused some stronghold sites to be attributed to the sixth century; new, more secure dating techniques have revised these estimates, and few sites have been reliably dated to earlier than the seventh century. This shows that the conditions the Slavs encountered during their initial expansion and migration did not cause them to build fortifications. Only with the appearance of a more clearly stratified society that valued prestige goods and a more sedentary way of life did strongholds become necessary and/or desirable.

There seem to have been more strongholds in Western Slavic areas than in the east at first. Known sites of strongholds cluster in the northern and northwestern parts of Slavic territories; many are in northern Poland near the Baltic coast, west of the Vistula, whereas east of the Vistula only a few have been found. (This distribution makes it unlikely that the innovation of building fortifications was introduced by the Balts of the northern forest zone northeast of Poland, as has been claimed.) Sites were chosen with an eye for natural defenses—boglands, precipices—which were augmented with earth

and/or timber ramparts. Many of these strongholds were weakly defended, however, and even had open sides, which suggest that they were made to help defend against small-scale raids rather than large armies. It may even be that the principal purpose of these constructions, which must have been made with considerable labor probably under the direction of elite leadership, was as much prestige and show as actual defense. Fine metalwork in Slavic lands is found mostly in strongholds, indicating its association with nobility. The buildings may also have had a religious function, serving as centers for ritual, in which the finely worked objects found within their precincts were offered to the gods. This function in no way rules out their social and political significance, any more than in the case of the great Christian churches built by Frankish kings. Some strongholds have yielded large quantities of metalworking waste, showing that production levels greater than in the past were made at the behest of elites.

An important site is at Pastyrkoe in the Middle Dnieper valley, one of the few in a large area. It consisted of a circular enclosure 60 meters in diameter with internal subdivisions. An ornament hoard and other metalwork found there have affinities with other seventh-century hoards in Ukraine. The fine quality and the quantity of the metalwork here suggest that this may have been the stronghold of a powerful leader in the region. Interestingly, the layout of the enclosure and its ramparts are similar to fortifications built by the Scythians a thousand years earlier. In this case the Slavs may have reused an ancient site for their own purposes.

Status of Women A Byzantine account of Slavs who lived north of the Lower Danube at the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries says that their womenfolk were "chaste beyond measure" and so devoted to their husband that many regarded widowhood as "no life at all," and some willingly killed themselves on the loss of a husband. Slavic men could take multiple wives, possibly as many as 12. All of this attests to the low status of women (compared to, for example, the status of women among the Celts). This seems to be a feature of peoples living a mobile, nomadic lifestyle, a difficult one for women with children. The dangers of traveling through a wide-open landscape full of roving warrior bands made women in such societies more than usually dependent on their men for protection. The nomadic world was ideally a man's world. Although the Slavs were not nomads, their flimsy huts bespeak a rootless existence, as they moved their settlements perhaps to prevent detection by more powerful steppe groups who periodically swept through their territories; in addition their method of farming forced them to leave exhausted lands behind from time to time. They may have been influenced by nomadic ideas on the role of women in society under the hegemony of the Huns and Avars.

In Celtic societies, for example those in Ireland, the role and status of women were symbolized by the importance of Celtic goddesses, some of whom were directly connected to the land, with features in the landscape named for them. For the IRISH who had lived for generations in the region overlooked by the twin hills called the "Paps (breasts) of Anu" the landscape may have been charged with a feminine force in a way the harsh central Eurasian steppe lands were not for their people; the longer lasting settlements of Celts could also have given women the security they needed to take a more important role in society. Certainly there is no known equivalent among the Slavs of Queen Mebh of Irish literature or Queen Boudicca of the ICENI.

Dwellings and Architecture

As mentioned, the Slavs in most areas built small, sunken-floored huts or cabins of logs, probably with thatched roofs, and a stone oven in the coldest corner. In some Slavic areas, such as eastern Ukraine and the region south of the eastern Baltic, they built freestanding hearths, and in the region of modern Mecklenburg and Pomerania the huts were built on ground level. The huts were not substantial and probably lasted no more than 10 or 15 years. The Slavs' settlements were small and undefended until late in the Early Slavic period, after the seventh century, when strongholds began to be built. Instead of building defenses, Slavs located their hamlets in forests or marshes where they were hard to find.

Military Practices

Byzantine sources describe the weapons and tactics of the Slavs. There is some ambiguity in Procopius's account as to whether or not the Slavs fought from horseback; in one passage he writes that they fought on foot, but elsewhere he seems to refer to cavalry. Possibly only elites were horsemen; spurs are found in some Slavic burials. Procopius writes that they used spears, and many spearheads have been found, but little evidence of the small shields he also mentions. These may have been made of wood or leather and thus not been preserved. They wore neither body armor nor helmets; other sources say they used bows, slings, and axes. Both Slavs and

Avars learned the use of siege machines from the Byzantines.

The *Strategikon* of Pseudo-Maurice is probably reasonably accurate, because it was written to help Byzantine forces to defeat Slavs; its information probably was assembled from eyewitness accounts, on whose accuracy the safety of Byzantine troops depended. It says that Slavs north of the Danube lived in hidden places difficult of access—in forests, swamps, and wetland, or by rivers, and that they built more than one entrance to their settlements. They also hid their produce and goods. This seems eloquent testimony on the Slavs as survivors in a region that had been crossed by great hordes of fearsome warriors and powerful armies for many centuries. Although it may only be legend that the original Slavic homeland was the Pripet swamp region, the basis of this belief may lie in the defensive strategies of the weaker peoples of central and eastern Europe, whose only recourse lay in becoming invisible.

A good part of this hiding may have been from each other, however, because of the intertribal feuding characteristic of warrior societies. The *Strategikon* indicates that the Slavs' favorite tactic was to attack from a hiding place in forests or on steep places. They used other classic guerrilla strategies, luring soldiers away from fortified camps or lying in wait for a successful invading force as it marched away in order to retrieve some of the plunder taken. The *Strategikon* advises clearing away the forest from the sides of an army's retreat route. They used poisoned arrows, the immemorial recourse of weak forces confronting their superiors.

It seems likely that at least Slavic elites became expert cavalrymen during their involvement with the Huns and Avars. The Avars introduced the innovation of the stirrup, which makes a significant difference to a rider's stability in the saddle and ability to fight. However, the Slavs did not immediately adopt stirrups, judging by the lack of them in burials of the seventh century in Slav-Avar territory in Hungary and Slovakia. (Possibly stirrups were too few and precious to be interred with the dead.) Graves with other typically Slavic equipment and artifacts, including hooked spurs, do not contain stirrups, and other graves in the same cemetery with stirrups contain clearly Avar metal harness ornaments. There is considerable disagreement as to the ethnic affinities of the deceased in these burials.

The spurs of the Slavs are distinct from those of Franks, for example, in that the hooks by which they were attached to the foot curved inward rather than outward.

The Military Confederacy in Slavic Identity Formation In a sort of "arms race," the Byzantine response to the Slavs' raids on their territory—that of sending armies north across the Danube—only resulted in Slavs' forming larger forces, the same phenomenon that occurred among Germanic tribes in response to Roman attempts to conquer them at the beginning of the first century C.E. The first crystallization of Slavic identity may have come about in the context of this formation of a multitribal confederacy whose most important shared value was that of opposition to a common enemy (the Slavic language would have been not simply a useful lingua franca, but also a symbol of this commonality born of opposition to the outsider).

Technology and Art

Pottery A defining characteristic of the early Slavs as we know them was, as we have seen, their pottery. Not only is pottery among the most abundant of their remains, but its great simplicity and rustic quality, which continued for some time even after they had had contact with cultures who used more advanced techniques such as the potter's wheel, seems to tell us something about Slavic society and its priorities. (Wheel-turned pottery is found in some early settlements, but whether these were made by Slavs or imported is difficult to tell.) For a long period Slavic pottery production seems to have been a domestic affair, not given over to craftsmen or specialists. Clay mixed with some gritty material, often sand, to make it easier to work was formed into strips coiled or built up to make a vessel's wall, then smoothed. Pots were fired at low temperatures achievable in open fires, making kilns unnecessary. The coloration of these pots seems to have been left to chance, dependent upon the natural colors of the clay—blacks or browns, sometimes mottled with orange-brown. The "execrably bad quality" of some early Korchak pots, as one specialist describes it, attests to the "amateur" status of their makers.

Gradually Slav-made pottery improved, first through the use of a slow wheel (beginning in the seventh century) to aid in making the shape of pots more regular and in smoothing their surfaces. Firing was done at higher temperatures that were controlled to achieve desired colors. These factors seem to suggest the emergence of craftsmen. In the ninth and 10th centuries pot-

tery improved dramatically, and Slavic craftsmen were obviously much influenced by pottery produced in the Carolingian Empire. By the end of this period thin-walled pottery was being made on a potter's wheel in part of Poland (Wielkopolska).

Iron and Metal Production Iron production in some places in central Europe reached industrial proportions in Roman times, often in Germanic areas, but with the departure of these societies presumably the technical skills to produce large quantities of iron left with them. (Elsewhere in Germanic lands before the Slavic period, however, iron objects were not abundant.) Iron seems to have been prized as a rare material, because broken tools were reworked and rarely discarded or buried in graves. High-quality steel was made in some Slavic areas, however simple the pottery.

Nonferrous metals worked by Slavs included copper alloys and silver. Gold was rare in Slavic lands. The techniques used with these metals were fairly advanced. The Slavic fibula, which was first made in the early seventh century and possibly somewhat before, developed from a type of fibula of the Cherniakhovo culture. It consisted of a plate of cast metal, to be pinned to the clothing, with radiating spokes or "fingers" that served to hold the cloth more securely. Fibulae often had a knob at the top in the shape of a human head or merely decorated with lines, circles, and other motifs. Fibulae of the Penkova culture, found near the Dnieper, had animal-head terminals below a human-headed knob at the top.

Another typical Slavic ornament, worn by men and women both, was a bracelet made of a cylindrical rod with expanded ends bent into a hoop. Plaquettes of sheet metal in exotic animal forms, such as lions and hippopotami, were probably fastened to clothing.

After the eighth century larger amounts of silver began to enter Slavic lands than ever before, in the form of Islamic coins (dirhams); this led to an explosion of silver working, since the coins were melted down especially for making women's headdress ornaments called temple rings. Among the Western Slavs ornaments bear the influence of Byzantine styles; the same is true for those made by the Kievan Rus. Such metalwork has been found in Scandinavia; whether it was created by Slavs or by Norse imitators is hard to say. Metalwork from this period shows a great advance in technical skill.

Slavic artifacts from Ukraine show much influence from the animal art and styles of geometric appliqués that had been characteristic of steppe peoples for centuries.

Nonmetal Crafts Although wood rarely survives, Slavic woodwork that has been found suggests to archaeologists that wood was a primary material for them. Examples show a high quality of workmanship, whether in building houses or carving implements such as buckets, bowls, and ladles. Leather making and the production of furs were important crafts. Textile production, probably mostly domestic, seems to have had a specialist component, judging by the complex weaves of some surviving examples. Silk entered Slavic lands along the silk routes from eastern Asia and from Syria. Bone and antler were used to make combs. At many Baltic coastal trade centers production of glass beads, using scrap imported from the Franks, was an important activity. Glass beads were used as a medium of exchange in trade. Glass, amber, and coral beads have been found in burials in Ukraine.

Religion

Most written accounts of pagan Slavic religion by people with firsthand knowledge are those of Christian missionaries determined to do away with it. The bias of Byzantine Christians concerning Slavic religious practices is clearly revealed in accounts that describe them as works of Satan. Other sources are from late in the early Slavic period, just before state formation and the adoption of Christianity in the seventh through 10th centuries, when the Slavs' religion probably had evolved and changed. Religious belief can be inferred—although only very uncertainly—by archaeological material from burials, votive hoards, and cult places. Ethnographic study of folk customs of Slavs in the recent past (the 19th century) has been used to try to unravel ancient belief. This, too, is an exercise fraught with difficulty, however. Analogies with other Indo-European religious practices can be helpful in piecing together the fragmentary evidence we have.

It is most unlikely that there was a pan-Slavic religion with a large, uniform pantheon of deities on a par with, for example, that of the Romans, any more than there was among Celtic peoples, whose society had much in common with that of the Slavs. Only three gods are known to have been worshipped across a wide area of Slavdom. The Slavs seem not to have had cult statues or temples until later in their history, because there are no words for these in proto-Slavic. Tribal societies more commonly had local and tribal deities, the latter often closely bound

with the families of ruling elites. However, although the names of these gods and goddesses may differ from place to place, these deities often have certain attributes across a culture, and their names, too, may be discernibly related. And as such societies change their religious beliefs and practices change as well. This must have occurred among the Slavs as they migrated to the different regions of Slavdom, the older deities of the proto-Slavic past evolving as they went.

What is known from written sources indicates that Slavic religious belief was influenced by that of other peoples. Some features are similar to those documented in Icelandic sagas, an important source for pagan Germanic religion; the Slavs may have learned about these while in contact with Goths and other German groups and later, along the Baltic and in Eastern Slavic lands, from Scandinavian settlers. There is evidence of Baltic (Lithuanian) influence. The names of several Slavic gods—indeed, the Slavic word for *god, bog*—are close to those of the SARMATIANS.

Spirits and Demons Slavic folk tradition of later times held that spirits or demons in great numbers existed alongside humankind, in nature and in hearth and home. Demons dwelled in springs, rivers, and trees. Particular copses, holy springs, and stones had indwelling demons to which humans owed ritual, prayer, and offerings. Evil spirits were said to haunt the edges of bogs, bodies of water, and forests. The negative character given these demons (indicated by the word *demon* itself) may be due to the influence of Christian belief on the peasants whose tales of them have been recorded. Earlier Indo-European peoples—ancient Celts and Germanics, for example—had worshipped deities of water in the Iron Age, attested by votive deposits and burials in rivers, bogs, and other watery places, and what is known about their belief does not indicate that these spirits were considered evil or intrinsically harmful, but instead were held in awe as powerful but potentially beneficent beings if accorded their proper worship. This may have been the case for the early Slavs as well. A world teeming with unseen spirits is the world of primitive peoples subject to powerful forces beyond their understanding or control.

Ancestor Worship The realm of spirits grades into that of the souls of ancestors, the line of demarcation between the two unclear and permeable. The very earliest farming communities in central and eastern Europe where Slavs would later emerge from the seventh millennium B.C.E. in the Balkans, the Danube region, and onto the Hungarian Plain are thought to have had an ancestor cult. The Balkan Painted Pottery cultures often buried their dead in the midst of their settlements, many of which remained on the same sites for so long that decayed building material and other detritus built up mounds (tells), sometimes many meters high. This sedentary existence may have been another expression of ancestor worship, of the need to remain close to where the ancestors were buried in order to benefit from their intercession with the spirit world on behalf of their descendants. Many small figurines, usually female, have been found in these settlements, and some scholars contend that these were used in ancestor worship. (The theory that they document goddess worship has fallen into disfavor among many archaeologists.)

The arrival in this region of horse riding among pastoral steppe nomads in the fifth millennium B.C.E. gradually brought about the end of sedentary life, as cultures in what would be the Slavic regions took up a more mobile, pastoral lifestyle that would last to the time of the Slavs. However, such is the conservatism of the religious impulse that ancestor worship continued, and somehow a compromise was reached between the new mobility and the desire to keep ancestors close to community life. It is possible that the use of cremation, common among the Slavs, formed part of that compromise, as the souls of the dead were freed from their physical body in the smoke of burning and thus able to follow their descendants on their travels.

The spirits of the dead among the Slavs assumed both benign and malevolent forms. The former were the familiar spirits of hearth and home who even helped with necessary tasks. Malevolent spirits took the form of small, naked, hairy, dark- or red-skinned creatures, often malformed, who had extra fingers or toes or a limp and were large-headed with thick eyebrows, odd teeth, thick lips, long nipples, and no sex organs. They could send out sparks or shriek and squeal to announce their presence but also make themselves invisible. They conferred ills of all kinds, from simple fright all the way to sickness, accident, and death.

That most famous demon of the Slavs, the vampire, a male blood-sucking creature (called a *stryg*), is thought to have originated in the Balkans, possibly from Greek antecedents. The ancient Greeks believed in female demons called Keres (related to a similar type called Lamia) who haunted battlefields especially, tearing apart the dying to free the soul, then feasting on their

flesh and blood. Over the course of the many battles Slavs fought with Byzantine Greeks some apprehension of such creatures could have transferred to them, perhaps from ordinary soldiers who, though Christian, continued to harbor such beliefs. Vampire tales are known from Eastern and Western Slavic areas as well. Russians made offerings to vampires. In later tales, however, it is not fallen warriors who attract vampires, but victims of other kinds of death—drowning, suicide, hanging, and childbirth.

In a concept probably of great antiquity Slavs thought of many bodies of water and streams as connecting the living to the dead. This association took its simplest form in the belief held in Russia, Bohemia, and Slovakia that certain streams were haunted by demons, the souls of humans who had drowned in them, who lay in wait to drag unwary passersby underwater to their death. Again in pre-Christian times waters were probably generally considered portals between the realms of the living and of spirits, both human dead and deities. Thus water could be used in purification; in some places they had the custom of "feeding the waters" with offerings of salt, bread, or fowl.

In Ukraine and Belarus female demons called *rusalki* took the form of pretty girls, nude, wearing only wreaths and garlands of flowers, who haunted waters in winter and then repaired to forests and meadows in the spring. They tempted passersby to join them in dancing under the new Moon, teasing and tickling them until they laughed themselves to death. They were most prevalent and dangerous in May, especially around Whitsunday, possibly because this was the time they were migrating from their winter to their summer haunts. (May was a time when bodies of water, especially springs and wells, were considered dangerous across Europe; for example, in Ireland, on St. Monica's Day, May 4, hawthorn trees near certain wells were decorated with strips of cloth to placate their spirits; and the decorating of wells, was practiced elsewhere in Britain, Germany, and other countries.)

Among the Southern Slavs were the *vila,* beautiful naked warrior maidens armed with bows and arrows. They bear a great similarity to the Amazons of Greek myth, who, it is thought, had a basis in reality among tribes of the Pontic steppe in the first millennium B.C.E. They are also similar to the Germanic Valkyries in that they danced on mountaintops. As late as the 13th century men left offerings for the *vila,* who lived in springs and caves and under trees and stones.

In contrast to water spirits those of the forest were not human dead but derived from a world apart and independent of humankind. The forest spirits of later Slavic folk belief are closest to pre-Christian deities. The ruler of the forest and its animals, called the *lešij,* had many epiphanies—wolf, owl, whirlwind. He was generally hostile to humans, his character perhaps expressive of the awe the Slavs felt on leaving behind the open forest steppe lands of their original homelands for the dark forests of the north. His consort was Baba Yaga, mistress of the forest. Slavs in formerly Germanic lands adopted the worship of trees; as late as 1156 near Lübeck on the northwest frontier of Obodrite territory people set up a cult place for a god they called Proven, consisting of an oak tree surrounded by stakes.

Agricultural Festivals Slavs also had deities involved with crops and fertility, probably worshipped in seasonal festivals that may underlie later Christian observances. All of these festivals known from Christian times featured singing and dancing, as in folk traditions over most of Europe thought to promote fertility, and the bountiful consumption of alcoholic drink. Rituals with fire and water were performed, both for purification and for invocation of the pair of elements essential for growth: Sun and rain.

A spring ritual still performed in several Slavic countries consists of dressing a straw figure in clothing and, after carrying it in a procession through the village, taking it out to a stream or pond and throwing it into the water. In Poland the figure wears women's clothes and is called Marzanna (after the month of March, when this ritual takes place, on the spring equinox). In Russia the effigy is male and called Kostroma. The fact that in villages in the former Yugoslavia the effigies, which are made to appear to be elderly persons, are said to have been drowned may suggest that such rituals once involved an actual sacrifice. Alternately the effigies of straw may have been considered an offering of last year's growth to promote growth in the coming season. Such effigies often featured in Shrove Tuesday (Carnival or Mardi Gras) and other Lententide festivities across Europe. In these contexts the effigies often play the role of scapegoats, with all of the past year's ills and bad luck laid upon their head, whereupon they are driven out of the village, then drowned or burned. In some places they are considered to represent winter, banished to make way for the spring.

Bathing or being drenched in water in the spring has been a ritual across Europe, probably for purposes of purification, perhaps from

"infection" by the demons of the past winter. In Poland boys throw water over girls on Easter Monday.

Spring festivals culminated with celebration of the longest day of the year, the summer solstice, on one of the church holidays that fell near it, Whitsunday in southern Poland and St. John's Day in Russia. There the festival was known as Kupale; huge bonfires were lit on hilltops (as elsewhere in Europe, for example, Scotland and over much of Britain and in Germany), and people danced around the fire. An important rite (also featured in Britain and thought to be of Celtic origin) was to leap over the fire, getting as close to the flames as possible. Betrothed couples often did this together. People also gathered certain plants and garlanded themselves. Among Eastern Slavs a straw effigy with the head of a horse or ox was burned in the fire. Elsewhere a wheel was set ablaze and rolled downhill, something done in parts of Germany at Easter. Accounts by churchmen allege that the evening ended in an orgy around the fire, but in saying this they may have been trying to rally society's disapproval of a festival that they were trying to abolish; other church accounts claim that such observances were inspired by the devil. (The penalties in village communities, especially to women, of engaging in premarital sex make it unlikely that full-blown orgies were a common occurrence.)

The harvested grain was personified in Slavic lands (again as elsewhere in Europe) by garlanding the last sheaf of corn (a general term meaning any kind of grain crop) and calling it a name such as Grandpa or Old Woman. At the autumn equinox many Slavs still celebrate All Souls' Day by visiting the graves of relatives and ancestors, cleaning them, and lighting candles and having a meal there. A similar practice among Celtic peoples took place on the Roman Church festival of All Souls' Day on November 1, the former Celtic festival of Samhain. It is possible that Celtic customs survived in some areas of Slavdom, such as Poland, that before settlement by Germanic peoples were inhabited by people who were part of the Celtic Hallstatt culture. Alternately they and many of the customs mentioned may be the common heritage of all speakers of Indo-European languages; indeed their primal nature may point to an origin in the earliest Neolithic Age.

Slavic Gods The names of several important Slavic gods were the same or closely related over most of the widely scattered Slavic territories, demonstrating that Slavic religion at the time of the crystallization of Slavic identity in the late fifth and sixth centuries had begun to develop beyond ancestor worship and belief in a multitude of spirits, even though these gods are known only from relatively late sources centuries later, when their religion presumably had developed further as their society changed. Procopius (writing in the sixth century) does provide several details of Slavic religion that correspond to later writings. In particular he writes that they had a god who was the creator of lightning and one supreme ruler over everything, and the god most mentioned in the late sources is Perun, a thunder-and-lightning deity (in Polish, lightning is *piorun*). In addition Procopius mentions that the Slavs worshipped rivers and nymphs.

Perun was associated with oak trees, perhaps because their height attracted lightning—lightning-struck trees were considered holy. Because he provided rain he was also the guardian of fertility. He was the tutelary god of the Kievan Rus dynasty (perhaps identified with the Norse god Thor, if the Rurikids were truly descended from Scandinavians). He may also have been related to the Lithuanian lightning god, Perkunas.

The god Proven, whose sanctuary was made around an oak tree near Lübeck, may have derived from Perun. A statue of Perun was erected in Kiev in 980; he had one also in Novgorod. Perun may have been the original of St. Elias, who in Slavic folk tradition rode through the skies in a fiery chariot. It is not certain what Perun's rites were, but the connection of the oak with midsummer festivities in many places in Europe, where the bonfires were often of oak wood, makes it probable that the St. John's Day fires among the Slavs originated in the cult of Perun. There was a Slavic Sun god, Svarog, but the importance of Perun's lightning bolts would have been that they carried the Sun's fire and fertilizing power directly to humans. In Celtic Druidic tradition mistletoe found growing on an oak tree was a sign that it had once been struck by lightning, and this mistletoe was considered the oak's genitals containing the Sun's fertility. (Balder, the Germanic Sun god, was blinded with a stake of mistletoe.) Among the Celts this concept gained its meaning from the fact that they also worshipped an earth goddess who received this fertilization. Because no information about a Slavic earth goddess (or any important goddess at all) has survived, any such belief among them is uncertain, however.

Folk traditions in southern Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine preserve prayers to the rising and setting Sun, which probably originated in prayers to Svarog, who was also a god of fire,

particularly that of the domestic hearth. An important feature of the summer solstice celebrations were the extinguishing of the family hearth—the only time this was done—and its rekindling using fire from the communal bonfire, which was lit in a ritual way, in Poland by using friction created by spinning a wheel on top of a pole (its height perhaps symbolic of the height of the Sun at this time, and the wheel a symbol of the turning year). Thus Svarog may also have been worshipped at midsummer. He had a major temple in Polabia in the 12th century, with a statue of the god wearing a helmet and cuirass, covered in gold with purple hangings around it.

A third important god mentioned in sources, mainly from Russia, was Volos, god of the cattle herds and possibly in general the god of wealth (of which the herds were a major source). There is some reason to believe Volos was also connected to the cult of ancestors and with the underworld, possibly because the crops (the other source of wealth) rise up from there. The Pomeranian port of Wolin (its Slavic name) may have been named for Volos, perhaps in his function as god of wealth. His connection with wealth and the underworld may be analogous with the Greek god of the underworld, Hades, who had as one of his titles Plutos (wealth). Volos was identified with St. Blasius (who was called Vlas or Vlah in Slavic), patron saint of cattle. The ox-headed straw effigies burned in the midsummer fires may derive from offerings to Volos. Slavic All Souls' Day customs, too, may have originated in his worship.

Other Slavic deities are known by little more than their name. A female deity named Mokosh seems to have been little more than a demon or water spirit, who presided over domestic tasks such as spinning and weaving and over childbirth, her minor character perhaps expressive of the low status of women among the Slavs, as is the practice, mentioned by Pseudo-Maurice and also attested by excavated graves, of widows' being killed, willingly or not, to be buried with their husband.

Conversion to Christianity Attempts to convert the Slavs entered from both east and west, in the context of a further expansion of Christianity, in the seventh and eighth centuries, beyond the realms where it had been established originally under the aegis of the Roman Empire. Hitherto with the exception of Ireland and parts of Germany beyond the former Roman *limes* (boundary) along the Rhine River Christian lands were those that had been part of the empire. Now in these countries—the Germanic kingdoms of western Europe and the Byzantine Empire—which had been Christian for centuries and were now economically and politically well developed religious fervor (but also a drive for political expansion) resulted in determined campaigns of conversion among the Slavs and others. As in the case of the Bulgarian khanate, Slavic rulers often saw conversion as a means of consolidating their legitimacy and achieving the political stability they observed in Christian states. It also opened access to acceptance for a new state by the civilized world, which despised paganism. (The Frankish king Dagobert is recorded to have rejected the Slavic ruler Samo's offer of an alliance by saying that it was not possible for Christians to treat with "dogs.")

The first to experience efforts at conversion were the Southern Slavs in the ninth century, when the Bulgar khan Boris forcibly converted his subjects. The Polabian Slavs were converted in the context of their conquest by the Carolingians in the 920–960s. By the later 10th century Poland, Russia, and most of Slavdom had become Christian.

Some scholars have made the intriguing suggestion that the simple and austere material culture of the early Slavs expressed a conscious condemnation of the luxury goods culture of the Goths and other Germanic tribes who had been heavily affected by trade and other relations with the Romans, and a deliberate renunciation of such "conspicuous consumption" by elites in favor of a more egalitarian society. Even in the German lands where Slavic culture became dominant the violent events and social disorders that had set the Germanic tribal migrations in motion centuries before many of them caused by the militarization of Germanic societies under Roman influence, could have caused many Germanics to long for their own simpler and more egalitarian past, this longing being symbolized by their abandonment of Germanic cultural markers. In particular Germanic and other central European tribes' involvement in the Roman slave trade, their centuries of raiding on simple villages to capture slaves for the insatiable Roman market, may have made the new, simpler Slavic way of life attractive.

A problem with this view is that in about a century or less the Slavs in their turn had developed a warrior elite society, perhaps in emulation of the Huns and Avars, and had begun engaging in savage raids to plunder Byzantine

SLOVAKS

location:
Slovakia and neighboring regions

time period:
Fifth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Slovak (West Slavic)

territory, on a par with any carried out by the Germanic Vandals. Their material culture became more complex as they began decorating their pottery and making richly inventive fibulae, horse trappings, women's jewelry, and other metal objects. By the eighth century they were engaging in a luxury trade that deposited numerous silver coins into Slavic lands. It seems unlikely that if the Slavs had such an ideology they would have abandoned it so quickly, since traditional societies tend to be conservative and resistant to change. Their reaction to Byzantine civilization probably paralleled that of Celtic and Germanic peoples when confronted with the earlier Roman Empire.

More plausibly their culture arose out of the circumstances of their life. The collapse and disappearance of the Cherniakhovo culture in central and eastern Europe resulted from the Hunnic invasion, which drove many Goths from the region and pulled others into invasions of Roman territory to the west and south. Most of the Germanic groups, particularly their elites, were drawn as moths to the candle to the guttering Roman Empire with its wealth and its civilization (treasured by many Germanics at least as greatly as its gold). The highly accomplished craftsmen of the Goths and others must have followed the elites, who were their only audience and market. It may well be that the Slavs' pots were crude because no one was left who knew how to make them any better. And this may speak to the nature of early Slavic society in general. The Slavs and those who joined them were perhaps the common people who had always lived in these regions and who remained behind when the great pageant of war, conquest, legendary victories, and the fabulous wealth these introduced, passed into history.

Slovaks time line

C.E.	
545	Lombard prince Ildigis leads group of Germanic and Slavic warriors across Middle Danube possibly from southwest Slovakia.
623	Slavic state created by Samo of Franks.
793–796	Destruction of Avar khanate by Franks and Bulgars.
830s	Mojmír, leader of Moravians, takes territory of Slovak tribe.
863	Cyril and Methodius, Eastern Orthodox Christian missionaries, enter Moravia to found church.
c. 870	Moravia recognized as independent kingdom by Louis II the German.
c. 906	Dissolution of Moravia

Further Reading

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Slovaks

The ancient Slovaks were a tribe or tribes of Western Slavs, centered in present-day Slovakia near the Czechs. They are ancestral to Slovaks (modern) now living in Slovakia and neighboring countries (*see* Slovaks: nationality). The name Slovak is derived from the same root as Slavic.

ORIGINS

The earliest material evidence of Slavic settlement in the region of present-day Slovakia dates from the middle to latter sixth century. Our knowledge of Slavs in this region at this time is mostly gained from archaeological finds, pottery, house types, and other artifacts. Pottery here has affinities with Korchak pottery in present-day Ukraine and a pottery type found in southern Poland (Mogila). As does the latter it consists of tall vessels—as was all early Slavic pottery, crudely made by the standards of the time elsewhere in Europe. As elsewhere in Slavdom the

precursors of the Slovaks had a very simple culture, living in small, square, sunken-floored huts and burying their dead in small, flat (lacking in mounds or tumuli), urned cremation cemeteries.

The material culture characteristic of Slovakia at this time had affinities with that in contemporary Poland; in its early stages the Slovak language was similar to South Slavic languages; thus the question of where Slavs here originated—Poland, the Danube valley to the south, or elsewhere, possibly Ukraine or Moldova—is difficult to answer, and no consensus has yet been reached.

The migration of Slavs here coincides in time with Slavic migrations across a wide region of central and eastern Europe, known to have taken place during the sixth century C.E., into many of the lands that have Slavic populations today. The impetus for this widespread migration is not known with certainty. It may have begun as part of a twofold process, Slavs moving into territory without rulers as elites among the GERMANICS moved out of central and eastern Europe toward the toppling empire of the ROMANS, some hoping for plunder, others hoping for lands where they could settle away from the HUNS and other steppe peoples invading at this time; at the same time tribes who formed a Slavic confederacy somewhere between the Lower Danube and western Ukraine in the late fifth and early sixth centuries developed a warrior elite, probably in part under Hunnic influence, which began to move into lands vacated by Germanic groups, including areas of Slovakia.

LANGUAGE

The Slovak language is part of the West Slavic branch, which includes Czech and Polish as well as a number of other less widespread languages. Modern Slovak has three main branches: That in the west has strong Czech influence; in the central region the language is influenced by the South Slavic languages Serbian and Croatian; and in the east there is a Polish influence.

HISTORY

In about 545 C.E. Ildigis, a prince of the LOMBARDS, led a group of Germanic and Slavic warriors across the Middle Danube possibly from southwest Slovakia or northeastern Austria.

In the seventh century in southwestern Slovakia along the Danube basin, the Slavic culture had blended with that of the AVARS, steppe warriors who in the latter sixth century had arrived in the Lower Danube region and created a powerful hegemony there. Slavs there and in Slovakia were absorbed into the Avar khanate and joined them in major episodes of raiding throughout a wide region of central Europe.

Emergence of the Moravian State and the Annexation of Slovakian Territory

In the ninth century centralization of power led to the construction of major strongholds in the Morava River valley west of Slovakia in the present-day Czech Republic, in part because of events in the Avaro-Slavic zone to the southeast. The destruction of the Avar polity by Emperor Charlemagne of the FRANKS and by the BULGARS, Turkic steppe peoples, in 793–796 probably furnished the impetus for the rise of powerful leaders in this region, both to provide defense and to take advantage of the power vacuum created by the Avar collapse. Early in the next century leaders from here met with Carolingian Frankish emperors at Aachen in 811, Paderborn in 815, and Frankfurt in 822. During this period a Slavic tribe in the area, known as the Marharii, began to be called MORAVIANS.

Expansion was led at first by the Moravian prince Mojmír, eastward into the Slovakian mountains in the 830s, taking territory of the Slovak tribe, and continued under Prince Rostislav. From then until the demise of the Moravian state Slovak tribes were under Moravian hegemony. Under Rostislav a crucial component of state formation in the early Middle Ages was accomplished when he converted to Christianity and made it the religion of his polity. To avoid the Roman Catholic Frankish sphere of influence, Rostislav looked to Byzantium's Eastern Church for guidance, and in 863 two Slavic brothers from Thessalonica, Cyril and Methodius, entered Moravia to found a church there. The brothers translated the Gospels and liturgical books into Old Church Slavonic in a precursor, devised by Cyril, of the Cyrillic alphabet.

The rise of Moravia was seen by the Franks as a serious threat, especially with the founding of the Moravian Church. When Rostislav was captured by the Frankish king Louis II the German in 869, Louis had him blinded, making him unfit to rule. But Louis recognized Rostislav's nephew, Svatopluk, as his successor of a legitimate kingdom. After the death of Methodius in 885 Svatopluk took care to appease Louis by banning the Slavic liturgy.

Expansion continued both east and west through the ninth century, although its extent is a matter of controversy (former claims of Moravian annexation of Silesia and even Pannonia have come into question). But it is likely that the Moravians took Bohemia into their

control. The Moravian state had only a brief existence; it was swept away by the MAGYARS, raiders from the forest zone north of the eastern steppe lands, some of whom Rostislav had invited to raid against the Franks in 862. The Magyar leader, Árpád, gained political power through this experience (and no doubt was tempted by Moravian wealth). In 894 Magyars helped the Moravians against a Bulgar-Frank alliance. With the death of Prince Svatopluk in 894 dissension among his three sons was further stirred up by Arnulf, king of the East Franks. When PECHENEGS began invading the Magyars' homeland, clans under Árpád moved west into Pannonia. The East Franks decided to turn the weapon used against them back on the Moravians and urged the Magyars to attack Moravia. In their now much greater numbers the Magyars succeeded in destroying the Moravian state by 906. The Moravian strongholds lay abandoned for some one hundred years.

In about 936 Boleslav I of Bohemia apparently sent forces into northern Moravia. At the beginning of the 11th century Boleslaw I the Brave of Poland arrived in Moravian territory and annexed it and part of present-day Slovakia. He seems to have found the territory depopulated, because the fortifications he built there and pottery remains of his occupation look like those in Poland, as though he had had to take his own artisans with him. Bohemia drove the POLES from Moravia in 1019. Parts of Moravia and Slovakia were taken by Germans in 1034.

Enduring Identity

From this time until the 20th century Moravia was attached to Bohemia (both passed into the hands of the Austrian Hapsburgs in 1526). Slovakia was linked to Hungary and, after the Ottoman Turks took the rest of Hungary in the 16th century, to Hapsburg Austria. The two regions were united as Czechoslovakia in 1918; Moravia lay between the Czechs on the west and the Slovaks on the east. Inequality of socioeconomic status between the Slovaks and Czechs (Czech territory was more developed, urban, and wealthy than the mountainous Slovak territory) provoked resentment and friction between the two groups. In 1992 the union of Slovakia with the Czech Republic (the former Bohemia and Moravia) was peacefully dissolved.

The overwhelming majority of people who consider themselves Slovaks live in Slovakia, but small numbers of Slovaks live elsewhere in central Europe. These countries, in order of Slovak population size, are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, Poland, Austria, Ukraine, and Croatia.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

Government and Society

Avaro-Slavic Culture Archaeologists have found evidence of a mixed Avaro-Slavic culture in present-day Slovakia and Hungary. Slavs here buried their dead in large cemeteries attesting to stability of settlements. However, there is major disagreement between Hungarian and Slovakian researchers as to the ethnic affinities of the deceased in these cemeteries. The graves fall into two categories, those with clearly Slavic material and others with Avar artifacts, the most prominent being the Avar stirrup. Yet Slovakian scholars claim that graves with Avar artifacts belonged to Slavs who had adopted Avar dress and equipment, while Hungarians believe them to contain remains of foreign nomads, based on skeletal traits, possibly evidence of a new wave of steppe nomads. National bias on the part of the Slovaks and the Hungarians with their steppe nomad heritage seems to have entered into the debate. Thus it is uncertain whether these artifacts of late Avar type from the mid-eighth century were brought in this migration or were the products of a local development. In any case, the material culture here was quite rich by Slavic standards; there are even glass vessels, probably imported from Frankia.

Both Avars and Slavs were buried in western Slovakia in an area between the Danube and southern Carpathians. Cemeteries here are quite large, one near Bratislava having a thousand graves. Some of the burials had grave goods; typical artifacts of Slav graves were S-shaped temple rings. Pottery found in these cemeteries was decorated by incising wet clay with a comb-shaped implement to make parallel lines, either straight or curving, or by stamping. Some pots were wheel thrown. In general, Slavs here had reached a higher state of development, under Avar influence, than Slavs in other regions.

Rise of the States The Moravians during the height of their power built the first Slavic urban centers, massive strongholds sited on river crossings, with stone churches. The rise of the state was accompanied by a marked increase in wealth among the elite, documented by the fine silver jewelry, influenced by Byzantine designs, that has been found.

Dwellings and Architecture

Strongholds built in Slovakia as Moravian power was increasing have a distinctive structure. Outer drystone walls were backed by timber structures filled with earth. The central areas were surrounded by a series of contiguous enclosures, the

central areas of elite dwellings, the external enclosures inhabited, perhaps, by craft workers.

As Moravian power grew the form and siting of strongholds changed. Now they were built not on hilltops as earlier but on river crossings. The multiple enclosures were no longer contiguous, but in clusters. The massive buildings were accompanied by churches, either rotundas or basilicas.

Religion: Folk Beliefs

According to their folk belief the Slovaks, as were other nearby Slavs, were sometimes visited by demons or spirits called *vila,* beautiful naked warrior maidens armed with bows and arrows. The *vila* danced on mountaintops as did witches, earlier the Valkyries in Germanic lands, and the Amazons of Greek mythology. As late as the 13th century men left offerings for the *vila,* who lived in springs and caves and under trees and stones.

The Slovakian journey from a tribe identified as Slovaks to the modern nation called Slovakia lasted a millennium and a half. During that time the Slovakian homeland has been a part of the history of many peoples and cultures.

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Slovaks: nationality (Slovakians; people of Slovakia)

GEOGRAPHY

Slovakia is landlocked by Hungary to the south, Austria to the east, Czech Republic to the northwest, Poland to the north, and Ukraine to the east. The total area is 18,933 square miles. The Little Carpathians, the White Carpathians, and the Tatry, all part of the Carpathian Mountains, make up northern Slovakia. Gerlachovskỳ is the country's highest point, measuring 8,711 feet, and is found in the High Tatry Mountains. The Low Tatry Mountains make up central Slovakia, and the Lesser and Greater Fatra Mountains lie to the west. The arable Danubian lowlands lie to the southwest. Unique caves mark the country; the Demänovská caves are found in central Slovakia, and the Domica are near the Hungarian border. The Danube, forming the border with Hungary, is the principal river.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

SLAVS, in particular tribal SLOVAKS, migrated to present-day Slovakia in the sixth century C.E. In 830 the Slavic ruler Mojmír I formed Greater Moravia, encompassing Bohemia, Slovakia, southern Poland, and western Hungary.

By 906, the MORAVIANS fell under Hungarian rule. The dynasty knows as Premyslids united the CZECHS of Bohemia and expanded territory under supervision of the Holy Roman Empire. By 1212 Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II organized an autonomous Bohemian state within the Holy Roman Empire. Bohemia was expanded in 1335 to include part of Silesia. Jogaila (Vladislav II), king of Poland and Hungary, ruled Bohemia in the 15th century. The Austrian Hapsburg Ferdinand I ruled over Hungary and Bohemia from 1526.

At the end of World War I in 1918 Austria-Hungary disbanded; Czechs and Slovaks united in the independent state of Czechoslovakia. Bohemia, Moravia, portions of Silesia, Slovakia, and later Ruthenia were part of Czechoslovakia. By the terms of the Munich Conference of 1939 Czechoslovakia ceded Sudetenland to Germany; Hungary and Poland later divided parts of Czechoslovakia between them. Under pressure from Hungary and Poland, Slovakia separated from the country, declaring a short-lived independence.

During World War II (1939–45) Nazi Germany occupied Bohemia and Moravia, forming a protectorate. At the end of the war, Czechoslovakia's republic was reestablished, aided by the Soviet Union (USSR), which then annexed Ruthenia. In 1993 Czech and Slovak leaders agreed to partition Czechoslovakia into two independent states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The national cultural identity of Slovakia is something of a self-conscious intellectual construct, although rooted in genuine differences between Slovaks (the people who live in the territory of what was once the medieval Moravian state) and Czechs. In the late 18th century a national movement began in Slovakia, with the aim of fostering Slovak culture and identity. One of its leaders was Anton Bernolák, a Jesuit priest who codified a Slovakian literary language based on dialects used in western Slovakia. The famous classical poet Ján Hollý of the first half of the 19th century wrote epic poems in alexandrine verse in order to prove the Slovakian language malleable enough to be equal to complex forms of ancient poetry.

SLOVAKS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Slovakia; Slovak Republic (Slovenská Republika)

derivation of name:
Possibly, as is the term Slavic, from *slovo,* meaning "word" or "speech," or from *slava,* meaning "honor" or "glory"

government:
Parliamentary democracy

capital:
Bratislava

language:
Official language is Slovak, part of the West Slavic subgroup of Slavic languages; Hungarian is commonly used; Ukrainian, Romany, and Czech are also spoken.

religion:
About 70 percent of the population are Catholic; Protestants make up about 10 percent; small percentages are Orthodox Christian and Jewish.

earlier inhabitants:
Celts; Thracians; Marcomanni; Quadi; Heruli; Slavs (Czechs; Slovaks; etc.); Franks; Magyars; Mongols

demographics:
About 86 percent of the population are Slovaks; Hungarians make up about 10 percent; minorities include Rroma, Czechs, Moravians, Silesians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Jews.

Slovaks: nationality time line

C.E.	
ninth century	Slovakia is part of Moravian state.
c. 907	Magyars conquer Moravia.
1526	Ottomans defeat Louis II of Hungary at Mohács; in 1547 Slovakia and western Hungary fall under Hapsburg rule; Bratislava is capital.
1618	Thirty Years' War begins when Czech (Bohemian) Protestant nobles revolt against Catholic Hapsburg dynasty.
1783–85	Josef Ignác Bajza writes novel *René* in Slovak-influenced Czech.
1790	*Grammatica slavica* by Anton Bernolák standardizes Slovak literary language.
1792	Slovak Learned Society is founded at Trnava.
1800	*Dva buchy a tri šuchy,* play by Juraj Palkovič, opens.
1824	*Slávy dcera* (The daughter of Sláva) by Ján Kollár celebrates common past of Slavs.
1826	Systematic study of Slavic languages by Pavel Jozef Šafárik is published.
1830	*Kocourkovo,* play by Ján Chalupka, opens.
1835	*Cyrilo-Metodiáda,* epic poem by Ján Hollý, relates story of Cyril and Methodius, missionaries to Slavs.
1845	L'udovít Štúr begins Slovak-language daily paper.
1846	*Marína,* epic poem by Andrej Sládković, is published.
1848	In Anti-Hapsburg revolutions Slovaks demand increased political rights.
1863	Slovak National Library is founded in Martin.
1893	Slovak National Museum is founded in Bratislava.
1909–12	Two volumes of poetry, *Nox and Solitudo* and *Verše* (Towards) by Ivan Krasko (Ján Botto) are published.
1918	Slovakia becomes province of Czechoslovakia when Slovaks unite with Czechs in republic formed from territories formerly part of Austro-Hungarian territories.
1920	At age 12 Eugen Suchon studies music under composer Frico Kafenda.
1921	Jaroslav Siakel's *Jánošik,* first Slovak feature-length film, is released.
1938	Under Munich Pact Slovakia is self-governed state within reorganized Czechoslovakia.
1939–45	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Slovakia.
1945	Slovakia reunites with Czechoslovakia.
1948	Slovak National Gallery is founded in Bratislava.
1969	Soviet Union (USSR) establishes Socialist Federal Republic, which includes Czech and Slovak constituent republics.
1976	*Obchod na korze* (*The Shop on Main Street*), directed by Ján Kadár and Elmar Klos, wins Academy Award for best foreign-language film.
1989	Velvet Revolution ends, terminating Communist regime.
1992–93	Czechoslovakia is divided into Slovakia and Czech Republic.
1995	Slovakia and Hungary sign Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, reaffirming borders.
1999	Rudolf Schuster, directly elected by people, becomes president.
2004	Slovakia joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU).

Also in the 19th century the Protestant scholars and leaders Ján Kollár and Pavel Josef Šafárik developed a form of written Slovak that combined the dialects used in central Slovakia and the Czech lands. Both writers adopted the 18th-century German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder's concept of the glorious future reserved to Slavs, and they became the

most important promoters of pan-Slavism. Hollý, Kollár, and Šafárik greatly helped to awaken national conscience and showed the way to the creation of native literature.

The linguist and Slovak nationalist Ľudovít Štúr, a contemporary of Kollár's and Šafárik's, rejected the Czech influence. Inspired by the philosophy of German Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, he developed the concept of Slovakian romanticism, whose main characteristics are the preeminence of patriotic thought and the attachment to popular traditions. Štúr set out to develop a more authentic literary Slovak; his language was adopted by a group of Slovak poets, whose work dealt largely with national Slovakian themes. Poetry remained an important literary form into the 20th century, used by some Slovak writers to address the experience of World War II and the rise of Communism. During the Communist period Slovakian literary culture suffered from heavy governmental control. The works of Dominik Tatarka, Luboš Jurik, Martin Butora, Milan Šimecka, and Hana Ponicka were exceptions to the pattern of politically influenced works.

The development of Slovakian culture reflects the country's rich folk tradition, in addition to the influence of broader European trends, particularly from France. Folk arts and crafts, which include wood carving, fabric weaving, and glass painting, have a long and popular tradition in Slovakia, especially in rural areas. Examples of folk architecture, such as wooden churches and brightly painted houses, are found throughout the country. The impact of centuries of cultural repression and control by foreign governments is also evident in much of Slovakia's literature, art, and music, in the recurring theme of defending the very existence of the nation.

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Slovenes (Sloveniani; Slovenians)

The Slovenes are descendants of a tribe or tribes of Southern Slavs who settled in the eastern Alps by the late sixth or early seventh century C.E. They are among the ancestors of the Slovenes now living in Slovenia and neighboring countries (*see* Slovenes: nationality). A tribe known as the Slovienie has a different tradition.

SLOVENES

location:
Slovenia and neighboring regions

time period:
Sixth century century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Slovenian (South Slavic)

ORIGINS

The peoples who became known as Slovenes probably first migrated westward across the Hungarian Plain to the eastern Alps from present-day Romania in the sixth century. Some of them may be descendants of Slavic peoples referred to by ancient writers as Antes and Sclaveni. The name Slovenes did not appear in written sources until the 16th century.

The migration of Slavs to the eastern Alps was part of a "second wave" of the Slavic migrations across a wide region of central and eastern Europe, known to have begun during the sixth century, into many of the lands that have Slavic populations today. The impetus for this widespread migration is not known with certainty. It may have begun as part of a twofold process; Slavs moving into abandoned territories as tribes and tribal confederacies of Germanics, such as that of the Goths, moved out of central and eastern Europe toward the toppling empire of the Romans, some hoping for plunder, others hoping for lands where they could settle away from the Avars and other steppe peoples invading at this time; also at the same time tribes who may have joined into a Slavic confederacy somewhere between the Lower Danube and present-day western Ukraine in the sixth century developed a warrior elite, probably in part under Avaric influence, which began to move into lands vacated by Germanic groups, including areas of Slovenia.

In the mid-seventh century Slavs expanded up the valleys of the Drava, Sava, and Mura Rivers into the flanks of the eastern Alps and had also settled large areas of the Roman coastal province of Dalmatia (which includes parts of modern Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia) by 642. Those in the eastern Alps apparently joined indigenous populations, including Germanic groups, to

Slovenes time line

C.E.	
sixth century	Slavs move into eastern Alps.
642	Slavs settled in Dalmatia.
c. 740	Carantanians rebel against Avar rule.
788	Carantanians come under rule of Franks.
952	Carantanians become part of Holy Roman Empire.

develop the Carinthian culture of the seventh and eighth centuries in present-day southern Austria and surrounding areas, which has Germanic elements as well as elements rooted in the culture of late antiquity. Slovenian scholars consider modern Slovenes to be descendants of the CARANTANIANS (Carinthian Slavs).

LANGUAGE

The Slovenian dialect is part of the South Slavic branch, which includes Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian. Slovenian is written in the Latin alphabet, unlike Serbian and many other Slavic languages, which are written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

HISTORY

Migrations

It is thought that Slavic groups migrated westward in response to the arrival of the Avars on the Lower Danube River in 561 C.E. and probably arrived in the Alps by the early seventh century. The early history of Slovenia is uncertainly known. A Frankish merchant named Samo, in 623, according to a Frankish account written in the 660s, led Slavs living somewhere on the Frankish borders in a successful revolt against the Avars, founding a kingdom there. It is plausible that Samo's kingdom was located in present-day Slovenia, closer to the Avars. In any case it is thought that somem among its inhabitants founded the state of Carantania, but it was at the mercy of the Avars.

Power Struggle

Around 740 the Carantanians rebelled against Avar rule and invited the duke of Bavaria to protect them. They became Christianized under Bavarian influence. The Carantanians came under the rule of the FRANKS in 788 when Charlemagne overthrew the duke of Bavaria. They are thought to have gained significant territory in present-day Austria as well as Hungary and Slovenia. The Carantanians were also pressured by the MAGYARS, who settled Hungary in about 895. Otto I, king of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, incorporated most of these lands into the duchy of Carinthia in 952.

Enduring Identity

Over the centuries the Slovene identity took shape. Carinthia, with its mixed population of Germanic and Slavic groups, remained part of the Holy Roman Empire until in 1918 it became part of a new state, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929), a federation largely spearheaded by SERBS who expected to dominate their fellow southern Slavs. Slovenes, like other non-Serbs in the kingdom, resisted this. In April 1990 as Communist power crumbled throughout eastern and central Europe Slovenia held the first multiparty elections in former Yugoslavia since World War II. The winning coalition called for independence, and nearly 90 percent of Slovenia's population voted for independence in a referendum in December 1990. The independent Slovenian state was recognized by the European Union in 1992. The name Carinthia has endured as a state in southern Austria (*see* AUSTRIANS: NATIONALITY).

The overwhelming majority of people who consider themselves Slovenes live in Slovenia, small numbers of Slovenes live elsewhere in central Europe; in order of Slovene population size, Italy, Austria, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Hungary.

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

In the ninth and 10th centuries a rich culture developed in Carinthia, characterized by richly enameled jewelry.

From the eighth century the Slovenes were converted to Western Christianity by Italian and German missionaries. In the ninth century monks trained in the Eastern Orthodox Slavic



A Slovenian woman poses in traditional clothing in this 1897 photomechanical print. *(Library of Congress)*

rite in Moravia were expelled and sought refuge in Slovenia.

The Slovenes have retained many elements of their traditional culture to modern times. Austrian Slovenes struggled to do so in the face of accusations by other Austrians that this made them unpatriotic. Both the long dominance of German culture in western Slavic lands and "pan-Slavism," a movement championing Slavic identity first spearheaded by Russians in the 19th century, which Slovenian intellectuals embraced as a means of opposing German dominance, have tended to polarize people of Slavic and Germanic descent, especially those who live close to one another.

Slovenes: nationality time line

C.E.	
sixth–seventh century	Slavs settle region of present-day Slovenia.
c. 740	Carantanians rebel against Avars and come under Bavarian rule.
788	Franks occupy territory.
843	Charlemagne gives region to Bavarian dukes.
1335	Hapsburgs control the crown land of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, comprising the duchy of Carantania.
1550	First book in Slovene, *Catechismus* by Primož Trubar, is published.
1580–90	Jacob Handl publishes three collections of music containing 16 masses, 374 Latin motets, and 100 secular pieces.
1774	Lyceum Library is founded in Ljubljana (renamed State Reference Library in 1919, State Library in 1921, University Library in 1938, and National and University Library in 1945).
1809–13	Napoleon conquers the Austrian crown lands, forming Illyrian Provinces.
1821	Provincial Museum of Carniola is founded, first museum institution ever in Slovene lands; a building for it is constructed in Ljubljana in 1883–85 (it is renamed National Museum in 1921, and Slovene National Museum in 1992).
1834	*Sonetni venec* (The wreath of sonnets), book of verse by France Prešeren, is published.
1907	Politically influential writer Ivan Cankar returns to Slovene lands from Vienna.
1918	Slovene lands are part of Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
	National Gallery is founded in Ljubljana.
1919	Under Treaty of Saint-Germain Austria officially cedes Slovene lands.
1929	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes becomes known as Yugoslavia.
1938	*Alamut,* novel by Vladimir Bartol, is published; it is considered most popular work of Slovenian literature outside Slovenia.
1939–45	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Slovenia.
1945	Slovenia becomes constituent republic of Socialist Yugoslavia.
1947	Museum of Modern Art is founded in Ljubljana.
1991	Slovenia declares independence.
2001	Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra celebrates 300th anniversary.
2004	Slovenia joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and European Union (EU).

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Slovenes: nationality (Slovenians; people of Slovenia)

GEOGRAPHY

Slovenia borders Austria to the north, Hungary to the northeast, Croatia to the east and south, and Italy and the Gulf of Venice (part of Adriatic

SLOVENES: NATIONALITY

nation:
Slovenia (Slovenija); Republic of Slovenia

derivation of name:
From the Slavic term for "glory" or "the word"

government:
Multiparty republic

capital:
Ljubljana

language:
Official language is Slovenian; Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, and Italian are also spoken.

religion:
About 85 percent of the population are Catholic; the remainder are Protestant or nonreligious.

earlier inhabitants:
Illyrians; Celts; Romans; Quadi; Slavs (Slovenes etc.); Franks

demographics:
About 90 percent of the population are Slovenian; minorities include Croats, Serbs, Bosnian Muslims, and Hungarians.

Sea) to the west. Slovenia has an area of 7,820 square miles. The terrain is generally mountainous and forested. The Karst, a limestone plateau, lies in the east, occupying a third of Slovenia. The Julian Alps lie to the northwest, where the highest peak, Mount Triglav (9,393 feet), is found. Principal rivers include the Mura, the Drava, and the Sava.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Tribal SLAVS settled the region that would become Slovenia in the sixth and seventh centuries C.E. In the early eighth century some of them became a part of the state of Carantania. In defense against the AVARS, the CARANTANIANS put themselves under the protection of Bavaria in about 740 C.E. Carantania was later subjugated by the FRANKS.

The region was recognized, reorganized, and expanded as a duchy under the Holy Roman Empire in 952. In 1335 Slovenian lands became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The region was briefly part of the Napoleonic Empire from 1809 to 1814, before Austro-Hungarian domination resumed.

Slovenia became part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes when the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell at the end of World War I in 1918; it became known as Yugoslavia in 1929. After the Germans invaded in 1941 Yugoslavia was reorganized. When World War II ended in 1945 a Communist Yugoslavia was reestablished. Slovenia added Slovenian-speaking areas along the Adriatic to its territory in 1947.

The Slovenes were increasingly dissatisfied with Serb-dominated Yugoslavia during the 1980s and, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) and end of Communist power in the region, they declared their independence in 1991.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Because of Slovenia's location on one of the crossroads of Europe and its varied terrain, creation of a common cultural identity has not been easy. The geographical location between two very strong cultural and political regions, Italian and German, has had significant influence on the way of life in Slovenia. With a population of only 2 million the Slavic people have always had to struggle to maintain their cultural identity surrounded by more dominant cultures and until recently without their own state. Cultural identity has been preserved mostly through a strong commitment to the arts.

In recent years Slovenians have increasingly focused on the very variety of their cultural traditions as perhaps being the essence of Slovenian identity, rather than seeking a single tradition around which the people can unite. A country whose landscape includes high alpine fastnesses, a warm Mediterranean coastal region, and the harsh Karst plateau was bound to develop differing traditions, and Slovenians are seeing this as a reason to celebrate, those from each region looking to the traditions of others with fascination and appreciation.

In such a small country important cultural institutions loom large as a focus for national and cultural pride. Perhaps the most important such institution in Slovenia is the Slovenian Philharmonic, which recently celebrated the 300th anniversary of its predecessor, the Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensis. The official reopening of the renovated 110-year old building was attended by the country's president.

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Slovienie (Slovienians)

The Slovienie are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS. They migrated north from the Ukraine into a territory south of St. Petersburg and west of the Volga River (near the Sopki mounds) in present-day northwestern Russia in about the ninth century C.E. They took over an area previously inhabited by BALTS and FINNO-UGRIANS.

Slovintziµ *See* KASHUBES.

Smertae

The Smertae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Scotland at least by the first century C.E. and are further discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. It is possible that they were PICTS and not Celtic speaking, however.

Sorbs (Sorbians; Lusatian Sorbs; Lusatians; Serbs of Luzice; Wends)

The Sorbs are a former tribe and a current ethnolinguistic group of Western SLAVS, living between the Saale River, a tributary of the Elbe, and the Neisse River, a tributary of the Oder, in present-day eastern Germany (*see* GERMANS:

NATIONALITY). The name Sorbs is used interchangeably with WENDS a name given to Western Slavs by the FRANKS to apply more generally to Slavic peoples living between the Elbe and Oder Rivers, including the Lusatian Sorbs (the name Lusatian derived from a possibly tributary tribe of the Sorbs, the VELETIANS), as well as tribes once living to their north, such as HAVELIANS, OBODRITES, POLABIANS, and RANIANS. The whole region is sometimes referred to by Slavic scholars as Polabia, after the Polabian language that was spoken in the north until the 18th century.

ORIGINS

The earliest evidence of Slavic settlement of Sorb territory dates from the second half of the seventh century C.E. (dated by dendrochronology to the 660s). This is pottery considered to be of the Prague culture that had emerged in Bohemia (modern Czech Republic) the previous century. Prague pottery in Sorb lands is found in areas formerly settled by tribes of GERMANICS near the Elbe, Saale, and Havel Rivers, and its makers could have migrated there from Bohemia.

The Prague culture replaces the earlier Germanic material, as Slavs seem to have moved onto lands that had previously been cleared, although pollen evidence shows that in some places the forest had begun to regenerate. Thus the appearance of the Prague culture coincides with the disappearance of Germanic cultural markers both in Bohemia itself and in adjacent areas of eastern Germany, either because Germanic peoples left the area, because they had adopted Slavic culture, or because both occurred. Prague Culture material differs from that of earlier Slavs in Bohemia; this could have come about through contributions from Germanic peoples who had joined the Slavs. In Polabian territory north of the Elbe-Saale region the culture is even more distinct from that of most Slavs, making a rapprochement between incoming Slavs and indigenous Germanic peoples even more likely. As elsewhere in Slavdom the Sorbs and Polabians had a very simple culture, living in small, square, sunken-floored huts (although in Polabia huts were built with ground-level floors) and making pottery that, by the standards of the time elsewhere in Europe, was no more than crude.

The migration of Slavs here coincides in time with Slavic migrations across a wide region of central and eastern Europe, known to have taken place during the sixth century, into many of the lands that have Slavic populations today. The impetus for this widespread migration is not known with certainty. It may have begun as part of the twofold process mentioned: Germanic tribes and tribal confederacies, such as that of the GOTHS, moved out of central and eastern Europe toward the toppling empire of the ROMANS, some hoping for plunder, others hoping for lands where they could settle away from the AVARS and other steppe peoples invading at this time; at the same time tribes who formed a Slavic confederacy somewhere between the Lower Danube and western Ukraine in the late fifth and early sixth centuries developed a warrior elite, probably in part under Avaric influence, which began to move into lands vacated by Germanic groups, including in the Elbe-Saale region.

LANGUAGE

The West Slavic dialect still spoken by the modern-day Lusatian Sorbs is known as Sorbian, Lusatian, or Wendish. There are two Sorbian dialects, Upper and Lower. Upper Sorbian resembles Czech; Lower Sorbian resembles Polish. Both have a Germanic influence. Sorbian is a distinct dialect from the now-extinct Polabian of the Western Slavic tribes who once lived to the north.

HISTORY

The emergence of a tribe called the Sorbs is documented by Frankish sources from the seventh century C.E. The Sorb ruler, Derevan, called in Frankish sources a *dux* (duke), was allied in the 660s with Samo of the Franks, who led a Slavic revolt against the Avars, steppe warrior nomads who had subjugated Slavs and others over a wide area in the Middle Danube region south of Sorbian territory.

Sorbs and Franks

The Sorbs, along with other Slavs in their region, had increasing contact with the Franks as a

SORBS

location:
In the Elbe and Saale River valleys in eastern Germany

time period:
Seventh century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Sorbian (West Slavic)

Sorbs time line

C.E.

660s	Sorb ruler, Derevan, is allied with Samo, Frankish leader of Slavic rebellion against Avars.
eighth century	Sorbian Mark established by Franks to defend against Sorbs.
10th century	Magyars attack tribes in Elbe-Saale region, including Sorbs.
928 and 948	Sorbs' territory annexed by German Empire under Henry I and Otto I.
958	Otto establishes bishopric of Magdeburg to administer church of the Slavs, which includes Sorbs.
10th century to present	Sorbs part of Germany
1930s–40s	Sorbs persecuted by Nazis.

result of Charlemagne's wars in 772 to 804 against the SAXONS. Charlemagne established the Sorbian (or Lusatian) Mark as one of a number of frontier or buffer regions between Frankish territory and that of Slavs to the east. These included the tribes that, led by the CZECHS, would establish the Bohemian state during the ninth and 10th centuries. The Sorbian Mark, established to defend against the Sorbs northwest of Bohemian territory, was bounded by the north-flowing Saale River, with Sorbian territory along the river's east bank. The Franks referred to those Slavic tribes between the Oder and Elbe Rivers as Wends and their territory as Wendenland. These included the other Western Slavic tribes, such as the Havelians, Obodrites, Polabians, Ranians, Veletians, and the group now known as Sorbs or Lusatian Sorbs.

Sorbs, Magyars, and Czechs

In the 10th century MAGYARS, raiders from the forest zone north of the eastern steppe lands, attacked tribes along the Elbe and Saale Rivers, including the Sorbs. It is probable that with the formation of the Bohemian state at this time by the Czechs, Sorbs were under Bohemian influence of some kind, although details of this influence are not known.

Sorbs and the German Empire

Sorbs clearly were influenced by the German Empire, as attested by pottery that has been found. Strongholds were built along the Sorbs' western frontier; as the Sorbs were not nearly organized or powerful enough to withstand German might directly, these strongholds probably belonged to Sorbian leaders who were allies of the Germans and who had become wealthy through German diplomatic gifts.

By mid-century, however, as part of the German *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the east) begun in 928 and continued by Otto I after 948 the Sorbs' Elbe-Saale and other Slavic territories were annexed in German military campaigns that pushed the German frontier to the east with a new frontier along the Middle and Lower Oder River. Territories were organized around the former tribal territories, and the Lusatian Mark now included the whole of the Sorbs' lands. Part of the motivation for the *Drang nach Osten* was the same as that for Charlemagne's Saxon wars: conversion of pagans to Christianity. This was of a piece with drawing them politically into the German Empire. What seems crass calculation pure and simple may therefore well have been sincere. At this time nothing like the modern concept of the separation of church and state existed. The Germans modeled their empire, which later became known as the Holy Roman Empire, on that of the ancient Romans; documents of the time referred to subjects of the empire, wherever they lived, as Romans, the faithful of the Roman Catholic Church. The empire was the God-appointed earthly realm of Christians, and the German emperors ruled with the sanction of the papacy. In their eyes it was part of their duty as rulers to draw pagans into the fold.

In Polabian and Obodrite territories the campaigns of this time were bloody and violent, as the population resisted fiercely. Whole tribes were nearly exterminated. Part of the impetus for resistance here was a resurgent paganism, as pagan priests instigated revolt. By the end of the 10th century the Germans had been driven out of the Polabian and Obodrite territories, which remained independent until the late 11th century. In Sorbian territory there was much less resistance, and after their annexation in the 10th century they became absorbed into the social and political system of the German Empire.

Modern Lusatian Sorbs

A number of communities of Lusatian Sorbs still exist in eastern Germany, mostly in the states of Saxony and Brandenburg. Although the Sorbs were persecuted by the Nazis before and during World War II (1939–45) after the partition of Germany Soviet Russian influence in East Germany ensured that the Slavic Sorbs were well treated (because of the pan-Slavism that has been important in Russia since the 19th century). They received generous subsidies from the state. Despite fears that after the unification of Germany Sorb ethnicity would be endangered, the German government through treaty and laws has guaranteed the Sorbs' language and other rights. Some Germans who settled in Lusatia after unification have attempted to reach a rapprochement with the Sorbs there by attending evening classes in Upper or Lower Sorbian and by sending their children to bilingual schools. All Sorb speakers currently live in Germany, and the Sorbian language is maintained in schools. The towns of Bautzen (Upper Lusatia) in Saxony and Kottbus in Brandenburg (Lower Lusatia) are centers of the Sorb community

CULTURE (*see also* SLAVS)

The Sorbs and neighboring tribes were converted, mostly by force, to Christianity during the 10th century primarily through the efforts of the German emperor Otto I. Otto established the bishopric of Magdeburg in 958 to administer the

church of the Slavs. The first archbishop, Adalbert, was named metropolitan of the Slavs and had in his diocese the Sorbs and neighboring tribes. This situation contrasts with that of other West Slavic polities of the time, such as Bohemia and Poland, that were allowed to establish their own bishoprics (Prague and Poznán, respectively) in their own territories, a crucial step in the formation of independent states. The Sorbs' lack of a native bishopric foretold their absorption into the German Empire.

The Lusatian Sorbs are the only Slavs to have survived to modern times as a geographic and ethnolinguistic group in Germany.

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Sotiates (Sotiades)

The Sotiates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Sos in southwestern France and are discussed as Celts or Gauls. Sos takes its name from the tribal name. They were allies of the Elusates. They surrendered to the Romans under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Spanish: nationality (Spaniards; people of Spain)

GEOGRAPHY

Spain is situated along the Bay of Biscay, France, and Andorra to the north; the Atlantic Ocean to the south and west; the Mediterranean Sea to the south and east; and Portugal to the west. The Balearic Islands in the Mediterranean Sea and the Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean are also Spanish territory. The total area of the mainland is 190,190 square miles. The Pyrenees lie in the north, forming the border between Spain and France. The Strait of Gibraltar divides Spain and Africa in the south. The Meseta Central, a plateau, dominates central Spain. The Sierra de Guadarrama, the Sierra de Gredos, and the Montes de Toledo are notable mountain ranges found within the plateau. The Mulhacen (11,407 feet), Spain's highest peak, is found in the Sierra Nevada in the south. The coast is generally made up of broken mountains, especially along the Mediterranean. Principal rivers include the Douro, Miño, Tagus, Guadiana, and Guadalquivir, the most navigable.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The Iberian Peninsula was the homeland of the Iberians and Celtiberians in ancient times. Over the centuries Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, and Moors all established a presence.

The region that would become Spain existed as a number of smaller kingdoms, each intent on regaining lost territory from the Moors in the eighth century C.E. During the Christian Reconquest the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón controlled the regions of Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Minorca, Sardinia, Sicily, southern Italy, and Tunisia. Isabelle of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragón, uniting Castile and Aragón, in 1479. The conquest of Granada in 1492 rid Spain of Moorish rule, and the formation of the Spanish Inquisition ensured a Christian populace. In 1512 Spain acquired Navarre.

Under Charles I, a Hapsburg, in the first half of the 16th century Spain added Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Germany, and American colonies to its control. In 1519 Charles was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. On his abdication in 1556 he divided the empire in two; his son Philip II ruled Spain, the Netherlands, and those



This portrait shows Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, and (as Charles I) king of Spain. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-113618])*

SPANISH: NATIONALITY

nation:
Spain (España); Kingdom of Spain

derivation of name:
Phoenician term meaning "rabbit coast"

government:
Parliamentary monarch

capital:
Madrid

language:
Official language is Castilian Spanish; Catalán, Galician, and Basque are also spoken.

religion:
About 97 percent of the population are Catholic.

earlier inhabitants:
Iberians; Celtiberians; Phoenicians; Greeks; Carthaginians; Romans; Vandals; Alans; Visigoths; Moors

demographics:
About three-quarters of the population are Spanish; ethnic minorities include Catalans, Galicians, and Basques.

portions of Italy under the empire's control. In 1580 Philip inherited Portugal, which remained under Spanish rule for the next 60 years. Spain was forced to recognize Dutch independence at the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648.

Spanish: nationality time line

C.E.

711 Islamic Moors conquer most of Spain.

1085 Christian forces retake Toledo.

1140 *El Cantar de Mío Cid* (*The Song of the Cid*), epic poem about El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar) by unknown author, appears.

c. 1252 Gonzalo de Berceo, first poet identifiable by name to write in Castilian, produces book of poems, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (Miracles of the Virgin Mary).

1330 *El libro de buen amor* (The book of good love), a book of poems and prose by priest Juan Ruiz, is published.

1335 *Libro del Conde Lucanor* (Book of Count Lucanor), a book of prose tales, is published.

1479 Aragón and Castile unite under Ferdinand V and Isabella I.

1492 Moorish presence in Spain ends with conquest of Granada; Christopher Columbus, Italian sailing for Spain, reaches Americas.

Gramática sobre la lengua castellana (Grammar of the Castilian language) by Elio Antonio de Nebrija is published.

1499 *La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* or *La Celestina,* dramatic romance by Fernando de Rojas, contributes to development of national drama in Spain.

1503 Spain conquers Kingdom of Naples.

1512 Kingdom of Navarre becomes part of Spain, expanding its boundaries.

1519 King Charles I of Spain becomes Holy Roman Emperor Charles V; Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg are ceded to Spanish Empire.

1554 *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes and his fortunes and adversities) by unknown author becomes prototype of form known as picaresque novel, narrative recounting life and adventures of *picaros* (rascals).

1559 *Los siete libros de la Diana* (The seven books of Diana) by Jorge de Montemayor, first pastoral novel written in Spanish, is published.

1560s Netherlands rebels against Spain.

1580 Philip II invades Portugal.

1588 Philip II launches Spanish Armada; defeated by English navy.

1605 Part I of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (The ingenious gentleman Don Quixote of la Mancha), novel by Miguel de Cervantes, is published.

1609 *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (The new art of writing comedies in this time) by poet and playwright Lope de Vega is published.

1618–48 Spain helps finance Thirty Years' War, involving various European powers.

1623 Pedro Calderón de la Barca begins writing plays for royal court, such as *La vida es sueño* (*Life Is a Dream*) in 1635.

1630 *El burlador de Seville y el convidado de piedra* (The trickster of Seville and the stone guest), play by Gabriel Téllez (pseudonym, Tirso de Molina), is first performed.

1701–14 War of Spanish Succession; Philip V remains king; Spain loses its European territories, including Gibraltar to Great Britain.

1712 National Library is founded in Madrid.

1734 Spain regains Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

After the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714) Spain lost its remaining European holdings. Coinciding with Napoleon I Bonaparte's occupation of the country in 1808–1814 many of Spain's American colonies won their independence. Spain relinquished

1742–60 Benito Geronimo Feijóo y Montenegro argues Enlightenment principles of science and reason in his *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (Scholarly letters).

1783 By Treaty of Paris Spain regains Minorca.

1808 Napoleon I Bonaparte invades Spain beginning Peninsula War with Britain lasting until 1814.

1810–25 Most of Spain's overseas colonies win independence.

1819 Royal Museum of Painting and Sculpture is founded in Madrid; in 1868 it is nationalized along with other royal properties as Museo del Prado (Prado Museum).

1832–37 Mariano José de Larra records descriptions of Spanish life and customs in his *Articulos de costumbres* (Articles on manners).

1844 *Don Juan Tenorio* (Don Juan the rake), play by José Zorrilla, opens.

1860–61 *Rimas* (Rhymes), book of verse by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, is published.

1873 Republican government is established; civil war breaks out between Carlists and liberals.

1873–79 First volumes of *Episodios nacionales* (National episodes on Spanish history) by Benito Pérez Galdós are published; remainder of 46 volumes are published in 1898–1912.

1898–1936 Group of intellectuals known as Generation of 1898 redefine Spanish culture, including writers Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo and Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, playwright Jacinto Benavente y Martínez, composers Isaac Manuel Francisco Albéniz and Enrique Granados, painters Ignacio Zuloaga and Joaquin Sorolla, architect Antonio Gaudi y Cornet, and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset.

1914–18 During World War I Spain remains neutral.

1922 Playwright Jacinto Benavente y Martínez wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1928 Painter Salvador Dalí and filmmaker Luis Buñuel collaborate on surrealistic film *Un chien andalou* (An Andalusian dog).

1931 Monarch flees country; Spain becomes republic.

1936 At age 38 poet and playwright García Lorca, supporter of Spanish Republic and known as part of Generation of 1927, is assassinated by General Francisco Franco's Nationalist soldiers at beginning of Spanish civil war.

1936–39 Spanish civil war; Franco dictatorship begins.

1937 Pablo Picasso paints *Guernica* in reaction to German bombing of town of Guernica during Spanish civil war.

1939–45 During World War II Spain remains neutral.

1955 Spain joins United Nations (UN).

1956 Poet Juan Ramón Jiménez wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1977 Democratic elections are reinstated.

Poet Vicente Aleixandre y Merlo wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1978 Under new constitution Spain becomes democratic parliamentary monarchy.

1982 Spain joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

1986 Spain joins European Community (EC).

1989 Poet Camilo José Cela wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1993 Spain becomes one of original 12 members of European Union (EU).

more colonies during the Spanish-American War in 1898.

In 1931 after the reign of King Alfonso XIII Spain was made a republic. Civil war erupted in 1936; a dictatorship under General Francisco Franco was established by 1939. With Franco's death in 1975 Spain adopted its present constitutional monarchy.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The formation of the Spanish national identity, as in the case of British nationality, involved a process of the imposition of a single dominant culture and language—those of Castile—on the very distinct cultures and languages of other regions of the Iberian Peninsula, which included the Muslim Kingdom of Granada, the Kingdom of Navarre, and the Crowns of Aragón (a federation of the Aragonese, the Catalanians, the Valencians, and the Balearic Islanders). Castile itself included Asturias, Cantabria, León, the Basque country, Estremadura, and Andalusia. This formation occurred in the context of the building of a great empire.

In 1492 three events that made an indelible mark on the character of Spain as a nation occurred: the triumph of Castilian royal power in overturning the Muslim rule of Granada, thus completing the Christian Reconquest; the expulsion of Spanish Jews in the name of religious conformity; and Columbus's voyage to the Americas, which he claimed for Spain. Christian religious fervor coupled with the fabulous wealth of the Americas drove the building of the Spanish Empire. Sixteenth-century Castilians saw themselves as successors to the Romans, a chosen people, entrusted with a divine mission, the creation of a universal Christian empire. The seemingly inexhaustible gold from the Americas, which was reserved almost entirely to the Crown, allowed the monarchy to pursue its goals without building a self-sustaining economic infrastructure for the country. The gold acted as an artificial stimulant to imperial dreams of glory long after the international political and economic situation had changed, and Spain's real position of power in the world, aside from its military might, was waning.



Spaniards stand on a beach with fishing boats in the background in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-108731])*

Spain fell further and further behind developments elsewhere in Europe that were bringing about the evolution of modern states. In the 18th century despite the challenge of new political ideas from abroad, notably liberalism, Spain remained united beneath and loyal to the Crown and the church. By the 19th century Spain's top-heavy bureaucratic government and its isolation from new ideas contributed to slow economic and industrial development. Insufficient wealth led to persistent regionalism and finally separatism, as the CATALANIANS and BASQUES strove to establish independent states. The GALICIANS also maintained their traditional identity. Economic instability led to years of political turmoil culminating in the Spanish civil war, from which emerged the Franco regime. Under Franco Spain took a giant step backward to a state aimed at restoring the illusory glories of the past. A claustrophobic, conservative Catholicism provided the social orthodoxy of Franco's Spain. In the doctrine of the ruling ideology the progressive forces that were bringing about modernism in the rest of Europe were rejected according to the construct that Protestantism led to the Enlightenment, which led to liberalism, which led to Marxism. The Catholic unity of Spain had been re-created by the victory of Franco. Franco's government even tried to revive the Spain of Philip II as reflected in an architectural style based on that king's monastery palace, the Escorial.

In spite of the government's reactionary policies rapid industrialization and urbanization took place during the 1960s. In other Western societies industrialization, with its associated social, psychological, and environmental ills, had developed gradually over a long period. In Spain the final stage of the industrial revolution, cut short by the civil war, and the advent of the consumer society took place in a country still officially committed to traditional Catholic values, in many ways at odds with the modern world. After the demise

of Francoism the loss of official status of the church left many Spanish in a sort of religious and moral limbo that made adjustment to changing times more difficult.

Recent history has caused many Spanish to think of their country as having fallen "behind" the rest of Europe. Many Spanish feel that they have an opportunity and a responsibility to put their country back where they believe it belongs, giving them a sense of national purpose, a sort of instinctive patriotism not found elsewhere in Western Europe.

In post-Franco Spain there has been a concerted effort has been made to undo centuries of cultural oppression of regions by the central government. With the Constitución de 1978 Spain was defined as a culturally pluralistic society, creating "Autonomous Communities" in the various regions and officially recognizing languages other than Spanish. The "national" Spanish cultural identity thus engages in dialogue with the regional cultural identities, notably the two most dominant of Spain's "historical nationalities," Catalonia (Cataluña) and Basque country.

Spain today presents a curious mixture of old and new, in part the product of living so long in the "time capsule" of the Franco regime. The status of women has improved, but much more slowly than in the rest of Europe. Only a short time ago women's working outside the home—especially married women—was regarded as unnatural. Even today in villages women's work outside the home is regarded as "ugly"; nevertheless it is now a common practice. In the cities the lifestyle is approximately the same as in other European countries. But in the countryside people preserve attitudes and rituals that would have been completely familiar to Europeans centuries ago.

There is growing concern in the rest of Europe, over the degree of cruelty to animals at village fiestas in Spain. Such practices are perhaps holdovers from the distant pagan past. The bullfight probably has its roots in sacrifices of antiquity. Flamenco music is an amalgam of the music of many peoples, among them the Moors, Sephardic JEWS, and RROMA.

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Sudovians *See* YOTVINGIANS.

Suebi (Suebii; Suebians; Suevi; Sueves; Suevians; Swabians; Swabs)

The tribal name Suebi or Suevi has been used variously in reference to GERMANICS. It has been applied to a tribe with political unity living along the Elbe River in the present-day Czech Republic and Germany in the centuries before 100 B.C.E. It has also been applied to a number of tribes spread out over a wider area, especially to the west as far as the Rhine, who manifested cultural unity in the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. and afterward. These include the ALAMANNI, HERMUNDURI, MARCOMANNI, NARISTI, NEMETES, QUADI, SEMNONES, TRIBOCI, and VANGIONES. During and after the HUNS' tenure in Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries the term was applied to Elbe River tribes, and those Germanics, in particular the Quadi, who joined the VANDALS and ALANS in their migration to the Iberian Peninsula, where they established a

SUEBI

location:
Germany; Spain; Portugal

time period:
c. 71 B.C.E. to 585 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Swabian (Germanic)

Suebi time line

B.C.E.	
c. 71	Suebi under Ariovistus defeat Aedui.
58	Suebi defeated by Romans.
C.E.	
166–180	Marcomanni Wars against Romans
early third century	Alamannic confederacy has formed.
409	Suebi invade Iberian Peninsula with Vandals and Alans.
456	Suebi defeated by Visigoths.
585	Remaining Suebi kingdom annexed to Visigoth lands.
10th century	Swabia becomes duchy of Germany.

kingdom. Those Suebi who remained behind settled in southern Germany and gave their name to the medieval duchy known as Swabia. They also gave their name to their typical hairstyle, the "Suevi-knot," which became common among the Elbe River Germanic tribes.

ORIGINS

It is thought that the ancestors of the Suebi lived near the Baltic Sea in present-day Germany, which was known to the Romans as the Mare Suebicum, and from there spread southward, especially along the Elbe River. The Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E. described the Suebi as inhabiting all of central Germany, and the name Suebi can thus be considered synonymous with Germans during the early centuries C.E.

LANGUAGE

The Suebi spoke a Germanic language. The modern dialect known as Swabian is assumed to have evolved at least in part from it.

HISTORY

Ariovistus

The Suebi became a threat to the ROMANS in the first century B.C.E., as recorded in the writings of Julius Caesar, when they invaded Gaul (roughly modern France and Belgium) to aid the SEQUANI, considered predominantly a Celtic people although perhaps part Germanic. The leader of the Suebi at the time was Ariovistus, who is referred to by the term Suebian rather than by the name of a particular tribe in historical texts. The main Suebian towns at the time were reportedly Argentorac on the Upper Rhine and Manching on the Upper Danube. It is known that the Nemetes, Triboci, and Vangiones were part of his campaign. The allied Germanic force first crossed the Rhine into Gaul in 71 B.C.E. and aided the Sequani against the Celtic AEDUI, allies of Rome. After his campaign against the HELVETII Caesar defeated Ariovistus's army somewhere in present-day northeastern France in 58 B.C.E. Then he turned to the conquest of Gaul.

Although Rome had at first tried diplomatic means of containing the Suebi by making Ariovistus an ally in 60 B.C.E., Caesar in 55 B.C.E. convinced the Senate that the Suebi were a continuing threat and had to be reduced by force, and further that the only means of containing them and other Germanic tribes was to seize control of the whole of Gaul. He raised the specter of Italy and Rome's being overrun by Germanics as they had earlier been by the CELTS. It seems clear that at least part of Caesar's insistence on conquering Gaul derived from personal ambition. In any case the Suebi furnished Caesar with his excuse to extend vastly the reach of Roman hegemony.

It was not only the Suebi under Ariovistus who were pushing out of Germania; Suebian tribes were trying to move from all along the Elbe due west toward Gaul and southeast toward the middle Danube region. To counter this in the decades after the mid-first century B.C.E. the Romans expanded through the Alps to take control of the Upper to Middle Danube.

Early Centuries C.E.

After the empire's boundaries were secure Romans began trading extensively with many Germanic tribes, including the Suebi. By the second century C.E. the Marcomanni and Quadi were foremost among the Suebi and battled the Romans in what are known as the Marcomannic Wars of 166–180. The Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius led the Roman legions in their eventual defeat.

By 300 Suebian territory was under the control of the Alamanni, a large confederacy of tribes that had formed after the Marcomannic Wars. Roman victories in those wars caused the Suebian tribes and other groups to unite for greater strength, and in their Alamannic organization tribes had become more aggressive than ever before. During the fourth century they moved westward into Alsace, then part of Gaul, in northeastern France and later into the Black Forest and northern Alps.

Dispersion by the Huns

The invasion of Europe by the Huns that started in 370 led to dispersion and relocation of many of the Germanic tribes. By this time the names of some of the groups classified as Suebi had already disappeared from the historical record. Others followed. After the Marcomanni fell under Hunnic control they are no longer recorded as a distinct political entity. Some Suebi, mostly Quadi, migrated into Gaul as allies of the VANDALS and ALANS, part of the great invasion over the frozen Rhine in 406, and three years later migrated onto the Iberian Peninsula. Some Suebi settled in northern Austria. Others, identified as Danubian Suebi, invaded Gaul with the Huns under Attila in 451. Suebi may have been among those people who became known as the BAVARII in present-day southern Germany by the sixth century. In the late fifth and early sixth century the FRANKS

extended their domain eastward, conquering the Alamanni and other Suebian peoples.

Suebi in Spain

The Suebi who migrated to the Iberian Peninsula in 409, led by Hermeric, settled mainly in present-day northwestern Spain, and eventually established an independent kingdom known as Gallaeci (from the tribal name GALLAECI, a presumably Celtic people living there in the early centuries B.C.E.) By 447 under Rechila they had extended their rule southward into the Roman provinces of Lusitania (roughly modern Portugal and the Spanish provinces of Salamanca and Cáceres) and Baetica (roughly western Andalusia). The Suebi in Spain converted to Christianity under Rechiarm, who assumed power in 448. Eight years later they were attacked by BURGUNDII as federates of Rome and finally defeated by the Visigoths under Theodoric II. Although weakened the Suebi maintained their kingdom in Spain until the late sixth century. The last Suebian king, Andeca, surrendered to the Visigoths under Leovigild in 585.

Swabia

The region called Swabia (Schwaben in German), derived from the old tribal name, was a duchy in the Middle Ages—from sometime in the 10th century to its division in 1268. Its territory included roughly present-day Baden-Württemberg, Hesse, and southwestern Bavaria. Some parts of it were known for a time as Alamannia. The mountainous region known as the Black Forest is located there. In the early 19th century people of the region began to discuss the Alamanni and Suebi as separate groups, the inhabitants of the regions of Baden claimed Alamanni ancestry, and those of Württemberg claimed Suebian ancestry. The two regions became merged into one state, Baden-Württemberg, in 1952 (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy: Trade with the Romans

The Suebi according to a contemporary account were willing to admit traders to their country to exchange their booty from raids more than to receive foreign goods. This may refer to their reputed dislike of wine, which they thought made men effeminate. Or it may have been a proud disdain for the products of Roman civilization. In this the Suebi were different from many of their Germanic counterparts, who eagerly sought Roman luxury goods, including wine. Even their fellow Suebians the Marcomanni and Quadi were not averse to such goods, and trade with Rome soon had a profound effect on their society. It gave their elites a taste for luxury and awakened in them a spirit of acquisitiveness and competition that gave rise to tensions as warriors resorted to raiding for booty.

Government and Society: Formation of Tribal Groupings

The history of the Suebi—and that of their tribal name—illustrates both aspects of ethnogenesis (tribal formation) among the Germanic peoples and Roman tendencies in classifying or pinning down the teeming mass of Germanic tribes east of the Rhine. The Suebi were first known to history as a group with a single war leader, Ariovistus; thus their organization then may have been what is called a *comitatus*—war band—rather than a tribe that comprised a whole people, including women and children. By Tacitus's time over a century later the name Suebi was given to people living in a wide region of central Germany, either because the original war band of the Suebi had expanded to become a full-fledged tribe or because the Romans habitually lumped together different peoples under a single name, more for the sake of clarifying classification than of reflecting reality (as in their classification of all peoples west of the Rhine as Celts and all peoples east of the Rhine as Germanics, a vast oversimplification).

Gradually it became clear that a number of tribes, including the Marcomanni and Quadi, were in some sense part of the "Suebi," although it is unclear whether this was the result of Roman classification or whether the name Suebi was being used for one of the militant confederations of tribes that were developing in the second century C.E. The great aggressiveness of the Marcomanni and Quadi argues the latter. Whether the Alamannic confederation was made of tribes that invaded Suebian territory from elsewhere or whether it was simply a reorganization of former Suebian tribes under different leadership is not known.

After the great disruption of the Germanic world by the Huns some tribes formerly named Suebi—such as the Quadi—continued to be known and named in contemporary accounts, for example, of the Quadi's invading Spain. Whether the name Suebi still had any meaning for the Quadi is unknown; Quadi in Spain were called Suebi.

The derivation of the name of Swabia from the tribal name Suebi may mean no more than that

SUGAMBRI

location:
Between Sieg and Lippe Rivers in western Germany

time period:
First century B.C.E. to first century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic and possibly Celtic

language:
Germanic

scholars of the Middle Ages used a name from Roman sources for a certain territory. The many and varied incarnations of the name Suebi through history illustrate both the great fluidity of ethnic identity among Germanic tribes and the staying power that names recorded in historical literature by Romans and others can have, sometimes taking on a life of their own that may follow paths quite different from those of the people who first bore them.

Suessiones (Suessons)

The Suessiones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Soissons in northern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the BELGAE who migrated to present-day southern England in 100 B.C.E. Gallic tribal members surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E. but five years later fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans. Augusta Suessionum on the site of Soissons became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Soissons takes its name from the tribal name.

Suetri

The Suetri are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Draguignan near Toulons in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Sugambri (Sigambri; Sicambri)

The Sugambri are generally classified as GERMANICS, although they probably had Celtic ancestry as well and had a culture similar to that of those CELTS who lived to their west. They lived east of the Rhine between the Sieg and Lippe Rivers in present-day western Germany. The name of the Sugambri is related to the Old High German word *gambar,* for "vigorous." A tribe mentioned only by the Greek geographer Strabo (first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.), the Gambrivii (Gambrians), may have been related to the Sugambri.

The ROMANS under Julius Caesar crossed the Rhine in 55 B.C.E. and made war on the Sugambri and on their allies living to the north, the USIPETES and beyond them the TENCTERI. The Sugambri, however, remained powerful for years, carrying out raids across the Rhine, such as against the Celtic EBURONES in 53 B.C.E.

In 8 C.E. Tiberius defeated the Sugambri, relocating most tribal members to the west bank of the Rhine at Cibernodorum (modern Xanten), "marketplace of the Ciberni," in territory defined as Gaul. This group became known as the Ciberni (also spelled Cuberni or Cugerni); many of their men served in the Roman army. Some MARCI may have been among them. By the early second century C.E. they became known as Traianensis after their new colony name, Ulpia Traiana, for Emperor Trajan. In 69 C.E., some Sugambri joined the BATAVI in an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans.

SVEAR

location:
Sweden

time period:
First to seventh century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Suiogoths

See GOTHS.

Suiones

See SVEAR.

Svear (Suiones; Sueones; Sweonas)

The Svear are classified as a Germanic tribe. They lived around Lake Mälaren near present-day Stockholm and Uppsala on the east coast of Sweden at least by the first century C.E. Their first mention in the historical record is by the Roman historian Tacitus of the first and second centuries C.E., who referred to them as the Suiones and described their ships with prows on each end.

In the fifth century the ruling dynasty of the Svear was founded. By about 600 the Svear had expanded their domain to include much of Sweden absorbing other tribal groups. The name Svear is derived from Svith, an Old Norse name. In the Old English epic *Beowulf* the tribal name is written as Sweonas.

The Svear were, like other GERMANICS from the area, active raiders and traders. In the Baltic hinterland they encountered SLAVS and BALTS without enough wealth to provide an incentive for raiding. Thus contact with them took the form of trade, mostly in slaves for the Roman Empire, beginning in the first century C.E. By the fifth century gold coins from Byzantium, probably paid as subsidies to the HUNS and OSTROGOTHS, who were menacing the Roman Empire, had filtered north to the Baltic region. Many of these found their way to Sweden, possibly as a result of raiding by the Svear on the weaker local tribes to wrest the gold away from them or possibly in return for furs.

The Svear and tribes they absorbed are considered ancestral to Swedish VIKINGS and the early RUS.

Swabians

See SUEBI.

Swedes

See SWEDES: NATIONALITY; VIKINGS.

Swedes: nationality (Swedish; people of Sweden)

GEOGRAPHY

Sweden is situated on the eastern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula; Norway lies to the north and west and Finland to the northeast. The Skagerrak, Kattegat, and Oresund Straits are to the southwest, and the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia lie to the east. The Gotland and Oland islands in the Baltic Sea also belong to Sweden. There are 24 provinces in the nation's 173,665 square miles. The mountainous region in northern Sweden (Norrland) occupies two-thirds of the country; lowlands make up the south (Svealand and Gotaland). East of the mountains lies a long plateau that ends at the coastal plain along the Gulf of Bothnia. The plains of Skåne are found in the southeast. More than half of the country's terrain is covered in forests, and less than 10 percent of the land is used for agriculture. The Kjolen Mountains are in the northwestern part of Sweden, forming part of the boundary with Norway. Mount Kebnekaise (6,926 feet) is the highest point. Principal rivers include the Umealven, Angermanalven, Dalalven, Tornealven, and Trysilelya. The two largest lakes, Lake Vanern and Lake Vattern, are found in the south central lowlands. Småland highlands are south of the central lowlands.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Within the eastern Scandinavian peninsula the SVEAR occupied northern Svealand while the GOTHS lived in southern Gothia. Tribal conflict prevented a unified state and led to migration of VIKINGS until the 12th century C.E. From 1150 to 1160, Erik IX Jedvardsson strengthened and expanded Sweden, notably crusading against pagan Finland.

The 13th and 14th centuries were marked by feudalism until a growing aristocracy removed Albert of Mecklenburg from the throne in 1389. The Danish queen Margaret I united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden into the Union of Kalmar in 1397. A rebellion for Swedish autonomy succeeded in 1523; Gustav I Vasa was declared king and Sweden pulled out of the union, gaining independence as a hereditary monarchy.

Sweden expanded throughout the 16th century, notably gaining Estonia and Livonia after the Livonian War (1557–82). War with Russia in 1617 gave Sweden East Karelia and Ingria, and war with Poland in 1648 gave Sweden part of Pomerania, the island of Rügen, Wismar, the sees of Bremen and Verden, and other German territories. Sweden lost its power and territory, including Livonia and Estonia, to Russia in the early 18th century.

The beginning of the 19th century was marked by a new constitution, Riksdag, that held until 1975. A treaty signed with Russia in 1809 ceded most of Finland and the Åland Islands to Russia. The Congress of Vienna, marking Napoleon I Bonaparte's defeat, recognized the official union of Norway with Sweden, the latter having the upper hand. Norway became independent of Sweden in 1905.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

Swedes see themselves as having a certain set of social characteristics that make them different from other peoples. In the past Swedes observed a certain formality of behavior in social relations. Like Germans they had two forms of the word *you*—*Ni* for strangers or for people to whom one owed respect, such as elders or superiors, and *du* for intimates, relatives, and friends. They now use *du* almost exclusively as egalitarianism has been on the rise. Their egalitarianism, however, does not mean that disrespect for others is acceptable or that relations with others are entirely casual, but that all should receive equally respectful treatment. An example of respectful treatment of others that Swedes cite is not being late for appointments, because lateness is a form of disrespect. Also it is expected that people will make formal arrangements for visiting rather than arriving at a Swedish home unannounced;



Swedes plant crops on a farm near Jönköping, Sweden, in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-99699])*

SWEDES: NATIONALITY

nation:
Sweden (Sverige); Kingdom of Sweden (Konungariket Sverige)

derivation of name:
Meaning "Svea people"; derived from Svithjoth, an Old Norse name; *thjoth* is a Germanic root meaning "people"

government:
Constitutional monarchy

capital:
Stockholm

language:
Official language is Swedish; English, Finnish, and Saami (Finnic dialect) are also spoken; about 65 percent of Swedes speak Schwyzerdütsch (a Germanic dialect).

religion:
About 68 percent of the population are Evangelical Lutheran; minorities include Roman Catholics, Muslims, and Orthodox Christians; about 18 percent of Swedes do not adhere to a religion.

earlier inhabitants:
Tribal Germanics (Svear; Dani; Goths; etc.); Vikings

demographics:
Sweden's population consists of Swedes, Saami, Finns, Tornedalians, Yugoslavs, Danes, Norwegians, Greeks, Turks, and Rroma.

Swedes: nationality time line

C.E.

800–1000	Swedish Vikings establish colonies in other countries.
1397	Queen Margaret I unites Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in Union of Kalmar under one monarch.
1523	Sweden gains independence under King Gustav I; Vasar dynasty begins.
1558–82	In Livonian War Sweden, Poland, and Russia struggle over region; Sweden wins Estonia.
1617	Sweden acquires East Karelia.
1618–48	Sweden takes part in Thiry Years' War.
1621–29	After war with Poland Sweden acquires Livonia.
1660	Sweden expands, annexing parts of Denmark and Norway.
1661	Royal Library, Sweden's national library, is founded in Stockholm.
1700–1721	Poland and Russia defeat Sweden in Great Northern War; Russia annexes Karelia.
1731	Johan Helmich Roman produces first public concert in Stockholm.
1735	*Systema naturae* by botanist Carolus Linnaeus is published.
1739	Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences is founded.
1745	Carl Gustav Pilo is appointed court painter.
1767–79	Sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel studies in Rome.
1768	Alexander Roslin paints *The Lady with the Veil,* portrait of his wife.
1782	Royal Opera House opens in Stockholm and houses Royal Opera and Royal Ballet.
1786	Swedish Academy and Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities are founded.
1788	Royal Dramatic Theater opens in Stockholm.
1792	Royal Museum is founded; in 1866 it moves to new building and becomes Nationalmuseum.
1809	During Napoleonic Wars Sweden loses Finland to Russia; Sweden becomes constitutional monarchy.
1811	Historian and poet Erik Gustaf Geijer helps found Gothic Society.
1814	Sweden wins control over Norway from Denmark.
1825	*Frithiofs Saga,* epic poem about love and honor among Vikings by Esaias Tegnér, is published.

this demonstrates both respect for others and a certain social reticence.

There is a strong tendency among Swedes to strive for sociocultural homogeneity. This arises from another typical Swedish characteristic: the desire to avoid conflict (despite their valuing the history of their ancestral Vikings). Heated discussions are rare, and Swedes tend to resort to rational persuasion rather than aggressiveness to make a point. They also seek consensus rather than zealously insisting on their fixed opinions. For this reason foreigners sometimes think Swedish people are cool and formal. But this tendency toward rationality and objectivity is a product of the barriers Swedes erect between public or professional life on the one hand and the private sphere of home and family on the other. Emotional expression is usually reserved for the latter. Emotions are considered one's own affair and not important enough to warrant bothering other people.

The aversion to conflict leads many Swedes to avoid socializing with anyone other than like-minded people. Swedes and Nordic people in general rarely have allowed curiosity to outbalance this fear of the different (although this is changing). Many Swedes also do not believe themselves to be interesting enough to stimulate or entertain others in social situations and thus compensate for this with often bountiful food—the smorgasbord—and beverages (the latter often alcoholic), and perhaps special activities.

1864–68	Composer Franz Adolf Berwald is professor at Stockholm Academy and Stockholm Conservatory.
1873	Carl Fredrik Hill relocates to Paris to paint.
1879	*Röda rummet* (*Red Room*), novel by August Strindberg, brings author fame.
1882	Painters Carl Larsson and Karin Bergöö meet; they marry the next year.
1888	Painter Ernst Josephson suffers mental breakdown, after which he experiments with new forms that later inspire modernists.
1897	Anders Leonhard Zorn paints *Midsummer Dance* with influence from French impressionists.
1900	Nobel foundation is established based on will of Alfred Bernhard Nobel; in 1901 Nobel Prize is instituted, international awards given by Swedish Academy for achievements in physics, chemistry, medicine, literature, and for peace; in 1968 Bank of Sweden institutes prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel, founder of the Nobel Prize.
1905	Norway becomes independent of Sweden.
1909	Novelist Selma Ottilia Lovisa Lagerlöf wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1910–39	Composer Hugo Alfén is musical director at University of Uppsala.
1914–18	During World War I Sweden remains neutral.
1916	Poet and novelist Carl Gustaf Verner Von Heidenstam wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1920–31	Sculptor Carl Miles is professor at Stockholm Art Academy.
1924	National Museum of Science and Technology is founded in Stockholm.
1931	Poet Erik Axel Karlfeldt wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1939–45	During World War II Sweden remains neutral.
1946	Sweden joins United Nations (UN).
1951	Poet and novelist Pär Fabian Lagerkvist wins Nobel Prize in literature.
1959	Sweden is founding member of European Free Trade Association.
1970	Filmmaker Ingmar Bergman wins Irving Thalberg Memorial Award, presented by Academy of Motion Picture Arts.
1974	Novelist Eyvind Johnson and Harry Martinson share Nobel Prize in literature.
1975	New constitution reduces monarch's powers.
1995	Sweden joins European Union (EU).

Swedes (and for that matter other Scandinavians) self-deprecatingly point to what is called the "Jante Law" as embodying social relationships. A fictional "law code" invented by the 20th-century Norwegian/Danish author Aksel Sandemose that, although unwritten, governs attitudes in a small Danish town, the Jante Law is based on mistrust of strangers or of people deemed pretentious or snobbish. Some of its precepts are not to presume that you are important (or intelligent, or knowledgeable), not to presume that you are as good as we are, and not to presume that you are going to amount to anything. A related Swedish characteristic is the assumption that everything one says will be remembered forever.

Reticence about emotional expression and a preference for the rational carry into Swedish art and design as "Functionalism," which inspired the works shown in the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930, conceived by the architect Gunnar Asplund and the writer Gregor Paulsson. Design, whether of architecture or furniture and household goods, should aim to achieve beauty only through elements that serve the function of the building or object, avoiding anything extraneous, such as elaborate decoration. Swedish concern for egalitarianism also played a role here: The idea was to make ordinary objects that were affordable by all as beautiful as objects of the wealthy. This stance was formulated in an 1899 essay by the feminist Ellen

SWISS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Switzerland (French, Suisse; German, Schweiz; Italian, Svizzera; Romansh, Helvetica); Swiss Confederation (Latin, Confoederatio Helvetica; German, Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft; French, Confederation Suisse; Italian, Confederazione Svizzera)

derivation of name:
Possibly from Schweitz, a Germanic root meaning "swamp"

government:
Federal republic

capital:
Bern

language:
Official languages of Switzerland are German, French, and Italian; about 65 percent of Swiss speak Schwyzerdütsch (German dialect); Romansh (Rhaeto-Romanic dialect) is semiofficial.

religion:
About 45 percent of the population are Roman Catholic; about 40 percent are Protestant; religious minorities include Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Jews; about 10 percent of Swiss do not adhere to a religion.

earlier inhabitants:
Celts (Helvetii etc); Romans; Alamanni; Burgundii; Franks

demographics:
About three-quarters of the population are German; about 18 percent are French; about 10 percent are Italian, and 1 percent are Romansch.

Keys entitled "Beauty for All," in which she called for an equally high level of design for all people, not just the wealthy. Swedes therefore embrace as fine art ordinary objects such as stoves with beautiful porcelain tiles, crystal glassware, and well-designed furniture. One of the most famous Swedish artists was Bruno Mathsson, a designer of chairs. It also seems typically Swedish that one of the greatest Swedish painters was Carl Larsson, whose work is largely a celebration of idyllic family life. Anders Leonhard Zorn is known for his depictions of peasant life.

Modernism in Sweden defined itself as the product of an "other" on the periphery opposed to the modernism of France, Germany, and Britain. Swedish artists sought solidarity with other cultures on the periphery. Crafts became an important expression of Swedish modernism, and Swedish craftspeople looked to African colleagues for inspiration.

A characteristic feature of the Swedish arts scene, a product of the penchant of Swedes for organizing themselves in groups rather than "going it alone" as rugged individualists, is the large number of art associations (about 1,800). Most of them are formed by art-loving employees at companies or institutions. The members of such an association may visit art galleries or museums together, and the associations sometimes acquire works of art directly from the artists to be used as prizes in lotteries. The musical equivalent are the great number of symphony orchestras supported in Sweden, including many amateur groups, and the popularity of choirs as a form of social activity. Many Swedes listen to and play traditional folk music, and nearly every Swedish community of any size has its "People's Park," an amusement park where musical performances take place all summer long. Swedes have embraced jazz, rock, and pop music, and the country has produced highly successful performers in all three genres.

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Swiss: nationality (people of Switzerland)

GEOGRAPHY

Switzerland is landlocked, with France to the west, Germany to the north, Austria and Liechtenstein to the east, and Italy to the south. The total area is 15,940 square miles. More than 70 percent of the country is mountainous; the Swiss Alps dominate central and southern Switzerland, and the Jura Mountains, the northwest. Important ranges within the Swiss Alps include the Pennine Alps forming the southwestern border with Italy, the Bernese Alps in the southeast, and the Rhaetian Alps forming the Italian-Swiss border into the east. Dufourspitze (15,203 feet), Austria's highest peak, is located in the Pennine Alps. The Jura Mountains are forested and mostly rounded; cleared areas are used for pastureland. Mittelland, a plateau, lies in central Switzerland between Lake Geneva in the southwest and the Lake of Constance in the northeast. Principal rivers include the Rhine, Rhône, and Ticino.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

Tribes of Celts and Germanics, as well as the Romans, all once inhabited the territory that would become Switzerland. In the ninth century C.E. the territory was divided into Swabia and Transjurane Burgundy. In 1033 the two regions were united under the Holy Roman Empire. Tribes in Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Uri united to defeat the encroaching Hapsburg Empire in the late 13th century. Switzerland conquered Aargau, Thurgau, and Ticino, which became subject territories until 1798.

Switzerland defeated Burgundy in 1476–77, leading to an independent Switzerland, recognized by Emperor Maximilian I in 1499. By 1513 Switzerland consisted of 13 cantons.

Switzerland and France formed an alliance of perpetual neutrality after Switzerland's defeat in 1515 during the Italian Wars. Because of religious differences among loosely knit cantons a united Switzerland was not conceived until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years' War. The Treaty of Paris in 1815, ending the Napoleonic Wars, established perpetual neutrality for Switzerland. In 1979 Jura became the 23rd canton of the Swiss Confederation.

Swiss: nationality time line

C.E.

1291 Forest Cantons, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Uri sign treaty of mutual defense, forming Swiss Confederation.

14th century Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Bern, and Zug are annexed by Swiss Confederation.

15th century Solothurn, Fribourg, Basel, and Appenzell join confederation.

1497–1519 Ludwig Senfl becomes composer to court of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

1515 Switzerland declares neutrality after France stops Swiss expansion into Italy.

1522 Huldrych Zwingli helps establish Protestant Reformation in Switzerland.

1648 Holy Roman Empire recognizes Swiss independence.

1750 Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's essay *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (*Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*) wins Academy of Dijon award.

1752 Statue is erected to physician and scientist Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus in Salzburg, year after his death.

1794 Madame de Staël opens salon in Paris for intellectuals.

1798 France occupies Switzerland.

1805 Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi founds school at Yverdon, where he develops modern educational methods.

1812–13 *Der Schweizerische Robinso* (*The Swiss Family Robinson*), adventure novel by Johann David Wyss and revised by his son Johann Rudolf Wyss, is published.

1815 Congress of Vienna restores Swiss independence, recognizes Switzerland's neutrality, and extends its borders.

1837 *Der Bauernspiegel* (The farmer mirror), autobiographical novel by Albert Bitzius (pseudonym, Jeremias Gotthelf), is published.

1848 After War of Sonderbund Switzerland establishes federal government.

1854–55 *Der grüne Heinrich* (Green Henry), autobiographical novel by Gottfried Keller, is published.

1860 *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy), acclaimed work about Renaissance by Jakob Burckhardt, is published.

1863 Henri Dunant founds International Committee of the Red Cross.

1864 Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Wounded in Armies in the Field is held, signaling birth of international humanitarian law; in 1906 Geneva Convention is further developed.

1890 Ferdinand Hodler paints *Night,* beginning allegorical phase that he calls Parallelism.

1894 National Library is founded in Bern.

1898 Swiss National Museum is founded in Zurich.

1916 Architect Charles-Édouard Jeanneret moves to Paris and adopts Le Corbusier as pseudonym.

1918 Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz writes text for Igor Stravinsky's *Histoire du soldat* (The soldier's story).

1919 Poet and novelist Carl Friedrich Georg Spitteler wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1927 Sculptor Alberto Giacometti exhibits his work for first time in both Paris and Zurich.

1935 Progressive skin and muscular disease (sklerodermie) forces Paul Klee to adopt a new, simpler painting style.

1939–45 During World War II Switzerland remains neutral and harbors refugees from neighboring countries.

1946 Novelist Hermann Hesse wins Nobel Prize in literature.

1949 *Als der Krieg zu Ende War* (When the war was over), play by Max Frisch, opens.

(continues)

Swiss: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1954	Sculptor Jean Tinguely has his first one-man show in Paris.
1959	Switzerland becomes member of European Free Trade Association.
1967	Claude Nobs founds Montreux Jazz Festival.
1999	Switzerland elects its first woman president, Ruth Dreifuss.
2002	Switzerland joins United Nations (UN).

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The geographical location of Switzerland practically in the center of Europe combined with its mountainous terrain to create the unique character of the Swiss nation, a combination of contrasting traits, ethnic tolerance, and ethnic pride. It resembles other countries in Europe in having been a crossroads of culture from earliest times. But unlike them, it has benefited from its isolating mountains, which have protected the mountain Swiss from foreign domination to a great extent. Although the fertile plain between the Alps and the Jura and the mountain passes were the focus of conquest by the Romans, the Carolingians, and the Holy Roman Empire, Switzerland experienced nothing like the kind of repeated mass movements through eastern Europe of vast tribal confederacies that resulted in centuries of turmoil, instability, and complex intermingling of peoples. The different peoples who made up the Swiss multiple ethnicity—the Celts, such as the HELVETII; the Romans; and the Germanic BURGUNDII and ALAMANNI—occupied their territories with much less friction. After the end of Roman authority in 400 C.E. the Alamanni slowly trickled down from the north into the less hospitable thick forests of the central and northeastern parts of Helvetia to build new villages and agricultural settlements, generally doing so without displacing previous inhabitants and halting their advances at points where the land was already populated by Burgundii. Meanwhile on the south side of the mountains and in the closed Alpine valleys of Rhaetia LOMBARDS and Rhaeto-Romanic peoples (*see* LADINS; FRIULIANS) retained close cultural links with their former Roman overlords, the latter adapting Vulgar Latin into their own unique language. The Burgundii in the west largely adopted the Gallo-Roman culture of their territory. After this point each group, especially the common people in the countryside, developed a distinct culture.



This photo shows a scenic view of the Swiss Alps. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-83235])*

When around 1220 the road over the great St. Gotthard Pass was opened for traffic, the regions adjacent to it assumed enormous importance because of the trade network that quickly developed. When accordingly the Austrian house of Hapsburg extended its control over much of Switzerland, the proud independent people farming the remote high valleys of Uri and Schwyz and their neighbors in forested Unterwalden remained self-reliant and more or less free. The Swiss soon engaged in rebellion against Hapsburg authority of a kind that would not be seen elsewhere in the empire for centuries. The legendary founding of the Swiss Confederation on the Rütli meadow on August 1, 1291, by representatives of Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Uri, based on an earlier agreement of unknown date declaring that an attack on any one of the partners was an attack on all, was an event that crystallized Swiss cultural identity, the basis of which was freedom from outside interference.

The name the members of the confederation gave themselves after 1291—Eidgenossen—means approximately "comrades bound by oath into a cooperative." It has a special significance even today. Switzerland still calls itself the



Swiss stand by a boat on the shore of Lake Brienz in Switzerland in the late 19th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-108890])*

Eidgenossenschaft, and the word Eidgenosse is listed in dictionaries as a synonym for Swiss. Swiss neutrality and its laws of political asylum that have made the country a magnet for many creative persons during times of unrest or war in the rest of Europe should be understood on the basis of the values that permeated the formation of the confederation. Among these is the importance placed on maintaining the distinctive French, Italian, German, and Rhaeto-Romanic cultures. In a real sense the four parts of the country represent a definite resistance to leveling or homogenizing influences, political or cultural. At the same time Switzerland, using its status as a neutral country, has important institutions that function internationally, such as the Red Cross, the banking system, and a number of respected newspapers. The mission of Helvetia mediatrix (Switzerland the mediator) is revealed not only in the foreign assistance programs oriented toward self-help that are carried out in several small and developing nations but also in the unusually high number of literary translators within the country.

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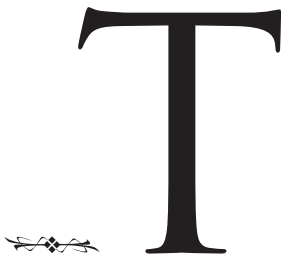
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Syryenians *See* Komi.



Taexali (Taezali)

The Taexali are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain near Kinnairds Head in present-day northeastern Scotland and are discussed as CALEDONIANS or SCOTS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E.

Taifali (Taifals)

The Taifali are classified as a Germanic tribe. It is not known where they originated. They may have been related ancestrally to those GERMANICS who became known as GOTHS. In 248 C.E. they participated with the Goths in raids in Roman-held territory in the Black Sea region. The Taifali lived in the regions of Banat and Walachia in the Roman province of Dacia (roughly modern Romania) as of 271 C.E. after the ROMANS had evacuated it. They are thought to have merged with the Goths in later centuries.

Tarasconiens

The Tarasconiens are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Tarascon in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Tarascon takes its name from the tribal name.

Tarbelli (Tarbelles)

The Tarbelli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul north of the Pyrenees around present-day Dax in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E. Aquae Tarbellicae on the site of Dax became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul.

Tartars

See TATARS.

Tartessians

The Tartessians are classified as an Iberian tribe (or collection of tribes). They lived on both sides of the Guadalquivir River in western Andalusia in present-day southern Spain. They were organized into the kingdom of Tartessos, a name recorded by the GREEKS, who had colonies along coastal regions of the Iberian Peninsula in the seventh century B.C.E. The PHOENICIANS, who founded Gadir (later Gades; modern Cádiz) among the Tartessians, established trade relations with IBERIANS in the region before the Greeks, as early as the 11th century B.C.E. The Tartessians were active traders as well and supposedly knew of the British Isles. They are believed to have been ancestral to the TURDETANI and TURDULI, who later inhabited the region.

Tarusates

The Tarusates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Tartas in southwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Tartas takes its name from the tribal name. They were possibly the same people as a

group known as the Aturenses. They surrendered to the ROMANS under Julius Caesar with the fall of Aquitania in 56 B.C.E.

Tatars (Tartars; Turko-Tatars; Turko-Mongols)

The name Tatars was once applied by Europeans to almost any Asian nomadic invaders, most often a combination of MONGOLS and TURKICS. In fact lands west of the Ural Mountains in Siberia were once known as Tartary. Yet the name is still used in modern times. Modern-day Islamic Turkic-speaking peoples in Russia and elsewhere—those Turkic peoples who never formed part of the Seljuk or Ottoman Empire—are sometimes grouped together as Tatars (or Turko-Tatars). The name is also associated with specific historical groups in eastern Europe, such as the Crimean Tatars in Ukraine and Turkic peoples in Russia, including the BALKARS, BASHKIRS, KARACHAY, KUMYKS, and NOGAY, as well as specific groups in Asia (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY; UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY).

ORIGINS

The name Tatars, as Ta-ta, first appeared among nomadic Turkic-speaking tribes living in Asia in northeastern Mongolia and later was used in association with Turkic peoples around Lake Baikal, such as the PECHENEGS, KIPCHAKS, and BULGARS, who participated with the Mongols in the conquest of eastern Europe in the 13th century C.E. Other peoples intermingled with them, such as FINNO-UGRIANS and NENETS, who have also been referred to as Tatars.

LANGUAGE

People known as Tatars throughout history spoke a variety of Turkic or Mongolic dialects. A specific Turkic dialect known as Tatar developed, part of the Uralic (from the Ural Mountains) subgrouping in the Northwestern (Kipchak) language family. The Crimean Tatars spoke a distinct Ponto-Caspian dialect. And the BALKARS, KARACHAY, and NOGAY, sometimes classified as subtribes of Tatars, spoke Aralo-Caspian dialects.

HISTORY

The Golden Horde

In the 1230s–40s the Mongols and Tatars, led by Batu Khan, the grandson of Genghis Khan, campaigned in eastern and central Europe, and in 1243 after Batu Khan had laid the groundwork, the Kipchak khanate was founded, its territory including lands between the Volga and Danube Rivers. It also became known as the Empire of the Golden Horde. Over the next decades those peoples grouped as Tatars carried out raids as far south as the Balkan Peninsula.

Tatar Khanates

In the 1440s the Kipchak khanate broke into independent Tatar khanates: Kazan near the bend of the Volga River; Astrakhan on the Lower Volga near the Caspian Sea; Sibir in western Siberia (Asia); and the Crimea in present-day Ukraine. The Crimean khanate became a vassal state of the Ottoman Turks, expanding from the south in Asia in 1478. As vassals the Crimean Tatars, centered at Stary Krym and at Bakhchisarai, had influence throughout Ukraine, southwestern Russia, and eastern Poland. They carried out raids to the north, including to Moscow, as late as 1572. The Russian SLAVS conquered Kazan, Astrakhan, and Sibir in the 16th century. COSSACKS participated in the fighting against the Tatars and absorbed some groups. The Russians first invaded the Crimea in 1736 and annexed it in 1783. In the 19th century because of wars in the region—among them the Crimean War of 1854–56 with Russia pitted against Turkey, England, France, and Sardinia—many of the Crimean Tatars moved to Turkey.

During the 18th and 19th centuries Tatars earned a favored position within the expanding Russian Empire in positions of authority.

Modern Tatars

In 1921 the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established as part of the Soviet Union (USSR). This republic was dissolved in 1945, however, when the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin accused the Crimean Tatars of collaboration with the Nazis during World War II (1941–45) and had them deported to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, where the use of Tatar dialects was forbidden. Although they regained their civil rights in 1956, they were not allowed to return to the Crimea, which had become part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

TATARS

location:
Western Russia; Ukraine; central Europe

time period:
13th century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic; Mongolian

language:
Tatar (Turkic)

Tatars time line

C.E.

1243 Kipchak khanate, including Mongols and Tatars, founded.

1440s Kipchak khanate breaks up into four independent khanates.

1478 Crimean Tatars under rule of Ottoman Turks

16th century Russians appropriate Tatar lands.



Tatars repair a road in the Crimea in this 1895 photograph by William Henry Jackson. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ64-9238])*

Republic. Finally in the early 1990s after the breakup of the Soviet Union many Crimean Tatars returned to the Crimea.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union meant increased rights for Tatars in the former Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, now known as Tatarstan, with a capital at Kazan. Other Tatars live in various republics of the Caucasus region as well as in the Ural region. Some Tatars also live in Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland. The Siberian Tatars are scattered in western Siberia, part of Asian Russia. Other people considered Tatars live in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and other Asian nations.

CULTURE

Originally nomads, the Tatars traveled over the Asian and Russian steppes with herds of horses, cattle, and sheep. They eventually became seminomadic, their economy based on mixed farming and herding as well as trading.

Tatar society was traditionally stratified, with a khan as supreme leader, nobles as civil and military leaders, and commoners as merchants and farmers. The Tatars have been known throughout history for their craftsmanship in wood, ceramics, leather, cloth, and metal. They are associated with Islam, although some practice Christianity.

The Tatars have played a significant role in Russian and Ukrainian history, as well as in that of other nations, as leaders as well as subgroups. Some Tatars or part Tatars became Russian nobility, and Tatar institutions helped shape those of the original Muscovite state.

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Taurisci (Tauriscii; Teurisci)

The Taurisci are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the northern Alps south of present-day Vienna in northeastern Austria. In the second and first centuries B.C.E. they were part of a powerful coalition of CELTS, which included the AMBIDRAVI, NORI, and RAETI. In the 140s–130s B.C.E. there occurred a gold rush to Taurisci territory, with an influx of ROMANS. In 113 B.C.E. their territory was invaded by the Germanic CIMBRI and TEUTONES, who defeated a Roman army defending the Taurisci. In about 60 B.C.E. along with the BOII and SCORDISCI the Taurisci were defeated by the DACIANS invading from the east.

Tectosages (Tectosagi; Volcae Tectosages)

The Tectosages are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Toulouse in southern France, south of the VOLCAE, considered a parent tribe of CELTS or GAULS. It is assumed that this region was their ancestral homeland from the early centuries B.C.E. after migration there from central Europe with the Volcae.

Some among the Tectosages invaded the Greek Peninsula; the ancient GREEKS referred to them as GALATOI. In 279–278 B.C.E. tribal members, along with TOLISTOBOGII and TROCMI, migrated from Greece to northern Phrygia in

TECTOSAGES

location:
Near Toulouse in southern France; Greece; Asia Minor

time period:
Third to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)

Anatolia (Asia Minor), where they founded Galatia.

The group in Gaul possessed a vast treasure of gold and silver that was plundered by the ROMANS in 106 B.C. Those in southern Gaul later had contacts with the Romans under Julius Caesar in the mid-first century B.C.E.

Tectoverdi

The Tectoverdi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in the Tyne Valley of present-day northern England at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. They are considered a subgroup of the BRIGANTES.

Tencteri (Tenctheri; Tenchtheri; Toncteri)

The Tencteri are classified as GERMANICS, although they probably had Celtic ancestry as well and a culture similar to that of tribes of CELTS living to their west. They lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany, north of the USIPETES, SUGAMBRI, and UBII. They were traditional enemies of the SUEBI living to their east. In 55 B.C.E. the Tencteri allied themselves with the Sugambri against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar, who crossed the Rhine and invaded their homeland. They were known for their cavalry. Because of pressure from the expanding Suebi in the first century C.E. allied Tencteri and Usipetes crossed the Rhine to the lands of the Celtic MENAPII, some of whom they displaced.

Teutones (Teutons; Teutoni)

The Teutones, a Germanic-speaking tribe, originally inhabited the southern Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark. In the late second century B.C.E. they migrated southward throughout much of western Europe with their allies the CIMBRI. The two tribes were the first known GERMANICS to invade territory held by the ROMANS.

ORIGINS

Despite their Scandinavian homeland, which indicates a connection to other Germanic-speaking peoples around them, Cimbri and Teutones are thought to have been CELTS by some scholars. The Greek philosopher Poseidonius of the second and first centuries B.C.E. indeed classified them and the Cimbri as Celts. But the Greek geographer Strabo of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., interpreting Poseidonius's work, said that they were Germanics who migrated from across the Rhine. They differed from the Celts to the west, he claimed, only in that they were larger and had yellower hair. The Romans who lived in Gaul called them Germani because they wanted to indicate that they were the authentic, that is, the real Celts. Germani means in their language "genuine" in the sense of "original." In general the Romans labored under considerable confusion when trying to identify and classify those "barbarians" who lived in northern, central, and eastern Europe beyond the bounds of their empire. They may have seen the Teutones as Celts in the sense that their society and culture were in many ways similar to those of the Celts, particularly in having a prominent warrior class. The Germani across the Rhine, including the Teutones, were "genuine" and "original" in the sense that their societies had felt as yet little of that influence from the Greco-Roman world that had altered Celtic societies so greatly.

HISTORY

In about 120 B.C.E. the Teutones and Cimbri dispersed out of Jutland. It has been theorized that an Atlantic high tide destroyed their coastal villages, forcing the departure of most families. According to ancient sources most migrants headed southward first through Moravia and Hungary and eventually reached the Middle Danube River, where they attacked the Celtic SCORDISCI. In 113 B.C.E. they invaded the territory of the Celtic TAURISCI, allies of the ROMANS, south of present-day Vienna, Austria, in the province of Noricum. They defeated a Roman army sent to defend the Taurisci, then proceeded westward, gaining allies from among Germanic and Celtic peoples both. Although their defeat of the Roman army left Italy defenseless before them, causing fear and panic in Rome, for unknown reasons they continued westward and looped through Gaul. An alliance of Celtic BELGAE in northern Gaul repelled them, but they generally were unimpeded as they moved southward again, through the province of Gallia

TEUTONES

location:
Jutland Peninsula in Denmark; Germany; France

time period:
c. 120 to 102 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Teutonic (Germanic)

Teutones time line

B.C.E.

c. 120 Teutones migrate out of Jutland with Cimbri.

113 Teutones and Cimbri defeat Romans in Austria.

102 The Romans under Gaius Marius defeat Teutones in southern France.

Transalpina, destroying town after town and again inflicting disastrous defeats on Roman armies sent against them in 109, 107, and 105 B.C.E. The continuing migration took some of them across the Pyrenees onto the Iberian Peninsula.

By 102 B.C.E. those tribal members who had been in Spain returned to join with tribal members in a two-pronged invasion of Italy—the first such Germanic invasion—most of the Teutones along the Mediterranean coastal route. The Cimbri meanwhile reached the Po valley in northern Italy by way of the Alps. The Roman consul Gaius Marius (c. 157–186 B.C.E.) defeated the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae (modern Aix-en-Provence) in southeastern France in 102 B.C.E. and the Cimbri near Vercellae (modern Vercelli) in northwestern Italy in 101 B.C.E.

So deep was Roman fear of the northern barbarians, of whom the Teutones and their allies were but the latest representatives whom they had faced, that Roman society embarked on a process of greater militarization, and when in the next century Julius Caesar determined on the conquest of Gaul, he had only to play on this fear in the Senate to have his way. It can be said that the Cimbri and their allies contributed greatly to the impetus that led to the creation of the Roman Empire.

According to the writings of Julius Caesar the ADUATUCI of Belgium claimed to be descendants of the Teutones and Cimbri, although they are generally classified among Celtic-speaking peoples.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Little is known about the means by which the Teutones and the Cimbri marked their particular tribal identities. Germanic tribes were essentially groupings of clans, bound by shared histories, traditions, and institutions. As such commonalities inevitably changed through time so did tribes, splitting apart, expanding and absorbing new groups, or being themselves absorbed into larger groups. It has been said that the tribe was more process than stable structure; ethnogenesis, the birth of new tribal groupings, was constant. And under the contingencies of historical forces at certain times the process of ethnogenesis was accelerated. The Teutones and Cimbri may have become tribes as a direct result of the disaster that befell their homeland, as clans grouped together to face the dangerous course of migration through other tribal territories bristling with warriors eager to test themselves against the newcomers. It is likely that both had only a fleeting existence and that their eventual defeat by the Romans caused them to break up and disappear from history.

The history of the Teutones and Cimbri with regard to the Romans represents a foreshadowing of events over the next centuries, with Germanic tribes battling the Romans throughout Europe. The name of the Teutones is sometimes used to refer to all of the Germanic peoples, typically spelled Teutons; Teutonic is the adjective form, often appearing in the phrase "Teutonic tribes." Teut is cognate with the German *deutsch* and the Swedish *thjod,* meaning "folk" or "people."

Thracians (Thraci)

The Thracians, a Thracian-speaking people, occupied territory north and west of the Black Sea, including present-day Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova; eastern Serbia; northern Greece; and northwestern Turkey. They were associated with ancient Thrace, defined by the ancient GREEKS as that part of the Balkans bounded by the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea to the west, the Danube River to the north, and the Aegean Sea to the south; on the east by the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara and on the west by the Morava and Vardar Rivers. The ROMANS later defined Thrace as a province extending only as far as the Balkan Mountains in the north and the Rhodope Mountains in the west.

The geographical term Thrace is still used for the Greek province of Thrace; and the name Eastern Thrace for European Turkey, including the Gallipoli Peninsula, and southern Bulgaria. The Maritsa River separates the Greek and Turkish parts; the Turkish part is sometimes called Eastern Thrace. About one-tenth of Thrace lies in Greece, about one-fourth in Turkey, and the rest in Bulgaria. Thracian can thus refer to a language family or people of a geographical region.

ORIGINS

The Thracians perhaps were in the Balkans by the end of the second millennium B.C.E. The Greek poet Homer of the ninth or eighth century B.C.E. wrote about the Thracians as participants in the Trojan War. The GETAE and DACIANS, perhaps the same people at different

points in history, were among the more than 200 Thracian tribes. To the west of the Thracians, separated by the Morava and Vardar River valleys, were the ILLYRIANS.

LANGUAGE

The Thracians never developed an alphabet of their own. On the basis of proper names, Greek writings, and inscriptions on coins and other artifacts from as early as the sixth century B.C.E. it is generally assumed that Thracian was an Indo-European language. It is possible that elements of it have survived in modern Armenian by way of the Phrygians, an ancient people of Asia Minor.

HISTORY

Thrace under Siege

From the eighth century B.C.E. the Greeks settled coastal cities on Thracian lands along the Aegean and Black Seas. Many Greek city-colonies had Thracian names, including Byzantion—named after Byzas, a Thracian—which eventually became the capital of Byzantium (*see* BYZANTINES). The Greek historian Herodotus of the fifth century B.C.E. describes the Thracians as the most numerous people in Europe. Yet their continuing dynastic struggles made them vulnerable to invaders.

In about 516–510 B.C.E. most Thracians were subjects of the Persians out of present-day Iran. By the beginning of the fifth century, a number of Thracian tribes had united into the state of Odrys in the Rhodope region with a capital along the Lower Maritsa River. In the mid-fourth century B.C.E. this state broke up into three smaller confederacies. In 356 B.C.E. the MACEDONIANS under Philip II of Macedon began a campaign against the Odrysae (or Odrisi); although eventually pacified, they continued to be a political factor in the region. Philip's son, Alexander, defeated the Getae soon after his ascendancy in 336 B.C.E. Other peoples occupied some Thracian territory, including the SCYTHIANS in the fifth century, the SARMATIANS in the fourth century, and the CELTS in the third century B.C.E.

Roman Thrace

By the second century B.C.E. the Romans became dominant in the region, assigning parts of Thrace to the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor and the province of Macedonia. A Thracian tribe referred to as Odrisi battled the Romans in 26 C.E. In 46 C.E. the emperor Claudius I annexed the Thracian kingdom, making it a Roman province. During their reigns in the first half of the second century the emperors Trajan and Hadrian founded cities in Thrace, including Sardica (modern Sofia) and Hadrianopolis (modern Edirne, Turkey). In about 300 C.E. Emperor Diocletian reorganized the area between the Lower Danube and the Aegean into the diocese of Thrace.

Thrace was invaded by numerous peoples over the ensuing centuries, including the GERMANICS, HUNS, SLAVS, and BULGARS.

Slaves, Mercenaries, and Emperors

The Thracians also played a part in ancient history as individuals. One of these was Spartacus (see sidebar, p. 800), a Thracian who had been captured and trained as a gladiator and had escaped to lead a slave uprising, referred to as the Gladiatorial War, against the Romans in 73–71 B.C.E. Many of his followers were Thracians and GAULS.

Known as brave and skilled warriors, many Thracians served as mercenaries in the armies of the region. Some of them rose to high rank among the Romans. One of them, Maximinus Thrax, known for his size and strength, was made emperor by his troops on the Rhine (after the murder of Emperor Alexander Severus by his own soldiers) and served in 235–238 C.E. before being deposed by the senate.

Possible Decendants

A Thracian tribe known as Agrianes of the Rhodope Mountains are cited by some as ancestral to the POMAKS.

THRACIANS

location:
Bulgaria; Romania; Moldva; eastern Serbia; northern Greece; northwestern Turkey

time period:
13th century B.C.E. to fourth century C.E.

ancestry:
Thracian

language:
Thracian

Thracians time line

B.C.E.

ninth–eighth century Homer writes about Thracians in *Iliad.*

eighth century Greeks settle on Thracian lands.

516–510 Persians control part of Thrace.

fifth century Herodutus describes Thracians as most numerous people in Europe.

356 Macedonians under Philip II begin campaign against Odrysae.

336 Macedonians under Alexander the Great defeat Getae.

73–71 Spartacus leads slave revolt against Romans.

C.E.

46 Thrace becomes Roman province.

235–238 Alexander Serverus, a Thracian, serves as Roman emperor.

300 Romans reorganize Thrace.

Spartacus: Freedom Fighter

Spartacus was born in Thrace in about 109 B.C.E., possibly of the Medi tribe living along the Strouma River. He was captured and sold as a slave to a gladiatorial training school at Capua. In 73 B.C.E. he and about 70 fellow gladiators successfully revolted against enslavement and escaped to Mt. Vesuvius. The rebels grew in numbers and pillaged their way across southern Italy, twice defeating Roman armies. Spartacus intended to lead his followers across the Alps out of Italy to the homelands of many of them, but they chose to continue the campaign of plunder, apparently with the hope of marching on Rome itself. They returned to southern Italy and captured the town of Thurii on the Gulf of Taranto. The Roman army, commanded by Marcus Licinius Crassus and Pompey, finally defeated Spartacus and his men. Spartacus died in battle in 71 B.C.E. Supposedly 6,000 captured prisoners were crucified along the Appian Way as a warning to other rebellious slaves. Because of his quest for freedom and his humane leadership, Spartacus has been glorified as a social revolutionary.

CULTURE

Economy

In their early history the Thracians' economy was based on the production of foodstuffs and raw materials, for sustenance as well as for export to peoples of the Aegean Sea, Asia Minor, and the Near East. They also kept livestock. In later years the Thracians carried out extensive trade in artifacts, especially metalwork.

Government and Society

The Thracians lived in open villages of free community farmers and artisans, organized tribally. A council of tribal representatives met for group decisions. When united, the tribes were under a supreme ruler who was also the supreme priest (called *basileus* by the Greeks; the Thracian word is not known). Taxes were collected from citizens in the form of gold, silver, bronze, cloth, and artifacts. A dragon decorated the standard of the Thracians. The Thracians practiced slavery but on a smaller scale than did the other powerful civilizations with which they had contact.

Military Practices

The Thracians were considered both skilled horsemen and masters of light infantry and were valued as mercenaries by the Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans.

Art

The period from the end of the sixth century until the early third century B.C.E. is considered the Golden Age of Thracian state and culture, its objects revealing a high level of workmanship. Yet Thracian gold masks are known to date to the fourth millennium B.C.E. Some ancient Thracian tomb paintings have survived.

Music and Literature

The Thracians were known throughout the Mediterranean region for their music and poetry.

Religion

The Thracians had numerous cults, celebrating many different deities. Many bronze statuettes represent the Horseman and his female counterpart, Bendida. Known as Heros in many Greek reliefs and inscriptions, the Horseman was a god of hunting and fertility, but in a larger sense, of life itself and death. The Dionysian cult originated in Thrace, where Dionysus was considered the god of nature and of infinite creativity; then spread to the Greek world, where Dionysus was the god of fertility and wine and became associated with drunken and orgiastic worship. The god Orpheus, at the center of the Orphean cult, was celebrated in Greek mythology as a Thracian musician.

After 313 C.E., when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, some Thracians also converted.

In the shadow of the Greek and Roman Empires the Thracians do not receive the same degree of attention in studies of European history and culture. Yet they played a major role in the shaping of the ancient world, in the eastern Mediterranean and beyond.

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Thuringi (Thurungii; Thuringians)

The Thuringi, a Germanic tribe, lived in the highlands of present-day central Germany in the fourth century C.E. Some of their territory had been the homeland of the ALAMANNI, who had since migrated southward. Some Alamanni may have been ancestral to the Thuringi, along with other GERMANICS, the ANGLES, HERMUNDURI, and VARINI.

In about 430 C.E. the HUNS conquered the Thuringi, but after the Huns retreated eastward in 453, the Thuringi formed a kingdom. At the height of its power in the early sixth century Thuringia (as part of the region is still known) extended from the Weser River in the west to the Elbe in the east and the Danube in the south. After defeating the Thuringi at the Battle of Scheidungen in 531 the FRANKS and SAXONS divided the region. Chlotar I made the Thuringian princess Radegunda his queen. She went on to oversee the building of a convent at Poitiers in present-day France and lived out her life as a nun (and was later canonized as a saint by the Roman Catholic Church).

In the eighth century under the Frankish ruler Charlemagne Thuringia became the Thuringian Mark (a mark or march signified a border) to defend against the MAGYARS and SLAVS to the east, yet the Thuringians still had political autonomy. In the 10th century the region was under the control of the dukes of Saxony.

Tigurini

The Tigurini are classified as a Celtic tribe although they probably had Germanic ancestry as well. They lived in present-day Switzerland. They are considered a subgroup of the CELTS known as the HELVETII. Some among them invaded present-day southern France and northern Italy, along with the TOUTONES, another Helvetian subgroup, and the CIMBRI, who were GERMANICS, between 111 and 101 B.C.E. Their ruler, Divico, is said to have been one of the leaders of the failed migration westward in 58 B.C.E. of the Helvetii, who were driven back to Switzerland by the ROMANS under Julius Caesar.

Titti (Titos)

The Titti are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the Jalón valley in present-day north-central Spain near the BELLI at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Tivertsians (Tivertsi; Tivertsy; Tiverts; Tivertians; Tiverians; Tiverchy; Tolmachians)

The Tivertsians are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS. They lived between the Prut and Dniester Rivers in present-day Moldova and Ukraine, south of the POLIANIANS, in steppe country. During the ninth century C.E. their territory reached the lower stretches of the Danube River in present-day eastern Romania. With other Slavic peoples they fell under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

Tolistobogii (Tolistoagii)

The Tolistobogii are classified as a Celtic tribe, who invaded present-day Greece in the early third century B.C.E.; they are discussed as CELTS or GALATOI. In 279–278 B.C.E. some among them, along with TECTOSAGES and TROCMI, migrated from Greece to northern Phrygia in Anatolia (Asia Minor), where they founded Galatia. In 189 B.C.E. when the ROMANS defeated the Galatians, Chiomara, the wife of a Tolistobogii chieftain, was kidnapped, raped, and ransomed, as described by the first–second-century Greek writer Plutarch.

Tolmachians *See* TIVERTSIANS.

Tolosates

The Tolosates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived around present-day Toulouse in southern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Toulouse, formerly known as Tolosa, takes its name from the tribal name. They were perhaps related ancestrally to the SANTONES. Toulouse was captured by the ROMANS in 106 B.C.E.

Torks (Uzes)

The Torks were ancient TURKICS probably from a number of different tribes who in the 11th century C.E. migrated into eastern and central Europe. Their movement into Europe followed that of the fellow Turkic-speaking PECHENEGS.

Some Pechenegs joined the Torks in a confederacy in Russia called Chenrye Klobuki (Black Hoods). The Torks became known in the region as merchants. In 1036 people identified as Torks helped the RUS defeat the Pechenegs.

THURINGI

location:
Central Germany

time period:
Fourth to sixth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

TORKS

location:
Eastern and central Europe

time period:
11th to 13th century C.E.

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Turkic

TORNEDALIANS

location:
Norbotten in northern Sweden

time period:
After first century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Meänkieli (Finnic)

The Torks and related Oguz Turks (Southwestern Turkic-speaking groups) are thought to be ancestral to the GAGAUZ and Crimean Turks. Some among the Oguz tribes, possibly including Torks, migrated into southern Asia and there formed the Seljuk Empire stretching from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indus River from the 11th through the 13th century.

Tornates

The Tornates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Tournai in southwestern Belgium at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. Tournai takes its name from the tribal name. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE.

Tornedalians (Tornedalens; Tornedalicans)

The Tornedalians live in the Torne valley, part of which forms the lower boundary between northern Sweden and Finland near the Gulf of Bothia. Their homes are mostly on the Torne River's western side in Norbotten Province, Sweden. It is not known for certain how early the Tornedalian ancestors broke off from other FINNO-UGRIANS and first settled the region. As early as the first century C.E. tribal groups of ancient FINNS had distinct identities in the region, some of which endured into the Middle Ages.

The Tornedalians speak Meänkieli (Our Language), also called Tornedalsfinska (Tornedalian Finnish), a different dialect from that of the Finns of Finland or that of other Finnic speakers in Sweden, known as Swedish Finns. In 2000 both the Swedish Finns and Tornedalians gained recognition as minorities in Sweden. Meänkieli, with elements of the Finnic language of the SAAMI, as well as Swedish and Norwegian, is protected as a national minority language.

The Tornedalians have traditionally lived off the soil and waterways as farmers, hunters, and fishermen. Although they are experiencing a cultural revitalization around their language after years of being oppressed and forbidden to use it, the rising unemployment resulting from modern technologies' replacing the traditional economy has led people to leave Tornedalia.

TREVERI

location:
Around Trier in western Germany

time period:
Fifth century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic and Germanic

language:
Celtic and Germanic

Toutones

The Toutones are classified as a Celtic tribe, although they probably had Germanic ancestry as well. They lived in present-day Switzerland. They are considered a subgroup of the CELTS known as HELVETII. Some among them invaded present-day southern France and northern Italy, along with the TIGURINI, another Helvetian subgroup, and the CIMBRI, who were GERMANICS, between 111 and 101 B.C.E.

Treveri (Trevires)

The Treveri are classified as a combined Celtic-Germanic tribe. They lived around Trier (Trèves) in present-day western Germany and claimed to be descended from GERMANICS. The Roman general Julius Caesar grouped them among the BELGAE, a subdivision of the GAULS, that is, CELTS living in Gaul. The Treveri held territory in present-day eastern Belgium and northern France as well.

Ancestors of the Treveri reportedly migrated across the Alps into northern Italy as early as 400 B.C.E. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar invaded their homeland in Gaul and defeated them in 57 B.C.E. Caesar described them as having the most powerful cavalry among the Gauls. They joined the AEDUI in a rebellion against the Romans in 20 C.E.

Augusta Treverorum on the site of Trier became a *civitas* capital in Gaul during the Roman occupation lasting until the fifth century C.E.; Trier (Trèves) takes its name from the tribal name.

Triboci (Triboces; Tribocians)

The Triboci are classified as a Germanic tribe, a subgroup of the SUEBI. They migrated from present-day central Germany, settling on the Rhine River in present-day northeastern France. They were one of the tribes of GERMANICS that fought under Ariovistus in 60 B.C.E. against the AEDUI, allies of the ROMANS. Some of them may have settled to the east in the homeland of the MEDIOMATRICI about this time. Under the Roman occupation the main town of the Triboci became known as Argentoratum (now Strasbourg) for "silver fort."

Tricassi (Tricasses; Tricasi)

The Tricassi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Troyes in northern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the SENONES. Augustonono on the site of Troyes became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Troyes takes its name from the tribal name.

Tricastins

The Tricastins are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day department of Drôme in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Tricorii (Tricori; Tricores)

The Tricorii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Gap in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Trinovantes (Trinobantes)

The Trinovantes are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day Essex and Suffolk counties in eastern England and are discussed as CELTS or BRITONS. In the mid-first century B.C.E. they became allies and trading partners of the ROMANS, supporting them against the CATUVELLAUNI, who controlled their territory. Their town of Camulodunum (modern Colchester) was the first capital in Roman Britain. In 60–61 C.E. some among them supported the revolt of the ICENI under Queen Boudicca (Boadicea).

Trocmi (Trocmes; Trocini)

The Trocmi are classified as a Celtic tribe, who invaded present-day Greece in the early third century B.C.E.; they are discussed as CELTS or GALATOI. In 279–278 B.C.E. some among them, along with TECTOSAGES and TOLISTOBOGII, migrated from Greece to northern Phrygia in Anatolia (Asia Minor), where they founded Galatia.

Tubanti (Tubantes)

The Tubanti are classified as a Germanic tribe. They lived east of the Rhine and north of the Danube in present-day western Germany. By the third century C.E. they had become allied with other GERMANICS—the AMSIVARII, BRUCTERI, CHAMAVI, CHATTUARII, and SALII—as the FRANKS.

Tulingi

The Tulingi were either a Celtic, a Germanic, or a mixed tribe. They lived in present-day Schaffhausen in northeastern Switzerland and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS (or possibly GERMANICS). Along with the BOII, LATOVICI, and RAURICI they joined the HELVETII in their migration to the west in 58 B.C.E. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar defeated them at the start of his conquest of Gaul.

Tungri

The Tungri are classified as a Germanic tribe. Their first historical mention appears in the work of the Roman historian Pliny of the first century C.E., who lists them among the tribes of northeastern Gaul, living around present-day Tongeren (Tongres) in present-day northeastern Belgium; Tongeren is derived from the tribal name.

The Roman general Julius Caesar, who reported on the tribes of that region in the prior century, mentions the ADUATUCI, CONDRUSI, and EBURONES in that area, probably combined Celtic-Germanic peoples. It is possible that the Tungri consisted of descendants of these earlier peoples and possibly another group of GERMANICS who migrated from across the Rhine. The Roman historian Tacitus of the first–second centuries C.E. cites the name Tungri as that by which the Germani were known to the ROMANS. The name also is associated with a number of foreign cohorts in the Roman army who served on the mainland and on the British Isles, from the beginning of the second century onward.

TUNGRI

location:
Around Tongeren in Belgium

time period:
First century B.C.E. to second century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic and possibly Celtic

language:
Germanic

Turboletas

The Turboletas are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Turdetani (Turditani; Turdetanians; Turditanians)

The Turdetani are classified as an Iberian tribe. They lived north of the Guadalquivir River in Andalusia in present-day southern Spain and were probably a subgroup or descendants of the earlier TARTESSIANS. They were one of four tribes that the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy recorded as situated in Baetica, along with the BASTETANI, BASTULI, and TURDULI.

Probably as early as the eighth century B.C.E. the Turdetani had contacts with the GREEKS, and as early as the sixth century B.C.E., with the CARTHAGINIANS. Both peoples established trading colonies along the coast and influenced many of the IBERIANS culturally. The ROMANS established their first colonies on the Iberian Peninsula at the start of the second century B.C.E. The Turdetani resisted them at first but were defeated in 195 B.C.E. by legions under Marcus Porcius Cato, consul of Iberia, after he had pacified

TURDETANI

location:
Andalusia in southern Spain

time period:
Eighth to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Iberian

language:
Iberian

TURKICS

location:
Eastern and central Europe

time period:
c. 300 B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Turkic

language:
Turkic (Altaic)

tribes to their north. In the early centuries C.E. the Iberian Peninsula was part of the provincial system of the Roman Empire.

The Turdetani had a written language and used it to record thousands of laws in verse.

Turduli

The Turduli are classified as an Iberian tribe. They lived inland from the south coast of the region of Andalusia in present-day Spain and were probably a subgroup or descendants of the earlier TARTESSIANS. They had early contacts with the PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, and CARTHAGINIANS, but not as many as their fellow IBERIANS to the south the BASTETANI, BASTULI, and TURDETANI, who were considered part of the province of Baetica, governed by the ROMANS, as recorded by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy.

Turkics (Turkic peoples)

The Turkics, or Turkic-speaking peoples, are various peoples speaking languages belonging to the Turkic subgroup of the Altaic language family. They are associated primarily with Asia, where they established a number of empires over the centuries, starting in the sixth century C.E.; however, some among them migrated westward into Europe and played a part in European history, especially with regard to the Ottoman Empire, which extended deep into Europe. The extreme western portions of two nations founded by Turkic peoples, Turkey and Kazakhstan, are located in what is considered Europe (*see* TURKS: NATIONALITY).

Turkics time line

C.E.	
fourth century	Turks part of Hunnic confederation
552–745	Gokturk Empire in Asia
seventh century	Greater Bulgaria thrives in western Russia.
679	First Bulgarian Empire founded in Bulgaria.
eighth century	Khazar Empire in western Russia and Ukraine.
eighth–12th century	Uygurs dominant in central Asia
10th century	Pechenegs control territory north of Black Sea in Ukraine and Russia.
1071	Seljuks defeat Byzantines at Manzikert.
12th century	Kipchaks dominant power on eastern European steppes
1239	Mongols break up Kipchak confederation.
1243	Mongols found Kipchak khanate.
1245	Cumans settle in Hungary.
1290	Osman I proclaims Ottoman Turk independence from Seljuks.
1362	Murad I defeats Byzantines at Adrianople.
1402	Tamerlane (Timur) defeats Ottoman Turks at Ankara.
1453	Ottoman Turks capture Constantinople.
mid-16th century	Ottoman Empire reaches its greatest extent under Suleiman.

ORIGINS

Little is known about the origins of the Turkic people, which presumably occurred in Asia. The apparent linguistic connection between Turkic and Mongolic indicates possible origins in north-central Asia. Some scholars maintain that the Turkic language itself first split into different languages in about 300 B.C.E. The name Turkics is possibly derived from the Chinese T'u-chuëh.

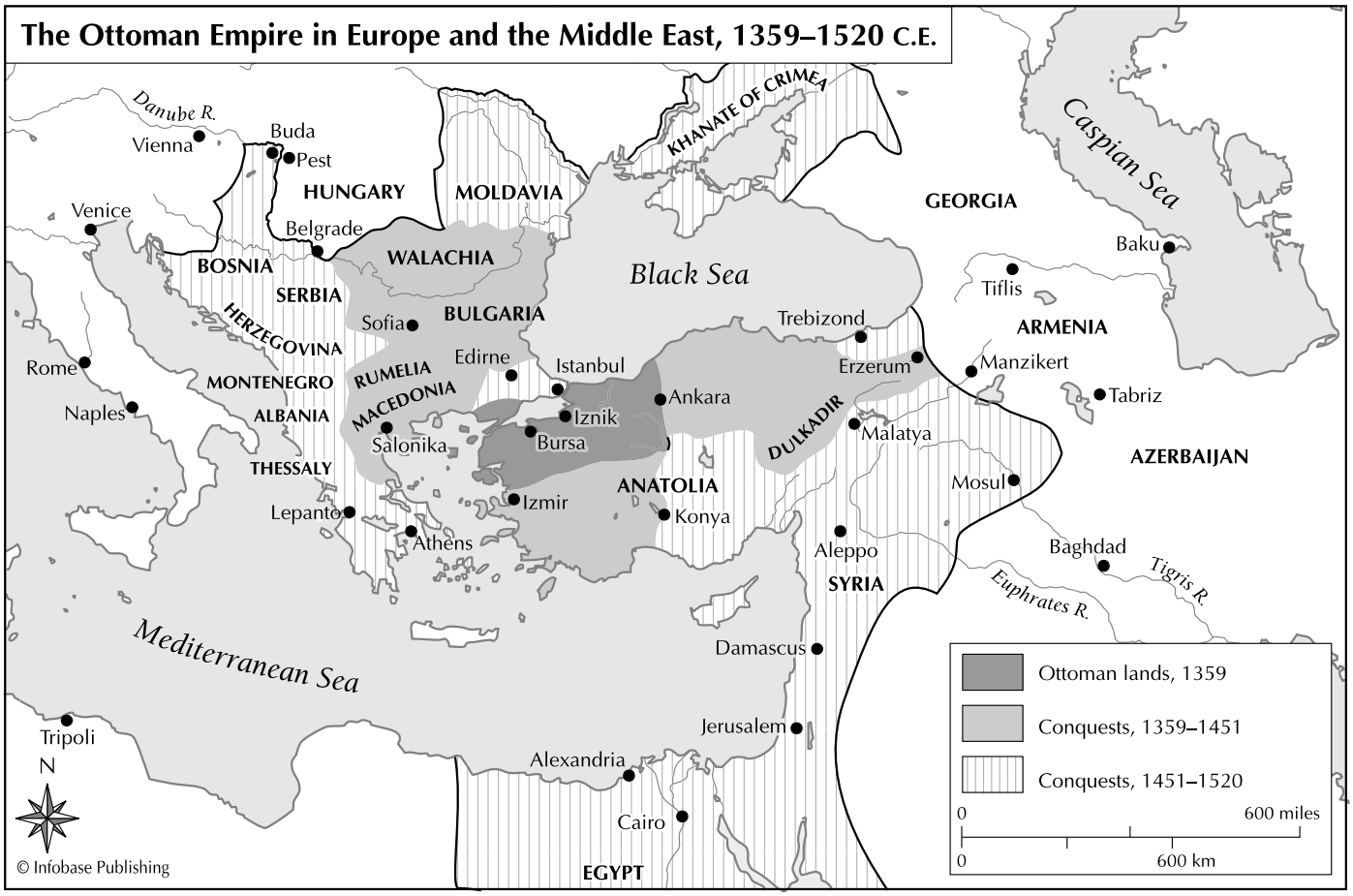
LANGUAGE

The Turkic and Mongolic languages make up the Altaic language family (a non-Indo-European family). Hundreds of Turkic tribes and their languages have mixed with one another over the centuries and classification is difficult. According to one system of classification, there are four branches of Turkic: Northwestern, Southwestern, Northeastern, and Southeastern. The Northeastern (also called North or Siberian) and Southeastern (also called East or Uighur-Chagatai) branches comprise languages spoken in Asia. A number of Northwestern (also called West, Kipchak, or Ogur) and Southwestern (also called South or Oguz) languages and dialects were spoken in Europe, some of them now extinct. Some scholars classify Chuvash as Northwestern Turkic along with Bulgar and Khazar; others classify them as their own branch of Altaic. The oldest historical records regarding Turkic culture—the Orhon inscriptions comprising texts found at Kosho-Tsaidam on the Orhon (Orkhon) Gol (River) in Mongolia—date only to the early eighth century C.E. They reveal the earliest known Turkic alphabet, the Gokturk alphabet (similar to a runic script), developed by the Gokturks, a confederation of Turkic tribes in the sixth to eighth centuries. With the spread of Islam a majority of Turks began to use the Arabic alphabet. The Turkic tribes who played a direct part in European history were of the Northwestern or Southwestern groups.

HISTORY

Early Turkic Migrations into Europe

Among those considered the earliest Turkic peoples to migrate to Europe were the BULGARS, in



the latter part of the fourth century, who entered Europe with the HUNS. The Huns themselves were possibly a Turkic-speaking people as well, although they may have originally been Mongolic-speaking. The AVARS, who created a European empire in the sixth century, were also possibly Turkic by origin.

Early Turkic Powers

Medieval Chinese texts relate that by the sixth century a nomadic Turkic people had established an empire in central Asia stretching from Mongolia to the Black Sea (thus including part of Europe). Known to the Chinese as T'u-chüeh (or Tujue) and in other texts as Gokturks or Kokturks (Gök-Turks or Kök-Turks, for celestial Turks), they maintained a confederation of nomadic tribes from 552 to 745. At times during this period the Gokturks were under Chinese sovereignty.

After the breakup of the Gokturk Empire, largely as a result of internal conflict, other Turkic peoples rose to dominance in central Asia and eastern Europe. Among them in the east were the Uygurs (or Uighurs, known to the Chinese as Huihe), who became dominant in central Asia in the eighth century and, retained their power until the end of the 12th century, when they were overrun by the MONGOLS.

Meanwhile the western Gokturk Empire split into two—some among the Bulgars, led by the Dulo clan, and the KHAZARS, led by the Asena clan, who had previously ruled the Gokturk Empire. By 670 the Khazars had dispersed the Bulgar confederation; some among the Bulgars migrated to central Europe and founded the First Bulgarian Empire in 679, becoming ancestral in part to modern Bulgarians (*see* BULGARIANS: NATIONALITY). By the second half of the eighth century the Khazar Empire extended from the Caspian Sea and Black Sea (including the Crimean Peninsula) as far north as the Ural Mountains and as far west as the Dnieper River and Kiev in present-day Ukraine. In the late ninth century the PECHENEGS, pressured by the Khazars and other steppe peoples, migrated westward. In the 10th century, they controlled the territory north of the Black Sea between the Don and Dnieper Rivers in present-day southwestern Russia and eastern Ukraine, including the Crimean Peninsula. In the 11th century some Pechenegs lived along the Lower Danube

in present-day Romania. From the late 11th through the 12th century the KIPCHAKS were the most powerful people on the eastern European steppes. That name was also applied generally to all the Northwestern Turkic-speaking groups. Some of them migrated to central Europe, especially to present-day Hungary in 1245, where they were known as CUMANS.

Advent of Islam

After the founding of Islam in Arabia by Muhammad in the seventh century, Arab armies, traders, and missionaries began spreading the new religion to neighboring peoples. Many Turkic peoples were introduced to Islam in the eighth–ninth centuries. Over the centuries Islam became the dominant religion among them. Some Turkic groups converted from their pagan religion to Christianity, however, and others, notably the Khazars, to Judaism.

Seljuk Turks

At the beginning of the 11th century the Seljuk Turks began consolidating their power. The Seljuks were Oguz Turks (that is, of the Southwestern Turkic-speaking group), related to Turkic peoples known as TORKS who had migrated to eastern Europe. The Seljuks had been employed as mercenaries by the Abbasids, an Arabic dynasty, but eventually rebelled. They conquered both present-day Iran and Iraq, entering Baghdad in 1055, and overran Syria. In 1071 the Seljuks defeated the BYZANTINES of the Eastern Roman Empire at the Battle of Manzikert, after which waves of Oguz tribesmen settled in Asia Minor; they eventually occupied most of it and conquered surrounding areas as well. By the late 11th century the Seljuk Empire stretched from the Amu Darya, a river in central and western Asia, south to the Persian Gulf and from the Indus River west to the Mediterranean Sea. The Seljuk ascendancy and harassment of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and their threatening of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), the seat of the Eastern Roman Empire, helped prompt the Crusades, the military expeditions by European Christians to the Near East through the late 13th century.

Mongol Expansion

In the early 13th century the MONGOLS united under the leadership of Genghis Khan, and subsequent khans carried out campaigns of conquest throughout much of Asia, seizing all the Seljuk state in Asia. They also broke up the Kipchak confederation in 1239. The Mongols established the Kipchak khanate four years later. The Mongol conquests set in motion migrations and realignments of Turkic people that continued for several centuries. One of the outcomes was a merging of Mongol and Turkic cultures; Turkic elements, including the Islamic religion, became dominant among various groups in eastern Europe and central and western Asia, and some of them became known as TATARS.

Mamluks

Turkic peoples, in their weakened state, along with other Eurasian peoples, became a source of slaves for the expanding Muslim world. Known as Mamluks (or Mameluks or Mamelukes, Arabic for one who is owned), they served in Arabic armies, in which eventually they earned positions of authority. They became influential in the Near East and North Africa, especially in Egypt, and founded a state that endured from 1250 to 1517. At its greatest extent it stretched from Arabia, Syria, and Egypt to parts of Libya and Nubia. The Mamluk presence in Arabic history led to the compilation of Turkic-Arabic dictionaries.

Tamerlane

By the 14th century the Mongol Empire had weakened as a result of internal conflicts as well as resistance from conquered peoples. One Turkic provincial governor at Samarkand in the region of Turkestan (part of present-day Uzbekistan), Tamerlane (Timur the Lame), who claimed descent from Genghis Khan (to increase his influence, it is thought), with an army composed of Turks and Turkic-speaking Mongols, created an empire in southern and southwestern Asia in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. In the 1390s he captured European territory between the Caspian and Black Seas as well as Russian territory and eventually even occupied Moscow. In 1398 he abandoned his western conquest to invade India. In 1402 he returned to the west to battle the Ottoman Turks, a subgroup of Seljuks, at Angora (modern Ankara) in Asia Minor, forcing them to end their siege of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), ruled by the Byzantines. Tamerlane died in 1405 during an expedition to conquer China.

The Ottoman Empire

The tribal ancestors of the Ottoman Turks were among the last Turkic peoples to migrate to Asia Minor from central Asia. In time they became subjects of the Seljuks, who employed them as frontier guards against the Byzantines. In 1290 Osman I proclaimed Ottoman independence from the weakened Seljuks (hence the alternate



Murad (Amurath) IV, sultan of the Turks, 1612–40, surveys the building of the obelisk in this 17th-century portrait. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-98779])*

tribal name Osmanli) and began a concerted campaign in Asia Minor against the Byzantines, capturing Bursa shortly before his death in about 1326. In 1362 Murad I triumphed against the Byzantines at Adrianople (modern Edirne, Turkey, in Europe). Under Bayezid Murad's son the Ottomans defeated the SERBS and their allies at Kosovo in present-day southwestern Serbia and, in 1396, the Hungarians and their allies at Nicopolis (modern Nikopol) in present-day northern Bulgaria. In 1397 Bayezid besieged Constantinople (when Tamerlane's invasion out of the east changed the outcome).

The Ottoman Empire was fragmented for a time, but Mehmed, Bayezid's son, reunited it, and his successors, Murad II and Mehmed II, secured additional territory. In 1444 Murad II defeated a European army of crusaders at Varna in present-day eastern Bulgaria. In 1453 Mehmed led an attack on Constantinople, taking the city, which the Ottomans renamed Istanbul. By the end of the 15th century the Ottomans had secured other Byzantine outposts. In the early 16th century they had also defeated the Mamluks and secured Syria and Egypt. By the mid-16th century under Suleiman (see sidebar), who expanded the empire into Hungary, northern Africa, and Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), the Ottoman Empire included much of southeastern Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa—from Vienna in Austria to the Indian Ocean and from Tunis to the Caucasus Mountains.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the Ottomans fought a series of depleting wars against Poland, Austria, and Russia and lost holdings in Hungary and north of the Black Sea in Ukraine and Russia. Russia continued to expand southward, leading up to the Crimean War of 1854–56, in which Great Britain and France supported the Turks against the Russians. Meanwhile, African nations regained territory. In two successive Balkan Wars in 1912–13 Turkey lost more European territory to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Albania. The empire continued to decline until its dissolution after World War I (1914–18). The republic of Turkey was formally proclaimed in 1923, with only a tiny portion remaining in Europe.

Modern Turks

Citizens of the nation of Turkey, which is situated in both Asia and Europe, consist of Osmanli and Seljuk descendants as well as descendants of other groups who made up the Ottoman Empire.

The KAZAKHS, thought to be mostly descendants of Kipchaks, also became the principal

Suleiman: The Lawgiver

Suleiman (also Süleyman) was born at Trabzon in present-day Turkey in 1494, the son of Selim I. He became emperor as Suleiman I.

In 1521 Suleiman captured Belgrade, at that time a Hungarian city, and the next year he forced the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, a military and religious order, from the island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea. In 1526 in another invasion of Hungary he killed King Louis II and defeated his forces at the Battle of Mohács, and then in 1529 he unsuccessfully besieged Vienna. Among his later conquests were the cities of Tabriz and Baghdad in present-day Iran. Suleiman concluded a treaty with Francis I of France against the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, which allowed French access to commerce with the eastern Mediterranean countries. The Ottomans, with an expanded navy, eventually dominated the Mediterranean Sea. Suleiman again invaded Hungary in 1541, making central Hungary a part of the Ottoman Empire. He had additional military successes in Persia. His navy also partnered with France to pillage Nice and the Italian coasts. Over the next years he continued to lead campaigns to secure and expand his holdings in the Near East, the Balkans, and northern Africa. He died in Hungary in 1566 in an attempt to seize Szigetvár.

Suleiman was an excellent military strategist, administrator, and diplomat, whose legislative reforms earned him the title Kanuni, or "Lawgiver." He was a patron of the arts and architecture who built strong fortresses and embellished Islamic cities. Sinan, the great Turkish architect, worked under his orders. The sciences also flourished during his reign. His favorite wife was Roxelana (or Khurems); her son, Selim II, succeeded Suleiman, known as the Magnificent, on his death in 1566.

inhabitants of a nation in both Asia and Europe, Kazakhstan. Other Asian nations consist of large Turkic populations: Descendants of the Kyrgyz live in Kyrgyzstan; descendants of the Uzbeks live in present-day Uzbekistan (along with Karakalpaks in Karakalpakstan, part of Uzbekistan); descendants of the TURKMENS in Turkmenistan (and some in Russia and Turkey); and descendants of the Seljuks in Azerbaijan. These nations were republics of the Soviet Union (USSR) for part of their history and gained independence in 1991. Descendants of the Uygurs live in Sinkiang (the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region) in China. Uzbeks, Turkmens, Kyrgyz, and other Turkic peoples also live in Afghanistan.

Numerous other Turkic peoples are dispersed throughout Asia; the majority are Muslims. Modern European Turks—living mostly in Russia but also in Bulgaria, Moldova, Ukraine, and other nations—are the Tatars, BALKARS, BASHKIRS, CHUVASH, GAGAUZ, KARACHAY, KARAIM, KUMYKS, and NOGAY.

CULTURE

Economy

Many of the ancient Turkic tribes lived as nomadic herders on the steppes. Others sowed grains and other crops in steppe regions favorable to agriculture. In some communities Turkic families had specific plots of irrigated and sowed land.

When states formed the Turkics had a system of collecting tribute. Among the Gokturks and Oguzes tax officials known as Amga (or Imga) were responsible for collecting goods in their region. The Khazars were known to demand a sword or pelt of ermine from each family of SLAVS on a regular basis.

Turkics traded with one another and with other peoples. Arabic traders traveled to Turkic lands—even those far from the main trading routes—to set up bazaars.

Government and Society

Turkic tribes, as were ancient steppe peoples in general, were organized hierarchically along lineage, clan, and family lines. All tribal members were expected to be loyal to the tribe first. Tribal elders played a central role in enforcing traditional laws and customs—known to some Turkic peoples as the Tore—settling disputes, making decisions to protect the tribe. Nevertheless individuals had freedom in managing their private property, in particular land and herds. In tribal confederations the various tribes retained a great degree of autonomy. In the various Turkic empires, especially those extending over vast expanses, provincial governors had great authority.

Dwellings and Architecture

Nomadic Turkics lived in yurts, light circular tents made of felt stretched over a lattice framework, similar to those of the Mongols. Turkics rarely built fortifications and surrounded cities with walls rarely. After the settling of agricultural villages, which resulted in a sedentary life, fortified cities were constructed.

Transportation

Many of the steppe Turkic people were master horsemen.

Music

Turkics had a variety of stringed, wind, and rhythm instruments. Among them were the *kemençe,* a small violin played as a cello is; the *kabak kemane,* a three-stringed violin; the *ud,* like a lute; the *tambur,* like a mandolin; the *kanun,* like a zither; the *santur,* like a dulcimer; the *zurna,* like an oboe; the *kaval,* a type of flageolet; the *dümbelek,* a small drum; the *daire,* a tambourine; the *kudüm,* a small double drum; the *zil,* a cymbal; and the *çalpara,* castinets.

Literature

A long-standing literary form among Turkics is the *destan,* a poetic account of personalities and events from tribal history, often filled with details about Turkic lifeways.

Religion

Before the great majority of Turkics adopted the Islamic religion they practiced a pagan religion in which the sky itself was perceived as a god figure, sometimes referred to as God-Sky.

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Turkmens (Trukhmens; Türpen)

The Turkmens are a Turkic-speaking people around Stavropol north of the Caucasus Mountains in present-day southwestern Russia. Their dialect, of the Oguz group of the Southwestern Turkic language family, has been influenced by that of the NOGAY. Their literary language is Russian. Originally nomads the Turkmens separated from other TURKICS and migrated to the area in the 17th century. Turkmens now live mostly in Turkmenistan in Asia. Subgroups include the Chaudorov (Chavodur), Ikdir, and Sonchadj tribes.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Turks: nationality (Turkish; people of Turkey)

GEOGRAPHY

Turkey borders the Black Sea to the north, Georgia and Armenia to the northeast, Azerbaijan and Iran to the east, Iraq and Syria to the southeast, Greece and Bulgaria to the northwest, the Aegean Sea to the west, and the Mediterranean Sea to the southwest. The total area is 300,948 square miles. Anatolia, or Asian Turkey, is characterized by highlands and mountains and includes 97 percent of the country. Eastern Thrace forms European Turkey. The Bosporus, the Sea of Marmara, and the Dardanelles divide Turkish Thrace from Asian Turkey and connect the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. Agricultural lowlands drained by the Ergene River make up European Turkey. Mount Ararat, measuring 16,853 feet, is the highest peak, located on the border of Armenia and Iran. Principal rivers include the Tigris and the Euphrates, flowing in the eastern part of the country.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

TURKICS invaded Asia Minor in the 11th century C.E., defeating the BYZANTINES and establishing the Seljuk dynasty. The MONGOLS under Genghis Khan replaced the Seljuk dynasty in the early 13th century. By the late 13th century the Ottoman Turks gained further territories from the weakening Byzantine Empire and expelled the Mongols.

The Ottomans annexed territory to the west and acquired Turkish principalities in the east. By the 16th century under Sultan Suleiman I the Magnificent they ruled much of the Near East, great portions of Eastern Europe, and almost the entirety of North Africa. Internal corruption within the ruling class and a series of wars with Europe, notably the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1768–92, led to major territorial losses.

The Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I (1914–18). The Treaty of Sèvres in 1920 greatly reduced the size of Turkey to little more than northern Asia Minor. It also established a permanent Allied presence in the region. Although the sultan accepted the terms of the treaty, Turkish nationals under Kemal Atatürk organized resistance to the treaty and began a program of reconquest, aided by the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1921. By 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne recognized Turkey's current borders, guaranteeing full autonomy, and Turkey was declared a republic later that year.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

The Turks' history, most importantly as the builders of the Ottoman Empire, which is now gone, and their status as the only major Muslim nation in Europe give rise to contrary ideas of cultural identity. Turks themselves do not all hold to the same ideas on this subject. What are their historical allegiance and geographical orientation? Are they an eastern European or western Asiatic people? Is their primary identity their Muslim religion? Should they consider themselves a product of the culture of Asia Minor, or should they stress their ancestry among nomadic hordes from the Turanian steppes of Asia? Are they descendents of ancient people from Hittites to ROMANS or the last surviving mercenaries of Genghis Khan of the Mongols? Are they despotic rulers who oppressed minorities, such as the Armenians and the Kurds, or freedom fighters who have defended their lands against others, such as the British? Are the Turks the orphans of the Ottoman dynasty, defending the Muslim faith against a new "crusade" led by the United States

TURKS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Turkey (Türkiye); Republic of Turkey (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti)

derivation of name:
Türk, meaning "strong"; *iye* meaning "owner"; possibly from T'u-chüeh, a Chinese name

government:
Presidential republic

capital:
Ankara

language:
Official language is Turkish; Kurdish and Arabic are also spoken.

religion:
About 98 percent of the population are Muslim; small numbers are Eastern Orthodox Christians and Jews.

earlier inhabitants:
(in European Turkey) Thracians; Greeks; Macedonians; Romans; Byzantines

demographics:
About 80 percent of the population are Turkish; Kurds are the largest minority.

in revenge for the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks? Are they the invaders of the peaceful islanders of Cyprus?

Different social groups in Turkey would give different answers. Peasants, following a way of life that has existed for millennia, see their

Turks: nationality time line

C.E.

330 Roman Emperor Constantine the Great establishes Constantinople, capital of Roman Empire, at Byzantium; Anatolia and Thrace become part of Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire).

1096–1204 Crusades lead to decline of Byzantine Empire.

c. 1321 Poet Yunus Emre dies; his work, drawing on Anatolian folk poetry, influences later Turkish poets.

1326 Ottomans capture Bursa and found Ottoman Empire.

1453 Byzantine Empire ends when Ottomans capture Constantinople (renamed Istanbul).

1520–66 Sultan Suleiman I the Magnificent rules Ottoman Empire.

1836 Presidential Symphony Orchestra is initiated.

1829 Greece gains independence from Ottoman Empire.

1853–56 Turkey, Great Britain, and France defeat Russia in Crimean War.

1872 Namik Kemal's play *Vatan yahnut Silistre* (Fatherland, or Silistria) receives public acclaim, leading to his imprisonment in 1873–76 by Ottoman government.

1909 Last sultan, Abdul Hamid, is deposed.

1912–13 During Balkan Wars Ottomans lose most of European holdings.

1914–18 During World War I Ottoman Empire sides with Germany, losing many territories at end of war.

1920 British occupy Istanbul.

1921–22 Turkey defeats Greece in Second Greco-Turkish War.

1923 Republic of Turkey is founded by Kemal Atatürk.

1927 Museum of Turkish and Islamic Works of Art is founded in Istanbul.

1934 Turkey joins Balkan Pact.

1936 *Seyh Bedreddin destani* (The epic of Shaykh Bedreddin) and *Memleketimden insan manzaralari* (Portraits of people from my land), epic poems by Nazim Hikmet, are published.

1939–45 During World War II Turkey remains neutral.

1946 Turkey becomes member of United Nations (UN).
National Library is founded.

1950 Poet Orhan Veli Kanik becomes editor of literary review *Yaprak* (Folio).

1952 Turkey joins North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

1955 *Ince Memed* (Thin Memed or Memed, my hawk), novel by Yashar Kemal, is published.

1960 Turkey experiences military coup, including execution of prime minister.

1964 Turkey achieves associate status in European Union (EU).

1964–72 Composer Adnan Saygun teaches at Ankara State Conservatory.

1974 Turkey invades northern Cyprus to condemnation of international community.

1980 Ankara State Museum of Fine Arts is founded in Ankara.

1980–83 Turkey experiences second military coup.

1984 Turkey recognizes Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

1993 Tansu Çiller becomes Turkey's first female prime minister.

2002 Turkish women win full legal equality.

essential identity as being villagers, living peacefully where their ancestors have lived time out of mind. People in towns, where Islam has a strong hold, consider themselves true Muslims, defending their faith against the infidels. Nomadic tribesmen who still exist in Turkey look to their Turanian roots, considering themselves the bearers of a noble tradition in contradistinction to that of settled peasants. Members of the business community tend to stress ties with Western civilization. Their status as urbanites is most important, making them genuine Westerners, they feel. Politicians consider themselves guardians of the Turkish Republic, entrusted to them by the late, great general and president Kemal Atatürk.

The great differences between the regions of Turkey (Eastern, Western, Black Sea, Southern, etc.) and the many ethnicities and languages (Abhazian, Albanian, Aegean, Arabic, Armenian, Azeri, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Circassian, Georgian, Greek, Kurdish, Laz, Persian) and religious denominations of Muslims (Sunnites, Shi'ites, Alawis, Bektashis, Mawlavis, Nakshibendis, Tahtajis, etc.) and non-Muslims (Christians, Jews, etc.) make the existence of a single overriding Turkish cultural identity problematic.

Many Turks believe in the importance of a broad worldview but with a unified national identity. They hope to overcome economic problems and join the family of developed nations as Turks with a distinct political and cultural tradition. A recent opinion poll taken in Istanbul found that the great majority of people, 69 percent, identify themselves as Turks as against 21 percent who call themselves Muslim Turks and much smaller percentages who consider themselves other identities.

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Turmogi (Turmogos)

The Turmogi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day north-central Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Turones (Turoni; Turons)

The Turones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Tours in central France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Caesarodunum on the site of Tours became a *civitas* capital in Roman Gaul; Tours, formerly Turoni, takes its name from the tribal name.

U

UBII

location:
Around Cologne in western Germany

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fourth century C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

UBYKS

location:
North Caucasus in southwestern Russia

time period:
Second millennium B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Caucasian

language:
Abkhazo-Adygheian (Caucasic)

Uaithne (Auteini)

The Uaithne are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day counties of Limerick and Tipperary in southwestern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. It is assumed they were the same people cited by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy as the Auteini.

Uberi

The Uberi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day region of Valais in southwestern Switzerland in the early centuries B.C.E. They were perhaps a branch of the CELTS known as LEPONTI.

Ubii (Ubians; Utii)

The Ubii are classified as a Germanic tribe. They originally lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany south of the SUGAMBRI. Traditional enemies of the SUEBI, the Ubii became allies of the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in the first century B.C.E. In 39 B.C.E. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa established a Roman colony for them, Oppidum Ubiorum, which was later named Colonia Agrippina, after his daughter, Vipsania Agrippina. She became the wife of Germanicus Caesar and accompanied him on his campaigns in the region against other GERMANICS. The Ubii, who referred to themselves as the Agrippenses (Agrippinensians), helped guard the boundary of Gaul against other Germanic tribes and endured as Roman *foederati* (federates) into the fourth century C.E. Colonia Agrippina evolved into modern-day Cologne (Köln).

Ubyks (Ubyx)

The Ubyks were a Caucasic-speaking people, who once lived around Sochi along the Black Sea in the northwestern Caucasus Mountains of Krasnodar Kray, a territory in southwestern Russia. Their language is classified as part of the North-West (Abkhazo-Adygheian) branch of North Caucasic and related to the dialects of the neighboring CIRCASSIANS. Like other CAUCASIANS the Laks are considered indigenous to the region, perhaps maintaining tribal identity since the second millennium B.C.E. Their economy, as was that of their neighbors, was built around herding, farming, and trading. Living along the Black Sea, they also were skilled fishermen.

For much of the medieval period the Ubyks were ruled by TATARS. In 1864 after the Russian SLAVS seized the region they expelled many of the Muslim inhabitants; others chose to leave. All Ubyks reportedly left their homeland, relocating to different parts of Turkey. Tevfik Esenç of Turkey, who died in 1992, was considered the last native Ubyk speaker. In the last years of his life he worked with linguists to make a record of the now-extinct language, which is characterized by a great number of consonant sounds.

See also RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY.

Uceni (Ucenni)

The Uceni are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the present-day department of Val d'Oise in northwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Udmurts (Udmorts; Odmorts; Ukmorts; Vudmurts; Udmurtjoz; Votyaks; Votyaki; Votiak; Ari; Arsk people; Chud Otezkaya)

The Udmurts are a Finnic-speaking people, who live mostly between the Vyatka and Kama Rivers in the Republic of Udmurtia in present-day east-central European Russia (*see* FINNO-UGRIANS; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Their ancestral territory includes the western forested foothills of the Ural Mountains. Other tribal members live in neighboring regions of European Russia—especially Bashkortostan, Mari Ei, Perm, Tatarstan—and some in central Asia and Siberia. The name Udmurts is Finnic for "people of the forest." They were formerly known in Russian as the Votyaks, a name that they consider disparaging. In its native form Udmurt is singular and Udmurtjoz is plural.

ORIGINS

The Permic branch of the Finnic populations of Russia is considered to have split from other groups in ancient times, perhaps between 2500 and 2000 B.C.E. It is believed that the Udmurts of the eighth–third centuries B.C.E. were connected with indigenous peoples of the Vyatsko-Kamski region, representatives of the Ananian archaeological culture.

LANGUAGE

The Udmurtian language is in the Permic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family. The closest linguistic relatives of the Udmurts are the KOMI. The Udmurtian written language was developed in the 18th century using the Cyrillic alphabet, and the first Udmurtian grammar was published in 1775. Some 500 words used by ancient Finno-Ugrics have been preserved in the Udmurtian language, among them *blood, butter, fire, son, snow,* and *tree.*

HISTORY

Ancestors of the Udmurts may have been in contact with steppe peoples who invaded their homeland, such as the SCYTHIANS, judging by place-names that seem to be of Scythian origin, and the SARMATIANS, who arrived in the fourth century B.C.E. They also had trade contacts with the indigenous CAUCASIANS to their south and with peoples as far south as Egypt and as far east as India.

Later in their history the Udmurts paid tribute to the BULGARS, who arrived in the fifth century C.E.; the AVARS in the sixth century; and the MONGOLS in the 13th century. After the breakup of the Mongol Empire in the 14th century the Udmurts were tributary to the TATARS of the Kazan khanate. Russian SLAVS first reached their homeland in about 1190. In 1490 northern Udmurts were under the suzerainty of the Russian state (Grand Duchy of Moscow); with Ivan the Terrible's capture of Kazan in 1552, southern tribal members also were under Russian rule.

In 1920 after the Russian Revolution the Udmurt (Votyak) Autonomous Province was formed. With the subsequent civil war in Russia famine broke out the next year, and many Udmurts migrated to Siberia. In the 1930s during the era of the Soviet Union (USSR) the Udmurts experienced forced collectivization and deportation to Kazakhstan and other Asian lands. During World War II (1939–45) Russian industry was relocated to Urmurtia and, along with it, many Russian workers. The 1950s–60s saw a continuing dissolution of Udmurtian communities. Since 1991 Udmurtia has been a republic within the Russian Federation, and Udmurt communities there as well as in other areas have made renewed efforts to preserve their traditional culture.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

Economy

For the Udmurts "the people of the woods," the forests have been central to their economy for hunting and material culture. Yet the Udmurts are known to have farmed since the Bronze Age. Udmurts planted mainly rye as well as oats, barley, millet, hemp, flax, and later wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, and corn. Cattle breeding has also been a traditional activity.

The homeland of the Udmurts between the Kama and Vyatka Rivers has facilitated trading through river shipments on the Volga River and

UDMURTS

location:
Udmurtia and surrounding regions of western Russia

time period:
Eighth century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Permic (Finnic)

Udmurts time line

C.E.	
1190	First Russian settlements on Udmurt land
13th–14th century	Mongol rule of Udmurts
1490	After conquest of Vyatka northern Udmurts become part of Russia.
1552	After capture of Kazan southern Udmurts become part of Russia.
1920	Udmurtia is founded.
1991	Udmurtia becomes republic within Russian Federation.

UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY

nation:
Ukraine (Ukraina, the Ukraine)

derivation of name:
From a Slavic root meaning "border territory"

government:
Republic

capital:
Kiev

language:
Official language is Ukrainian (Slavic); Russian is also spoken.

religion:
Most Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (or the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church); about 10 percent belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Roman Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and Baptists form religious minorities.

earlier inhabitants:
Germanics (Bastarnae; Goths; Sciri; etc.); Huns; Avars; Khazars; tribal Slavs (Dulebians; Drevylans; Polianians; Severians; Tivertsians; Ulichians; Volhynians; etc.); Rus; Lithuanians

demographics:
About three-fourths of the population are Ukrainian; about 20 percent are Russian; minorities include Belarusians, Hungarians; Moldovans, Cossacks, Jews, Poles, and Romanians.

to the sea. A main Udmurtian product has been furs, squirrel in particular. The word for "money" in Udmurtian is *kondon,* meaning "the price of a squirrel."

In the early 16th century the first arms-smithy factories were built on the banks of the Izh and Vyatka Rivers. This Udmurtian tradition has endured with tribal members involved in the production of a wide range of arms: from small arms and combat guns to missiles and space equipment.

Personal Habits

The Udmurts greet guests with bread, honey, and butter. *Pelmeni* (dumplings), originally used by hunters as preserved meal and later as a guest dish, has become well known all over the world. Their bread *pelnyan,* for "ear-shaped bread" is also known among other peoples.

Art

The Udmurts produced high-quality domestic handicrafts; the men processed wood, leather, and wool. Early Udmurtian decorative art is complex and rich in color and pattern. Udmurtian women are still renowned for their weaving and embroidery, with geometrical ornamentation using the traditional Udmurtian colors of red, black, and white. The tradition has continued into modern times, and Udmurtian seamstresses display their works at exhibitions in Paris, St. Petersburg, and other cities.

Music

The Udmurts had no written language, but a strong oral tradition has preserved many myths, legends, and fairy tales. Much of Udmurtian folklore, history, and daily life is preserved in song and the Udmurts are known for their singing ability. The Udmurt say that "to sing is as natural as to speak."

Religion

The ancient Udmurts were animistic, with a religion based on idolization of nature and a number of patriarchal gods. In the 18th century the Udmurts were nominally converted to Eastern Orthodox Christianity but retained many of the rituals of their pagan religion. Some of the physical structures used in the old religion remain and are the sites of modern folk holidays.

Despite the various peoples who have invaded their homeland, situated between Europe and Asia and between woods and steppe, and have imposed alien customs, the Udmurts have managed to preserve their language and culture. Even so the sphere of usage of the Udmurtian language has been much reduced. In an attempt to keep young people using Udmurtian the parliament of the Republic of Udmurtia has declared it the official language, parallel to Russian, and expanded its usage in schools.

Ukrainians: nationality (people of Ukraine)

GEOGRAPHY

Ukraine is flanked by Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary to the west; by Romania and Moldova to the southwest; by the Black Sea and Sea of Azov to the south; by Belarus to the north; and by Russia to the east and northeast. The Crimean Autonomous Republic, a peninsula to the south of the country that juts into the Black Sea, is also Ukrainian territory. The total area of the nation is 233,100 square miles. Fertile upland plains and steppes make up most of central and southern Ukraine. In the north lie the Pripet marshes; in the south lie the rolling plains of the Dneiper River basin. The Volhynian-Podolian ranges and the Caparthian Mountains lie in the west, where Mount Hoverla (6,762 feet), the country's highest peak, is found. The Crimean Mountains are in the south, and the Donets Ridge provides uplands in the southeast. Principal rivers include the Dnieper, Dniester, Bug, and Danube; the Danube forms part of the border with Romania.

INCEPTION AS A NATION

The region that would become Ukraine was once the homeland of GERMANICS as well as steppe peoples such as the HUNS, AVARS, and KHAZARS. The SLAVS made inroads by the late fifth century C.E. Kievan Rus, an organized Slavic state originally with rulers from among the VIKINGS, emerged in the late ninth century C.E. under Prince Oleg of the RUS. Kievan Rus declined by the 12th century, dividing into separate principalities. MONGOLS and TATARS soon invaded the region, only to be driven out by the LITHUANIANS in the 14th century. Lithuania united with Poland, allowing Polish expansion into the Ukraine in 1386.

In 1569 by the Union of Lublin Ukrainian lands, except Polissia and Beresteyshchyna, were passed to Poland. By 1648 rebellions by COSSACKS, assisted by Russia, ended Polish rule. Ukraine was placed under Russian protection in 1654. Although the treaty signed with Russia negotiated Ukrainian self-rule, Russia

Ukrainians: nationality time line

C.E.

882 Kiev and Novgorod are united under state of Kievan Rus.

1130s Internal struggles lead to fragmentations and decline of Kievan Rus.

1240 Mongols invade Kievan Rus.

1300s Poland and Lithuania jointly rule region.

1569 Union of Lublin gives control over large portions of Ukraine to Poland.

1648–54 Ukraine fights for independence from Poland.

1667 Russia acquires eastern Ukraine.

1677 *Hramatyka Musikiyska* (Musical grammar), a handbook on theory of music by composer Mykola Dyletsky, is published.

1705 *Vladimir,* historical play about Cossacks by Teofan Prokopovych, opens.

1709 Ukraine, in a rebellion led by Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa, fails to break away from Russia.

c. 1720 Historian Samiylo Velychko publishes chronicle covering Cossack history from 1620 to 1700.

1759 Philosopher and poet Hryhory Skovoroda moves to Slobozhanshchyna to teach poetry.

1790s Russia acquires western Ukraine in partitions of Poland.

1798 *Eneyida* (*Eneida*), epic burlesque poem based on Vergil's *Aeneid* by Ivan Kotlyarevsky, is published, first literary work entirely in Ukrainian.

1840 *Kobzar* (The bard), book of verse by poet-painter Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko, is published.

1846 Secret literary society Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius is established, including Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko, Panteleymon Kulish, Mykola Kostomarov, and Vasyl Bilozersky.

1863 *Zaporozhets za Dunayem* (A Cossack beyond the Danube), opera by Semen Hulak-Artemovsky, opens.

1867 National Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet (originally Russian Opera, then State Opera House, then Ukrainian Theatre of Opera and Ballet)

1880 *Khiba revut voly, yak yasla povni?* (Do the oxen low when the manger is full?), novel depicting social injustice by Panas Rudchenko (pseudonym, Panas Myrny), is published.

1883 *Zakhar Berkut,* historical novel based on ancient Ukrainian chronicles by Ivan Franko, is published.

1893 *Na krylakh pisnya* (*On Wings of Songs*), book of verse by Larisa Petrovna Kosach-Kvitka (pseudonym, Lesya Ukrayinka or Ukrainka), is published.

1904 Mykola Vitaliyovych Lysenko founds Music Drama School to promote national Ukrainian classical music.

1917 Ukrainian Republic declares independence; Bolsheviks invade Ukraine, creating Soviet Ukrainian Republic.

1918 Near end of World War I Ukraine, free of Bolshevik rule; creates Ukrainian National Republic; Germany and Austrians occupy Ukraine, but are forced to withdraw at end of war.

Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine is founded; *Soniashni kliarnety* (Clarinets of the Sun), book of verse by Pavlo Tychyna, is published.

1919 During war with Bolsheviks regimes change and anarchy ensues; Poland seizes northwestern Ukraine.

1922 Ukraine becomes part of Soviet Union (USSR).

1924 All-Ukrainian Historical Museum is founded.

1928 Sculptor Alexander Porfiryvich Archipenko (Oleksander Arkhypenko) becomes U.S. citizen.

1929 *Budivli* (Buildings), book of verse by Mykola Bazhan, is published.

(continues)

Ukrainians: nationality time line *(continued)*	
1930	Oleksander Dovzhenko draws on Ukrainian folkore for his film *Zemlya* (*The Earth*).
1932–33	Stalin's grain taxes result in famine.
1937	National Symphony Orchestra of Ukraine (formerly Ukrainian State Symphony Orchestra) is founded.
1941–44	During World War II Nazi Germany occupies Ukraine.
1945	Soviets annex western Ukraine; Ukraine joins United Nations (UN).
1964	Serhy Paradzhanov's film *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (*Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*) is released, winning international acclaim.
1991	Soviet Union breaks up; Ukraine declares its independence.
1996	New democratic constitution is adopted.
1997	Friendship treaty is concluded with Russia.
2004	The Orange Revolution leads to a political victory for Viktor Yushchenko, a West-leaning candidate for president.

soon dominated the country. Poland aided Ukraine in attempts to regain autonomy, leading to the Russo-Polish War and the division of Ukraine between the two countries. Ukraine failed to gain independence under Hetman Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa in 1709, aided by Sweden.

During the Russian Revolution of 1917 Ukrainians briefly won independence. In 1918 Romania and Czechoslovakia conquered the newly formed Ukrainian state. In 1921 Ukraine was reformed as a Soviet Socialist Republic and eventually annexed by the Soviet Union (USSR). Ukraine did not regain independence until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

A formative period of history for Ukrainian cultural identity were the 16th and 17th centuries, when Ukraine was under Polish control. During this period extensive colonization of the steppe lands took place, spearheaded by the social class called the Cossacks, the frontier settlers whose prowess in war eventually caused them to engage in a massive uprising against the Polish overlords and accept overlordship from Russia. The Cossack freedom fighters have been an important symbol of Ukrainian autonomy and freedom.



Ukrainian women with hoes farm a field in the early 20th century. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-97672])*

In Ukraine since the fall of the Soviet empire a debate has been conducted among intellectuals as to the nature of the Ukrainian national identity. These discussions have been largely fashioned by the heritage of Soviet imperial domination. Three main cultural orientations are prevalent in Ukraine today: European or pro-Western; nativist or "pronation"; and pro-Eastern, which most researchers and participants in the debate equate with pro-Russian. In addition to cultural themes the Eastern and Western factions are separated by geography—those closer to Russia and those closer to Europe—as well as by religion—Eastern Orthodox versus Roman Catholic. The debates became particularly intense in the late 1980s and early 1990s, coinciding with attempts to reclaim specific cultural symbols that had been banned by the Soviet regime. Literary life in Ukraine in the following years was injected with an extreme dynamism, and young writers, as well as those who had been banned in Ukraine by censorship, were publishing their works for the first time.

It is unclear to what extent the Ukrainian nation exists independently of the consciousness of its intellectuals. It may be that the national discourse of the Ukrainian in and of

itself—the value of free expression—provides Ukrainians with a sense of community. The discourse includes such issues as the balancing of folklore and modernity, the status and role of the Ukrainian language, and the concept of "nation" as a political unit and "nation" as an ethnic and cultural entity. The impact of Russia on identity in Ukraine is obvious, and it was widely discussed in the 1990s. However, scholars from outside the country have noted the absence in these discussions of the fact of Russia's colonial dominance. Despite ideological differences, the "nativist" position, which sets aside the question of whether Ukraine should orient itself to the East—meaning Russia—or to Western Europe, and the "post-Soviet" position, which holds that the East-versus-West debate must in part shape Ukrainian identity, both ignore Ukraine's colonial past. It remains unclear how this aspect of life in a country dominated by Russia for so many years could remain "invisible" to the Ukrainians.

The events in Ukraine in late 2004 perhaps are an indication of the nation's long-term political future. Viktor Yushchenko, campaigning on a platform that advocated greater ties with the West, was elected president. He managed the victory after a dispute over the corruption of an earlier election, and the so-called Orange Revolution—named for the thousands of protestors wearing the adopted color of the Yushchenko campaign—resulted in a new election. Yet the narrow margin of his victory—and the passions attached to it on both sides—also may indicate continuing intellectual fervor over the issue of Ukrainian identity.

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A Ukrainian woman poses on her farm in this early-20th-century photograph. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-DIG-prok-10247])*

Ulaid (Ulaidh; Uladh; Ulunti; Volunti; Voluntii)

The Ulaid are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in northeastern Ireland (the present-day county of Louth in the Republic of Ireland region of Ulster in Northern Ireland) and are discussed as Celts or Irish. It is assumed they were the same people cited by the second-century C.E. Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy as the Volunti. In the fifth century C.E. the Ulaid were displaced by tribes of the dynasty known as the Ui Néill.

Ulichians (Ulichi; Uliche; Ulychians; Uhlychians; Uliuchany)

The Ulichians are classified as a tribe of Eastern Slavs. They lived along the Middle and Lower Southern Bug River in present-day Ukraine and Moldova. Some scholars consider them a branch tribe of the Dulebians who lived to the northwest. The Ulichians lived to the south of the Polianians in steppe country. The name Ulichians is derived from a Slavic word for beehiving; they were known for trade in honey. In the second half of the ninth century C.E. with other Slavic peoples the Ulichians were under the suzerainty of the Rus of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the Byzantines of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907.

UMBRIANS

location:
Northeast-central Italy, between Apennines and Adriatic coast

time period:
before 1000 to 87 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Umbrian (Italic)

Umbrians (Umbri; Camertes)

The Umbrians, an Italic-speaking people, inhabited the area of present-day north-central Italy from the Apennines to the Adriatic coast, an area bordered on the southwest by the Tiber River, to the northwest by the Po River, and to the south by the Piceno River. They are thought to have been closely related to other ITALICS in the region—the AEQUI, HERNICI, SABINES, and VOLSCI—early enemies of the ROMANS.

ORIGINS

Little is known about the Umbrians until the first Roman interactions with them, which occurred in the fourth century B.C.E. Before that time archaeological evidence indicates they arose sometime in the second millennium B.C.E. as nomadic herders. They possibly emigrated from central Europe but more likely were descended from indigenous populations, possibly living in the Apennines, and were influenced by overland and Adriatic trade from the north. The ETRUSCANS living to their west became the Umbrians' principal influence along with the GREEKS during the fifth century B.C.E.; at that time the Umbrians began to develop city-states and adopt their luxurious lifestyle.

Origin Myth

Ancient tradition has it that the Umbrians and related groups began to spread from the central Apennines sometime before 1000 B.C.E. and that they spread because of a tradition called Ver Sacrum, or Sacred Spring. Each living thing was identified by the spring where it was born. In times of overpopulation, everything born at a certain spring was dedicated to a god and sacrificed, except children. When these children reached the age of 20 they were required to go out on their own to settle a new area. The children often followed a sacred animal, from which the name of the new people was derived. This story shares common features with origin stories for many Italics and other peoples.

LANGUAGE

The Umbrians spoke an Italic language, known as Umbrian, part of the Osco-Umbrian branch and related to Latin. They adopted an alphabet based on the Etruscan alphabet. They eventually used Latin as the official language in their homeland.

HISTORY

Around 700 B.C.E. the Umbrians, who had lived as nomadic herders, settled down to farm and raise cattle in the fertile, well-watered valleys of Umbria. By 500 B.C.E. the Umbrians were living in small fortified and independent villages on hilltops. The rise of Etruscan power to the west, Greek settlements in southern Italy, and increased Mediterranean trade began to influence Umbrian culture. The Umbrians adopted many Greek and Etruscan characteristics around the mid-fifth century B.C.E. This influence occurred even as the power of the Etruscans forced the Umbrians into conflict. The Umbrian villages became city-states in the Greek and Etruscan style at Todi, Amelia, and Terni, among other places.

The first interaction between the Romans and Umbrians is recorded in the history of Rome written by Livy in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. In 311 B.C.E. while advancing into the territory of the SAMNITES General and Consul Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus sent his brother to scout into the Ciminian Forest in Umbria. The consul's brother made the first

Umbrians time line

B.C.E.

before 1000	Umbrians migrate into northern Italy from central Europe or develop from indigenous population.
c. 700	Umbrians establish settled agriculture and cattle farming, as well as some mining and manufacture of metals.
c. 500	Umbrians settle in small fortified villages atop hills.
c. 450	Start of increased influence from Etruscans and Greeks; Umbrians found city-states; Etruscans threaten and annex parts of Umbria as their power grows.
311	Roman military advance primarily against Etruscans; first reports of Umbrians.
308	Umbrians promise aid to Samnites against Roman invaders.
298	Roman fortress established at Narnia interrupts communication between Umbrians and Samnites.
295	Battle of Sentium in Umbria; Romans defeat Samnites and their Etruscan and Gallic allies; Umbrians provide no real aid.
220	Romans construct Via Flamina road through Umbrian territory with no Umbrian resistance.
200	After Roman victories Romans engage Umbrians as allies and grant them control of part of Cisalpine Gaul on northern border of Umbria.
first century	Iguvium Tables inscribed, detailing priestly activities and social divisions of Umbrians.
90–88	Social War; Umbrians capitulate in exchange for Roman citizenship.

reports of Umbrian civilization. In 308 B.C.E. the Umbrians entered into an alliance against the Romans alongside the Etruscans and CELTS, but the establishment of a Roman fortress at Narnia in Umbrian territory in 298 B.C.E. ended effective communication with the Samnites. The threat of the Etruscans to the Umbrians also probably contributed to the Umbrians' nonaggressive stance toward the Romans. In 295 B.C.E. Rullianus defeated the Samnites and their allies at Sentium, a major milestone in the Romans' efforts to conquer Italy. The Umbrians are reported not to have helped the Samnites in the battle.

In 220 B.C.E. the Romans constructed a road through Umbria called the Via Flamina, to continue their advance. The Umbrians, who built high polygonal walls around their cities, managed to remain independent, however. In 200 B.C.E. the Romans, who had conquered territory north of Umbria, granted the Umbrians Ager Gallicus, part of Cisalpine Gaul that bordered Umbria's northern side. By that time all of central Italy was under Roman control, and the Umbrians, Etruscans, Samnites, and others were Roman allies, or *socii*. The allies were forced to provide troops for Roman military endeavors but were excluded from the decision-making process.

During the second century B.C.E. Roman demands for troops put a great strain on the allies. Finally in 91 B.C.E. many revolted, sparking what is called the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E. The Umbrians were the last of the *socii* to join the revolt and were the first to capitulate when the Romans offered them full citizenship. After the war in 87 B.C.E. the Romans granted full citizenship to all peoples south of the Po River. The incorporation of the Umbrians into Rome led quickly to a decline in the Umbrians' independent identity, and although the Umbrian language had a dialectal effect on Latin, Latin was quickly adopted as the language of the Umbrians.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

Economy

The Umbrians began as nomadic herders but settled down to an agricultural lifestyle that was prosperous because of the abundant fertility of Umbria. The Umbrians raised cattle and grew olives, vines, and spelt. They hunted boar, which were numerous in the northern uplands. They were relatively prosperous because of the fertility of Umbria. Part of their wealth was derived from their location on overland trade routes between Italy and central Europe, as well as on the Adriatic.

Government and Society

The early Umbrians, before heightened Greek and Etruscan influence, lived in small isolated settlements on the tops of hills. They were independent, but groups of communities gathered together to mark occasions and festivals and to make collective political decisions. The later Umbrians organized themselves into city-states on the Etruscan and Greek models.

The first Roman encounter in 311 B.C.E., as recorded by the Roman historian Livy, tells us that the Umbrians were divided into tribes, or *trifus* in Umbrian, and that some communities were led by two officials called *marones*. The Iguvium Tables tell us more about the organization of the Umbrians in the second and first centuries B.C.E. These tables are seven inscribed bronze tablets that were discovered during the Renaissance. They detail the activities of a group of priests called the Fratres Atiedii and explain that the citizens of Iguvium were divided into 10 different groups, much as the Romans were. In historical times the Umbrians typically settled legal disputes by a physical contest between the claimants. Whoever survived the bout was deemed to have justice on his side.

Technology

Evidence mainly from funerary sources shows that the early Umbrians used a variety of pottery of the region around Italy, including that of the PICENES and VILLANOVANS. The early Umbrians also mined and manufactured some metal near Terni, but to a much lesser extent than the Etruscans. They wielded a short iron sword, characteristic of the Iron Age, and a socketed spearhead.

Religion: Burials

The Umbrians practiced both inhumation and cremation of their dead.

The Umbrians managed to survive as a distinct culture apart from the more powerful Romans for centuries through both resistance and diplomacy.

Unelli (Unelles; Venelli)

The Unelli are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Coutances in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allied with the AULERCI and the ESUVII. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans,

that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy). The region was occupied by forces under Julius Caesar in 55 B.C.E.

Usdiae

The Usdiae are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in southern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are further discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Usipetes (Usipeti; Usipii; Useppi; Usipians)

The Usipetes are generally classified as GERMANICS, although they probably had Celtic ancestry as well and had a culture similar to that of those CELTS who lived to their west. They lived east of the Rhine in present-day western Germany, north of the SUGAMBRI and south of the TENCTERI. They were traditional enemies of the SUEBI living to their east. In 55 B.C.E. the Usipetes allied themselves with the Sugambri against the ROMANS under Julius Caesar, who crossed the Rhine and invaded their homeland. They were known for their cavalry. Because of pressure from the expanding Suebi in the first century C.E. allied Usipetes and Tencteri eventually crossed the Rhine to the lands of the Celtic MENAPII, some of whom they displaced. They were also known to carry out raids by ship on the BRITONS of the British Isles.

Uterni

See IVERNI.

V

Vaccaei

The Vaccaei are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day northwestern Spain at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS.

Vacomagi

The Vacomagi are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day northern Scotland and are further discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E. The Vacomagi were possibly part of a confederation of tribes formed by about 200 C.E. and referred to as the MAEATAE.

Vadicasses (Vadicassi)

The Vadicasses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul along the Loire in north-central France near the SENONES at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Vandals (Vandali; Vandili)

The Vandals were a tribe of ancient GERMANICS whose migrations over the centuries took them farther than any other Germanic people, except the Vikings: from eastern Europe, through central and western Europe, all the way to North Africa in the fifth century C.E. They were among the principal enemies of the ROMANS, sacking Rome in 455.

ORIGINS

The Vandals are thought to have originated on the northern Jutland Peninsula in present-day Denmark, although some scholars, on the basis of similarity of place-names, place the ancestral group in Norway or Sweden. At some point, possibly as early as the fifth century B.C.E. but more likely in the second century B.C.E., the Vandals crossed the Baltic Sea to present-day northern Poland. They are associated by archaeologists with the Przeworsk culture of the Vistula-Oder region, characterized by burials of warriors with their full war panoply, including spurs, showing that, unlike many Germanic groups, Vandals, considered cavalry an important part of warfare. They perhaps were descended from the same ancestral group as the LUGII. By about 120 B.C.E. the Vandals made their home in the Sudeten Mountains of Silesia, a region mostly in what is now southwest Poland, with parts in the adjoining present-day Czech Republic and Germany. Two major groups eventually formed among them: The Siling Vandals remained in Silesia. The other major subgroup, the Asding Vandals (Hasdingii, or long-haired), lived to their east in present-day Slovakia.

LANGUAGE

The Vandals spoke an East Germanic dialect, known as Vandalic.

VANDALS

location:
Poland; Romania; Hungary; Germany; Spain; North Africa

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to 534 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Vandalic (East Germanic)

Vandals time line

B.C.E.

c. second century Vandals migrate from the Jutland Peninsula to territory between Vistula River and Oder River.

c. 120 Vandals settle in Silesia.

C.E.

171 Asding Vandals migrate to Dacia.

c. 270 Asding Vandals migrate to Pannonia.

406 Vandals, Suebi, and Alans enter Gaul.

409 Vandals, Suebi, and Alans enter Spain.

429 Vandals enter Africa.

439 Vandals occupy Carthage.

440 Vandals invade Sicily.

455 Vandals, arriving by sea, sack Rome.

534 Vandals defeated by Byzantines.

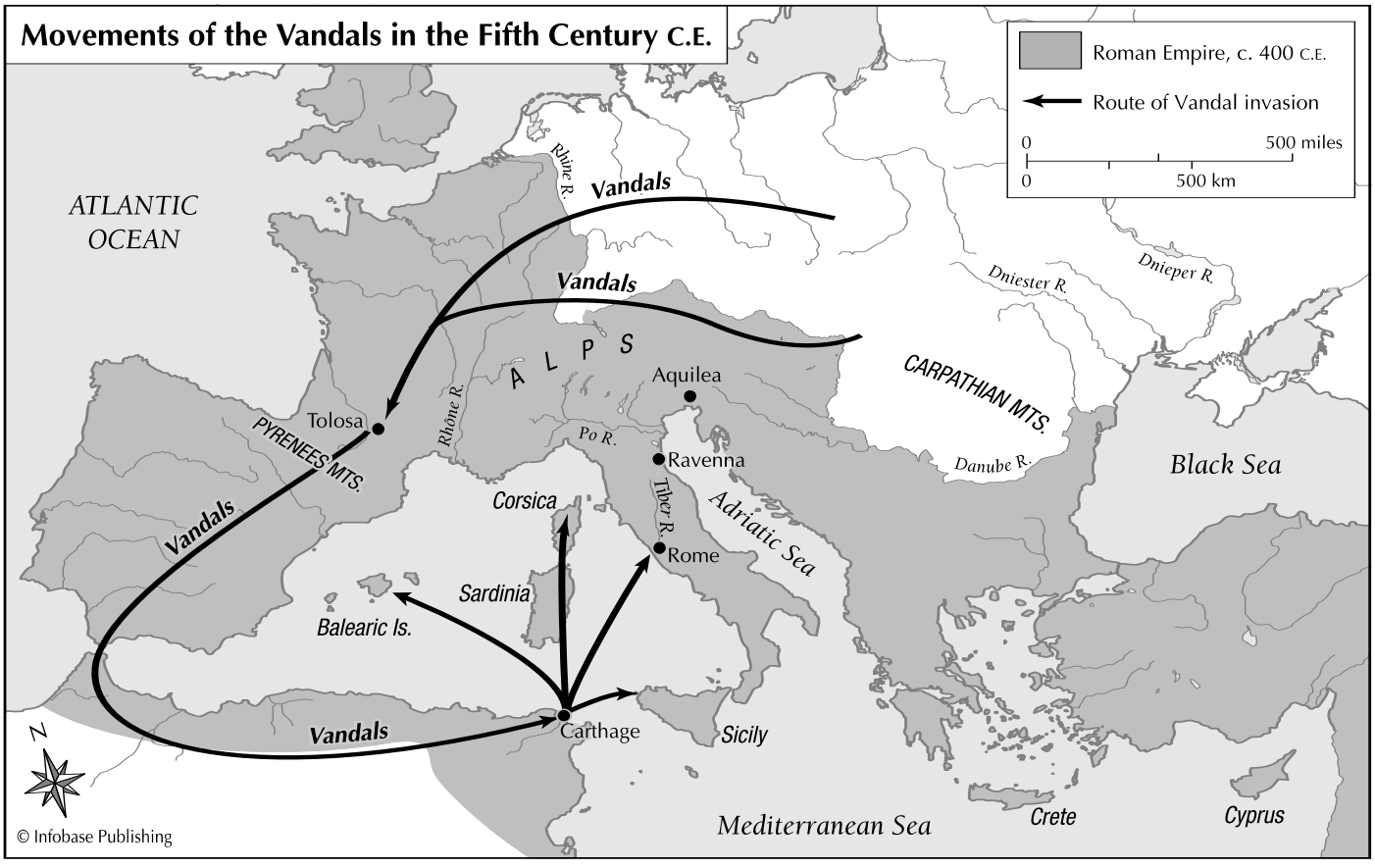
HISTORY

Early Contacts with Romans

The Vandals had no direct contact with the Romans until the mid-second century C.E., when they, along with many other Germanic tribes, began important mass movements toward the empire, which led to clashes with the Roman army. Many Germanic groups closer to the Imperial border were becoming Romanized, whereas the only effect Rome had on the Vandals was through the slave trade they conducted with Germanic tribes. The role of the Vandals in this trade was to supply the slaves, whom they captured in war. As a result war became increasingly important in their society. Thus when the Vandals began to attack Roman territory they were among the most ferocious and ruthless of the Germanic tribes, their name a byword for wanton destruction.

In 171 C.E. the Asding Vandals, under the dual kings Raus and Rapt, requested permission of the Romans to enter the province of Dacia (roughly modern Romania), where they became influenced by the steppe peoples and adopted an equestrian way of life. By 270 C.E. some Asdings had settled in the Roman province of Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary). Siling warriors during that period reportedly supported both the GOTHS and the BURGUNDII in battles against Romans. Both groups raided the Balkan Peninsula.

At some point in the third century some Silings settled in present-day south-central



Germany. The Asdings were traditional enemies of the VISIGOTHS competing for territory in Dacia and suffered at least one major defeat in the mid-fourth century.

During this period some Vandals began to convert from their pagan religion to Arian Christianity. Unlike the Visigoths and OSTROGOTHS, many of whom also converted to Arianism in the fourth century, the Vandals did not convert to Orthodox Christianity later in their history.

Migration to the West

In about 400 Asding Vandal lands could no longer support the population, and they decided to migrate westward under Godigisel. Pressure from the Visigoths and the HUNS, recently arrived in Europe, also was a factor. The Asdings were joined by neighboring groups—the Germanic SUEBI (in particular the QUADI) as well as the Sarmatian ALANS. In 401 they were defeated in Raetia by the Romans commanded by Flavius Stilicho, a Roman general—ironically of Vandal ancestry—who fought for Flavius Honorius, emperor of the West, preventing their advance southward onto the Italian Peninsula. For more than a decade until he was murdered by Honorius's orders, Stilicho was remarkably successful in stemming the Germanic tide all over the Western Empire. A statue was erected in his honor in the Roman Forum, with a dedication praising his bravery and fidelity, telling of the "exceptional love" the Romans held for him.

In the course of their continuing journey westward along the Danube the Asdings and allies were joined by the Silings who had settled along the Main River. Italy was under attack by the Ostrogoths, along with some Asdings and Quadis, under Radagaisus and by Visigoths under Alaric I. As a result Stilicho withdrew Roman legions from the Rhine frontier, leaving it dangerously underprotected. Yet, on reaching the Rhine at the mouth of the Main the Vandals and their allies were confronted by forces of the FRANKS, who as auxiliary with militia units were guarding the border for Rome. They managed to defeat the Franks, but Godigisel was killed. His son, Gunderic, assumed power. On December 31, 406, the Vandals and their allies crossed the frozen Rhine into Gaul. They proceeded west and south, plundering cities and towns along the way, including the imperial city of Trier (Trèves), which they burned, and Boulogne, which they occupied. This invasion that spelled the beginning of the end of Roman control of Gaul.

In October 409 after three years of raiding in Gaul the allied tribes crossed the Pyrenees into Spain. There they received land from the Romans: The Asdings under Gunderic and Suebi settled for the most part in Gallaecia in northwestern Spain; the Silings under Fredbal in Baetica in southern Spain; and the Alans under Addac in Lusitania (roughly modern Portugal). The name of a region in present-day Spain, Andalusia, was Vandalusia, derived from the name of the Vandals. In these Vandal territories brigandage and sea piracy were the main providers of wealth; the Vandals preyed on society as wolves rather than creating new wealth; those conditions could not prevail indefinitely.

The Vandal tenure in Spain was contested. The Visigoths, allies of the Romans, crossed the Pyrenees in 412 under Ataulf. Over the next years his successor, Wallia, campaigned successfully throughout much of the Iberian Peninsula. The Alans, upon defeat in 416–418, took refuge among the Asdings.

Vandals in Africa

Gunderic's half brother, Gaiseric (see sidebar), one of the most able and ruthless of all Germanic kings, assumed power in 428. A towering authority as a war leader, he also had considerable skill as a politician, having a reputation long after his death as the cleverest of men. Because the wealth of Spain was beginning to be depleted, as king of the Vandals and Alans he led

Gaiseric: King of the Vandals and Alans

Gaiseric (also Genseric) born in about 400 C.E., known as the king of the Vandals and Alans, is notorious for the sacking of Rome in 455. As the illegitimate son of Godigisel he succeeded his half brother, Gunderic, and took command of an army of as many as 80,000 Vandals and Alans. Along with some Visigoths and other allies he invaded Africa, reportedly at the invitation of the Roman general and governor of Africa Bonifacius, who hoped to strengthen his own position. After he betrayed and defeated Bonifacius, Gaiseric advanced from the Strait of Gilbralter across North Africa, pillaging territories. In 439 he conquered Carthage, established it as a new capital of his African empire, and dismantled the Romans overlordship and imperial power.

In negotiations with Rome in 442 Gaiseric gained the territories of Mauretania, Numidia, and Byzacena. He then annexed the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. With these gains and the death of Emperor Valentinian III Gaiseric strategically took advantage of an undefended Rome. In 455, during a two-week pillaging of Rome, he enslaved the emperor's wife, Eudoxia, and daughters. He then conquered parts of Greece and Dalmatia without opposition by Eastern Emperor Zeno.

Gaiseric is recognized as a military mastermind and negotiator. Yet he was more concerned with immediate conquest than establishment of a lasting empire. Sources indicate that his ruthless pillaging was inspired by a loathing of the Catholic Church. Churches and priests were often victimized by the Vandals with humiliation and violent death. Gaiseric died in 477, succeeded by his son, Hunneric.

his people into North Africa the next year. His army, perhaps as much as 20,000 strong, moved eastward with amazing speed, winning territory in present-day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, including Roman-held cities that produced grain for the empire. In two years the Vandals held the provinces of Mauretania and Numidia. In 431 the Vandals defeated the Romans commanded by Bonifacius at Hippo and its port Aphrodisium (south of present-day Annaba in northeastern Algeria). But even this did not satisfy Gaiseric, and he attacked the province of Africa, among the wealthiest in the empire. By 439 the Vandals had taken Carthage, the capital city of Africa in present-day Tunisia, the ancient city founded by the CARTHAGINIANS but controlled by the Romans since 29. The province of Africa was Rome's "breadbasket"—the principal supplier of grain. The Vandals' control of Africa allowed them to cut off grain supplies to Italy, furthering the disintegration of Roman government and society.

Before and during Gaiseric's reign the Vandals also built up a fleet that dominated the western Mediterranean, carrying out acts of piracy. In addition to settlement along coastal North Africa the Vandals conquered Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands. In their campaigns of conquest, they, as Arians, dealt harshly with Orthodox Christians. In 455 the Vandals plundered Rome. In 468 they defeated a Byzantine fleet sent against them.

After the death of Gaiseric in 477 Vandal power gradually declined. The Eastern Roman emperor, Justinian I, declared war on the Vandals; Belisarius was his general in the field. In 533 he captured Carthage. The next year the BYZANTINES defeated the last resisting Vandal army under King Gelimar and captured Hippo, ending the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans. Their lands became part of the Eastern Roman Empire.

The Vandals played no major role in history after their defeat, although it is known that some of them returned to eastern Germany and southwestern Poland, where they maintained their identity as Vandals into the ninth century.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Compared to other Germanic tribes located closer to the border of the Roman Empire the Vandals had for centuries only distant contacts with the Romans. Their part in the extensive trade between Germanic tribes and Romans, which began after the Rhine border was established early in the first century C.E., may have consisted mostly in providing slaves for export to Rome via tribes to their south and west, closer to the border. These tribes grew extremely wealthy in this trade, acting as middlemen, while tribes such as the Vandals received comparatively little for their efforts, judging by their burials, which contain only a few oddments of Roman goods, here and there gold or silver fibulae at the most.

The main, indirect effect the Romans had on the Vandals was to exacerbate greatly the instability of their society by making warfare increasingly important to it. The raiding by which Vandal warriors obtained slaves for the Roman market probably escalated over time, until Vandal society had become highly militarized. This, together with their awareness of the great wealth that existed among the "middleman" tribes and within the empire itself, would have furnished the Vandals and other tribes like them with an ultimately irresistible temptation to embark on an armed migration south. The precise reason they and other Germanic tribes began to move in the mid-second century C.E. will never be known in detail—which tribes went to war with one another, who won and who lost—but the general underlying cause was very probably the Roman trade.

The majority of the Vandals settled in and around Carthage, confiscating the lands of many wealthy Romans. Other Romans, however, were left in peace, and some Vandals adopted a Roman lifestyle; some elements of the Roman administrative system were allowed to function relatively intact. On the whole, however, most Vandals maintained their warlike ways, their strongholds used as bases for raiding and plundering.

The Vandals in their reputed "vandalism" furnish the most common image of the contribution of Germanic tribes to the demise of the Roman Empire. Yet their effect on this collapse may have been more in the nature of a coup de grâce, for they arrived on the scene relatively late: after Germanic peoples had impacted Rome in various ways for centuries (for example, as Julius Caesar's justification for greatly extending the empire in the last century B.C.E.). The Goths, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths had done far more to weaken, and to transform, Rome before the arrival of the Vandals. Romanized Germanics such as these tribes and the Franks had created the groundwork for the largely German-led kingdoms of medieval Europe, which would slowly restore civilization to the continent while

the violent, improvident Vandals disappeared from history. It is not just an irony but a sign of things to come that the most famous Vandal was Stilicho, who had the "exceptional love" of the people of Rome.

Further Reading

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A. H. Merrills. *Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2004).

Malcolm Todd. *Everyday Life of the Barbarians: Goths, Franks, and Vandals* (New York: Fromm International, 1988).

Vangiones (Vengiones)

The Vangiones are classified as Germanics, a tribe of the Suebi group. They lived on the Rhine around present-day Worms in western Germany near the Triboci. In the first century B.C.E. they were enemies of the Romans, allied under the Suebian leader Ariovistus and part of the attack on the Celtic Aedui. Worms, formerly Borbetomagus, had been a Celtic town before the migration there of the Vangiones from somewhere to the east. The Romans built a fort there in 14 B.C.E., and the town became known as Augusta Vangionum. In 413 C.E. the Burgundii under Gundicar made the town the capital of their new kingdom. Sacked by the Huns in 436 it was rebuilt by the Merovingian Franks as Wormatia.

Varangians *See* Rus; Vikings.

Varchonites *See* Avars.

Varini (Werini; Warni; Warmes; Warnawi)

The Varini are classified as Germanics. They are thought to have originally lived on the Jutland Peninsula, perhaps a client tribe of the Saxons, and eventually migrated to the Warnow River in the Mecklenburg region of present-day northeastern Germany; the name of the river is derived from the tribal name. By the fifth century C.E. some among them lived between the Saale and Elster Rivers in central Germany and had joined the Thuringi as part of the kingdom known as Thuringia. Thuringia was divided by the Franks and Saxons in 531. In about 595 the Varingi, after continuing resistance, were virtually exterminated by the Franks.

Varisti *See* Naristi.

Vasates

The Vasates are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Bazas in southwestern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls.

Vascones (Vascons; Vasconi)

The Vascones were a tribe living in ancient times south of the Pyrenees in the present-day province of Navarre in northern Spain. They are thought to be a distinct linguistic group from Iberians. Celtiberians settled to their south along the Ebro River. They had extensive contacts with the Romans in the second and first centuries B.C.E. The Roman general Pompey founded the city of Pamplona among them in 75 B.C.E., after the Roman occupation ended in the fifth century C.E. it was held for periods of time with surrounding territory by the Visigoths, Franks, and Moors. Some of the Vascones may have assimilated, but the majority managed to retain their identity over the centuries and expanded throughout the western Pyrenees and foothills in both northern Spain and southwestern France, evolving into the modern-day people known as Basques. The name Gascony is derived from the tribal name.

Vediantii (Vedentii)

The Vediantii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul in the western Alps around present-day Vence in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as Celts or Gauls.

Veletians (Veleti; Wieletes; Wilzi; Wiltzi; Wilti; Wilts; Liutizians; Luticians; Lutize; Lutitzes; Lituians; Ljutii)

The Veletians are classified as a tribe of Western Slavs. They arrived in the Baltic Sea region west of the mouth of the Oder River in present-day northern Germany by the seventh century C.E. The Franks referred to them and other Western Slavs as Wends. The Ranians lived on Rügen Island opposite them; neighbors on the mainland to the west were the Obodrites, to the east the Pomeranians, and to the south the Polabians.

VASCONES

location:
Region of Pyrenees in northern Spain and southern France

time period:
Second century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Unknown

language:
Vascone

VELETIANS

location:
West of mouth of Oder River on Baltic Sea in northern Germany

time period:
Seventh to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

VENEDI

location:
Eastern and central Europe

time period:
First to second century C.E.

ancestry:
Possibly Slavic

language:
Possibly West Slavic

In 929 the Veletians, along with neighboring tribes, were defeated by Henry I, duke of Saxony and king of Germany. Later that century the POLANIANS invaded their lands. In the 11th century a number of tribes were part of what is referred to as the Veletian Union. In 1160 Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, defeated the Veletians; afterward German settlers and missionaries settled the region (*see* GERMANS: NATIONALITY).

Veliocasses (Veliocassi)

The Veliocasses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Rouen in northwestern France and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E.

Vellabori (Vellibori; Velabri)

The Vellabori are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day county of Kerry in southwestern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Vellavii (Vellavi; Vellaves)

The Vellavii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Saint-Paulien in southeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were allies of the ARVERNI.

Venedi (Veneds; Venedes; Venedae; Vendi; Venets; Veneti; Venethi; Vinedi; Venetkeni; Venetkini; Wenets; Wenetes; Winidi; Enetoi)

Venedi is the name applied by ancient historians among the GREEKS and ROMANS to peoples who lived to the east of the north-central European GERMANICS in the first and second centuries C.E. It is not known whether these people spoke languages related to modern Slavic. If so those would have been precursors of the languages of the SLAVS, proto-Slavic, which is thought to have developed much later, possibly in the late fifth century C.E. It is more probable that the ancient Venedi were of multiple ethnicities, derived from the complex mix of peoples living in eastern and central Europe who had for centuries been impacted by waves of nomadic peoples from the Eurasian steppe lands to their east.

The name Venedi was later applied to Slavs by early medieval writers (particularly FRANKS), who used the Greco-Roman term for Western Slavs, that is, those Slavic tribes who settled east of Frankish lands—from the Vistula River westward into present-day eastern Germany and the Czech Republic. It was typical of Frankish scholars, unaware of the great population and ethnic shifts that had taken place after the collapse of the Roman Empire, to accept uncritically the scholarship of the Romans whom they so emulated.

Although migrations by Slavs were under way at least by the sixth century, the Western Slavs were not firmly established west of the Vistula until the seventh century, settled in the homelands of Germanic tribes. Other names applied to Slavic peoples in later centuries, SCLAVENI and WENDS, are probably derived from the name Venedi. The use of this name for ancestors of historically known Slavs is a device of modern Slavic scholars who have a nationalistic agenda to claim more ancient antecedents for the Slavs than they actually had.

VENETI

location:
Northeastern Italy

time period:
c. 1000 to second century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Illyrian

language:
Venetic (Illyrian)

Venelli *See* UNELLI.

Veneti (Venetii; Venethi; Venetians)

The Veneti, an Illyrian-speaking people, lived at the head of the Adriatic Sea from Trieste to the mouth of the Po River in present-day northeastern Italy. The Adige River ran through their territory. To their east were other ILLYRIANS in present-day Slovenia and Croatia.

ORIGINS

The Veneti reached their homeland about 1000 B.C.E. They are associated archaeologically with the Este culture of the Iron Age on the basis of ruins between the Adriatic and the Alps. Some scholars, partly because of a similar name of the Slavic peoples listed in this book as VENEDI, have hypothesized that the Veneti were related to Slavic-speaking peoples and possibly descended from Enetoi, mentioned in the *Iliad* as living near Troy, presumably by the Greek poet Homer, in the ninth or eighth century B.C.E., although archaeological and linguistic studies indicate otherwise. A Celtic tribe of present-day northwestern France also bore a similar name, listed in this book as VENETII.

LANGUAGE

The Veneti language, known as Venetic, is Indo-European and perhaps related to Illyrian languages, although some scholars classify it as related to Italic and others as a distinct language (and some suggest that it is a parent language of Slavic). More than 400 inscriptions have been

discovered from the last four centuries B.C.E., some in the Latin alphabet, others in a native script derived from Etruscan.

HISTORY

Venetian culture became distinct in the 10th or ninth century B.C.E., reaching its peak in the sixth to fourth centuries. The principal cities were Ateste (modern Este) and Pataviuan (modern Padua). As were other coastal Illyrians, they were skilled mariners and had trade contacts throughout the Adriatic. They had early contacts with the ETRUSCANS and VILLANOVANS and later the CELTS. Advances into the Po valley by Etruscans in the sixth century B.C.E. by Celts in the fourth century B.C.E. pushed the Veneti northeastward. The Veneti generally maintained good relations with the ROMANS, forming an alliance with them in the third century B.C.E. and resisting Celtic expansion. The Romans established a colony at Aquileia in 181 B.C.E. and over the next decade built roads to the region. The region quickly became Romanized, with Latin adopted as the primary language. Inscriptions in the Venetic language end in the late second century. The Veneti were given rights as nonvoting Roman citizens in 89 B.C.E. and full citizenship status in 49 B.C.E.

CULTURE (*see also* ILLYRIANS)

The Veneti had trade contacts throughout the Adriatic, as well as with people of the Alps and northern Europe. For part of their history they controlled the amber route from the Baltic. They were also known for horse breeding, their horses famous among the GREEKS.

The Veneti worked in bronze. Embossed bronze conical vessels, known as *situlae,* probably wine buckets, are among their more distinctive artifacts.

Este apparently served as the center of a cult to the important Venetian divinity Reitia, possibly a goddess of childbirth.

The modern city of Venice (or Venezia in Italian and Venetia in Latin) takes its name from the Veneti tribal name (*see* VENETIANS).

Venetians (people of Venice)

The name Venetians refers to people living in the city of Venice in present-day northeastern Italy. The VENETI, an Illyrian people, originally inhabited the region, with incursions by ETRUSCANS and CELTS. In 181 B.C.E. the ROMANS founded the town of Aquileia. After the invasion of the HUNS in 452 C.E. and the destruction of Aquileia the inhabitants fled southward to lagoons and founded Venice. It briefly fell under the dominion of the OSTROGOTHS, then that of the BYZANTINES until the 10th century. Venice emerged as an important commercial capital; it controlled colonies on Crete, Euboea, the Cyclades, and the Ionian Islands. By the 15th century the Venetian Republic formed as a state, absorbing cities such as Verona, Genoa, and Polesine in its domain. Invading Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS) eventually acquired many Venetian territories from the 15th to 18th centuries. With its decline the Venetian Republic was annexed by Austria in 1797, then was ruled by France under Napoleon in 1805–15, after which it was restored to Austria. In 1866 Venice was under Italian rule (*see also* ITALIANS: NATIONALITY).

Venetii time line

B.C.E.

c. 1000	Veneti settle in northeastern Italy.
sixth century	Etruscans reach Po valley.
fourth century	Celts reach Po valley.
181	Romans found colony of Aquileia.
89	Veneti gain rights as Romans.
49	Veneti gain voting rights.

Venetii (Venites; Veneti; Veniti)

The Venetii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the Atlantic coast around present-day Vannes in Brittany in northwestern France; they can thus be discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The ROMANS referred to them along with other tribes as Armoricans, that is, tribes living between the Seine and Loire on or near the Atlantic Ocean in the region of Armorica (roughly present-day Brittany and eastern Normandy).

A maritime people, the Venetii acted as middlemen in the trade between the Mediterranean, especially of Mediterranean wine, and Britain. In 56 B.C.E. they were defeated in a sea battle in Quiberon Bay by galley ships under Julius Caesar, the first recorded sea battle in northern waters. Warriors from some Armorican tribes, perhaps of the Venetii, fought as allies of the ARVERNI under Vercingetorix against the Romans under Julius Caesar in 52 B.C.E. Darioritum on the site of Vannes became a *civitas* capital in Gaul during the Roman occupation until the

VENETII

location:
Brittany in northwestern France

time period:
First century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E.

ancestry:
Celtic

language:
Gaulish (Celtic)

VEPS

location:
Northwestern Russia between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega

time period:
Sixth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Veps (Balto-Finnic)

fifth century C.E. Vannes takes its name from the tribal name.

Venicones (Venniconii; Vennicnii)

The Venicones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day county of Donegal in northwestern Ireland at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH. Some among them, classified as CALEDONIANS, settled in Britain north of the Firth of Forth in present-day eastern Scotland.

Veps (Vepses; Vepsa; Vepsians; Ves; Vepslaine; Chukhar; Chukhna; Chuhonets; Chudes; Northern Chuds)

The Veps are a Finnic-speaking people, who live in present-day northwestern Russia (*see* FINNO-UGRIANS; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Their ancestral territory was around Lake Onega and the headwaters of the Oyat River. There now exist three defined groups: The Äänis-Veps, or Northern Veps inhabit Karelia near Äänisjärv, to the south of Petroskoi; the Central Veps, the largest group, live on the River Oyat in the St. Petersburg region. The Southern Veps live on the Leedjõgi River in the eastern part of the St. Petersburg region on the northwestern edge of the Vologda Oblast. In Russian texts the Veps are sometimes called Chuds (or Northern Chuds), a name also applied by the Russian SLAVS to the VOTES (or Southern Chuds) and other Finnic tribes. To the south and east of the Veps lived the MERYA, occupying the territory between the Oka and the Upper Volga.

ORIGINS

Jordanes wrote about the Vasina, possibly the Veps or an ancestral people, in the context of their relations with the GOTHS in the sixth century C.E. It is known with certainty that by the ninth century the Veps were one of the more powerful Finnic tribes in the country around Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega.

LANGUAGE

The Vepsian language is in the Balto-Finnic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family. The three surviving dialects correspond to the northern, central, and southern tribal groupings. The extinct language of the Merya is thought to be related to Vepsian.

HISTORY

The Veps, as did other Finnic peoples, had contacts with the VIKINGS in the ninth century C.E. and most certainly before. They are known to have served under Prince Oleg of the RUS in his various campaigns of the late ninth and early 10th century, in 907 he attacked Constantinople (modern Istanbul). In the 11th century the principality of Novgorod had hegemony in the region, and the Veps and other Finnics became caught up in its struggle over the region with Sweden. The Treaty of Nöteborg, signed in 1323 by Novgorod and the Swedish kingdom, had no clear delineation of the borders between the countries. The major powers of the time, including Denmark, Sweden, Novgorod, and Kievan Rus, all claimed the right to levy taxes on the Vepsian territory. In 1478 Vepsian lands were annexed by Russian SLAVS to the Grand Principality of Muscovy.

Over the centuries under Russian rule the Veps have had to endure increased Slavic presence in their homeland, decimation of their forests for lumber, and forced conversion to Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Economic hardship and loss of traditional culture continued into the 20th century during the era of the Soviet Union (USSR). In the 1920s–30s to avoid collectivization many Veps migrated to the Kemerovo region of Siberia. In 1937 the USSR initiated a policy of suppression of minorities, causing further loss of identity.

During World War II (1939–45) Finland, supporting Nazi Germany against the USSR, occupied the homeland of the Northern Veps. Some Veps joined the Finnish army, forming the volunteer Kindred Battallion. During and after the war Soviet authorities severely punished anyone who had collaborated with the Finns.

Even before the breakup of the Soviet Empire in 1991 the Veps had begun to experi-

Veps time line

C.E.	
907	Veps part of Rus armies
11th century	Principality of Novgorod assumes control of Veps lands.
1323	Treaty of Nöteborg between Novgorod principality and Swedish kingdom, with both claiming Veps' lands
1478	Vepsian territory is incorporated into Grand Principality of Muscovy.
1920s–30s	Many Veps migrate to Siberia to avoid Soviet collectivization.
1972	Veps–Russian dictionary is published as part of a cultural renaissance.
1989	Veps Cultural Society is founded.
1991	Veps Ethnographic Museum is founded.

ence a rebirth of national consciousness. In 1972 a Veps-Russian dictionary was published in Leningrad, helping to preserve the language. In 1989 the Veps Cultural Society was formed and, in 1991, the Vepsa Ethnographic Museum.

CULTURE (*see also* FINNO-UGRIANS)

Economy

Veps have always engaged in farming and herding, as well as hunting in the forests and fishing in lakes and rivers. In 1703 Peter the Great of Russia founded a metalworking and munitions factory on Vepsian lands near Äänisjärv, where Veps found employment. The Veps are also known for stone cutting, working in quarries, as well as stone polishing. Many have traditionally been migrant workers in Finland, Sweden, Estonia, and Lithuania in times when international travel was permitted.

Transportation

The Veps used sleighs, sledges, toboggans, and a type of springless carriage known as a *barouche-tarantas.*

Other Technologies

Birch bark was utilized in many capacities by the Veps—for horns, bags, boxes, and various food containers. The only traditional craft that has widely endured among the Veps, however, is pottery.

Religion

The Vepsian pagan religion celebrated animals, such as the bear and the pike (a fish). Wood was favored for ceremonial objects, such as staffs made of alder used by a *noid* (shaman) in weddings and other rites. They had spoken charms for healing. Omens govern much of their behavior, such as in the building of their homes.

Some of the ancient beliefs carried over into their interpretation of Christianity. A Vepsian house traditionally has a *yumalchog,* "holy corner," where icons are hung and other revered objects are kept on a blue table. An ancient belief maintains that a goblin *Pertyizhand* lives under the household stove.

Surviving Veps, many of whom have departed from their ancestral villages and have been assimilated into mainstream Russian society, are at a crossroads. Political cohesiveness and cultural awareness have been diminished by the forces of history. It will take great efforts by parents and educators to pass on their native language and traditional lifeways to future generations.

Veragri

The Veragri are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the western Alps around present-day Martigny in western Switzerland at least by the first century B.C.E. The ROMANS under Julius Caesar battled them along with other CELTS to open Alpine passes.

Verodunenses

The Verodunenses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Verdun (formerly Verodunum) in northeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS.

Verturiones

The Verturiones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain north of present-day Glasgow in central Scotland and are discussed as CELTS, CALEDONIANS, or SCOTS. They were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E. They were possibly part of a confederation of tribes formed by about 200 C.E. referred to as the MAEATAE.

Vervians *See* DREVLYANS.

Vestini

The Vestini are classified as an Italic tribe. They lived along the Aterno River in the present-day region of Abruzzi in east-central Italy in the valleys of the Apennines. Their origins are unknown. They were perhaps descendants of migratory ILLYRIANS who fused with ITALICS; the Vestinian language was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan branch of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marrucinian, Marsian, Paelignian, Sabine, and Volscian. Pinna (modern Penne) was their principal town; they shared Aternum (Pescara) with the FRENTANI, with whom they were allied.

The Vestini are mentioned in historical accounts as part of a confederacy of MARRUCINI, MARSI, and PAELIGNI that supported the SAMNITES against the ROMANS in 309–304 B.C.E. during the Second Samnite War and as a result are sometimes discussed as Samnites themselves. In 301 B.C.E. they signed a treaty with Rome, after which they issued their own coins. They are also associated with the SABINES.

VESTINI

location:
Along the Aterno River in Abruzzi in east-central Italy

time period:
Fourth to first century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Oscan (Italic)

VIKINGS

location:
Scandinavia; Iceland; greater Europe

time period:
c. 790 to c. 1100 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
Germanic

Some among the Vestini joined an alliance against Rome in the Social War of 90–88 B.C.E. One theory maintains that the name Vestini is derived from that of Vesta, goddess of the hearth and home in the religion of the Romans and other Italic peoples.

Vettones

The Vettones are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in present-day western Spain and eastern Portugal at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or CELTIBERIANS. They rebelled against the ROMANS in 155–154 B.C.E.

Viducasses (Viducassi; Viducesi)

The Viducasses are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Vieux at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were possibly a subgroup of the ESUVII.

Vikings time line

C.E.	
790s	Viking raids on Scotland and Ireland
793	Viking raid on Lindisfarne monastery off northeast coast of Britain
799	Viking raids on Frankish lands
844	Viking raids on Spain
845	Viking sack of Hamburg and Paris; first danegeld paid by Franks.
856–867: 861	Vikings sack Paris.
c. 858	Vikings sail through Strait of Gibraltar into Mediterranean Sea.
c. 860	Vikings settle on Faeroe Islands.
867	Danish capture York.
c. 870	Vikings establish Earldom of Orkney.
874	Vikings reach Iceland.
c. 880	Treaty between Guthrum and Alfred the Great
880s	Harold I Fairhair attempts to unite Norway.
885	Viking siege of Paris
c. 890	Battle of Hafrsfjord, Norway
911	Founding of Normandy by Viking chieftain Rollo
912	Vikings have reached Caspian Sea
930	Founding of Icelandic Althing
980s	Founding of Varangian Guard
c. 985	Eric the Red settles in Greenland.
c. 1000	Iceland converted to Christianity.
1014	Danish conquest of England by Sweyn I
c. 1050	Earliest extant Danish crucifix is made.

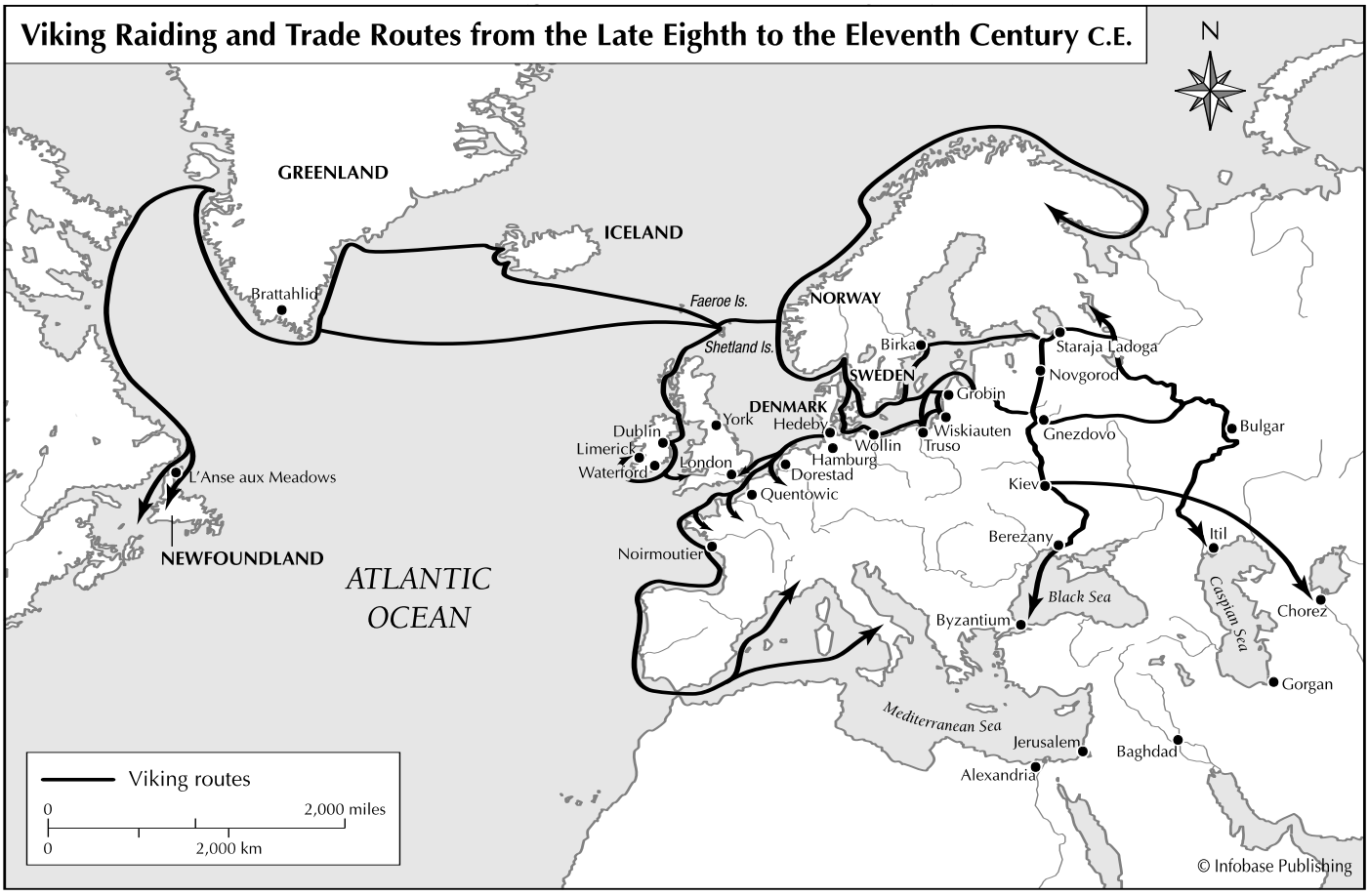
Vikings (Norse; Norsemen; Northman; Nordmanni; Varangians; Varjager; Danes; Norwegians; Swedes)

The Vikings, known by a number of different names, the most prevalent alternate name Norse or Norsemen, were related to GERMANICS, that is, other Germanic-speaking peoples. Grouped together as SCANDINAVIANS they are also described as Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, depending on the part of Scandinavia in which they originated (*see* DANES: NATIONALITY; NORWEGIANS: NATIONALITY; SWEDES: NATIONALITY). Developing great shipbuilding and navigational skills, Vikings traveled far beyond their own shores and settled throughout Europe and beyond and became ancestral to many other European peoples, the most influential of whom were the NORMANS and the RUS. Norse, Norsemen, and Norman all are derived from the Old Norse words for "north" and "men." Vikings is possibly from *Vik,* a gathering place for raiding fleets, or a bay or harbor.

ORIGINS

Most Germanic tribal societies in Denmark and southern Sweden were remarkably stable from the Neolithic period when farming first arrived in 4000 B.C.E. until the first centuries C.E. and consisted largely of isolated village economies. Change began during the first half of the first millennium C.E. under the influence of the Roman Empire. After their wars of conquest were largely over and their empire's borders had become relatively fixed the ROMANS turned to trade with peoples outside occupied lands in order to supply the large number of slaves needed to keep their economy going. Probably as a result of trade in slaves and in iron, leather, and amber, a prestige-goods economy began to flourish in Denmark—with artifacts of gold and silver, for example—as attested by rich burials that began in the first century C.E.

Archaeologists have determined concentric zones of differing burial types among the pre-Vikings, affected by their distance from the Roman frontier. Most of present-day Denmark lay within the zone of rich burials, where people prospered by trade with Romans. To the north in Sweden and east along the Baltic coast was a zone of warrior burials containing fewer prestige items. The warriors of this zone may have provided captive slaves to the "middlemen" of Denmark. The presence of such wealth in Denmark must have provoked raids from the more northern peoples.



Danes and Swedes had begun a trade between the east and west of Europe, from as early as the first century C.E., which consisted in part of acting as middlemen in a slave trade between the BALTS and SLAVS along the Baltic coast to the east and the Roman Empire. This was supplemented by trade in iron and finely crafted metal goods wrought by Danish and Swedish smiths. Craftspeople also worked on leather and amber.

By the third century there is evidence of the disruption of trade, probably by pirate attacks from the warrior periphery. By the fourth and fifth centuries substantial settlements of longhouses organized along street grids were being built in Denmark, the sign of centralized political power. At the same time small strongholds, many consisting of a single fortified wall, were scattered across southern Sweden, a sign of the need to defend against attacks. Votive deposits in bogs have been found from this period, many of them of elaborate weaponry, suggesting the presence of a warrior elite.

By the fifth century trading centers in southern Sweden and on the island of Gotland were engaged in a rich commerce with peoples to the east who were receiving subsidies from Byzantine Rome. Gold coins streamed to southern Scandinavia to be turned into ornaments by the increasingly sophisticated metalworkers. In the fifth century the ruling dynasty of the SVEAR, the dominant tribe of southern Sweden, was founded. But an independent warrior elite continued to be a factor in the sixth and seventh centuries, as indicated by elaborate burials of whole ships with richly ornamented swords and other battle gear.

LANGUAGE

The Vikings were Germanic-speaking peoples, who had a variety of Scandinavian dialects, as were as dialects based on the languages spoken in the lands they settled.

HISTORY

Causes of Viking Expansion

The tension between increasingly centralized groups and independent warrior societies may have furnished part of the impetus behind the Viking raids and the Scandinavian migrations to other parts of Europe that began in the late eighth century, as warriors sought to expand their territorial holdings and were unable to do

so in neighboring lands. Although the main bases for Scandinavian economy were farming and trade, Scandinavians had social and political organization in which warfare played a central role, similar to that of ancient CELTS and to that of other Germanic peoples. The spoils of war were desired at least as much as proof of warrior prowess and bravery as for material gain. Launching raids to distant lands was a way to build political power.

Rapid population growth is thought to be another cause of Viking expansion. There is archaeological evidence of increasing populations on Scandinavian farmsteads during this period. The use of iron tools, more durable than bronze ones, led to more efficient farming and the ability to support larger communities in a given region. The favorable climate of what is known as the Medieval Warm Period probably also contributed to population growth in Scandinavia.

At the dawn of the Viking Age in the eighth century, Scandinavia, as it had been earlier, was a crossroads of trade. Scandinavian merchants were active in the eastern Baltic, collecting furs from FINNO-UGRIANS who had trapped them for export west to the European power of the day, the Carolingian Empire of the FRANKS under Charlemagne, based in what are now northern France and the lower Rhineland basin of present-day Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. As Scandinavian merchants penetrated into Russia and beyond, they tapped into a trade network transporting vast amounts of silver from the Abbasid Empire in present-day Iraq. The merchants may have acted as a pipeline to carry this silver to Charlemagne's kingdom, where it stimulated the economy and helped finance Charlemagne's church-building enterprise. Political troubles in the Abbasid Empire dried up the flow of silver in the 820s and 830s, a possible reason that Scandinavian silver traders turned to piracy and raiding. Traders' tales of the great wealth of the Carolingians, the most powerful group in Europe since the Romans, no doubt also encouraged raids for plunder. The brutal campaign the Carolingians waged against the SAXONS of the Lower Elbe River region adjacent to Denmark in the latter eighth century may have also led to a call to arms against foreigners.

The Era of Great Raids

The period of frequent Viking raids on settlements throughout Europe began at the end of the eighth century and lasted into the 11th century. The earliest recorded Viking raids were directed against the British Isles in the 790s, with others against the Frankish kingdom on the mainland soon afterward.

But raiding may have been unrecorded long before that time; as mentioned, raids seem to have disrupted Danish trade with the Romans in the third century. As soon as lucrative trade networks appeared along the Baltic–North Sea axis in all probability raiders from among the Scandinavian warrior class sprang into action to take advantage of them. The relationship of Viking raiding to Viking trading may have been that of a power struggle to control lucrative trade routes.

The British Isles

On June 8, 793, a monastery on Lindisfarne, an island off the northeast coast of Britain, was sacked by the invaders, as recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* English monastic writings in the Anglo-Saxon language. Trade between England and the Continent along the English Channel and the North Sea had been expanding throughout the eighth century, a great temptation to raiders. Raids in this area became more frequent as well as more penetrating after the 830s. In 867 the Danes captured York; by about 870 the Earldom of Orkney was established. In about 880 the Viking leader Guthrum signed a treaty with King Alfred of the ANGLO-SAXONS, which granted Guthrum rule over a large area of East Anglia, called the Danelaw.

The territories the Vikings conquered in Ireland, first in 795, were small but strategically placed. The Viking Age, through trade, introduced great wealth to the kingdoms as well as an increased means of communication, as always an effective power of change in a society. Ireland had closer contact with Britain and the European mainland, which created new influences in the political system as well as in the church and the commercial aspects of the society. The native IRISH defended themselves strenuously against the Vikings, mostly Norwegians, and in 902 temporarily expelled them from the site of present-day Dublin. But the Vikings became so well established there that they began launching raids against England. In 1014 Danes under Sweyn I conquered a large territory in England. The Vikings lost their influence when their cities fell to the Normans, who had been invited to Ireland as allies of a rival claimant to the Irish Crown in the 11th century, and they were eventually absorbed into the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland.

France and Germany

The *Royal Frankish Annals,* or *Annales regni Francorum,* an anonymous account of the polit-

ical and military history of the FRANKS from 741 to 829, record the first raid in Frankish lands as taking place in 799. The city of Rouen was attacked in 841. The first area to experience the Viking raids in all their intensity was the Seine basin, first during the attack on St. Wandrill in 841. The first attack on Paris occurred in 845. The second region to feel the impact of the Vikings was Aquitaine. The raiders went as far as Spain in 844 and Bordeaux was under Viking influence by 848. The third zone of activity was Brittany and Neustria from the 840s; Brittany was finally conquered in 914. The fourth zone of activity was the Meuse–Lower Rhine area. In 845 both Hamburg and Paris were sacked. The Vikings repeatedly sailed up French rivers, looting and burning. The raids caused severe disruption of French commerce and society, threatening to plunge the area back into a condition like that of the medieval period that followed the collapse of the Roman Empire.

The design of Viking ships—which allowed them to travel up shallow rivers, far inland—enabled them to make surprise raids on inland strongholds and settlements that had experienced only assault by slowly approaching land armies. Typically, mounting several hit-and-run style raids the Vikings would establish semipermanent staging areas near the mouth of rivers from which to launch raids further inland. These would also serve at times as camps where they could wait out the winter when the stormy Scandinavian seas became impassable. In the ninth century the war bands had begun to increase in size to the scale of armies, the result of attempts in Scandinavia of kings such as Harold I of Norway to consolidate political power. More elaborate defensive structures were being built in Scandinavia, such as the Danevirke, which protected the southern border of Denmark; the Danish king Godfred completed its second stage in 804. A new phase of attacks started in 885 on Paris and its surroundings.

The might of the Carolingian Empire prevented Viking settlement on the scale of that in the British Isles, and raids on the mainland occurred only sporadically. The exception was the area around the mouth of the river Seine, where the staging areas for attacks farther upriver became the basis for the duchy of Normandy, granted to a Norwegian Viking chief (whose followers were Danes) named Rollo in 911. He is considered the founder of Normandy.

Organized defense against the Vikings awaited the emergence of strong leaders such as Charles II in France and Alfred the Great in England, who were able to organize the fortification of towns, station fleets, and naval patrols along the coasts and to marshal more mobile military forces. Other Christian leaders could do no more than to pay ransom, called *danegeld.* In 845 the first *danegeld* was paid to Vikings by the Franks. In return for sufficient ransom, as well as in the presence of a strong army, the Vikings were often willing to declare peace and begin trading.

Through the Strait of Gibraltar

From their new staging areas or homes on the British Isles or on the coastal mainland the Vikings launched expeditions farther south. In about 858 Bjorn Ironside, the son of a Danish king, and his lieutenant, Hastein, led a fleet of 62 longships in raids from the mouth of the Loire River in France along the Iberian Peninsula through the Strait of Gibraltar and into the Mediterranean Sea, where they reached coastal North Africa, the Balearic Islands off Spain, and coastal southern France. A fleet of MOORS eventually drove them back to the Atlantic, and they returned to France four years after departure.

The Faeroe Islands

The Vikings were not only raiders but settlers, who engaged in the first great era of overseas expansion in the history of Europe. Their colonization in the 860s of the Faeroes, 300 miles to the west of the coast of Norway, was the first step in this expansion. It is thought that the Vikings learned much about the waters to the west from Irish monks, who had pioneered navigation there in the seventh century. Accounts of the earliest Viking voyages to the Faeroes and Iceland say nothing about their "discovery," suggesting that this was already a fait accompli by the Irish. That the early voyages of the Vikings to Iceland took them directly to the southwest coast, where the Irish monks were settled, seems to imply that they were following the sea route pioneered and plied by the Irish. The Vikings' large-scale settlement of the Faeroes, involving transportation of families, gear, and animals across 300 miles of open water, began a period of wide-ranging Viking navigation.

Iceland

The colonization of Iceland began in the ninth century. The main source of information about the settlement period in Iceland is the *Landnamabok* (Book of settlements), written in the 12th century, which gives a detailed account of the first settlers. According to this book Ingolfur Arnarson, a chieftain from Norway, was the first Viking settler of Iceland. He arrived in Iceland with his family and dependents in

Harold I: First King of a United Norway

Harold I has been referred to in English texts as Harold Fairhair or Finehair or the Fairhaired. The Norwegian version of his name is Harald Fårhager. As the Viking sagas tell it, he vowed not to cut or comb his hair until he had become sole ruler over Norway. His descriptive name is also translated as Shockhead. Little is known of his early life. He was said to have been born in about 860 C.E. to Hafdan the Black and his second wife, Åsa of Agder. At his father's death Harold inherited three small domains in Norway, whereupon he began his campaign of conquest over rival chieftains.

The series of battles in his homeland culminated in a naval battle at Hafrsfjörd, which probably occurred between 885 and 890. Harold gained control of Norway's coastal regions, although not all inland territories. Continuing raids by chieftains who had previously settled in or fled to the western British Isles and neighboring islands—the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides—prompted Harold to lead his fleet of longships across the North Sea to dislodge them. Many of the defeated Vikings then migrated to Iceland. Harold also allied himself with the Anglo-Saxon king Athelstan to counter other Vikings living on the British Isles. He died in about 940.

Viking culture flourished during Harold's unifying reign, as did Viking expansion through Harold's encouragement of settlement of European lands to the south and in Iceland. On his death his son, Eirik Bloodyaxe, gained power, but because of misrule he was deposed by his half brother Håkon the Good.

874. He built his farm in Reykjavík, the site of the modern-day capital. The *Landnamabok* describes the land at this time as being covered in forests between the coastline and the interior mountains. Irish monks, whom the Vikings called *papar* (popes), were living there, although they soon left. This newly settled land offered plentiful opportunities for farming and hunting. By the final decade of the ninth century immigrants were voyaging to Iceland in great numbers, most from coastal Norway; and many from Ireland and the Scottish Isles. The conversion to Christianity took place in Iceland about the year 1000, when King Olaf I of Norway sent out missionaries to convert the islanders.

Many of the immigrants were Viking chieftains; written accounts mention such names as Naddod the Viking, Raven-Flóki, and Geirmund the Swarthy. Many chieftains immigrated as a direct result of Harold I Fairhair's (see sidebar) campaigns during the 880s to unite Norway under his rule, in particular his decisive naval victory in about 890 at Hafrsfjörd. He then took a fleet across the North Sea to the Scottish Isles to expel his enemies there; these refugees also made their way to Iceland. Many of them remained in Iceland only during the winter months and returned in the summer to the coast of Norway to conduct raids. Other chiefs who had been Harold's allies also emigrated on the king's advice. Many of the freedmen and slaves who migrated to Iceland were Irish, and some of the chieftains were of mixed Irish and Viking stock. In 930 the Vikings established a traditional council to govern Iceland, known there as the Althing.

From Iceland in about 985 the Viking Eric the Red ventured to the island of Greenland across the North Atlantic, followed the next year by the first of many settlers. Soon afterward others, such as his son, Leif Ericsson, proceeded farther to coastal North America. The Greenland settlement lasted for some 400 years before a worsening climate caused its demise.

Russia

The Viking invaders of Russia were mostly of Swedish origin, primarily descended from a tribe called the Svear who lived in central southern Sweden, but also from people of Norway and Denmark. A common name for the Vikings in Russia was Rus or Ruser or Ruserna. Another was Varangian, perhaps a variation of the word Scandinavian. Many scholars believe that the name Rus is a conflation of the word Ruotsi, which means "Sweden" in Finnish, and Rhos, a word found on Viking rune stones, which means "rower." Another source states that Rus, the name of the eastern Vikings, referred to the military crew who rowed the ships on which the Viking arrived.

Seeking to expand their trading links the Swedish traders sailed east along the Baltic coast to the Neva River and followed its course farther and farther eastward, founding settlements from which they launched expeditions south into Russia. An important Viking route to the south was through the city Starja Ladoga on the river Volchov. From a trading station there known as Aldeigjuborg the Vikings could make their way to Novgorod, which they called Holmgård.

Hoards of Arab silver coins, minted in Baghdad in the eighth century, have been found in the soils around Birka, a large Swedish trading settlement in the Baltic area, suggesting that Russia was only a waystation en route to the Vikings' real goal, the riches of the Arab world. Only a few Vikings actually traveled all the way to Baghdad; rather they focused on opening up trade routes through Russia and maintaining control over them, by force if necessary. The Viking trade routes connected the fur trappers of Finland with the Arabs of Baghdad. During the Viking Age furs were a highly valued commodity.

An important source for the history of the Swedish Vikings in Russia is the chronicle now known as the *Primary Russian Chronicle,* written by a monk called Nestor, who lived in Kiev in

the 11th–12th centuries. According to Nestor the Vikings were asked to send a king to establish justice among the SLAVS. Three brothers of a tribe called the Rus agreed to rule. Nestor writes, "It's after these Varjager that the country of Novgorod now bears the name 'land of Rusers.' "

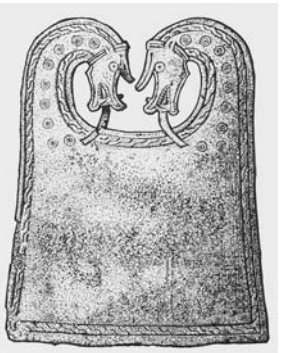
Though Nestor's story is considered partly apocryphal its kernel of truth consists of the Vikings' domination of the trading routes through Russia. They collected tribute from local tribesmen in the form of furs and slaves and exchanged them with Arab traders for valuable Baghdad silver; this may have been the method by which they had earlier obtained the Byzantine gold coins. Their trading networks helped to unify the region that would become Russia; in a real sense, then, Nestor's story was true.

Kiev was an important waystation en route to Constantinople (modern Istanbul), the capital of the Byzantine Empire. During the Viking Age Constantinople was the largest and richest city in Europe. By 912 Viking raiders had penetrated south to the Caspian Sea.

As the Romans had before them the BYZANTINES recruited barbarians into their armies; in the 980s some among the Rus were invited to form the elite Varangian Guard who protected the person of the emperor. One of the duties of the Varangians was to guard the Byzantine emperor during the elaborate religious services that took place in the majestic Hagia Sophia cathedral.

End of the Viking Age

The trend in Scandinavia toward consolidation of power and land in a few hands that had sent Viking raiders abroad in the ninth century began to confront them in the lands they attacked during the latter part of the century. In the England of Alfred the Great and in Ireland and France they met an increasingly determined resistance. The Viking raids are thought to have been a primary motivating force in the development of feudalism, as the need to maintain armies of highly skilled and heavily armed soldiers caused rulers to engage in an exchange of lands for service with followers called vassals. The Normans, descended from Vikings, were in the forefront of this development, quelling indiscriminate raiding by their subjects as strenuously as they had themselves once raided. In the Scandinavian homeland during the 11th century royal power was growing, as evidenced by the many new trading centers that were built. Almost all of these new towns still exist as important centers: in Norway, Trondheim, Bergen, and Oslo; in Sweden, Sigtuna, Lund, and Skara; in Denmark, Aalborg, Odense, and Roskilde, among others. Some of these new towns were the seats of bishoprics and royal mints, the symbols of a new age. At the same time the readiness of former Vikings in new lands to adopt Christianity, though at first in a blend with paganism, and new customs and language meant that the characteristic Viking way of life would not long endure. The Viking Age is considered to have ended by around 1050, the year when the earliest extant Danish crucifix was made, although in some parts of Scandinavia and in Viking colonies, particularly Scotland and Iceland, Viking culture and influences persisted longer.



Vikings carved this plaque in whalebone. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Economy

The Vikings farmed, fished, and hunted to support their communities. During the Iron Age their agricultural methods became more refined through the use of new iron tools. They also made increasing use of the technique of strip parceling, arranging fields in long strips, and that of two-course rotation, planting different crops from season to season or leaving fields fallow in alternate years. The length of the growing season and the types of crops planted varied with latitude. In southern parts of Scandinavia a seven-month growing season allowed for a variety of crops, but to the north wheat and rye were the staples, with few fruits and vegetables grown. Animal husbandry was more important than crop farming in many areas. Cattle raising was most important, often supplemented by pigs, but goats and sheep were also raised.

Periodically Viking hunters would travel in boats northward in search of walrus for their meat, skins, and ivory. They also trapped fur-bearing mammals, such as sable and ermine, for trading purposes. According to King Alfred, the ninth-century king of Wessex in England, who wrote an account of the voyages of a Norwegian named Ohthere, the Vikings, skilled fishermen, were also known to hunt whales.

The Vikings traded a wide range of goods, transporting them over great distances. They engaged in internal trade and had access to many natural resources. The more prosperous Vikings in Denmark and southern Sweden traded with groups inland and to the north. Dried fish, down, furs, sheep, cattle, goatskins, leather, hawks, honey, wax, nuts, grain, amber, iron, swords, and armor were some of the items traded in eastern European markets. They also traded in silver from the Abbasid Empire in present-day Iraq.

As mentioned, the impetus for the great era of Viking raiding may have been the tension that arose as chieftains striving to become kings struggled to consolidate and increase their power by ending the constant destabilizing influence of free-roving warriors of lesser status, such as the chiefs Harold Fairhair chased off to Iceland. Such rulers also sought to organize and regularize trade by establishing trading centers such as Birka in Sweden and Hedeby in Denmark. These were planned towns with regular street grids and, no doubt, designated marketplaces, warehouses, and depots.

There seems to have been no clear-cut distinction for the Vikings between trading and raiding. Trade could involve violence as the Vikings sought to wrest control of trade routes, for example, in eastern Europe. If they encountered unwarlike people, such as monks in rich monasteries, whose possessions they coveted, they took them by force. If they encountered forces too strong for them, they negotiated treaties and began trading.

Iron Production Parts of Scandinavia are known for iron deposits, and the Vikings engaged in iron production, establishing large encampments for mining. They used iron for farm implements, weapons, and nails in building and in reinforcing ships. Iron axes allowed the harvesting of timber from the extensive forests in the region.

Government and Society

The Vikings manifested a strong sense of community, with strong kinship ties. They also demonstrated a sense of social organization in warfare, iron production, boat building, and sailing. This high level of organization allowed relatively small groups of people to travel great distances through wilderness on land and sea and through often hostile territory to trade or make highly successful attacks.

With agriculture central to the Viking way of life social standing was partly determined by land ownership. Yet a warrior elite also gained status through success in raiding. Power tended to concentrate in the hands of a few as successful war leaders attracted more and more followers and exerted influence based on the size of their entourage and their ability to bestow patronage in the form of booty. As chieftains emerged from among warriors, then higher nobility from among chieftains, and finally petty kings and kings, the tendency was for the most powerful to preserve power by minimizing warfare and establishing means of achieving social stability. Constant threats to stability were the individual freedom of all members of the warrior class and the ability of any warrior of whatever status to attract followers if he was successful in war.

Although familial ties remained the strongest bond of loyalty, the emphasis shifted eventually from kinship community to powerful individuals. In the past the legal system considered the basic social group to be those related by a common ancestor four generations back, for example, a great-great-grandfather. Members of this group were obliged to support each other. By the end of the Viking era, however, a hierarchical system of fealty between persons of greater and lesser wealth and power, from kings and nobles down to lesser chieftains and their warriors, had become a more important binding force in society.

The three general classes during the Viking Age were the chieftains, freemen, and slaves. There was mobility among the classes; slaves could work for their freedom. Freemen owned and worked the land. Professions, such as religious leaders, healers, merchants, craftsmen, and house *karls* (armed retainers of chieftains), were not class-based. Women had considerable influence and independence for the age, as indicated by the fact that they commissioned a great number of rune stones to memorialize the dead. They also reportedly could declare divorce from their husbands. To make public decisions Vikings met in a council known as the Thing. Leaders and freemen met at a Thingstead, a sacred or historic place, to hear opinions and grievances, vote on leaders, settle disputes, banish wrongdoers, and determine policy and strategy. (Norway's parliament is still known as the Storting; Denmark's, as the Allting; Iceland's, as the Althing.)

Military Practices

During the first years of raiding the war bands of Vikings or Northmen, as they were known in western Europe, were small, often carried by a single ship, rather than royal expeditions or large invasions. Vikings were mostly foot soldiers because their horses were small (the result of inbreeding within a small gene pool caused by the isolation of Scandinavian horse herds from those of the Continent). Each warrior carried an ax, a sword, a long knife, a spear, and a round shield. Bows and arrows were also used. Only leaders wore armor of chain mail and helmets (which during the Viking Age did not have horns, though Bronze Age helmets with long, stylized bronze horns made by Danish smiths have been found); common warriors sometimes

wore reindeer hide, which may actually have been more effective than chain mail.

Battle tactics were rudimentary and the bonds of personal loyalty between warriors and chiefs counted for much in maintaining cohesion. Bands of warriors would erect a defensive "shield wall" of overlapping shields and, after hurling a single spear to dedicate or devote the foe as a sacrifice to Odin, let loose a swarm of spears and arrows. The fighting would devolve into more of a gang raid than a pitched battle, with warriors engaging one another in single combat. Warriors' skills involved considerable athletic ability; they could hurl their spears with deadly accuracy, sometimes two at once, and even catch spears thrown at them in midflight to throw back again. The ferocity and resolution of the Viking warriors may have stemmed from their belief that on dying a heroic death they would be transported in the arms of warrior maidens, the Valkyries, to Valhalla, the realm of the gods. Some warriors would transform themselves into "berserks" devoted to the god Odin, in which state they believed they would have superhuman strength and protection in battle, somehow working themselves into a frenzy or trance in which they could feel no pain.

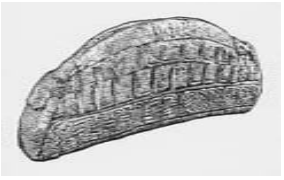
Sometimes the only way to decide a battle was for one side to capture the leaders of the other. This would be attempted by 20 or 30 men forming themselves into a wedge known as the *svínfylking,* or "boar formation" and forcing their way through enemy lines.

After the ninth century as power began to be consolidated in the hands of great chieftains and kings large armies were assembled. Armies may have numbered as much as 7,000 for a particular battle or campaign. After the campaign the warriors would disperse to their normal occupations of farming or trading. In the late 10th century in Scandinavia the earlier numerous scattered small forts gave way to larger ring forts, all built to a similar design and able to house 6,000 to 9,000 men. They may have been royal defensive and administrative centers, possibly built by Harold II, king of Denmark, as a defense against the German Empire. They appear to have been used for only 30 years or so. The Vikings also built extensive defensive works, which comprised a system of linear earthworks—one main rampart and a complex of related ramparts.

Dwellings and Architecture

The typical dwellings of the Vikings of the Viking Age were built according to a plan that had changed little since the Neolithic Age. The earliest farmers on the north-central European plain lived in longhouses built of timber with peaked roofs held up by transverse and longitudinal beams supported by two parallel lines of timber uprights, and this style persisted into the Viking Age. Roofs were of thatch; the sides of houses, often made of sod or of wood, were typically bowed or curved outward at the center and had curved roof ridges, making them resemble upside-down boats. Inside each house was an elongated central fire pit. The interior was often subdivided into rooms, one of which housed animals. Later in the Viking Age, animals would be housed in separate structures. Low benches ran along the walls of the house. People slept covered with quilts filled with down from geese and eider ducks. Around the 10th century the Vikings began to build log houses, perhaps a design introduced from Russia. Viking farmsteads usually included outbuildings in addition to the main longhouse. Outbuildings were used for cooking, spinning, weaving, and other crafts as well as for food and fodder storage.

House types common in Scandinavia during the Viking Age were also built by settlers on the North Atlantic islands. On Iceland in the early stages of Viking settlement so-called Hiberno-Norse house types were also built, such as ancient Irish traditional lodges; or *bruiden,* built at crossways where refreshment was freely offered to travelers.



Vikings crafted this hogback in the mid-10th century C.E. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

Clothing

Knowledge of Viking clothing is obtained from depictions on picture stones as well as burials. Bits of cloth in graves have been preserved along with jewelry people wore; cloth attached to brooches is one example. Viking textiles were made of worsted wool in twill patterns and dyed in bright colors, sometimes in plaids. There seems to have been a preference for certain colors in different regions: reds in the Danelaw, purples in Ireland, and blues and greens in Scandinavia proper. Other textiles used included linen and silk.

In general the cut of clothing changed little during the Viking Age, though styles of decoration did change. Men wore long trousers, tunics covered with a coat or jacket, and a cloak pinned at one shoulder, usually with a ring-shaped brooch. Women wore long gowns covered with a sort of apron fastened at each shoulder with an oval brooch; these brooches were often elaborately decorated and made of precious metals. More than 50 styles of brooch have been identified; this great diversity may mean that brooches



Shown here, in an 1893 photograph, is a replica of a Viking *drakkar,* or dragon ship. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-D4-21183])*

were a way of announcing the wearer's regional affiliation or social class. Married women wore a white cloth over their head fastened behind each ear with a knot. Men's and women's clothes often had elaborate woven decoration in the convoluted animal styles that changed over time. The Vikings who were in the Varangian Guard unit in Byzantium probably wore a cotton padding garment, the *bambakion,* which was standard among Byzantine soldiers.

Transportation: Shipbuilding and Navigation

The advent of the Viking ship had an impact as great as the arrival of horse chariotry in the Bronze Age. Viking ships allowed a mobility unmatched in Europe until that time.

Shipbuilding was greatly facilitated by the development of the iron industry and the making of iron tools. By at least the eighth century true oceangoing vessels were being built with mast and sail and a keel that allowed them to maintain their course in heavy seas and even sail windward.

The evolution of Scandinavian watercraft can be traced by studying specimens buried with their owners. They evolved from plank boats sewn together with cord and pitched with resin, propelled by paddles only, to ships in the fourth century as much as 76 feet long and 10 1/2 feet wide, built with iron nails. In the early eighth century ships had become much sturdier and wider relative to their length, their proportions allowing greater stability. At least by the end of the century true sailing vessels were being built, as attested by memorial stone carvings on the island of Gotland, which show the familiar double-ended Viking ship with square sail and side rudder. A ship uncovered in Gokstad dating to the mid-ninth century was 80 feet long, almost 17 feet wide, and seven feet deep, built entirely of oak and equipped with a deep external keel. It was clinker-built—meaning that the planks, typically of pine, overlapped, providing multiple places for caulking by twisted animal hair soaked in tar, a method of construction that dates to the earliest craft. The Gokstad ship had two pairs of pine blocks affixed to its sides abreast of the mast; these were used to hold a special pole, called a *beitiáss,* meaning "sprit pole," which could be attached to the square sail to hold it out to catch the wind more efficiently.

The planks of the hull were cut in varying thickness, to provide strength in the appropriate places while limiting weight in the others. The notches in the planking were cut so skillfully that the boards fit together nearly flush. The notches were fastened with iron rivets, which were stronger and caused less drag against the water than lashings. Water resistance was further reduced by a prow built on each end of the ship. Moreover the planks were fastened to one another rather than to a rigid skeleton of ribs, making them flexible. As a result, although relatively light, they could withstand a great deal of battering in heavy seas. The ships were steered by a rudder that was fastened on one side of the ship to give greater stability than a center-mounted rudder.

The Viking ships were wonderfully versatile, able to go on long ocean voyages but also to sail on rivers; with their shallow draft they could negotiate small rivers and their light weight made dragging them upstream and even overland when necessary easy. When the wind was contrary, they could be propelled with oars. It is estimated that some of the boats built for speed and maneuverability were capable of speeds of 10 or 11 knots and more in short bursts.

A number of distinct types of ships were built by the Vikings and used for different purposes. The one that has received the most attention is the longship, or *langskip,* also known as the *drakkar,* the "dragon ship," long and low with fearsome heads glowering from stem and stern, built for war, with shields hung from end to end. The longships carried raiders to the coasts and inland waterways of Europe. However, they did not carry Viking settlers to the Faeroes, Iceland, Greenland, or to the shores of North America. This type of vessel, also called the *hafskip* or *knörr,* wider and more stable than

a longship, with a much higher freeboard (height of a ship's sides that ride above water), was the only Viking ship type capable of making long ocean voyages. Such ships could carry three or four dozen men, a herd of cattle, and the timber for building a new farmstead hundreds of miles across open water. The *hafskip* was typically shorter than a longship and in strong winds was a faster sailor. It was open, as a longship was, its cargo covered with ox hides. It used walrus-skin rigging. It had fewer oars than a longship, which were used primarily as an aid to getting in and out of port.

The Vikings' personal attachment to their ships was more than a little mystical. The ship was often highly decorated on the sides, the prow, and especially the sail. Women participated in the decorating. The Viking saw his ship as the means to his worldly achievements, as well as his reward in the afterlife. Young men would be given command of a ship to establish their manhood and prove their viability as leaders. These ships would be well cared for and given lyrical names.

The Atlantic fishery was an all-important factor in fostering seamanship and navigation. Generations of Viking fishermen plying the coast built up a great store of knowledge about landmarks that could guide one to the fishing banks, the local tidal streams and currents, the positions of rocks and shoals, and the habits of fauna—fish as well as sea birds. The habit of reliance on this knowledge base, as well as of close observation and memorization of one's surroundings in ventures into less well known waters, would prove crucial in the longer voyages of the Vikings.

The color of water could tell mariners when they were in a current or particular sea channel or over a fishing bank. The kind of waves, long and rolling or short and sharp, could give them an idea of direction based on knowledge of how, for example, westerly or northerly winds in a given region impact the sea as a result of the positions of surrounding landmasses and of ocean depth. Landmarks such as certain peaks could serve as the fix for the starting point of a voyage, with traditional sea lore to tell them what to expect when they sailed in a given direction from that point.

The Vikings used the shorelines of Scandinavia as an approximate north-south reference for bearing, with east-west determined by sunup and sunset. They referred to lands to the east as Land-North or Land-South, corresponding to northeast and southeast, and seas to the west as Out-North and Out-West, corresponding to northwest and southwest. They also used a type of sundial known as a sun-measuring disk or shadow board, which floated in a tub of water to keep it level. It was marked with concentric circles and had an adjustable center pin that would be raised or lowered in relation to the position of the Sun in the sky at different times of the year. The shadows cast on the circles on which were marked the directional points would help determine latitude.

Art

Viking art was intimately intertwined with religion. The Vikings believed that the spiritual world surrounded and pervaded every aspect of their life. The elaborate decorations of even everyday objects are both an expression of this orientation and an actual practical application, as indicated by the snarling animal heads on ships' prows that were used to ward away evil spirits. Much decoration depicts Viking myths. The twining, spiraling motifs on both jewelry and practical objects embody this sense of the invisible pervading the visible and the belief that every act, however mundane, required the blessing of the gods. A number of ornamentation styles evolved over the centuries: some creatures depicted as curvaceous and others as ribbon shaped, and so on. The various styles are named after archaeological sites, such as Oseberg/Broa, Borre, Jelling, Mammen, and Urnes.

Literature

Inscriptions by the Vikings themselves in their own runic writing, often on stones memorializing the dead that sometimes mention their battles or raids, provide glimpses of historical events, but writing played nothing like the important role that it had among Christian Europeans. Only after the Vikings adopted Christianity and writing in the Roman alphabet did they begin to write their sagas, which are rich sources of information.

The oldest Viking poems date from about 850 and are known because later Viking poets, such as Snorri Sturluson of the 12th–13th centuries, recorded them; earlier poetry was transmitted orally; the runic alphabet was not used for literary writing. After the advent of Christianity the Vikings began to create literature written in Latin, from around the 12th century. Most of the manuscripts date from the 13th and 14th centuries.

Old Norse poetry, as is all ancient Germanic poetry, is alliterative; that is, it uses series of words that begin with the same consonant. It differs from Old English and Old High German



This rook, one of the so-called Lewis Chessmen (because they were found on the Isle of Lewis in Scotland), was crafted in Norway out of Walrus ivory and represents a Viking. *(Drawing by Patti Erway)*

poetry in being strophic, that is, written in stanza form, rather than in the epic long line.

The oldest and most important monument of Old Norse poetry is the *Edda,* called the *Poetic Edda* to differentiate it from Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda.* The meaning or derivation of the word Edda is not known, though there are several theories, one that it is from the word for *great-grandmother,* possibly a reference to the source of old tales. From this original meaning it may have evolved to refer simply to poetics. The *Poetic Edda* is a collection of tales from Viking mythology and a series of heroic lays (narrative poems) written by an anonymous author around 1250.

Another style of Viking poetry is that of the *skalds,* poets who composed works in praise of kings and great warriors. Whereas the Eddic poems are anonymous, the authors of Skaldic poems are named; they deal with historic personages or events. Skaldic poetry was essentially an art of royal courts, in the latter part of the Viking Age, when kings grew increasingly powerful, whereas the Eddic poems are rooted in the simpler societies of the past. Whereas the Eddic poems are relatively straightforward and natural, the Skaldic poems are extremely artificial in structure and language, employing alliteration and assonance, as well as making elaborate use of such rhetorical devices as *heiti* and *kenningar* (metaphors and figurative paraphrases). The most pretentious style of Skaldic poem was the *drapa* (literally, fall of men).

Icelanders created the literary form known as the saga, prose narratives of historical events, especially biographies of prominent individuals. Sagas enrich and enliven objective description with dialogue and poetic citations, as do Old Irish prose narratives. Because many of the first settlers of Iceland were of mixed Viking and Irish stock, direct influence in the establishment of the saga tradition is possible. The sagas are a rich source of information about the settlement of Iceland and Greenland and the Viking voyages to North America, for example, *Groenlendinga* (or the *Saga of the Greenlanders*) and *Eiriks saga* (or the Saga of Eric the Red). These stories had been passed down by word of mouth for centuries before they were written.

Religion

The Germanic peoples, including the Viking Norse, seem to have shared a pantheon of gods, which changed over time. Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda* gives a rich and detailed account of Germanic mythology and gods as they existed just before paganism slowly yielded to Christianity. The existence of the Vanir, an older group of agrarian gods, who had been usurped of much of their power by the newer and more warlike Aesir, gives the sense that Germanic religion evolved over time. The Norse during the Viking Age entered fully into the worship of the Aesir, who may have emerged in reaction to the Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress) of the migration period during the first millennium C.E.

The Vikings sacrificed to Odin in time of war, Thor in times of famine or plague, and Frey before wedding celebrations and possibly at funerals.

Viking religion held that slain warriors were carried to the realm of the gods. In Valhalla they would then fight battles during the day in preparation for the battle of Ragnarok (Doom of the Gods) and feast at night on boar meat and mead, an alcoholic drink made from honey. Those warriors who did not die in battle supposedly rotted in the cold north.

Sacred Sites Place-names in Scandinavia contain clues to the location of sacred places. *Vi* seems to refer to an outdoor ritual site enclosed with poles or stones; place-names containing this syllable may indicate the location of such sites. *Hof* and *harg* refer to sacred buildings.

Funeral Practices Both cremation and inhumation were practiced during the Viking Age. The death of the god Balder, as recorded by Snorri Sturluson, was followed by a boat funeral for a god. A pyre was built around the body of Balder and his wife, Nanna. Then many treasures were placed into the boat—buckles, brooches, rings, clasps, and pins. There were not only treasure but implements of ordinary life such as knives, buckets, and scissors. Odin, Balder's father, stood vigil over him for a time, then took off his magic gold arm ring, Draupnir, and slipped it onto Balder's arm. After leaving the ship Odin gave the order to set it alight and it was released to drift out over the water as the mourners wept and recalled Balder's deeds.

Conversion to Christianity Religious conversion was a slow process in the Scandinavian homeland, although abroad in England, for example, as we have seen, it was quick enough that few clearly pagan burials have been found. As with Guthrum in the *danelaw,* kings often led the way; the Danish king Harald Bluetooth claimed on a stone monument erected around 960 to have Christianized the Danes. A runestone in Norway of the 1020s, covered with Christian symbols, documents the acceptance of the new faith there. At the end of the 10th century coins

with Christian symbols were issued in three Scandinavian countries. However, there is evidence that initially the Vikings considered Christ to be simply a new god to add to their pantheon; a character in Viking literature, Helgi the Thin, believed in God but prayed to Thor when there was a storm at sea. Graves often contain a mixture of pagan and Christian elements. A cross in Yorkshire, England, depicts a mythic hero called Sigurd the Dragon Slayer wearing a bishop's ring while a priest below him celebrates the Eucharist, a Nordic symbol for the moment of salvation when the dragon of sin is slain. Among rural folk in Scandinavia, the Orkney Islands, and Iceland belief in many Viking mythic figures continued to the end of the 19th century. Even today in Iceland roads are not built in certain areas lest they disturb local earth spirits.

Despite the familiarity of the name Viking with all its associations, surprisingly little is known in detail and with certainty about the impact of the Vikings on the countries where they raided. Until recently the main source of information were the medieval chronicles such as the monastic *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* written by several authors in the ninth century in Wessex, England, and the *Frankish Annals,* the anonymous history of the Franks, in the eighth and ninth centuries. During the Viking Age most if not all educated people were churchmen and the modern sense of the rigorous separation of the sacred realm of the spirit from the secular realm of facts hardly existed. The writing of history was as much a matter of recording the acts of God as of humans, and the Bible was considered to contain literal truth. The tendency of Christian writers such as Alcuin of York, an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon scholar at the court of Charlemagne, and Wulfstan, the 11th-century bishop of York who wrote the *Sermon of the Wolf,* was to portray the Viking raids as a judgment sent from God. In general religious writers understandably were biased against these raiders, who plundered Christian monasteries and churches; therefore, the reliability of their accounts is suspect. Many a Christian noble and king of the time engaged in warfare as destructive and brutal as that of the Vikings without receiving the excoriation of the church. The clerics' idea that the Vikings were brutish barbarians probably derives as much from their pagan religion as from their actions. This characterization does not square with the fact that the Vikings had created a vibrant literature, that they were highly skilled metalworkers and had developed a sophisticated art style, and that their ships and their knowledge of navigation and the sea represented a high point of the technology of the time.

Evidence of the extent to which Viking settlement in new lands altered the social, cultural, and political landscape is found through archaeology, the distribution of towns and physical features such as rivers that have Viking names, and even deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) analysis identifying similarities in the genetic makeup of modern-day people in Britain and France, for example, with that of Scandinavians. None of these sources can provide more than an estimate of their impact (for example, a Viking placename can only show Viking influence, perhaps derived from the rule of a Viking chieftain over an area, not the presence of many Viking inhabitants), and it is still unclear whether Vikings settlers numbered in the hundreds or in the thousands, whether they were mostly warriors or whole families, and whether chieftains alone immigrated permanently or whether they took with them large numbers of tenants and retainers.

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Villanovans (Italici)

Villanovan is the name given by archaeologists to a prehistoric culture found primarily in present-day north-central Italy. Villanovans are known primarily from their cemeteries, which contain distinctive urns of usually cremated remains, accompanied sometimes by bronze decorations and iron weapons and tools. The civilization of the Etruscans developed from the Villanovan culture, many Etruscan cities being sited on Villanovan towns.

VILLANOVANS

location:
North-central Italy

time period:
c. 1100 to fifth century B.C.E.

ancestry:
Villanovan

language:
Villanovan

Villanovans time line

B.C.E.

c. 1200–900 Proto-Villanovans, people of a Late Bronze Age culture, live around Po valley; inhabitants of small agricultural villages in Italy develop into Villanovans.

c. 900 Early Iron Age culture agricultural villages grow larger; iron tools and mining of metal ore develop; bronze becomes adornment; trade from eastern Mediterranean increases.

eighth century Etruscan city-states form loose federation.

ORIGINS

The Villanovans were first discovered by the excavations at a villa known as Villanova, outside Bologna, in 1853. A cemetery brought to light the Villanovans' burial practices. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries archaeologists considered the Villanovans as invaders from central Europe, identifying their burial practices and metal objects first with the Hallstatt culture of the eastern Alps, and with other Iron Age cultures around the Danube River in central Europe. Later discoveries and the presence of undisturbed continuity through the Bronze Age into the Iron Age at Villanovan sites indicated that the people themselves were not invaders, and that the culture developed indigenously, with the aid of trade from central Europe and the East.

It is now believed that by about 1200 B.C.E. a Late Bronze Age people centered around the Po valley in north-central Italy, defined as proto-Villanovans, had developed out of the earlier Pianello culture. The proto-Villanovans lived in small agricultural villages and used bronze weapons and tools. By about 900 B.C.E. the small villages had grown larger, the process for smelting iron had been discovered or introduced from central Europe, and the area began to receive trade from the eastern Mediterranean. With these influences the proto-Villanovans evolved into those people defined as Villanovans, and their urban centers developed around the mining of metal ores in the ore-rich hills of Italy.

HISTORY

The Villanovans developed new manufacturing techniques for making bronze decorations and iron implements, and their economy flourished through trading of these items. The Villanovans spread from the Po valley through present-day Tuscany, into Latium (part of modern Lazio) and the Adriatic coast, and south of modern-day Salerno in Campania.

The Villanovans developed under the influence of foreign cultures, having contacts with the PHOENICIANS on the west coast and in the eighth century B.C.E. encountering the GREEKS who settled southern Italy. By that time inhumation began to replace cremation in Villanovan burials, and the larger Villanovan towns developed into city-states.

CULTURE

Economy

The Villanovan economy ran on the manufacture and trade of metal items. The Villanovans controlled several important copper and iron mines in Tuscany.

Dwellings and Architecture

What is known of Villanovan architecture is derived from the burials of the Villanovans in Latium, sometimes differentiated as the Latial culture. From these depictions it can be discerned that they lived in wattle-and-daub huts on pole frames. These huts were rounded or oval and had smoke outlets and a door that opened. The roofs were gabled and sloping. Decorations on the urns suggest that there were windows.

Because their houses were constructed almost entirely of perishable materials, only trace evidence of their villages has been found, indicating collections of such huts constructed on hilltops.

Other Technologies

The Villanovans made and used short iron swords, some of which found their way through the Greeks to Olympia. The Villanovans also made and wore bronze fibulae, a kind of decorated brooch, the ancient equivalent of the safety pin used to fasten clothing. They were also skilled at making flat sheet bronze, from which they crafted *situlae,* bucket-shaped vessels, and made pottery.

Art

Villanovan urns are decorated with painted meanders, double slings, swastikas, and roses. Villanovan art reveals little representation of the human figure, but small terra-cotta animals were crafted, possibly for use as votive offerings. Artifacts in bronze are plentiful.

Religion: Burials

The characteristic Villanovan burial was cremation, with the ashes deposited in a decorated multistoried biconical urn, capped by a

bronze helmet, or a pottery helmet or cup. The helmet was often crested, or in the knob and bell style, similar to those found in northern and central Europe. Other urns contained bronze and iron artifacts, decorations, tools, and weapons. The urns for a burial were placed in a deep shaft called a pozzo and covered with a stone slab. The principal Villanovan cemeteries are at Bologna, Este, Golasecca, Oppiano, Rivoli, Trezzo, and Villanova. From the eighth century B.C.E. on the Villanovans practiced inhumation instead of cremation, following the custom of the Greeks.

The fact that peoples in ancient Tuscany have been given different names at different times has obscured the continutity of their development from Villanovan to Etruscan times. The two names illustrate how practitioners of different disciplines, observing people from different perspectives, may give an impression of distinctions that do not exist. The Villanovans, named as is common practice among archaeologists for the village near where their material culture was first identified, are known only for objects. The picture of Etruscans, derived in part by accounts from ancient writers, is much more fully developed and vivid than archeology alone can provide.

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Vindelici

The Vindelici are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the northern Alps in present-day northern Italy and southern Switzerland by about 100 B.C.E. They were among those CELTS who had early contacts with the ROMANS.

Vinderii

The Vinderii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in the present-day district of Armagh in northeastern Ireland (present-day Northern Ireland) near the ULAID at least by the first century C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or IRISH.

Vinnili

See LOMBARDS.

Viromandui (Viromandues; Veromandes; Veromandui)

The Viromandui are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul around present-day Saint-Quentin in northwestern France and in Belgium near the ATREBATES and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. They were among the tribes Julius Caesar considered BELGAE. The Viromandui were allied with the NERVII against the ROMANS in the 50s B.C.E.

Visigoths (Visigothi; Wisigoths; West Goths; Tervingians; Tervingi)

The Visigoths were one of the two major groupings of GOTHS—a people classified as GERMANICS—the other the OSTROGOTHS ("eastern Goths"). From the late third century C.E. their histories separated, and the Visigoths ("good Goths") originally inhabited the region northwest of the Black Sea from the Dniester to the Danube (part of modern Moldova and Romania). The Visigoths had a variable relationship with the ROMANS over time, alternately attacking Roman territories and then making treaties with Rome and being given territories within the empire. They sacked Rome in 410, after Roman authorities failed to satisfy their perceived needs, but later formed an alliance with them to counter the HUNS. They established a kingdom in Aquitaine in Gaul (present-day

VISIGOTHS

location:
Dniester River to Danube River in Moldova and Romania; Bulgaria; Italy; southern France; Spain

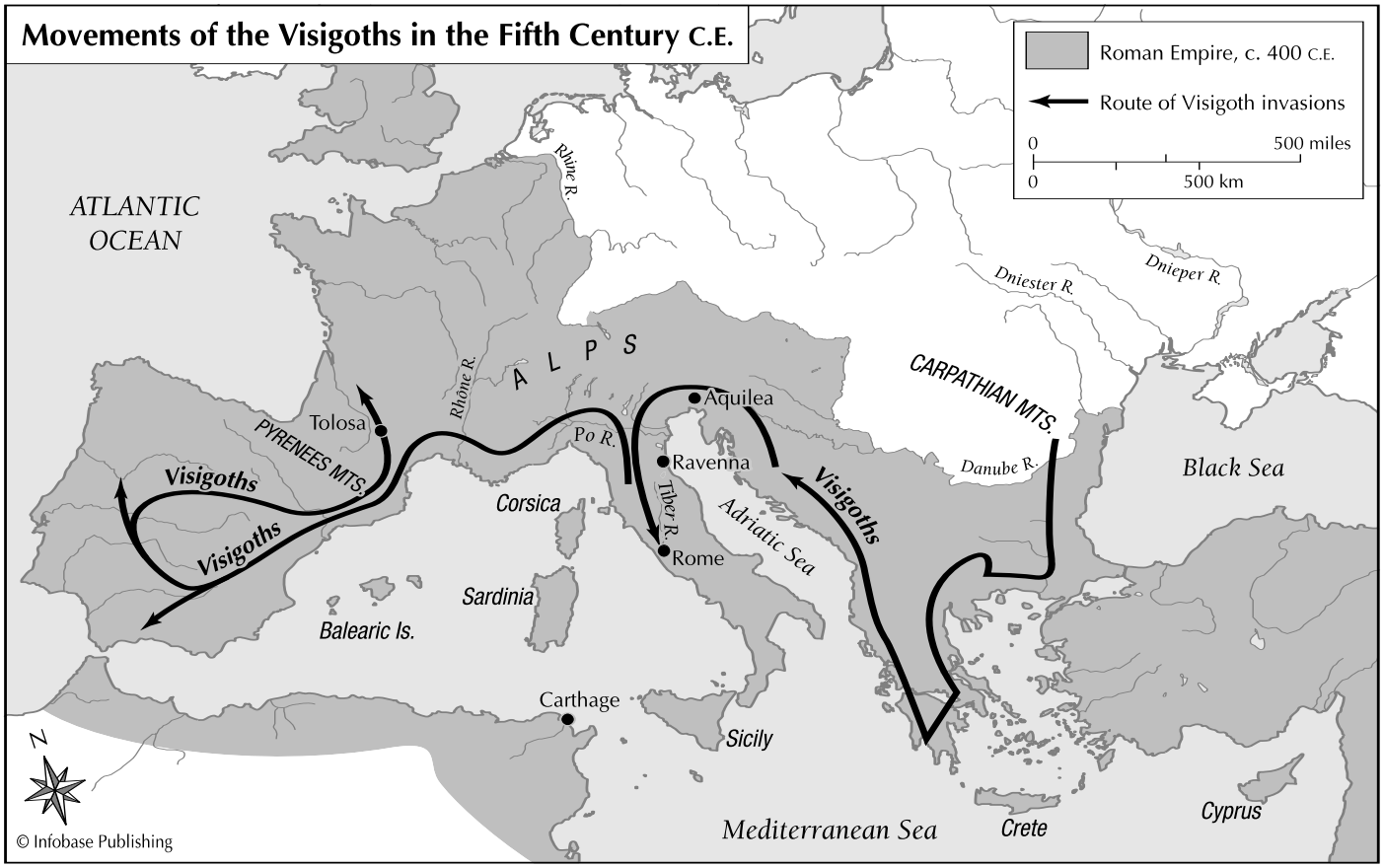
time period:
c. 290–711 C.E.

ancestry:
Germanic

language:
(Gothic) Germanic

Visigoths time line

C.E.	
c. 290	Goths separate into groups that evolve into Visigoths and Ostrogoths.
376	Huns defeat Visigoths.
378	Battle of Adrianople, in which Visigoths defeat Romans.
410	Visigoths under Alaric sack Rome.
413	Visigoths under Ataulf enter southern Gaul.
415	Visigoths under Waulia enter Spain.
451	Visigoths, as allies of Romans, fight Ostrogoths and Huns at Catalaunian Plains, in France.
466–484	Visigoths under Euric conquer much of Spain.
507	Franks defeat Visigoths at Vouillé.
654	King Recceswinth imposes Visigothic common law on both Gothic and Roman subjects.
711	Visigoths defeated by Moors.



France) and then, after they were driven from Gaul by the FRANKS, on the Iberian Peninsula, where they maintained a presence from the fifth to the early eighth century.

ORIGINS

The tribe from which the Goths probably took their name, the Gutones, are thought to have originated in Scandinavia before migrating southeastward into eastern Europe. The approximate date given for the start of two distinct Gothic traditions is 290, after defeat by the ROMANS in 271. The family of Balthi (Balthas or Balt) were the founders of the Tervingian Gothic kingdom centered along the Lower Danube. They were a polyethnic group, including steppe peoples originally out of Asia. This confederation would later become known as the Visigoths.

LANGUAGE

The Visigoths spoke Gothic, a dialect of the East Germanic language group, which had become distinct by about the fourth century. Gothic became extinct as the Visigoths and their kin the Ostrogoths lost their distinctive identities and were absorbed by other peoples during the Middle Ages.

HISTORY

Early Relations with the Romans

From their homeland northwest of the Black Sea the Tervingi (Tervingian Goths), the group that would evolve into the confederation known as the Visigoths, carried out raids on Roman territory south of the Danube during the reign of Constantine I in 306–337. In 332 Tervingians under Ariarich signed the first of several treaties with the Romans. Some among them who settled in Dacia (roughly modern Romania) lived as agriculturalists and adopted Christianity as taught to them by Ulfilas, who was appointed bishop of the Gothic Christians and led a congregation into Moesia (modern Serbia and Montenegro and northern Bulgaria) in about 348.

In 364 Athanaric and other chiefs in Dacia led raids on settlements in Thrace along the northern Aegean Sea. Valens, Roman emperor of the East, successfully warred against them in 367–369. In 376 the Huns arrived in Visigothic territory, after their defeat of the Visigoths on the Dniester River. Valens then allowed the Visigoths under Fritigern, a rival of the Hunnic leader Athanaric, to settle in Thrace as allies. A group of ALANS joined them.

Mistreatment of the settlers by the Romans resulted in a revolt.

The Balkan territory was a far cry from the productive lands near the Black Sea they had left. They were badly mistreated by the Romans, who would only sell them meat, and dog meat at that, at the price of selling one of their number into slavery—that is, one dog for one Goth. Conditions were so desperate that in 378 the Tervingi had a violent confrontation with a Roman army at Adrianople (Adrianopolis; modern Edirne), which they crushed, killing Emperor Valens. The Visigoths' superior cavalry carried the day over the Roman infantry, a victory that would shape later warfare, as the Romans put greater emphasis on cavalry. For years thereafter through a combination of attacks and negotiation these Goths tried to induce the Romans to cede them a new territory. In a treaty in 382 with the emperor Theodosius I, Valens's successor, they are named for the first time as Visigoths. The treaty granted the Visigoths as a whole permission to settle in lower Moesia as *foederati* (federates), the first time an entire people had been allowed to settle within the borders of the Roman Empire.

Visigoths in Italy

Alaric (see sidebar) became leader of the Visigoths the year Theodosius died, 395; he was the first leader considered a true king. Their new territory was little better than the Balkan lands they had left behind. Because of their hardship and also because of his desire to be named as supreme military commander of the Roman Empire, Alaric began new attacks on Roman-held lands. In 397 he was granted his wish for high command by Theodosius's weak successor, Arcadius, who named him commander of the eastern Illyrician prefecture. This formed a precedent for future Roman relations with "barbarian" peoples within the Roman Empire. However, that same year Stilicho, a Roman general of Germanic ancestry who had been forced to relinquish his command in 395 through political intrigue, resumed command. He repelled Alaric's invasion of first the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, then the Italian Peninsula, driving him back into the mountains. The Visigoths' continued need for a viable territory that could provide them subsistence motivated Alaric to return to the offensive in 401. Stilicho fought Alaric at Pollentia (402) and at Verona (403) but was murdered on Honorius's orders in 408. On his death the Visigoths advanced on Rome and sacked the city in 410; Alaric allowed his warriors three days of plunder, a standard practice at the time.

The sack of Rome, the first in eight centuries, horrified Romans everywhere. The great Christian leader, Saint Jerome, wept in his cell in Bethlehem when he heard the news. As it happened little was changed by Alaric's feat. More interested in the wealth and abundant food of Africa, he began preparations to mount an invasion there but died before he could carry them out.

Visigoths in Gaul and Spain

Alaric's successor was his brother-in-law, Ataulf. Ataulf concluded a treaty with Honorius to defeat a usurper for rule of the empire whose stronghold was in Gaul. In 413 he led the Visigoths as a Roman army into Aquitania (Aquitaine) in present-day southwestern

Alaric: Roman Soldier, Germanic Invader

Alaric was born into the Balthi royal family of Visigoths at the mouth of the Danube on the Black Sea, where his people had fled the invading Huns in the 370s C.E. While a young man he was a student at a Roman military academy. He was soon acknowledged for his military achievements as a superior swordsman, rider, and leader and rose to the rank of commander in the Roman *foederati* troops. Serving under General Flavius Stilicho he led the Visigothic contingent in battle against the Huns at the Battle of River Frigidus, furthering his reputation.

On the death of Emperor Theodosius I in 395 the Roman Empire was divided between his incompetent sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Visigoth troops soon renounced their alliance with the Romans because of insufficient subsidiaries and elected Alaric as chief of the Visigoths. Alaric began a campaign against Roman holdings. As a bribe to prevent attacks the Eastern Roman emperor, Arcadius, subsequently appointed him governor of Illyricum. Alaric led an invasion of Italy in 401 but was checked by Stilicho, who took Alaric's wife hostage for a time but allowed Alaric to retreat, perhaps because of their friendship or a bribe.

In 408 Stilicho arranged to buy Alaric's alliance to Rome, but Emperor Honorius, threatened by Stilicho's growing influence, had the general executed. That same year Alaric again invaded Italy and laid siege to Rome, then withdrew after an agreement with the Roman senate. He laid siege again in 409 and forced the city to accept Attalus as a puppet emperor, whom he himself deposed the next year. In 410 after the failure of renewed negotiations with Honorius at Ravenna Alaric stormed Rome. Because of his devotion as an Arian Christian he let his troops pillage the city but limited the burning of buildings and treated the inhabitants well. He reportedly spared churches and religious artifacts that "belonged to St. Peter." Yet it was the first time in 800 years that Rome had been occupied by a foreign invader. Alaric afterward set out by ship to conquer Sicily and North Africa, but a storm destroyed his fleet. On the return journey northward he died of an illness. His brother-in-law, Ataulf, was elected his successor. It is said that Alaric was buried with some of his treasures near Cosenza in the bed of the Busento River, which was temporarily diverted from its course to hide the site.

Although Alaric wished to gain recognition as a noble leader and was superior in leadership skills to many of the Roman leaders of his day, he is remembered most for his sacking of Rome.

France. The fact that the Visigoths were still willing to abide by a treaty with Rome, after what must have seemed to them repeated betrayals by Roman authorities in failing for so long to provide for their welfare, may speak to the continuing allure Rome had for these Germanics. In 414 Ataulf married Galla Placidia, daughter of Emperor Theodosius, hoping in this way to gain support from the Roman aristocracy in Aquitania for his rule over the whole region, non-Goths as well as Goths. Some of his holdings were in northern Spain. His murder in 415 ended these efforts, and his successor, Wallia, led his people out of Gaul deeper into Spain, hoping to reach North Africa. The Visigoths inflicted a crushing defeat on the Alans in 416 and might easily have conquered the entire peninsula if the emperor Honorius had not secured their withdrawal by giving them Aquitania Secunda (the western part of Aquitania). After forcing the Vandals out of Gaul, they contested with them for territory in the Iberian Peninsula and expanded their power north to the Loire valley. Toulouse in southern France became the capital.

Wallia was succeeded in 419 by Alaric's son, Theodoric I. Little is known about the history of his long reign, possibly testimony to the stability he achieved—"history" as reported typically comprises events of a violent nature. Visigothic forces fought the VANDALS in Spain, who under this pressure finally evacuated for North Africa by 429. In 451 Theodoric was killed in the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields south of modern Châlons-sur-Marne in northeastern France, in which the allied Romans, Visigoths, BURGUNDII, and FRANKS defeated Attila's Huns, whose allies included Ostrogoths, GEPIDS, and other groups. Theodoric's son, Thorismond, succeeded him but was assassinated by his brother, Theodoric II, who in turn was assassinated by another brother, Euric. Under Euric the Visigoths reached the height of their power, unmatched in the West at this time, seizing more territory on the Iberian Peninsula. Euric also introduced Roman elements into the Visigothic way of life.

In 506 Euric's son and successor, Alaric II, in order to achieve greater Visigothic unity and to placate a Roman aristocracy that retained much political influence, issued an abstract of laws known as the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (Roman law of the Visigoths) or *Breviarum Alaricianum* (Breviary of Alaric). The Roman senators, the main remaining symbol of imperial legitimacy, had decidedly mixed views of the Visigoths. The scholar Apollinaris Sidonius admired a Visigothic king who played backgammon, while resenting deeply the barbarian warriors billeted on his estate, calling them gluttons "who spread rancid butter on their hair." Sidonius later found an outlet for his frustration when he became bishop of Clermont—the support of Roman clerics for the Roman Catholic Frankish king Clovis I helped undermine the power of the Visigoths.

It is thought that Clovis had seen Euric's death in 484 as creating a power vacuum in the Visigothic kingdom, leading him to begin plans to overthrow them. His conversion to Roman Catholicism around the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries may have been inspired in part by the desire to gain support from the Roman Catholic majority in the Visigothic kingdom, to whom the Arianism of the Visigoths was anathema. After a series of campaigns to strengthen his position Clovis finally confronted Alaric II in the Battle of Vouillé northwest of present-day Poitiers, France, in 507. Clovis defeated the Visigoths and Alaric was killed. The Visigoths retreated to Spain and moved their capital to Toledo. Those who remained in Gaul were forced to convert from Arianism to Roman Catholicism.

Over the next centuries the Visigoths competed with the Franks, Byzantines, and BASQUES, and for a time their hold on power was tenuous. In the late sixth century King Leovigild reinvigorated the kingdom, managing to unite his Visigothic and native subjects. He also conquered the SUEBI, other Germanic settlers on the Iberian Peninsula. His son, Hermenigild, married a Catholic by the name of Ingunthis and converted, renouncing his father's Arianism. His father defeated him in battle and had him executed; his martyrdom resulted in his canonization by the Catholic Church. Yet Recared, another son and the successor of Leovigild, converted in the 580s; thereby helping to unite the kingdom, as did King Reccesswinth with his imposition of Visigothic common law on both Gothic and Roman subjects in 654. Continuing unrest over the years led to a weakening of Visigothic power, and the church became the dominant political force. When Roderick seized power in 710 his rivals sought help from the MOORS under Tariq ibn Ziyad, who defeated Roderick in the Battle of Río Barbate in 711. The Moors went on to conquer much of Spain by 713. Some Visigoths managed to hold out in the kingdom of Asturias, founded by their chief-

tain Pelayo in northwestern Spain. He was the first Christian king in the region. Asturias later became part of the kingdom of León and Castile.

CULTURE (*see also* GERMANICS)

Government and Society

The Visigoths were the first Germanic people whose governmental and military systems were transferred en masse into the Roman Empire. The Visigothic people, organized along military lines, became in effect a Roman army, with their leaders considered properly appointed Roman officers. In the formation of the Visigothic state their "Gothic system" of governance centered on their king was incorporated within the Roman administrative and military system. This was a model that other Germanic groups, notably the Franks, followed in later years.

Dwellings and Architecture

The Visigoths (not the Moors, as is commonly believed) introduced the horseshoe arch to Spanish architecture.

Religion

The Arian Christian faith of the Visigoths dated to the time of Fritigern, who probably adopted the Arian creed because it was the faith of Emperor Valens. Although the fate of Arianism was still being debated by church leaders at this time, ultimately it was decreed a heresy. The Visigoths' Arianism stood in the way of their rapprochement with Romans in Gaul and caused the Gallo-Romans to support the orthodox Roman Catholic Frankish king Clovis in his bid to overthrow the Visigothic kingdom.

The 40 years of repeated migrations, conflict, and suffering the Visigoths had endured before reaching Aquitaine led them to compare themselves to the biblical Hebrew people wandering for 40 years in the Sinai Desert.

According to Apollinaris Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, during the reigns of Theodoric I and Theodoric II in the fifth century Catholics were allowed to worship in peace. Euric, however, was of a different bent and sent many of the Catholic bishops of his kingdom in Spain into exile, so that in many places the churches were without the services of a priest and soon became dilapidated.

Alaric II reversed this policy, allowing the bishops to return. His new law code, the *Lex Romana Visigothorum,* restored to the church much of the position it had under the Roman Empire.

With the conversion of the Visigothic ruler and nobles to Catholicism in the 580s, the principal cause of friction between the Visigoths and the natives of Spain disappeared.

The Visigoths set an important precedent for relations with the Romans in 397, when their king, Alaric I, was named commander of the eastern Illyrician prefecture, a first for the leader of a barbarian people within the Roman Empire. (Germanics and other peoples had long served as generals and high commanders, but from within the Roman army, not while retaining leadership of their own people.) Later in the fifth century as the Franks became more unified, their leaders were given similar charges: military command over their own people and the use of their own troops to defend their sector of the imperial border. The Visigoths' failure to create a lasting kingdom, for all their loyalty to Rome, while the Franks succeeded may in part have been a matter of timing. The period of Visigothic ascendancy occurred when Rome still retained a sufficient measure of power and cohesion to spurn Alaric's ambitions for high Roman military office for many years. A century later the Roman defense system had changed from heavy use of the Roman army to border fortifications manned by native militias under their own commanders, a situation ideal for Frankish leaders such as Childeric and Clovis. The Visigoths' travails also resulted from their proximity to the centers of Roman power in Constantinople and Rome, on the one hand, and their exposure to the incursions of steppe invaders, on the other. The Franks, in contrast, living in a backwater of the empire, had time to develop a true fusion of Roman and Germanic elements that helped them go on to triumph after triumph.

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VLACHS

location:
Romania and surrounding regions; the Balkans

time period:
Third century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Mixed, possibly Thracian

language:
Romanian

Vistulans (Vistulanes; Vistulians; Vistulanians; Vislanes; Vislanians; Wislanie)

The Vistulans were a tribe of Western SLAVS, who lived along the Upper Vistula River in present-day southern Poland by the beginning of the ninth century C.E. Kraków was a principal fortified town. Like all Western Slavs they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS. Along with the POLANIANS, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, the Vistulans are among the ancestors of the POLES.

Vlachs (Wlachs; Walachs; Wallachs; Walachians; Walasians; Olahs: Aromani; Romani; Romeni; Roumani; Rumeni; Rumans; Romanians)

The name Vlachs has been used variously throughout history. From the 12th century C.E. it was applied (as Volokh) in a general sense by the SLAVS to any peoples of the Balkan Peninsula who spoke a language related to Latin. It also has been applied more specifically to the people who settled Romania, especially the region Walachia, in the 13th century and evolved into modern Romanians (*see* ROMANIANS: NATIONALITY). After the founding of Romania in the 19th century the name began to be applied to Romanian-speaking peoples living elsewhere, especially in nations south and west of the Danube, such as Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, and Yugoslavia, in nations such as Moldova, Hungary, and Ukraine. Other names applied to various groups considered to be Vlachs are Kutzo-Vlachs (or Aromanians), Macedo-Vlachs (or Tzintzars), Istro-Romanians, Megleno-Romanians, Morlachs (or Mavrovlachi), Cici, and, in Bulgaria, Karakacani and Tsintseri.

ORIGINS

The origin of the Vlachs has been in dispute. One theory, the Daco-Roman continuity theory, is that they were descendants of Romanized THRACIANS, especially DACIANS, or of ROMANS themselves living in what was once the Roman province of Dacia. After the Romans evacuated Dacia in 271 C.E. the area was subjected to a series of invasions from the fourth to the 12th century by HUNS, LOMBARDS, AVARS, SLAVS, BULGARS, MAGYARS, PECHENEGS, CUMANS, and MONGOLS. The BYZANTINES also nominally ruled these lands during some of these centuries. It is thought that some Daco-Romans took refuge in the Carpathian Mountains and only returned to the Transylvanian plateau by the 13th century. Before long they were also reestablished to the south in the lands near the Danube, which became known as Walachia (in present-day Romania) for Land of the Vlachs and Moldavia (present-day Moldova), which later evolved into principalities. Other Daco-Romans in the meantime took refuge south of the Danube in mountainous regions of the Balkans, such as those of Thessaly. These people emerged as shepherds in the 10th and 11th centuries and wandered in parts of the Balkans.

Another theory maintains that the Dacians themselves spoke a Latin language rather than a Thracian one and that peoples who settled the Italian Peninsula shared the same ancestors, yet no ancient texts indicate that the Dacian language was similar to that of the Romans.

A third theory maintains that the Vlachs originated south of the Danube and migrated to Walachia and Transylvania at a much later date in the Middle Ages, yet no medieval chronicle mentions a migration of Romanian-speaking peoples from the Balkans northward.

These various theories have modern-day political implications, because Transylvania has been a region in dispute between Romania and Hungary; the first and second theories support a Romanian claim, and the last a Hungarian claim. It is impossible to use language as proof here because Romanian speakers were not reported in the region until the 14th century, and texts in the Romanian language date only from the 16th century.

LANGUAGE

The Vlachs traditionally have spoken a Romanian language, rooted in late Latin. It has been heavily influenced by a variety of Slavic dialects, depending on the region and contacts between the Vlachs and various Slavic groups.

HISTORY

Events surrounding the Vlachs are shrouded in mystery, because tracking their various movements is impossible other than through lan-

Vlachs time line

C.E.	
271	Romans abandon Dacia, probably leaving Latin-speaking peoples behind.
12th century	Slavs refer to Romanian-speaking peoples of Balkans as Vlachs.
1290	Vlachs found principality of Walachia.

guage. Those people considered Vlachs served in Byzantine armies. To many other peoples they were simply communities of shepherds moving with their flocks from winter pastures to summer pastures.

Some among the Vlachs perhaps played a direct or indirect role as allies of the Bulgars on the founding of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1185. According to the 12th-century Byzantine historian Anna Comnena (daughter of Eastern Roman Emperor Alexius I Comnenus) Vlachs founded the independent state of Great Walachia, from the Pindus Mountains in northwestern Greece into Macedonia. Another Vlach settlement, called Little Walachia, was located in Aetolia and Acarnania in central Greece.

The events that led to the founding of Romania are better known. In 1310 the *vaivode* (military governor) Radu Negru founded the principality of Walachia in southern Romania, under the control of the Hungarians. In 1330 Basarab I (*see* sidebar), presumably a Vlach, defeated the Hungarian king Charles I (Charles Robert of Anjou) and won independence for the WALACHIANS, as all the inhabitants of the region were called. The earliest capital of Walachia, Cîmpulung, was later replaced by Curtea de Arges.

From the 15th to the 19th century the region was ruled by the Ottoman Turks (*see* TURKICS), and then for a time in the 19th century, as the Danubian Principalities (Walachia and Moldavia), by the Russians and, for a shorter time, by the Austrians. The two principalities were united as Romania in 1859–61. Bucharest became the new capital in 1862 and became a kingdom in 1881.

CULTURE

The Vlachs are traditionally a pastoral people, whose herding routes depend on the seasons and available pasturage.

Slavs introduced Christianity to the region in the fourth century. In the ninth century the BULGARS introduced Eastern Orthodox Christianity to the Vlachs.

The story of the Vlachs as both pastoral wanderers and founders of nations is fascinating. It is a story of how language endures and informs us, even if only partially, of the past. It is most likely that the various groups known as Vlachs, who have maintained a linguistic identity, represent a composite ethnic mixture as much as a diverse political one.

Basarab I: Father of Romania

Little is known with certainty about the childhood of Basarab, although he presumably had Vlach ancestry. In 1290 Walachia, part of present-day Romania, had been founded by Radu Negru (Rudolf the Black), a Vlach, who became military governor under the Hungarians. Forty years later Basarab took advantage of a Hungary weakened by Tatar invasions and in 1330 defeated the Hungarian king, Charles I (Charles Robert of Anjou), at Posada in the Walachian Mountains, thus winning independence for Walachia. Basarab died in 1352; the Basarab dynasty ruled what evolved into modern Romania until 1658, although under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks for much of the time. The painting known as "The Cronicon Pictum of Vienna" (The Painted Chronicle of Vienna), depicts the Battle at Posada, showing Romanian fighters wearing headdresses of sheep wool rolling boulders and firing arrows down on Hungarian knights trapped inside a gorge.

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Vocontii (Voconti; Voconces)

The Vocontii are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Gaul east of the Rhône in present-day northeastern France at least by the first century B.C.E. and are discussed as CELTS or GAULS. The Roman historian Pompeius of the first century B.C.E. was descended from the Vocontii.

Vodes *See* VOTES.

Volcae (Volki)

The Volcae are classified as a Celtic tribe. The ancestral homeland of the Volcae was west of the BOII, also CELTS, in present-day southern Germany. Some among them migrated to Gaul in present-day Languedoc-Roussillon of southern France. The ARECOMICI were a subgroup; these Volcae are discussed as GAULS. The TECTOSAGES, also considered an offshoot of the Volcae, lived to their south; some Tectosages migrated to Anatolia (Asia Minor) in the third century B.C.E.

Volhynians (Volhinians; Volynyans; Volynyane; Valynanians)

The Volhynians are a Slavic people currently living in Volhynia, a region northeast of the

VOLSCI

location:
West-central Italy

time period:
c. 600–304 B.C.E.

ancestry:
Italic

language:
Volscian (Italic)

Carpathian Mountains along the Upper Pripyat and Southern Bug Rivers, in western Ukraine and southern Belarus (*see also* BELARUSIANS: NATIONALITY; UKRAINIANS: NATIONALITY). They are assumed to be descended from SLAVS—the BUZHANIANS and DULEBIANS—who lived in the same region in the 10th century C.E. The Volhynians have maintained many of their traditional customs, including lyre playing and singing of centuries-old songs.

Volinians *See* WOLINIANS.

Volsci (Volscians; Volusci)

The Volsci are classified as an Italic tribe. They inhabited the hill country of southern Latium (part of modern Lazio) in present-day west-central Italy by the sixth century B.C.E. The Volsci and the Romans fought nearly continuously for the 200 years after the founding of the Roman Republic in about 509 B.C.E., and what little is known about them is taken from ancient historians' accounts of the warfare. They are associated with neighboring fellow ITALICS, the AEQUI, AURUNCI, HERNICI, FALISCANS, LATINS, and MARSI.

ORIGINS

By about 600 B.C.E. the Volsci lived in the Upper Liris valley in Latium. As are many of the related tribes, they are thought to have migrated from the Apeninne Mountains to the west, settling along the river and toward the Tyrrhenian Sea. The name Volsci, or Volusci, is probably related to the Indo-European root of the Roman word for "marsh." The area of southern Latium that the Volsci inhabited was partly hilly and partly filled with marshes.

LANGUAGE

The Volscian language, known from a single inscription from the third century B.C.E., was one of the Sabellian subgroup of the Oscan group of Italic languages, related to Aequian, Marrucinian, Marsian, Paelignian, Sabine, and Vestinian.

HISTORY

By about 509 B.C.E. the Volsci had occupied territory as far north as the Alban Hills. The Romans responded to the movement of the Volsci by establishing extended colonies in Latium, such as at Signia in 495 B.C.E. Around 493 B.C.E. the Romans aligned themselves with the Hernici and Latins, probably in response to the alignment of the Volsci with the Aequi. The Romans' continuing to establish colonies for defense in Latium, at Norba and Ardea, reflects the threat the Volsci and Aequi posed.

The tides turned in 431 B.C.E., when the Aequi were resoundingly defeated by the Romans' allies. The Volsci were put to flight. The hostilities continued until 396 B.C.E., when the Volsci signed a peace agreement with Rome. After the invasion and sack of Rome by CELTS in 390 B.C.E. the Volsci reneged on their agreement. This time the Romans and Latins advanced into the territory of the Volsci.

In 354 B.C.E. the Romans aligned themselves with the SAMNITES, who had been their enemies, primarily to drive out the Celts, but the Samnites and Romans both pressed into the territory of the Volsci, occupying more and more important towns. In 345 B.C.E. the Romans took Sora, an important city of the Volsci. The Samnites joined the Romans when the Latin allies of Rome (the Latin League) revolted in 341 B.C.E. The Volsci supported the Latins. The Latins and Volsci were defeated in 338 B.C.E. by the Roman general C. Maenius. The chief city of the Volsci, Antum, was captured, and the Volsci again submitted to Rome.

By 329 B.C.E. the Romans had further taken control of the Volscian towns of Fabrateria and Luca. The Samnites took Ineramna, Casinum, Ardinum, and Fragellae. The Volsci revolted in 318 B.C.E. and were defeated at Satricum a year later. By 304 B.C.E. the Volsci were utterly defeated and soon afterward Romanized.

Volsci time line

B.C.E.

c. 600	Volsci in Upper Liris River valley, where they migrated sometime earlier from Apeninnes in central Italy
c. 509	Volsci as far north as Alban Hills
c. 493	Romans sign treaty with Latins and Hernici in response to Volsci alliance with Aequi.
431	Roman allies defeat Aequi and send Volsci into retreat.
396	Volsci enter into peace agreement with Romans.
c. 390	Celtic tribes from north attack city of Rome; Volsci use this advantage to begin aggression anew.
354	Romans align themselves with Samnites to repulse insurrection of Gauls; Samnites and Romans begin to settle and divide Volsci territory.
345	Romans take Volsci town of Soma.
341–338	Volsci join Latins in rebellion against Roman rule; Romans take Antum.
318–304	Volsci again rebel against Roman rule.

Coriolanus

A story of the Volsci is taken from Roman sources that may or may not be based in fact. The legend tells of a Roman general and statesman by the name of Gnaeus Marcius who was possibly active in the 490s B.C.E. On learning that the Volsci were planning to attack Rome, he led the Romans in a successful siege of the Volscian city Corioli; after his victory he became known as Coriolanus. Coriolanus returned to be elected consul, but two tribunes convinced the people to reject him. Coriolanus was also accused of treason and departed Rome, bent on revenge. He took refuge among the Volsci and later led an army against Rome. At the last moment he relented in his campaign, however, and was executed by the Volsci. This legend is the basis for the play *Coriolanus* (early 17th century) by the English playwright William Shakespeare as well as music written for a German play by Ludwig van Beethoven.

CULTURE (*see also* ITALICS)

The Volsci moved under pressure from other tribes into the fertile regions of the Liris valley, probably to farm. They were warlike, as indicated by their stands against the Romans. The Volscian towns of the Liris valley were independent of those along the Tyrrhenian coast, with apparently minimal contact. Regarding their religion only an inscription on a votive offering dedicated to the god Declunus, or goddess Decluna, sheds light.

The story of the Roman general Corolianus who is supposed to have led the Volsci in revolt, then was killed by them, which served as inspiration for Shakespeare and Beethoven, demonstrates how legend and history are entwined regarding ancient peoples.

Volunti *See* ULAID.

Votadini

The Votadini are classified as a Celtic tribe. They lived in Britain in present-day southern Scotland and are discussed as CELTS, BRITONS, or SCOTS. They were a confederation of smaller tribal groups, among them possibly the SELGOVAE to their south. The Votadini were defeated by the ROMANS under Gnaeus Julius Agricola in the 80s C.E. along with other tribes of the region. By the sixth century descendants in the original homeland known as the Gododdin were part of a kingdom known as Strathclyde.

Votes (Vodes; Vods; Vadja; Vaigaians; Vadjalain; Vaddalain; Vadjakko; Vatjalaiset; Maavätchi; Chuhonets; Southern Chuds; Southern Chudes)

VOTES

location:
Northwestern Russia near Gulf of Finland

time period:
Fourth century C.E. to present

ancestry:
Finno-Ugrian

language:
Balto-Finnic (Finnic)

The Votes are a Finnic-speaking people, a few of whom still live in the present-day St. Petersburg region near the Gulf of Finland in northwestern Russia (*see* FINNO-UGRIANS; RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY). Because their homeland was formerly known as Ingria, they are sometimes referred to as INGRIANS, as are the IZHORIANS, their neighbors near the gulf, and the Ingrian FINNS, who migrated to the region from Finland. The Votes' native name is Vadjalain, spelled variously, or Maavätchi for "Votic people." Along with other Finnic peoples, they have been referred to as Chuds, or Southern Chuds, by the Russian SLAVS; the VEPS are sometimes called Northern Chuds. The name Votes is from the Balto-Finnic word *vakja,* meaning "peg" or "wedge."

ORIGINS

The earliest archaeological findings concerning the Votes are from the Izhorian plateau, between Kingissepp and Gachina (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.). Sometime in the first millennium they separated from the northern ESTHS, who remained on the east side of the River Narva and Lake Peipus. They never formed a separate nation or administrative unit although they were located near major east–west commercial routes and were involved in trade.

In literary records the Votes (Vods) are considered the oldest people in Ingria.

Votes time line

C.E.

859	Encroaching Slavic tribes found Novgorod; begin forced tribute of Votes.
11th century	Votes mentioned in writings by Slavs.
13th century	Votes fight as part of Novgorod military against Swedes and Teutonic Knights.
1323	Treaty of Pähkinäsaari (Oreshek) between Russia and Sweden creates peace in Ingria.
1478	Grand Principality of Muscovy defeats Novgorod; conquered principality is divided into five parts, of which northern is called Votic Fifth.
1484 and 1488	Large numbers of Votes deported to central Russia and replaced by Russian colonists.
1703	Peter I the Great of Russia annexes Ingria.
1939	Votes last mentioned in Russian census.

LANGUAGE

The Votic language is in the Balto-Finnic group of Finnic in the Finno-Ugric language family. Of the various Finnic languages, it most resembles Estonian. The main dialects are classified as Western and Eastern, but Kukkusi and Kreevin dialects are also distinguished.

HISTORY

The Votes along with other Finnics became tributary to the SLAVS of Novgorod in 859 C.E. An early written mention of the Votes dates to the 11th century, when Prince Yaroslav the Wise, the ruler of Novgorod, recorded their name in an order concerning roads and bridges. The ancient Novgorodian land Vod was called Ingermanland by the Swedes, Anglicized to Ingria. It is said to be named after Ingegard (Ingigerd), the daughter of the Swedish king Olof Skotkonung; she married Yaroslav the Wise in 1019.

In Livonia the whole northwestern part of the Novgorod principality was called Watland, and all the related peoples there were called Votes. The expression *pagani Watlandiae,* or "Watlandian pagans," appeared in Roman Catholic writings of the 12th–13th centuries. They were also mentioned by Pope Alexander III in his papal bull to the bishop of Uppsala and by Gregory IX to the archbishop of Uppsala and the bishop of Linköping.

In the 12th century some of the Votes merged with the Baltic-speaking LETTS. In the 13th century in 1240 and 1248 the Votes, along with the Izhorians, were forced to fight on behalf of Novgorod against Swedish forces and the mostly Germanic military and religious order the Teutonic Knights. In doing so they fought fellow Finnic-speaking peoples—Finns fighting for the Swedes, and ESTHS for the Teutonic Knights.

In 1323 the Treaty of Pähkinäsaari (Oreshek) between Russia and Sweden defined boundaries in the region, creating peace for the Votes for a time. In 1478 the Grand Principality of Muscovy defeated Novgorod, whose territory was divided into five parts, of which the northern was called the Votic Fifth. Its border ran in the west along the river Lauga to the Bay of Narva, and in the east along the Olkhava to Lake Ladoga. Over the next years in 1484 and 1488 large numbers of Votes were deported to central Russia and replaced by Russian colonists.

In the 15th century, in an attempt to Christianize the pagan Votes, Eastern Orthodox missionaries destroyed sacred groves and sacrificial places and performed mass baptisms. Because Votic parents were still naming their children after pagan gods and heroes the Orthodox Church caused Votic ethnic first names to be dropped from usage and replaced by Russian Christian names. However, regional church representatives reported in the 16th century that the Votes were obdurate pagans.

In 1703 Peter I the Great annexed Ingria to the Russian Empire; in 1712 St. Petersburg became Russia's capital. Russification before and during the existence of the Soviet Union (USSR) in the 20th century led to relocation and loss of traditional culture, and the Votes population diminished. After 1939 the Votes were not recorded in the censuses, and even since the dissolution of the Soviet Empire in 1991 few individuals claim Votic ancestry.

CULTURE

Economy

Votes were traditionally farmers, herders, fishermen, sailors, and traders. The making of tar, charcoal, and lime played an important part in the economy of many, as did transport work.

Art

Crafts such as making wooden vessels and earthenware, blacksmithing and shoemaking were essential parts of Votic life. They were also known for their work in wood and birch bark.

Religion: Burials

Many omens were observed during Votic funerals. If the horse pulling the casket started walking with the left leg, the next person to die would be a woman. Living men never put their left sock or shoe on first, as that sequence was reserved for dressing the dead for burial. The condition of the body in the coffin was a sign of when the next death could be expected. A stiff body indicated an interval before the next burial unless the sleigh or horse cart toppled over when returning from the graveyard, in which case another death would follow soon. A copper coin thrown into the grave would help the dead person gain a better place in the next world. There was also a custom of removing nothing from cemeteries; even the berries growing there belonged either to the dead or to the god's birds.

At home the places that the dead body had touched were washed with soap and a rag, which was subsequently destroyed. All objects that had touched the corpse were thrown into a fire or water. Tubs where the deceased was washed were broken and thrown away as well.

The straw on which the dead body had been lying was burned on a field where people jumped over the fire singing, "Fear [go] that way; love [come] this way." Yet there were good omens associated with a corpse in the house. Anyone who had a cyst on the arm or leg had only to touch the same spot on a dead body to promote recovery.

Throughout their history the Votes found themselves in the midst of struggles between various national powers. Although their numbers have been reduced to near extinction, a rich folk culture is still associated with them.

Votiaks *See* UDMURTS.

Vyatichans (Vyatichi; Vyatichy; Viatitches; Viatiachi; Viatichi; Viatichians; Viachians; Vjatichians)

The Vyatichans are classified as a tribe of Eastern SLAVS. They lived on the Oka River, a tributary of the Volga, near present-day Moscow in western Russia probably at least by the sixth century C.E. In the second half of the ninth century with other Slavic peoples they were under the suzerainty of the RUS of the Kievan Rus principality, paying tribute to them and serving under their princes in military campaigns, including the attack by Oleg on the BYZANTINES of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 907. The Vyatichians are considered ancestral to modern Russians (*see* RUSSIANS: NATIONALITY).

W

WAGRIANS

location:
South of Jutland Peninsula in northern Germany

time period:
Eighth to 12th century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
West Slavic

Wagrians (Wagri; Vagri)

The Wagrians were a tribe of Western SLAVS who lived in what for a time was known as Wagria, then later as Holstein, just south of the Jutland Peninsula in present-day northern Germany. Some scholars classify them as a branch of the OBODRITES, who occupied territory to the east and migrated into Wagria by the eighth century C.E. As were all Western Slavs, they were called WENDS by early medieval FRANKS, who derived the name from a collective term, VENEDI, that had been used by ancient GREEKS and ROMANS for all peoples living to the east of the GERMANICS, centuries earlier than Slavs as a distinct ethnic group had emerged.

In the mid-11th century a Wagrian by the name of Gottschalk, who had been educated as a Christian among the SAXONS, rose to power over both peoples and promoted Christianity by building churches, establishing monasteries, and welcoming German priests into his principality. In 1143 after the Wagrians were defeated Wagria became the county of Holstein in the Holy Roman Empire and later part of Germany.

Walachians (Wallachians; people of Walachia)

The name Walachians refers to people who lived in the former principality of Walachia, situated between the Danube River and the Transylvanian Alps, a part of present-day Romania. It was occupied by the VLACHS in 1290 C.E. and then established as a principality by the Hungarian vassal Radu Negru in 1310. It became tributary to the TURKS in the 15th century. Michael the Brave united Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania in the late 16th century. Its rulers for a time were appointed by BYZANTINES. The area was contested in the Russo-Turkish Wars; Russia invaded the region in 1774, although Turkey maintained control. In 1829 Moldavia and Walachia were united as the Danubian Principalities under Russian rule. In 1854–56 Austria controlled the principalities. In 1858–61 they became known as the United Principalities of Moldavia Walachia. Alexander Cuza was elected prince of both principalities in 1859 and united them as Romania in 1861 (*see* MOLDOVANS: NATIONALITY; ROMANIANS: NATIONALITY).

Walloons (Wallonians; people Wallonia)

The Walloons are a French-speaking people who primarily inhabit southern and eastern Belgium; the nation is divided along ethnolinguistic lines. The Flemish (Dutch)-speaking FLEMINGS live to their north and west in Belgium. The Walloons make up about one-third of Belgium's population (*see* BELGIANS: NATIONALITY). The name Walloons is also applied to any of the modern inhabitants of the region of Wallonia—mostly the provinces of Hainaut, Liège, Luxembourg, Namur, and

southern Brabant—despite ancestry; in this application the name Wallonian is more likely used. Walloon is probably derived from *wealas,* an Anglo-Saxon word for foreigner, the same derivation as the name Welsh.

ORIGINS

Present-day Belgium was originally inhabited by GAULS, among them the BELGAE. The Walloons are primarily descended from Celtic peoples who stayed in the region despite occupation by the ROMANS in the first century B.C.E. to fifth century C.E., and then the arrival of Germanic peoples, primarily the FRANKS, in the third–fourth centuries C.E. The division line between Germanic descendants and Celtic (and some Gallo-Roman) descendants started out as a natural boundary of dense forests running generally roughly east–west across present-day north-central Belgium just south of Brussels, the nation's capital. In the fifth century with the withdrawal of Roman garrison, Frankish peoples expanded farther southward into present-day France. But the ancestral Walloons maintained a relatively intact population in spite of the development of Germanic-controlled kingdoms around them.

LANGUAGE

Those peoples living in the south in Belgium spoke the language of the Romanized Gauls, which evolved into what is known as Walloon, considered a regional indigenous language related to French. Those peoples in the north in Belgium (the region of Flanders) and present-day Netherlands spoke Germanic dialects that evolved into Flemish and the closely related Netherlandic (Dutch). Some scholars classify Walloon as a dialect of French; others, as a separate Romance language close to French. In the 20th century a French close to that spoken in France largely replaced it, and now only about one-third of Walloons speak their ancestral language. Efforts are being made in schools to preserve Walloon dialects. Some of Belgium's citizens can be considered trilingual, speaking Walloon, French, and Flemish.

HISTORY

In 1830 at the time of the successful Belgian revolt from the Netherlands (and after involvement in the region of France, the Holy Roman Empire, Burgundy, Spain, and Austria) the Walloons, despite being outnumbered by Flemings, were the dominant political force. They established French as the only official language and controlled most of the wealth. Much of subsequent Belgian history relates to the movement toward increased suffrage for the Flemings. By the end of the 19th century government and courts in Flemish areas utilized Flemish in official proceedings. In 1898 Flemish was made Belgium's second official language, and in the 20th century it was given primary status in Flanders.

In 1993 in a constitutional revision Belgium was made a federalist state with three separate and autonomous regions: Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels. The current linguistic boundary between Wallonia and Flanders, demarcated by law, generally follows the ancient line that once separated Germanic peoples from Gallo-Roman peoples. The elected assemblies of both Wallonia and Flanders form regional governments that have broad authority over social and economic policy and administration. Brussels, the nation's capital, is officially bilingual. Although sharing ancestry with Wallonians, the French-speaking inhabitants of Brussels do not generally see themselves as Walloons.

CULTURE

Economy

Much of Belgium's heavy mining and industry occurred first in Wallonia. The traditional activities of agriculture, shipping, and textile manufacturing have persisted in Flanders.

Literature

From the ninth to the 11th century Latin was the primary literary language of the region, as recorded by monks in abbeys. Belgian literature had three distinct traditions—Flemish, French, and Walloon. In the mid-12th century some local chronicles and religious dramas were written in Walloon, and in the 17th century poems known as *pasquèyes* on local themes used the

WALLOONS

location:
Southern and eastern Belgium; northern France

time period:
First century B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Mostly Celtic (or Gallo-Roman)

language:
Walloon; French

Walloons time line

B.C.E.

first century Romans occupy Gaul.

C.E.

third–fourth century Franks arrive in Belgium.

1830 Belgium claims independence.

1856 Société Liègeoise de Littérature Wallonne founded at Liège to promote Walloon literature.

1898 Flemish becomes second official language of Belgium.

1993 Constitutional revision makes Belgium federalist state with separate autonomous regions of Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

WELSH

location:
Western Britain

time period:
7000 B.C.E. to present

ancestry:
Primarily Celtic

language:
Welsh (from the Brythonic branch of Insular Celtic) and English

native tongue. In the 18th and 19th centuries in addition to poetry Walloon was utilized in librettos, songs, and plays. In 1856 the Société Liègeoise de Littérature Wallonne was founded at Liège. Works written in other languages were increasingly translated into Walloon. In the 20th century scholars studied the various Walloon dialects and standardized spelling and grammar for literary purposes, although many modern Belgian authors have chosen to write in French.

Religion

The majority of Walloons are Roman Catholic.

The evolving Walloon identity demonstrates varying concepts of a people. In ancient times the Walloons shared ancestry to a greater extent. Over the centuries as other peoples intermingled with them language and culture became the greatest unifying factors. With the use of the Walloon language now waning and culture more uniform throughout Europe the ties among those who consider themselves Walloon are based increasingly on geography.

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Walsers (people of Valais)

The name Walsers refers to people living in the canton Valais (Wallis) of present-day southern Switzerland. Celts originally inhabited the area, which was conquered by the Romans under Julius Caesar in 57 B.C.E. It became part of the kingdom of Burgundy (*see* Burgundii) in 888 C.E. By 999 King Rudolf III of Burgundy gave the kingdom to the bishop of Sion, who became count of Valais. Valais became part of the French-organized Helvetic Republic in 1798, then became the independent Rhodanic Republic in 1802. It was incorporated into France in 1810, then entered the Swiss Confederation five years later (*see* Swiss: nationality).

Warni *See* Varini.

Welsh (Cymri; people of Wales)

The Welsh are the inhabitants of the broad peninsula of western Britain, bounded on the south by the Severn River estuary and the Bristol Channel and on the north and west by the Irish Sea. The ancient Welsh are thought to be descended from the Celts and related to other Britons on the island, although pre-Celtic peoples may have been ancestral to some of them. The name Welsh is derived from *wealas*, an Anglo-Saxon word for "foreigner." An alternate name for them is Cymri, a Welsh word that means "*comrades.*" Because Wales is now part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland modern Welsh can be said to be British subjects (*see* British: nationality), but they have maintained their own cultural traditions.

ORIGINS

Through most of their prehistory the inhabitants of the region in Britain that comprises present-day Wales differed relatively little in language or culture from the inhabitants in the rest of Britain. People arrived in much of Wales after the glaciers receded during the Mesolithic Age around 7000 B.C.E. and lived a foraging lifestyle. However, a burial in a cave in Paviland on the south coast of Wales, nicknamed the Red Lady of Paviland because its bones were covered in red ochre, has been dated to 24,000 B.C.E. (The Lady has since been discovered to have been male.) Because it is believed that this part of Britain was not covered with glaciers after that time, it is possible that the Red Lady's people are the ancestors of some of the present-day Welsh. After the Neolithic period the region had increasing contact with Europe, in part because it had rich copper deposits and because copper and gold from Ireland were carried through Wales on their way to the mainland. Around 2500 B.C.E. as elsewhere in Britain the Bell Beaker ideology began to challenge the communal Neolithic way of life with a new emphasis on individualism. This influence is seen in individual graves featuring daggers, bows and arrows, and beakers for the consumption of mead in rituals of hospitality meant to forge bonds among warriors and, probably, to celebrate their deeds. The Beaker way of life foreshadowed that which would come to full flowering during the Celtic Iron Age.

Toward the end of the second millennium B.C.E. again as elsewhere in the British Isles the

climate seems to have worsened, becoming cooler and moister and leading to the loss of much formerly arable land to peat bogs. This condition coincided with the change to building more substantial dwellings and settlements, often on hilltops and uplands, both for defense as scarcer resources fomented competition and warfare and as a means to reserve more fertile valley areas for cultivation.

The Iron Age began in Wales around 750 B.C.E. The main tribes in Wales—grouped as BRITONS—were the DECEANGLI of the northeast, the CORNOVII of the central borderlands with the rest of Britain, the ORDOVICES and DEMETAE on the northwest and west coasts, respectively, and the SILURES along the great Severn estuary and the uplands farther inland. The GANGANI were a smaller group, who lived for a time on the Lleyn Peninsula.

The Iron Age Welsh produced finely crafted metalwork, and their building techniques showed considerable sophistication. On the other hand they produced only a small amount of pottery, and that scarcity has made study of their material culture more difficult.

LANGUAGE

The Welsh language evolved from the Insular Celtic language called Brythonic (the other Insular tongue is Gaelic, ancestral to Irish Gaelic of the ancient IRISH and Scottish Gaelic of the ancient SCOTS), which was spoken in most of Britain. During the Roman occupation Latin never replaced the native Brythonic but was influential, contributing words for things new to the native inhabitants of Wales, such as *window* and *book*. By the fifth century C.E. in the western part of Britain Brythonic had diverged into two forms, the western and the southwestern. Southwestern Brythonic developed into Cornish and later, after people from Cornwall migrated to Brittany. By about 700 C.E. Western Brythonic had developed into Welsh, which was spoken not only in Wales but also in the Brythonic kingdoms of Elmet in the Pennines, Rheged in Cumbria and Dumfries, Strathclyde in the Clyde Valley, and the lands of the VOTADINI along the Firth of Forth. The earliest known public inscription in Welsh is carved on the ninth-century Tywyn Stone.

HISTORY

The Welsh tribes had had considerably less contact with the ROMANS before the invasion than had some of the ancient tribes to the southeast, notably the BELGAE, CATUVELLAUNI, and TRINOVANTES. Many Welsh were relatively backward uplanders, culturally speaking, compared to the more urbane eastern tribes. Yet their pastoral economy had led to considerable political cohesion, through the bonds forged among the members of warrior bands needed to protect the flocks from raiders and possibly through the network of territorial alliances necessary to allow their seasonal movement through a relatively large territory.

The Romans in Wales

The Romans launched their campaign in Wales in 48 C.E. Despite early success against the

Welsh time line

C.E.

48 Romans invade Wales.

52 Silures defeat Roman legion.

c. 70–75 Silures defeated; Isca Silurum, fort of Fourth Augustan Legion, built.

120 Silures granted *civitas* status.

383 Roman general Magnus Maximus, later claimed as founder by several Welsh royal dynasties, marches from Britain with Roman armies to wrest Roman Empire from Gratian.

410 Romans officially depart British Isles.

c. 450 Vortigern of the Britons, possibly Welsh or possessing Welsh territory, invites Saxons to Britain to defend against Picts and Scots; Saxons later attempt to annex British and Welsh territory.

late fifth century Ambrosius Aurelianus leads British and Welsh troops against Saxons.

late fifth–early sixth centuries Possible emergence of Welsh war leader named Arthur or Artorius, who wages war against Saxons

c. 518 Welsh victory over Saxons at Badonicus Mons, possibly led by Arthur

537 Arthur killed at Battle of Camlann

780 Offa's Dyke built by Saxon king of Mercia as protection against Welsh incursions.

late ninth–11th century Sporadic raiding by Vikings

1057 Gruffudd ap Llywelyn unites kingdoms of Wales.

1063 Harold Godwinson (future king of England) invades Wales, killing Gruffudd; kingdoms split apart.

1267–82 Native Welsh kingdoms together form Principality of Wales.

1276 English under Edward I invade Wales.

1282 Principality of Wales divided into six counties under English prince.

1400–1416 Owain Glyndwr's revolt against English

1536 Act of Union makes English official language of Wales.

1997 Welsh voters pass referendum to establish independent Welsh assembly.

1999 First election held for new assembly.

Deceangli for some 30 years the guerrilla tactics of the Ordovices and Silures prevented a complete Roman takeover. Perhaps the Silurian reputation for toughness as warriors led Caractacus, the Caradog of Welsh tradition, to seek refuge among them after the defeat of his own tribe, the Catuvellauni of Essex. He joined the Silures' fight against the Romans but was captured by the latter in 51 C.E. and taken in chains to be paraded in a triumph in Rome.

The resistance of the Silures continued, however, and in 52 C.E. they defeated a Roman legion. The Romans were hampered in their campaign by the rise of Queen Boudicca (Boadicea) of the ICENI of Norfolk in 60 C.E. By the 70s C.E. the Silures had been defeated, and in about 75 C.E. one of Britain's three legionary fortresses was built in the heart of their territory at Isca Silurum (Caerleon). In about 120 they were granted *civitas* (independent and self-governing) status, and a Roman-style capital was built at Venta Silurum (Caerwent), evidence of the political sophistication of the tribe. After the collapse of the Roman Empire the core of the territory of the Silures constituted the kingdom of Gwent, and the name Caradog features frequently in the genealogies of its rulers.

The territory of Brittania was divided into two basic zones, based on geography and terrain, which forced the Romans to adopt different strategies of pacification. The lowland zone—southern, eastern, and midland England—which had had extensive trading contact with the Romans before the invasion and now had some tribes allied with the Romans, was organized as a civilian territory with cities and villas. The highland zone—Wales and southwestern and much of northern England—was organized as a military territory. Fortresses were established at York, Chester, and Caerleon. In Wales there were at least 30 auxiliary forts linked by straight roads and situated a day's march apart. Over time these forts became unnecessary as the Welsh population accepted the Roman presence, a process facilitated by the fact that they, or at least the aristocracy, were allowed a measure of self-government. The tribal leaders who were magistrates began to consider themselves Romans, especially after 214, when all free men throughout the empire were granted Roman citizenship. Further Roman influence and the use of Latin were reinforced by Christianity, which gained many adherents after Christians were allowed to worship freely in 313.

By the late fourth century Roman power in Wales had fallen into severe decline. Even the populous Caerwent, where no Roman coins dated later than the 390s have been found, did not long survive the Roman departure from Britain in 410 and became a depopulated ruin. On the other hand, the Roman city of Wroxeter in Cornovii territory, according to archaeological evidence, continued to be occupied until the seventh century.

The decline of Roman military power in Britain was accelerated by Magnus Maximus, a Roman general of Spanish descent who marshaled most of the Roman troops in Britain in his failed attempt to wrest power from the emperor Gratian in 383. Maximus, it was claimed by Romano-Britons in succeeding centuries, had as self-proclaimed emperor set the imprimatur of Rome on the legitimacy of leaders such as the Silurian magistrates of Venta Silurum, giving them the right to self-rule as Roman citizens. Maximus was long remembered in Wales after he had been forgotten in other parts of Britain. It was believed that he had proclaimed himself emperor in Britain, and after Germanic tribes had overrun most of the former empire in Europe, a sense that western Britain was the last true bastion of Rome, fertilized by the Celtic imagination, lingered long. In Arthurian legend King Arthur was the inheritor of Maximus's legacy. And as Macsen Wledig Magnus was claimed as progenitor in the genealogies of Welsh royal houses.

Dark Age of Welsh History

No contemporary historical sources exist for the period after the departure of Roman authority from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century until well into the sixth century with the writing of the monk and saint Gildas, a Briton—part of the reason it has been called the Dark Age. Thereafter a fairly large body of writing about the period was created at increasingly greater removes of time and according to perspectives far different from those of modern historians. The validity of the information provided by writers such as the Anglo-Saxon monk and historian the Venerable Bede in the eighth century and the Welsh writer Nennius, who may have been the compiler of the *Historia Brittonum* in the ninth century, is uncertain. Not only are the sources the Bede and Nennius drew on wholly unknown (although presumably they included oral tradition and now-lost annals) and therefore unable to be assessed for accuracy or consistency, but the writing of history in that era had different goals and purposes from those of modern historians. The search for factual truth, although not absent, held for medieval historians nothing like the central place it does today.

Historians wrote from other motives, to glorify kings and their ancestors or to demonstrate the workings of God in history. There are many contradictions in dating of events between the Bede, Nennius, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* and monastic writings in Anglo-Saxon, another important early source. Rigorous textual study of Nennius has revealed grave problems with his dating, including the fact that he indiscriminately interchanges Anno Domini—the birthdate of Christ—with Anno Passionis—the date of Christ's death—as the starting point or year one of his dating scheme.

Despite these difficulties there is agreement in the early sources on certain events, if not their precise dates, and the personages involved in them. The first of these is the invitation by a leader of the Britons named Vortigern to war leaders of the SAXONS to enter Britain and aid in the defense against the PICTS and Scots. This took place after the departure of the Romans from Britain, in the Welsh tradition recorded by Nennius 40 years after the death of Maximus in 388, and in Bede's Saxon tradition 40 years after the departure of the Romans in 410. (The time span of 40 years is used a number of times in the early sources, perhaps suggesting that this is a canonical number or rhetorical device derived from Scripture, that is, "it rained for forty days and forty nights," or Jesus's "forty" days in the wilderness. It may mean simply "a very long time"—a period whose exact length is unknown but not necessarily beyond a possible human life span and thus within living memory.)

Vortigern

Vortigern is a figure of much interest who attracted a considerable amount of folklore, including an encounter with a character sometimes identified with the mystical Merlin of Arthurian legend. In this encounter Vortigern and Merlin witness a combat between two great serpents or dragons that Merlin interprets as signifying the expulsion of Vortigern's power in favor of that of another leader who will win ultimate victory over the Saxons. (In the Arthurian legend, which emerged centuries later, this was taken as a prophesy of Arthur's career.) The name Vortigern is an Anglicized version of the Welsh Guorthigirn or Gwrtheyrn. It is not known whether he was Welsh, but he seems to have had some connection to Wales and was claimed as progenitor by several lines of Welsh kings.

Vortigern's actions do not seem to conform to the style of Celtic kings, a prominent part of whose role was that of war leader; he never goes into battle. He is called by Gildas a *tyrannus* (in Greek and Latin, usurper), a term he also uses for Maximus and other generals who claimed the imperial title. Vortigern never did so, but he may have abrogated to himself leadership of Roman Britain after the imperial authorities left. Gildas writes that the decision to enlist the Saxons was made by Vortigern in coordination with a council of some kind, of which he seems to have been head. He may have been a high bureaucrat in Britain's imperial government who stayed after the others left, or perhaps he was a landowner unwilling to leave his lands. Genealogies also claim his overlordship over southern Wales, explained through his wife, Sevira, whose father, Magnus Maximus, had supposedly married into the local dynasty. So it could be argued that Vortigern was the natural inheritor of Maximus's claim to Britain in general and to large parts of Wales in particular. Vortigern figures in Arthurian legend as a failed and evil king, failed because he invited the Saxons to Britain, and evil because he was supposed to have engaged in incestuous union with his daughter.

Saxon Allies Become Foes

The next event consistently mentioned in the early sources is the conflict that developed between the Saxon mercenaries and their employers among the Britons, which ultimately led to Vortigern's downfall, although not before he ceded large territories to the Saxons in a vain attempt to buy them off. Subsequent resistance to the Saxons is associated with the name of Ambrosius Aurelianus of the fifth century, who may have been another leader of the Britons whose history was even more shadowy than that of Vortigern because his territory was ultimately taken over by Saxons, as Wales was not. The sources imply that Ambrosius waged a long struggle with the Saxons, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, which may have lasted as long as the canonical 40 years.

Badonicus Mons

The final event agreed on (though not at all in date or location) in the early sources is the defeat of the Saxons at the Siege of Badonicus Mons (Mt. Badon), which Gildas seems to say took place in the year of his birth. Because he died in 572, it must have taken place sometime in the first half of the sixth century. The *Annales Cambriae* (the *Annals of Wales*), a yearly record of events that runs from the mid-fifth century to the 950s and was compiled in the 10th century, gives the date of Badon as 518 and describes it as

follows: "The battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ for three days and three nights on his shoulders and the Britons were victorious." This is the earliest record of Arthur that places him in a chronological context. Strangely neither Gildas nor Bede mentions Arthur's being at Badon.

The Historical Arthur

Arthur, or Artorius as he is sometimes called, for many historians is simply a composite figure, a name connected to the exploits of a number of war leaders. Some early sources name an Artur who was the son of a king of the DÁL RIATA in western Scotland. He is also associated with Wales and with Tintagel in Cornwall. The massive ruins of the Roman fort at Caerleon were believed to have been a castle of King Arthur, its amphitheater the site of his Round Table. Some later versions of Arthur's story place Camelot near Caerleon.

Another passage of the *Historia Brittonum* says, "Warlike Arthur fought against [the enemies] along with the soldiers of Britain and the kings, [though] there were many more noble than himself, yet he it was who on twelve occasions was leader of war." This could mean that Arthur was a low-status soldier who rose to leadership through talent and his prowess as a warrior. This might explain why he was not named by Gildas or Bede; record of him may have existed only in oral and bardic accounts. Unlike Nennius, Bede may not have seen fit to include the "ancient tradition" of Arthur embodied in such records in his academically correct history. Nennius calls Arthur *dux bellorum,* possibly a corruption of an actual military office in Roman times, that of Dux Brittaniorum, duke of Britain, who was stationed at York in northern Britain and was responsible for affairs in the north. The *Historia Brittonum* cites "twelve" (including Badon) fought by Arthur; the place-names given for some of these battles seem to correspond with locations in Scotland, indicating that Nennius thought Arthur had conducted campaigns there. If true it would be an indication that Arthur was not defending only Wales but all of Roman Britain.

The "twelve" may be another canonical or poetic number possibly derived from Hercules' Twelve Labors, meant to convey metaphorically the Herculean task of defeating the Saxons. Nennius's device of adducing a single heroic war leader and a specific number of great battles from the source material available to him, instead of innumerable skirmishings by anonymous war bands in a years-long guerrilla war, may reflect the goal of telling a good story rather than of recording history. On the other hand the "twelve" battles may have been intended to convey a sense of the wide range and long course of Arthur's war with the Saxons. Nennius's history may be an eloquent expression of the desire for a great leader whose scope transcended the tribalism in which Britain had been plunged for centuries. In later centuries Arthur's history merged into Celtic mythology, and after the English writer Geoffrey of Monmouth included him in a largely fictional account in his *History of the Kings of Britain* in about 1135 he was taken as a symbolic figure used to promote knightly and kingly ideals. The court of Charlemagne of the FRANKS furnished a model for King Arthur's court in medieval literature.

The Welsh annals say that Arthur died in the Battle of Camlann (location uncertain) in 537. In just over a hundred years the Saxons, who had begun to prevail in the mid-sixth century a few decades after Arthur's death, had conquered most of present-day England, but their headway was halted when they reached the Welsh mountains defended by the Welsh kingdoms, the most powerful of which were Gwynedd and Powys.

Welsh Kingdoms

The earliest of the Welsh kingdoms was probably Gwent, the former Silurian territory between the Wye and the Usk, its emergence the result of the political cohesion of the Silurian ruling class. Glywysing, the land between the Usk and the Tawe, has more obscure origins. Glywysing and Gwent were united to create the kingdom of Gwlad Morgan (Glamorgan or Morgannwg) in 665, or perhaps in 974. Ceredigion, which absorbed the kingdom of Ystrad Tywi (essentially the later Carmarthenshire and Gower), was purported to have been established by Ceredig, the son of Cunedda. In southwest Wales Dyfed, the land of the Demetae, fell under the rule of Irish newcomers, as did the kingdom of Brycheiniog. Powys, probably derived from the Latin word *pagus* (hinterland), may represent part of the territory of the tribe of the Cornovii.

Offa's Dyke

In about 780 the Saxon king Offa of Mercia in the central region of England constructed a long fortification called a dyke, which approximately follows what became the border of Wales. Recent studies are finding that the dyke was probably built as a defense against Welsh incursions into Mercia. The only part of the dyke almost certainly built by Offa is the 64-mile sec-

tion in the middle, which does not demarcate the whole of the borderland between Wales and England. Therefore Mercia's enemy may have been only one of the Welsh kingdoms rather than all of them.

The precise boundaries of the early Welsh kingdoms are uncertain, but it is highly likely that Offa's Dyke marks the border between eighth-century Mercia and Powys. To the north was the frontier between Mercia and Gwynedd, and to the south that between Mercia and Ercing and Gwent. There is evidence that Mercia was at war with Powys, but not with the other states to the north and south. A defensive boundary was therefore needed only in the middle. Evidence of the power of Powys is found in a text carved onto a freestanding cross shaft known as the Pillar of Eliseg from the eighth century (from the name of the king it commemorates), which stands a few miles west of the northern end of the dyke. The inscription says that after a nine-year campaign Eliseg, the king of Powys, annexed territory from the ANGLO-SAXONS. The *Annals of Wales* mention a battle between Powys and Mercia in 760.

Consolidation of Wales

In the ninth and 10th centuries the Welsh kingdoms were undergoing a process of consolidation similar to that happening elsewhere in Europe at the time, as the chaotic fragmentation of the Dark Ages, which had followed the collapse of the Roman Empire, gave way before efforts at achieving political stability and a cessation of the continual in-fighting and rivalry among small-scale war leaders. At the same time a sense of a distinctly Welsh identity was emerging, as attested by some of the earliest inscriptions in the modern Welsh language. One of the most important leaders at this time was Rhodri, known as Rhodri Mawr (Rhodri the Great), who won a victory over the VIKINGS in 856. Rhodri united Gwynedd, Powys, and Seisyllwg (Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi). His grandson, Hywel, began as king of Seisyllwg and Brycheiniog; to these he added Dyfed, thus creating the kingdom of Deheubarth, and in 942 he also became ruler of Gwynedd and Powys.

Vikings in Wales

The Welsh armies were being tested and honed at this time by the Vikings, whose first recorded raid in the region was in 852. The success of Rhodri against them was so resounding that word of it reached the court of Charles at Liège. According to Saxon annals Welsh forces joined the Saxons of Mercia to repel the Vikings. In 914 a Viking fleet from Brittany ravaged the coast of South Wales and penetrated the Wye valley, capturing the bishop of Llandaff, Cyfeiliog. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Edward the Elder of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex paid £40 ransom for him.

By the early 10th century the raids had largely ceased for a time, despite the expulsion of Viking leaders from Ireland, which caused them to annex other territories around the Irish Sea. By the middle of the century the shores had become in some respects a single community strongly influenced by Norse culture. Coastal Wales, however, was only slightly affected.

Viking raids resumed in Wales in the second half of the 10th century, with raiders focusing on religious centers such as St. David's monastery, which was raided 11 times between 967 and 1021. After another relatively peaceful period a third phase of raiding began during the second half of the 11th century.

Despite these repeated incursions the Vikings had relatively little long-term impact on Wales. In common with the Irish kingdoms the small but cohesive and aggressive Welsh kingdoms may have offered too much resistance.

Gruffudd ap Llywelyn

The trend toward consolidation of the Welsh kingdoms culminated in the 11th century with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's successful, if brief unification of the country. A man of somewhat distant royal connections, Gruffudd attained the kingship of Gwynedd and Powys, Macbeth-like, by murdering the reigning king, Iago ap Idwal. Thereafter through a combination of ruthlessness and ability as a war leader he acquired the rest of Welsh territory in part by forming an alliance with Swegen Godwinson, the ruler of the border region with England called the Marches, with whom he attacked the southern Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth. Over time Gruffudd won control over the remaining Welsh kingdoms, and for the first and last time in Welsh history the country was united under a Welsh leader. Gruffudd's opposition to the Anglo-Saxons spelled his ultimate downfall. Because of Gruffudd's alliance with Harold Godwinson's political enemy, as well as his incursions into Anglo-Saxon territory, Harold Godwinson, the powerful Anglo-Saxon war leader, determined to rid himself of his troublesome Welsh neighbor and in 1063 attacked Wales by land and sea with large armies that devastated Gruffudd's forces. Many Welsh, especially in Deheubarth, where Gruffudd was hated as a usurper, flocked to Harold's banner.

Gruffudd fell back before Harold's armies, retreating to the mountain fastness of Mt. Snowdon, where he was murdered, in some accounts by the son of Iago ap Idwal, whose murder by Gruffudd had launched the latter's career.

The Normans and the Welsh

Harold Godwinson's conquest of Wales three years before the arrival of the NORMANS in Britain made it impossible for the unified Welsh kingdom of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn to survive the Norman onslaught. William the Conqueror granted earldoms to Norman barons at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford in the Welsh March to create a buffer zone. As was typical of Normans these barons were aggressive and highly ambitious, and by William's death in 1087 they had seized the kingdom of Gwent and much of Powys and had struck deeply into Gwynedd. Early in the reign of William II, the lowlands of Glamorgan and Brecon fell to Norman knights. The earls of Shrewsbury drove through Powys and Ceredigion to southern Dyfed, where they built a castle at Pembroke.

Nevertheless the fierce independence of the Welsh petty kings, which had for so long prevented the unification of Wales, now obstructed attempts to impose the complete Norman hegemony over the Welsh they had imposed on the Anglo-Saxons. Because Anglo-Saxon England had moved toward a more peaceful, stable society devoted more to the arts of civilization than to those of war, they were vulnerable to the Normans. Because defense of the kingdom had become primarily the responsibility of the king the unfortunate death of King Harold at the Battle of Hastings left the Anglo-Saxons leaderless and prevented them from mounting an organized rebellion. The Welsh labored under no such disadvantage and by the 1090s were successfully pushing the Normans back until, by 1100, Gwynedd had been retaken. Wales then was divided between regions under native rule and others held by Normans. In the March most of the inhabitants continued to be native Welsh, interspersed by enclaves of "Englishries" protected by castles where immigrant Normans had settled. Yet all lordships in Wales, native or Norman, were claimed as vassals by the Anglo-Norman kings, and for centuries these kings involved themselves extensively in Welsh affairs.

Early Medieval Period

In the 12th century as the native Welsh kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth maintained and strengthened their autonomy, the Norman lordships in the Marcher territory maintained and strengthened theirs, ruling them as kingdoms. The Marcher lords recognized the overlordship of the king of England but were not bound by English law. The March remained a distinct region of Wales for some 450 years.

The mid-12th-century reign of Madog ap Maredudd, ruler of Powys, illustrates the state of Welsh politics at this time, for Madog was as concerned to resist the power of the other native Welsh kingdoms as that of the Anglo-Normans, often playing the one off against the other. A chief rival of Powys was Gwynedd under Owain ap Gruffudd. Owain expanded the boundaries of Gwynedd until they reached the outskirts of Chester, and in 1165 he led the resistance of the Welsh princes to the invasion of Henry II. The strengthening of Gwynedd allowed for its preeminence in the 13th century under Owain's grandson, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great).

The Cistercians

The Cistercian monastic order became important in native Welsh kingdoms in the 12th century. Cistercian monasticism had several similarities to the Celtic; monasteries were founded in remote rural areas, and the Cistercians practiced the sort of heroic asceticism favored by Celtic Christians. Moreover the Cistercians maintained close ties with their founding house in Citeaux in Burgundy and thus were outside the Norman sphere of influence. By the 13th century all the Welsh princes had founded Cistercian monasteries, whose scribes were primarily responsible for writing Welsh chronicles and copying Welsh literature. The Cistercians pioneered the wool industry in Wales and thus played an important role in economic development there.

Overlordship of Gwynedd

In the 13th century the power of Gwynedd was such that its rulers sought to establish their overlordship in Wales, in feudal fashion under the overlordship of the kings of England, with lesser Welsh princes swearing homage to them and they in turn would swear homage to the English Crown. The dwindling power of Powys and Deheubarth helped make this a reality. Owain's grandson, Llywelyn the Great, gained rulership over Gwynedd in 1203 and began asserting his influence in the other kingdoms, aided by his marriage to the daughter of the English king John (Lackland), which for a time gave him more scope and leverage with which to pursue

his ambitions. However in 1210 seeing Llywelyn as a threat, John invaded Gwynedd and restricted Llywelyn's power to the lands west of the river Conwy. John's conflicts with the pope and his own barons distracted him enough to allow Llywelyn to regain his lost lands. Llywelyn supported the barons in their demands from John set out in the Magna Carta in 1215, and several of its provisions concern concessions made to him. In 1216 he presided at Aberdyfi over a body similar to the English Parliament, and in 1218 the advisers of the boy king Henry III recognized his overlordship of Wales.

On reaching his majority Henry III sought to curb the power of Gwynedd, demanding of Llywelyn's son and heir, Dafydd ap Llywelyn, that he send his half-brother Gruffudd, to England as a hostage, with which Dafydd complied; Gruffudd died trying to escape from the Tower of London, where he was being held. Dafydd died after a short reign, before he had been able to consolidate his power.

The overlordship of Gwynedd was secured by Gruffudd's son, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, in 1258. From 1267 to 1282 the native Welsh kingdoms together formed the Principality of Wales. However, it was only the relative power vacuum created by the ineptitude of Henry III, whose scope for action was being curbed by the English Parliament, that allowed this development, and the 1272 succession of Edward I restored to the English throne a monarch whose ability matched his typically Norman ambition. After invading Wales in 1276 with the largest army amassed in Britain since 1066 Edward defeated Llywelyn, dismembered his kingdom of Gwynedd, and asserted his lordship over the Marcher lords as well. Llywelyn revolted in 1282 but again was bested by Edward; Llywelyn died in battle. After Llywelyn's defeat his principality was organized into six counties that were granted to the king's heir, who thereafter was styled the Prince of Wales.

Castle Building by Edward I

After his victory in 1277 Edward embarked on a great castle-building enterprise, constructing among the most advanced and elaborate fortifications anywhere in Europe at the time. Among these are Harlech, Beaumaris, Aberystwyth, and the most remarkable, Caernarfon, built near the site of the Roman fortress of Segontium. Segontium figures in the history of Magnus Maximus, the Roman general stationed in Britain who declared himself emperor of Rome in the fourth century. The father of Maximus's wife was a chieftain based in Segontium. It may well have been with Maximus in mind, and also Constantine (called Constantine III), another self-proclaimed emperor in Britain after Maximus in the fifth century, that Edward and his architect, James of St. George, built Caernarfon. Its octagonal towers and bands of light-colored stone emulated the fortress of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), the Eastern Roman capital founded by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great.

First English Prince of Wales

It is a measure of the importance of Wales to Edward that his son and heir, Edward II, was born at Caernarfon in 1284. In 1301 Edward was invested as Prince of Wales, in part to focus the loyalty of the Welsh nobility. Edward and subsequent medieval Princes of Wales took an active role in Welsh affairs and received revenues from the principality. Edward's council administered Wales and sought to extend its authority to the March. Meanwhile Edward I strengthened his hold on Wales by encouraging English to settle there by establishing towns for them and giving local offices to English. English common law was imposed on all matters except those concerning lands. As a result much important business was conducted in English, straining the survival of Welsh. In an act that amounted to an attempt at psychological conquest, Wales's most treasured national artifacts, including the royal insignia and Y Groes Naid, said to be a fragment of the True Cross on which Christ was crucified, were taken to London.

Owain Glyndwr's Revolt

Glyndwr had princely connections on both sides of his family; on his father's side he was heir to the dynasty of Powys. On his mother's he represented what was left of the claims of the descendants of Rhys ap Gruffudd, or the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth.

Because one of his estates, Sycharth, was only a mile from the border with England and was surrounded by Marcher lordships, Glyndwr had opportunities to form relations with both English and Marcher lords. He married into a leading Marcher family and spent time in London and in the army of the king of England. He was thus in a position, were he to aspire to the Principality of Wales, to form alliances within the English nobility. On the other hand, as a great patron of poets he was steeped in his own genealogy and the legend and history of Wales that formed so much poetic subject matter; this may have nurtured his ambitions. As always turmoil in English royal politics gave Glyndwr his

opportunity. Richard II, who had many adherents in Wales, was deposed in 1399 by Henry IV. In 1400 Glyndwr seized on Henry's mishandling of a dispute he had with a Marcher lord to have himself declared Prince of Wales.

Owain Glyndwr's revolt at first consisted of guerrilla-style harassment of English settlements, his raiders disappearing into the mountains after each foray. Owain's kinsmen, the Tudor family of Anglesey, occupied Conwy Castle on Easter Day 1401, and a victory a few months later sparked growing enthusiasm for his cause across Wales. Henry was unable to find a strategy with which to counter Owain's tactics, and severe weather that hampered the movements of his heavily armed soldiers caused many Welsh to believe that Owain had allies among the elements themselves.

The English Parliament passed Penal Laws designed to curb the Welsh, prohibiting gatherings and the bearing of arms; nevertheless Owain's campaign continued with success after success. In 1404 he captured the castles of Aberystwyth and Harlech, sealed an agreement with the French, and held a parliament at Machynlleth, where he may have been crowned Prince of Wales. French assistance arrived in 1405, and virtually the whole of Wales, beyond Henry's remaining castles, acknowledged the authority of Owain Glyndwr.

French support for the revolt was only lukewarm, prompting Owain to send a letter to the king of France promising major concessions, including the offer to transfer the allegiance of Wales from the pope at Rome, recognized by England, to the pope at Avignon, recognized by France. In the so-called Pennal Letter Owain outlined a blueprint for his plans for Wales should he succeed. Among his aims were recognition of St. David's as an archbishopric, appointment of clerics fluent in Welsh, establishment of two universities in Wales, and retention in the country of the revenues of Welsh churches.

After 1405 the war began to go against the Welsh; more help from France was not forthcoming, and Henry IV's son Henry V proved a more able general than his father. After Harlech was lost in 1409, Owain took refuge in the mountains, where he died in about 1416. The English retaliated with punitive measures of such destructiveness that the economy did not recover for a generation.

After the failure of the Glyndwr revolt the Welsh nobility generally ceased to oppose English authority, instead seeking to advance their power by involvement in English conflicts such as the Wars of the Roses. As mentioned, increasingly they drew away from the Welsh people, adopting English manners and customs such as primogeniture. Many sided with Henry VII, the first Tudor king, who gained the English throne by achieving the decisive victory of the war. Henry was a descendant of the Tudor family of Anglesey who had helped Owain Glyndwr. He chose to begin his campaign by landing in 1485 in Wales, where Welshmen flocked to his standard, constituting about one-third of his victorious army at the Battle of Bosworth.

Act of Union

By the Act of Union in 1536 enacted by the English Parliament under pressure from Henry VIII, all Welsh customary law that differed from the English was abolished, and English was made the language of all legal proceedings. Welsh representatives entered the English Parliament; from 1536 onward the differences between Wales and England were mainly religious and cultural.

Modern Welsh

Despite the success of industrialization in Wales the country continued to be plagued by poverty and unemployment into the 20th century. The rise of David Lloyd George, born of Welsh parents, to become prime minister of Great Britain in 1916 and the success of his Liberal Party, which had many Welsh members, failed to improve the situation. Only the industrial boom during World War II (1939–45) reversed the situation temporarily. Wales's economic woes had fostered the emergence of socialism, especially in the coal-mining regions in the south and after the war. Welsh socialists supported the British Labor government's socialization of the British economy. In Wales this included the placement of the coal mines and tinplate manufacture under government control, introduction of more diversified industry, and improvement of communications, housing, and technical education. However, the Welsh coal industry fell into almost terminal decline, with only a few mines still operating.

In 1997 Welsh voters passed by a narrow margin a referendum establishing a 60-member Welsh assembly. Elections were held in 1999, when the Labor Party won the most seats.

CULTURE (*see also* CELTS)

Economy

Copper and Bronze Age Trade The mineral wealth of Wales put the region within the scope of pan-European trading networks at least from

the Copper Age. During the Bronze Age copper mining intensified because the arsenic ores of Wales were highly sought by the civilizations in the Mediterranean region. The mines at Great Orme in Gwynedd are the largest prehistoric mines found so far in Europe. Other mines are located at Parys Mountain in North Wales, Cwmystwyth in central Wales, and Alderley Edge in Cheshire.

Trade during the Iron Age The slave chains found in Llyn Cerrig Bach, each connecting five collars, seem to support the Roman writer Strabo's observation that slaves (along with grain and hunting dogs) were the main exports of the Britons in the pre-Roman period.

Iron Age Farming In the highlands of north Wales Iron Age farmers practiced transhumance, moving their flocks to high pastures in the summer and into sheltered valleys in winter. Tre'r Ceiri (the town of fortresses), on the slopes of Yr Eifl mountain in Snowdonia, was a summer village for shepherds. It consists today of an elongated enclosure within which are the remains of more than a hundred huts built of dry-stone walling. Some of the huts are square, but the great majority are round and have some of the characteristics of the houses of the *castros* of northern Spain, built by CELTIBERIANS of Iron Age Spain, who also led their flocks to summer pastures in the high mountains. There is evidence that the village was occupied during the Roman period, but it appears that its beginnings occurred in the years around 200 B.C.E.

The territory of the Silures, as well, was most suited to seasonal movement of livestock. It was a land of boggy uplands, wooded slopes, and narrow valleys and plains. This relatively harsh environment, like that of the Celtiberians in Spain (although there the problem was the aridity of the plains), seems to have given rise to a similar society, in which the constant movement of flocks and the precariousness of life led to conflicts, raiding, and feuds.

Roman Era The Roman city of Wroxeter, located on the Severn River, was an important entrepot for trade with the European mainland. It had a large harbor for the river barges that plied the Severn. The local tribe, the Cornovii, had access to several valuable importable goods, including salt from brine springs, copper, lead, and agricultural products from the good grazing lands in their territory. Yet few signs of wealth before the invasion of the Romans have been found by archaeologists. The Welsh did build hill forts in profusion and farmed extensively. But they did not mint coins as several pre-Roman tribes in southeastern Britain had done. Nor do they appear to have used domestic pottery to any great extent. Their difficulty lay in their inland situation; all trade routes by which they might have benefited were controlled by other tribes. It was the Roman establishment of Wroxeter that finally gave the Cornovii trading access to the wider world.



Welsh women wash clothes in this 1819 print. *(Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-78098])*

Within two generations of the Romans' arrival the town of Wroxeter was flourishing. The energy that had previously been channeled into constructing hill forts was instead turned to building the urban center of the administrative capital. In the surrounding area farms were reorganized to produce market garden crops to feed the army and the rapidly swelling population of the town.

Curiously the Cornovii aristocracy seem not to have used their newfound wealth to become Romanized to any great degree or to equip themselves with Roman material goods in the way tribes in other parts of Britain did. An example of this piecemeal acceptance of Roman ways is Whitley Grange villa west of Wroxeter. Here excavations have uncovered a villa equipped with a large bathhouse including a small swimming pool, and another room containing a mosaic. On the other hand only four coins and fewer than 100 shards of pottery have been found.

After the Roman Era Many archaeological finds in Wales show that people there continued to have trading contacts with the wider world after the departure of the Romans. For example, a

rare early Byzantine jewel was found on the site of a remote farmstead in North Wales. The jewel, a garnet inscribed with a scorpion, was made in the eastern Mediterranean in the sixth or seventh century. The discovery, along with evidence from other sites, shows that the western kingdoms of Britons maintained trading links with the Eastern Roman Empire, at a time when much of eastern Britain had fallen under Anglo-Saxon control. Imported Mediterranean goods of this date, including pottery, have been excavated at a number of sites.

However, this need indicate no more than that Roman material culture continued to be desired by elites in Wales as evidence of high status, as it had been in eastern Britain before the Roman invasion, and that trading networks to import items of that culture to Wales continued after the Romans' departure.

Links with Norse Trade Networks The imposing wall of the fort at Llanbedrgoch suggests the possession of considerable wealth. This settlement was at the height of its prosperity in the second half of the ninth and 10th century, when the interior contained rectangular longhouses and halls. Evidence has been found for craft production, such as bronze casting, antler work, and leatherwork, possibly intended for the nearby trading networks of the Hiberno-Norse world in Ireland. Some objects from the site bear the mark of the Hiberno-Norse style, such as hacksilver, merchants' weights, and ringed pins and buckles.

Norman Town Building The Normans, fittingly enough for descendants of the Vikings, built the first towns in Wales since the Romans left in the fifth century. The failure of the Vikings, with their town-building propensities, to gain much of a foothold in Wales prevented the growth of Viking trading centers such as those that had flourished in England and Ireland in the ninth and 10th centuries. The Normans went about town building at a great rate; between 1070 and 1300 they established about 80 towns, which were created near castles to supply and service the castle garrisons and to ensure that their economic activity remained under Norman control. Many of the new Norman towns were founded in places chosen for military reasons rather than for their suitability as trading centers; as Wales became pacified such towns lost their reason for being and fell into disuse.

Government and Society

The tribal society of Iron Age Welsh, as in the rest of Celtic Europe, consisted of a largely anonymous populace of farmers with an overlay of elite warriors and chieftains-cum-kings. The pastoral economy of much of Wales, with its movable wealth of sheep, seems to have encouraged the activities of warriors both to raid the flocks of the tribes and to repel raids on their own. On the other hand the need for movement of animals from winter to summer pastures fostered the forming of alliances between tribes to secure grazing lands and the migration routes between them. The political survival of the Silures through and after the arrival of the Romans exemplifies the cohesiveness of the Welsh tribes.

Were the Early Welsh Kingdoms Roman or Celtic? Much disagreement as to the extent of the survival of Roman civilization in Britain outside Anglo-Saxon territories continues. Some scholars see the Welsh kingdoms that began to emerge in the fifth and sixth centuries as retaining to a large extent the forms of Roman-style governance—bureaucracies, laws, and language—and believe that the Romano-British *civitates* (or tribal areas) may have evolved without major disruption into fifth-century local kingdoms. For example the *civitas* of the DUMNONII in Cornwall became the kingdom of Dumnonia, while that of the Demetae in Wales became the kingdom of Dyfed. The other school of thought is that the *civitates* quickly reverted to Celtic tribalism, and war leaders wielded political power instead of civil authorities such as the city councils of magistrates that the Romans had fostered.

Major evidence for the former view has been found at Wroxeter, which may have been the capital of the sixth-century C.E. kingdom of Powys and of the fourth century C.E. *civitas* of the Cornovii. There parts of the late Roman town were rebuilt after the fifth century and were occupied until the late sixth or seventh century. Yet the situation at Wroxeter has to be considered against a background of a more general trend of decline, seen across Britain, in new building activity in Roman cities and towns after the early fourth century. This was accompanied by a sharp contraction of the Roman villa system, a key part of the Roman economy. In Wales as in the rest of Britain a majority of villas had been abandoned by about the year 375. Native farms, many of which had prospered as they provided food for the burgeoning urban populations of previous centuries, also declined. A survey of archaeological finds from 317 native rural sites in the Severn valley/Welsh Marches region discovered a fall of 27 percent in the number occupied between 100–150 and 350–400. Thus

by the late fifth century the underpinning of Roman-style society, fueled as it was by the creation of wealth through large-scale farming and trade, had largely ceased to exist. Detailed analysis of the buildings at Wroxeter shows a marked decline in living standards there.

Cultural Divisions in Welsh Kingdoms The Welsh kingdoms were not culturally monolithic, because they had come into existence out of the flux and turmoil in Britain that followed the departure of the Romans. The Saxon and Irish invasions of the time seem to have caused tribes all over the peninsula alternately to flee the Saxons as refugees into other regions, ally together in self-defense, and compete among themselves for power. For example the rulers of Gwynedd traced their ancestors to Cunedda Wledig of the Gododdin of southern Scotland around the Firth of Forth, whom Vortigern is said to have been invited to settle in northwest Wales to aid in the defense against the Irish. The Gododdin were originally the VOTADINI. Ceredigion, which absorbed the kingdom of Ystrad Tywi (essentially the later Carmarthenshire and Gower), was purported to have been established by Ceredig, the son of Cunedda.

The fact that the language that had become dominant in Wales by the 11th century was spoken not only there but also in the Brythonic kingdoms of Elmet in the Pennines, Rheged in Cumbria, Dumfries in northern England, Strathclyde in the Clyde Valley of Scotland, and the lands of the Votadini along the Firth of Forth gives a sense of the mixing and separation out of which arose the Welsh kingdoms of the early Middle Ages. The ruling families could trace ancestors from all over Britain, whereas the population they ruled had most probably remained in Wales for millennia, their remote ancestors Iron, Bronze, and Neolithic peoples, and possibly even the "Red Lady of Paviland" of 24,000 B.C.E., before the last Ice Age. Thus a cultural divide between the ruling class and ordinary Welsh, which was increasingly marked as the dominance of the Normans and then the ENGLISH in Wales grew, may have existed to some extent even earlier.

Law of Hywel King Hywel, grandson of Rhodri the Great, was called Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good) probably because of his codification of the law of Wales around the year 940. The law of Wales was composed of legal traditions built up over centuries of practice, rather than promulgated by kings. As in other such bodies of customary law, its emphasis was on ensuring reconciliation among kin groups. Wrongdoing was compensated for by a form of "blood money" called *galanas*, rather than by punishment. *Galanas* was paid by the family of the wrongdoer to the family of those who had suffered the wrong. For a *bonheddwr* or freeman the size of the compensation or *galanas* depended on the distinction of his descent, whereas a *taeog,* or bondman's *galanas,* was paid to his lord.

Welsh law assigned women a fairly high status, particularly with regard to the property of married women and their rights over their children. After the conquest of Wales by Edward I the Law of Hywel was displaced by English law, although aspects of it remained in use until at least the 15th century.

Changes in Welsh Society On the whole, however, fundamental changes in Welsh society after the English conquest took place only gradually. Perhaps the most important of these was the change in the relations of Welsh nobles to their lands and tenants, brought about by their adoption of primogeniture as the mode of inheritance. Previously under the system of gavelkind all sons inherited equal shares in their father's land, a practice that tended to prevent the amassing of wealth by any one individual. Primogeniture, by which only the eldest son inherited, promoted the accumulation of wealth in ever fewer hands, leading to economic inequality on a scale never seen before in Wales. A much-increased tax burden on ordinary Welsh to pay for castles and armies exacerbated this process. The Welsh nobility increasingly adopted English customs and spent time at the English court in London, furthering the breach between them and their countrymen and -women.

Although many Welsh accepted English rule and even fought in English armies, tensions over the conquest remained, and rebellions occurred repeatedly throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, culminating in the nearly successful revolt of Owain Glyndwr in 1400.

Welsh Gentry Anglicized The language provisions of the Act of Union of 1536 were mainly intended to foster the use of English among the Welsh gentry, many of whom used it already. In ensuing centuries as the gentry ceased to speak Welsh the language remained in use only among the lower classes. In practice the use of Welsh was not abolished from courts, and interpreters were used extensively. Meanwhile in 1563 as part of the English government's promotion of Protestantism through translations of liturgy and religious texts into the vernacular it was

decreed that the Bible in Welsh be available in every parish church in Wales. This became an important means by which the Welsh language survived.

Henry VIII's dissolution of Catholic monasteries in Britain in the case of Wales put the extensive sheep-grazing lands of the Cistercians in the hands of Welsh gentry, further enriching them. Through the imposition of the shire or county system in Wales members of the Welsh gentry were enlisted as justices of the peace or law enforcers in their respective counties, another means by which they were drawn closer to the English in their attitudes.

English Civil War: Welsh Sympathies In the Civil War (1642–48) between Parliament and Charles I the majority of Welsh were for the king, both because Puritans were few in Wales and because the Parliamentarians emphasized that they were defending "Englishness" against foreign influences, a cause with which the Welsh had little sympathy. The Welsh gentry had indeed drawn closer to the English, but it was the traditional ruling classes in England they emulated, not the mostly middle-class Puritans.

Literacy Campaign The Welsh-speaking lower classes had long remained isolated from progressive currents in the rest of Britain because they were largely illiterate, as most of the country's business was conducted in English. In spite of the Welsh Bible the Anglican Church in Wales promoted the idea that knowledge of English was a virtual necessity for Christians seeking salvation. In the 18th century Griffith Jones, a clergyman who strongly opposed this idea, embarked on a campaign to teach Welsh speakers to read. He formed what were called circulating schools that traveled through Wales teaching literacy at a remarkably fast rate. A report by Jones in 1761 estimated that over the previous 25 years some 3,000 schools had been held in 1,600 different locations. The establishment of his schools coincided with the early years of the Methodist Revival, as the spiritual riches of the Bible became available firsthand for the first time to people across Wales.

The Treachery of the Blue Books: English Prejudice against the Welsh In the 19th century members of the English establishment had much the same prejudices against Welsh-speaking Welsh as they had against the Irish. This attitude was called prominently to public attention with the publication of a report in 1847 on the state of education and knowledge of English in Wales, prepared for Parliament by three young English barristers (lawyers) with no previous knowledge of Wales. The sources they relied on, mostly Anglican churchmen out of sympathy with the Nonconformist majority, were highly biased. But instead of ascribing the poor conditions of schools and the lack of teachers to the endemic poverty in Wales, they concluded that the problem was an inherent defect in the Welsh character; the Welsh were dirty, lazy, ignorant, and promiscuous. These weaknesses were caused, they said, by their stubborn adherence to the Welsh language and to Nonconformity. The report became known as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* (The Treachery of the Blue Books), a reference to the Dark Age Welsh legend of the "Treachery of the Long Knives," when at a conference Saxons treacherously turned on and slew Welsh chieftains. It was attacked by both Anglicans and Nonconformists, and its publication may have been a major stimulus to the rise of Welsh nationalism.

Dwellings and Architecture

Castell Henllys (in Welsh, castle of the prince's court) is an Iron Age hill fort whose extensive excavation and reconstructions reveal it to be similar to other Celtic hill forts. The fort, first built in the Early Iron Age, consisted of a defended area of about 1.25 acres located on a steep-sided spur above a stream that curved around it on three sides. It was defended by major earthworks, consisting of a large inner bank, ditch, smaller outer bank, and further ditch.

The walls at the Silures' town of Venta Silurum, made of earth and faced with stone in 330 C.E., enclosed about 40 acres. At the height of its prosperity in the third and early fourth centuries C.E. it may have had a population of 2,500, making it the largest city Wales knew for 1,500 years. Nine miles from Venta Silurum, Isca Silurum had all the features of a Roman city—a basilica, a forum, bathhouses, hotels, temples, and streets of houses. The houses included some substantial dwellings, which had murals, mosaic floors, and central heating. The ruins of the amphitheater at Isca Silurum excited the imaginations of later people and may have given rise to the idea of King Arthur's Round Table.

Whitley Grange Roman Villa Whitley Grange is the site of a Roman villa near Wroxeter that has yielded fascinating evidence of post-Roman occupation. Finds include a large and elaborate floor mosaic, dating to the latter half of the fourth century, which is notable as the only figurative mosaic known in Shropshire. The villa may have been occupied into the sixth century;

however, the nature of the occupation calls into question the degree to which it represents a continuation of a Roman way of life. A number of holes were cut through the mosaic, causing considerable disfigurement. Some of these seem to have been repaired to some extent, but the mosaic tiles were not replaced. The next layer of occupation shows signs of beams placed across the mosaic and ash, possibly from a hearth. A bathhouse in the villa complex was replastered and refurbished in the fourth century; its hypocaust (the Roman underground furnace and tile flues) was last heated in the second half of the fifth century (according to carbon dating of charred wood remains) after which the occupants of the site ceased to use it for bathing and despoiled it. Such evidence seems to indicate a decline or a shift in lifestyle and taste from those of Roman times.

Other Technologies

The discovery that copper containing a certain amount of arsenic was a superior metal led to the development of what must have been sophisticated techniques to control the amount of arsenic. Copper ores in Wales can contain as much as 30 percent arsenic, but most metals produced as early as the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. contain 1 to 7 percent arsenic, suggesting that somehow the excess arsenic was being removed. Such techniques for controlling the composition of metals are thought to have led to the early development in Wales and Ireland of bronze making, with Cornish tin being alloyed with copper. Whether or not the initial idea of bronze making was introduced from abroad or originated in the British Isles, bronze made there was soon being traded to northern Europe.

Art

The metal objects found in the former lake of Llyn Cerrig Bach demonstrate the high level of craftsmanship of Welsh smiths. In this important hoard the smiths used what is called the Llyn Cerrig Bach style, which was influential in the development of the local variant of the continental La Tène style. An important innovation of the style, which would form one of the most distinctive elements of La Tène art on the British Isles, was the practice of filling in the background voids or "negative" areas surrounding the raised or "positive" figures with tiny lines to give an impression of shading and to set off the figures. Common figures in the style are stylized bird heads as well as whirlygig-shaped figures called triskeles, decorating various artifacts such as bronze plaques, horse gear, shields, swords, and spears.

Music

Welsh Harp The harp is considered the national instrument of Wales. In that poetry in ancient Wales was probably as much sung as recited, skill in playing the harp was part of a poet's training. Hundreds of harp tunes were passed down by ear through the generations, many of them possibly of great antiquity. Among the earliest written collections are the Robert ap Haw Manuscript of 1613 and Edward Jones's 18th-century compilation *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*. Most of the tunes from the 1613 manuscript were probably written in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Singing Giraldus Cambrensis noted in 1193 that in their musical concerts the Welsh did not sing in unison but in many different parts. This indicates a high level of musicality, for polyphony, the singing together of different parts or vocal lines, although first practiced in Europe from the ninth century, was still the "state of the art" of music, mostly practiced in great urban centers such as Paris and in universities like Oxford.

Although choral singing in Wales, as in all Christian countries, continued to be an integral part of religious liturgical practice throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, in the 19th century the peculiar Welsh phenomenon of the immensely popular secular choral societies came into being. Particularly in the mining region of southern Wales in the raw mining towns with their throngs of young unmarried men, drunkenness had become such a problem that temperance societies were formed. They organized choirs to occupy the men, keep them away from taverns, and give them a sense of community and pride. In the Nonconformist chapels hymn singing formed the basis of the exuberant style of worship, which aimed to replace the dancing and other "rural sports" condemned by preachers as distractions from the business of salvation. Even outside regular services certain days each year were set aside purely for the singing of hymns. These occasions became the Cymanfaoedd Ganu, or Hymn Meetings, entirely in Welsh. They were led by conductors especially trained in eliciting from their congregations the Welsh *hwyl,* or emotion.

Literature

Latin Literacy Although only a handful of Latin-inscribed tombstones are known from late Roman Britain, hundreds survive from the fifth

to the seventh century. The sixth-century memorial stone at Penmachno in North Wales, for instance, commemorates a *magistratus* of one of the kingdoms of Britons. Many of these inscriptions show literary inventiveness and wit; they have been cited to bolster the argument that Romanization of Wales long outlasted the Roman presence. If use of Latin is to be taken as a marker of Romanization, however, growing number of Latin inscriptions in the fifth to seventh century would indicate not merely survival of Roman civilization but its growth in influence at a time when on the European mainland the Roman Empire was collapsing into anarchy and chaos. And the literary values of the Latin inscriptions in Britain and Wales are more than matched by writings in never-Romanized Ireland. It can thus be argued that such inscriptions indicate instead the caliber of the "literary" enterprise of the native people of the British Isles rather than their Romanization.

Oral to Written Tradition In the early Middle Ages centuries-old Welsh poetry and narratives were first committed to writing. The *Historia Brittonum* was compiled, possibly by a writer called Nennius, in the ninth century, and the *Annals of Wales* was written in the 10th century. The *Gododdin,* a poems of 1,480 lines, was written in the 13th century by the poet Aneirin of the sixth century; its core is believed to have been composed in about 590, making it among the earliest Welsh poems to have been preserved. It recounts the attack of the Gododdin of Scotland on Catraeth to win it from the Saxons. The attack was a disaster, and Aneirin's words can be interpreted to mean that he alone of the men of Mynyddog, king of the Gododdin, escaped with his life. The poem contains what may be the earliest known reference to King Arthur. The reference is notable for the fact that the name of Arthur must have been a household word at this time, possibly only 50 years after his death, for he is mentioned without explanation; moreover he must have been a byword for heroism, for the reference occurs in the context of a description of another heroic warrior who, however gallant, was described as not comparable to Arthur.

The Four Ancient Books A pinnacle of medieval Welsh culture occurred in the 12th century in the courts of the Welsh kingdoms, invigorated by their successful resistance against the Normans, and in the Cistercian monasteries, where the oral tradition of Celtic Wales was first compiled and transcribed. The earliest works written at this time are thought to date to about the sixth century C.E.; notable among them were those compiled into the Four Ancient Books of Wales: *The Book of Aneurin, The Book of Taliesin, The Black Book of Caemarthen,* and *The Red Book of Hergest*. Although most early literature is anonymous, the names of four bards have been passed down to us (probably from the sixth to seventh century): Aneurin, Taliesin, Myrddin (the Merlin of Arthurian romance), and Llywarch Hen. These names are semimythical, as so much else written in the Middle Ages about earlier Welsh history, and may have been assigned to poetry by anonymous bards. For example the *Hanes Taliesin* (Romance, or Tale, of Taliesin), one of the stories in the *Mabinogion* collection, describes the career of Taliesin in completely mythical terms. Extant poetic works are ascribed to a sixth-century bard called Taliesin, but the Taliesin in the *Hanes Taliesin* attains his powers in a magical way, by tasting a few drops from the brew in the cauldron of a sorceress called Cerridwen.

Giraldus Cambrensis An important source for early medieval Welsh history is Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barri, Gerald the Welshman) of the 12th and 13th centuries. Son of the Norman castellan of Pembroke Castle he could also trace his ancestry to the kings of Deheubarth. He was educated in Paris, where he became fluent in Latin. Among his many writings are *Itinerarium Kambriae* (The journey through Wales) and *Descriptio Kambriae* (A description of Wales).

Welsh Court Poetry During the period when the Welsh kingdoms maintained their independence from England, the highest form of poetry was considered to be the eulogy of the ruler and his ancestors. The elegy was also important. Bards elaborated the music of poetry with complex meters, rhyme schemes, and alliteration. Poetry was systematized by court bards; only a limited number of particular meters, epithets, and metaphors were authorized, as were archaisms of expression. Poetry was largely written in strict meter embellished with *cynghanedd,* an intricate system of sound chiming.

From about the 10th century the professional tradition of the court bards became increasingly codified as to permissible subject matter. The Welsh Laws, a law code of the time, heavily influenced by the church, show that it had become essential for poets to avoid "untruth." The relative lack of traditional mythic lore in court poetry as compared to contemporary prose tales and romances, indeed the lack of narrative itself, suggests that by "untruth" was

meant heresy: the myths of the pagan past. Poetry for court bards had to consist solely of epithets and allusions.

The cultural divide between the Welsh ruling class and the populace is underlined by the contrast between court poetry and the contemporary prose tales and romances, which are full of color, vivid description, and narrative. The composers of romances such as the *Hanes Taliesin* seem to have been wandering minstrels called vulgar rhymsters by court poets who performed for ordinary people in villages, never for the courts of the nobility.

After the conquest of Wales by Edward I the greater Norman influence introduced to Wales the French Provençal concept of courtly love. Meanwhile Breton knights accompanying the Normans seem to have recognized in the minstrel tales versions of stories told in their Celtic homeland; as a consequence minstrels began to be introduced into the courts. The richly imaginative tales of the vulgar rhymesters, when translated into French and combined with the Provençal literature of chivalry and courtly love, brought about the genesis of Arthurian romance. Many of them were compiled into the *Mabinogion*.

The Mabinogion The title *Mabinogion* (meaning juvenile romances, i.e., stories that formed the stock-in-trade of apprentice bards) was given by William Owen Pughe, an 18th-century antiquarian, to a selection of prose narrative works found in one or both of two books, the *Red Book of Hergest* and the *White Book of Rhydderch,* thought to have been compiled first in 11th-century Wales, although they are only known from later manuscripts that contain transcripts of the originals and other material added in subsequent centuries. The earliest copy of the *Mabinogion* did not contain the *Romance of Taliesin* but only some poetic interludes referring to it. But because a 16th-century manuscript of the *Romance* had poetic interludes matching those in the *Mabinogion,* it was determined that the 13th-century *Romance* had been included in the *Mabinogion* collection along with the much earlier *Book of Taliesin* attributed to the sixth-century bard of that name. The romances of the minstrels, although in prose, included interludes in poetry at moments of high drama or emotion, comparable to the arias of modern opera; they were probably sung by minstrels who accompanied themselves on the harp.

The material in these books is often referred to as *The Matter of Britain*—that is, the body of folk, historical, and narrative lore originating among the Celtic peoples of western Britain. Consisting of 11 tales the *Mabinogion* maps out a cosmology of the mortal and immortal realms, its characters exploring and often crossing the boundaries between the two. It comprises the full gamut of literary styles and genres, from folk and mythological tales to bardic works and romances composed for the 12th- and 13th-century Welsh aristocracy in a style much influenced by Norman literature. The tales run the entire Celtic time span as well, from the mythic "time out of time" of the origins of things, through the heroic age to historical times. The section called "The Four Branches" contains the earliest material; the Arthurian Dark Age is represented in "The Three Romances," and the civil strife of the Middle Ages is described at the start of "The Dream of Rhonabwy." King Arthur of the Company of the Round Table and the quest for the Holy Grail appear in the *Mabinogion,* the first such literary version of the tale.

Dafydd ap Gwilym In the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym, the premier poet of the 14th century, the theme of love predominates over the eulogy of princes. Dafydd achieved a synthesis of court and minstrel poetry. Most of his more than 150 surviving poems make full use of the *cynghanedd* of the court bards, each line having seven syllables and arranged in rhymed couplets in which the paired lines end alternately with a masculine and a feminine foot (masculine feet end with a stressed syllable and feminine with an unstressed syllable), so that a stressed syllable rhymes with an unstressed one. He achieved such prestige for this style that for 300 years all ambitious Welsh poets aimed to achieve mastery of it. Yet unlike the court bards of the past, he included in his poetry subjects and characters from Celtic mythology, and a Celtic respect for women that had largely been lost in the patriarchalism of the early Christian Church. (He once tried to persuade a nun with whom he was in love to break out of her cloister.) In one poem he tells of Blodeuwedd, formerly the wife of Llew Llaw Gyffes (considered the Welsh version of the deity known elsewhere among the Celts as Lugus), now transformed into an owl, who maintains that she is the daughter of the Lord of Mona (Anglesey of the Druids) equal in dignity to any king.

The Eisteddfod An exemplar of Welsh royal cultural patronage, Rhys ap Gruffudd, was the last of the rulers of Deheubarth to wield a significant degree of power. Lord Rhys was a patron of the Cistercian order, and in 1174 he presided over a cultural gathering at Cardigan, which is

considered to be the first recorded example of an *eisteddfod* (from the verb *eistedd,* to sit, that is, a gathering in which people sit to witness musical and bardic performances).

The *eisteddfod* evolved from the ancient bardic "contentions," such as that between the court poet and the vulgar rhymesters, in which apprentice poets and musicians would compete for a seat of honor in the households of nobility. The winner of an *eisteddfod* could expect generous patronage from the nobility. The proceedings of such competitions were formalized in the 16th century, when the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1523 regulated the patronage system and graded poets and musicians according to rank and status.

Religion

Druids The Roman general Julius Caesar wrote that Druidism originated in Britain, and the Welsh island of Anglesey was a center of Druidic activity. The Druids there may have been in the forefront of fomenting resistance to the Romans, perhaps the reason that the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus mounted a campaign in 60 C.E. to wipe them out. Roman historian Tacitus gives a striking description of the Druids as they attempted to ward off the Roman troops, saying that the warriors included women in black robes. The Druids reportedly raised their hands in prayer and uttered incantations against the Romans so powerful that they became paralyzed.

During the early invasion period a young man of apparently elite status, attested by the lack of signs of wear on his hands and his well-nourished condition, was killed ritually and deposited in Lindow marsh in Cheshire, not far from Anglesey. His lack of war wounds strongly suggests he was a Druid, or at least a priest or religious figure of some kind. Among the Celts human sacrifice was offered at times of crisis, according to Caesar, Tacitus, and other Roman writers. The man found in the marsh (called Lindow II because he was the second oldest body found there) may have offered this supreme sacrifice for his people in such a time of crisis. Tacitus wrote that the Druids on Anglesey sacrificed prisoners in great numbers. Whether or not this was propaganda on Tacitus's part, Lindow II suggests that Druids were also ready to lay down their own lives.

Iron Age Water Ritual at Llyn Cerrig Bach People in Wales, as elsewhere in the Celtic world, worshipped and performed rituals at watery sites such as springs, lakes, and streams. The first clear archaeological evidence of such practices was found during World War II while construction work was in progress on an airfield near Llanfihangel-yn-Nhowyn on Anglesey, which was built over the former lake of Llyn Cerrig Bach, silted up to become a peat bog. A remarkable array of Iron Age metalwork was found—swords, spears, chariot fittings, horse bridles, cauldrons, a trumpet, currency bars, animal bones, and two sets of slave chains. These votive offerings seem to have been dropped into the lake from a rock platform. They range in date from about 500 B.C.E. to after 100 C.E., indicating that the practice continued after Suetonius Paulinus's Roman army's raid on Anglesey. The rite at Llyn Cerrig Bach, then, was probably independent of the Druids. On analogy with other water ritual sites excavated more thoroughly than Llyn Cerrig Bach in Britain and Europe the site probably featured a long, wooden causeway leading out over the water, from which objects were dropped and where, no doubt, prayers and other rituals took place. In contrast to other such sites, no human bones were reported from Llyn Cerrig Bach (possibly for reasons of wartime propaganda, when Britons might have been reluctant to learn that their ancestors were as capable of cruelty as the Germanic tribesmen described by Tacitus). Again on analogy with other sites human sacrifice probably took place at Llyn Cerrig Bach as well.

Welsh Christianity Christianity in Wales during the early Middle Ages, as in other parts of Celtic Britain, had assumed a distinctly Celtic form different from that of the Catholic Church in most of Europe. The Roman Church was in many ways a continuation of the Roman Empire in terms of its strictly hierarchical nature, its focus on Rome, and the primarily urban point of view of its leaders. The Celtic Church differed in all these respects: It had a strongly localized organization focused on the monastery rather than the urban bishopric. Its main hierarchy was the simple one of abbot and monks, although the Welsh did have some bishops. It was marked by a heroic asceticism, a strong emphasis on scholasticism—an inheritance from the Druids—and the incorporation of the worship of nature into Christian ritual and teachings, rooted in pagan Celtic religion. When Saint Augustine traveled from Rome to Anglo-Saxon England in 597 the Welsh bishops rejected his demand for obedience. The method for calculating Easter was an important point of contention between the Celtic Welsh Christians and the Roman Church and was only accepted by the Welsh in the eighth century.

Saint David The sixth-century Saint David is the patron saint of Wales. The Welsh form of his name, Dewi, is a southwestern dialect form of the Welsh Dafydd. He founded his first monastery on a promontory pushing out to the sea at the farthest point of southwest Wales in a region where many Irish had settled the previous century. David may have been part Irish; he practiced the heroic Christianity of Irish saints such as the sixth-century Columba, subjecting himself to rigorous privations to make his soul closer to God. He was a zealous missionary and founded many more monasteries in Wales. Saint David' s feast day is March 1 and his symbol is the leek.

Early Christian Burial Practices During the sixth century to the eighth century Welsh Christians were often buried in stone-lined cists aligned east to west in cemeteries not associated with churches but rather with Bronze Age barrows or, in at least one case, with standing stones. New enclosures and special entranceways were constructed for the cemeteries to provide dramatic settings for the graves.

Norman Romanization of the Welsh Church In part to appease the English church hierarchy and to show their loyalty to the papacy in Rome, which had sanctioned their conquest of England, the Normans made more determined attempts to align Christianity in Wales with the Roman Church than the Anglo-Saxons had. The Welsh had maintained their Celtic style of Christianity, in which the basis of church organization was the monastery rather than the bishopric. Moreover their monasteries differed from those that followed the Benedictine Rule (after St. Benedict of the fifth–sixth century), the dominant form of monasticism in Latin Europe. The traditional monastic community of the Welsh was the *clas,* whose monks lived in wooden huts; Welsh abbots could marry and monasteries were served by hereditary officers. To put the Welsh in the Latin fold the Normans founded Benedictine monasteries in Wales, the first in Chepstow in 1071; by 1150 the country had 17 houses. The *clas* monasteries were suppressed and their income was frequently diverted to rich abbeys in England and Normandy. The Normans countered the loose diocesan structure of Wales, whose bishops had no clear delineation of power, by appointing Norman bishops, as ambitious for power as their lay brethren, and defining the territory of each diocese; St. David's Cathedral received a Norman bishop in 1115. All bishops in Wales, Norman or Welsh, were forced to acknowledge the archbishop of Canterbury as their "overlord" in Christ; Norman control over the Welsh Church was an important component of their dominance in Wales.

Protestantism in Wales Radical Protestantism was slower in entering Wales than the rest of Britain. The first prominent Puritan was John Penry of Breconshire, a bitter opponent of bishops, who was hanged in 1593 and became for future generations the founding martyr of Welsh Nonconformity. Not until after the victory of the Puritans and Parliament in the English Civil War did a movement of evangelical Protestantism gain momentum. It remained a minority sect until the Methodist Revival of the 18th century.

Welsh Methodism Welsh Methodism differed from Methodism in England in remaining at first within the Church of England and embracing Calvinist theology. Although Welsh Methodism eventually became a separate denomination, the Welsh remained more politically conservative than English Puritans and Methodists. They focused solely on awakening converts to a sense of sin and a need for salvation. Welsh Methodists tended to be voluble in their services and demonstrative about the joys of believing. Over the 19th century they awakened to inequities in Welsh society and began to criticize the privileges accorded the Anglican Church. The finding of a religious census conducted in Britain in 1851 that possibly as much as 80 percent of the Welsh population were Nonconformist (non-Church of England) greatly encouraged the demand for the disestablishment (the end of government sponsorship) of the Church of England in Wales, which by the end of the 19th century had become the most important political issue in the country. Nonconformists worshipped in chapels, and a vast chapel-building enterprise took place after 1800. It is estimated that between 1800 and 1850 a new chapel was opened in Wales every eight days.

The land of Wales is distinct from British territory on its eastern border in being largely a highland zone, a characteristic that to some extent has isolated the Welsh from people to their east and fostered a distinctive economy and society. For many centuries the highlands protected the Welsh from interference and conquest by outsiders and gave its people a fiercely independent character. In all Welsh history only the Romans and the Normans—arguably the first European people after the fall of the Roman Empire to rival the Romans as conquerors—have been able to capture Wales. At the same time the mineral wealth of

WENDS

location:
Between Elbe and Oder Rivers in northern Germany

time period:
Eighth century C.E.

ancestry:
Slavic

language:
Probably West Slavic

Wales and the great river Severn leading into the Welsh interior have placed the Welsh in contact with the wider world, helping to foster the rich Welsh cultural heritage, particularly its literature, with its gift to the world King Arthur—one of the great utopian figures of Western culture and an important vehicle for the transmission of the idea of civilization from the ancient world to the modern—who has fired the imagination of generations up to the present.

Efforts to preserve the Welsh language are on going. Welsh language primary and secondary schools have been established, a Welsh-language television channel began broadcasting in 1982, and there are several nationally recognized Welsh arts, opera, and literature councils.

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Wends (Wenden; Winds; Windisch; Vends; Vendians; Sorbs; Sorbians)

The name Wends has been used variously throughout history with regard to the Slavs. It is thought to be derived from Venedi, a term used by ancient Greeks and Romans for all peoples living to the east of the Germanics, centuries earlier than Slavs as a distinct ethnic group had emerged. It was later used by early medieval Carolingian Franks as a collective name for Slavic tribes near their eastern borders. The use of this name for ancestors of historically known Slavs is a device employed by modern Slavic scholars with a nationalistic agenda to claim more ancient antecedents for the Slavs than they actually had.

The Germanics, in particular the Franks who invaded the region in the eighth century C.E. and established the Sorbian (or Lusatian) Mark, referred to those Slavic tribes between the Elbe and Oder Rivers as Wends and their territory as Wendenland. Other tribes farther to the West were later grouped among them as well. One group was known as the Sorbs, or Lusatian Sorbs. Some writers have used the names Wends and Sorbs interchangeably. Others apply the name Polabians to those tribes in German territory in the north, because of a shared Polabian dialect, and Sorbs to those in the south.

The Western Slavic dialect still spoken by present-day Lusatian Sorbs is referred to as Lusatian, Sorbian, or Wendish. A community of people also identified as Wends currently lives in eastern Slovenia.

White Croats *See* Croats.

Wislanie *See* Vislanians.

Wolinians (Woliners; Volinians; Velunzani)

The Wolinians are classified as a tribe of Western Slavs. They lived on and opposite Wolin Island near the mouth of the Oder River in present-day northwestern Poland. To their west were the Veletians and to the east, the Pomeranians. In the ninth century C.E., possibly in conjunction with Balts or Vikings, the Wolinians founded Kamien Pomorski, which since that time has prospered as a port city. Along with the Polanians, who gained hegemony over other area tribes in the 10th century, they are among the ancestors of the Poles (*see* Poles: nationality).

Y-Z

Yotvingians (Yatvingians; Yatvigs; Jatvingians; Jatvians; Jatviagians; Jotvingas; Jotvinge; Jotvingiai; Sudovians; Sudavians; Soudinoi; Sudini; Sudavits-Yatvyags)

The Yotvingians were one of the tribal entities to evolve out of the ancient BALTS, Baltic-speaking peoples living in north-central Europe. Their homeland was in the eastern part of present-day Lithuania, especially between the Neman and Neris Rivers in the Baltic Highlands, south of the LITHUANIANS and extending into present-day northeastern Poland. Along with the Lithuanians and SAMOGITIANS Yotvingians were ancestral to inhabitants of the modern nation of Lithuania (*see* LITHUANIANS: NATIONALITY). They are thought to have been closely related to BORUSSIANS. Their name is possibly Finnic in origin, meaning "long-legged riders."

ORIGINS

It is thought that proto-Baltics migrated to the Baltic Sea region by about 2000 to 1500 B.C.E. The Yotvingians were one of the first Baltic tribes mentioned by name, listed as the Soudinoi by the second-century C.E. geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria.

LANGUAGE

The Yotvingian Baltic dialects are closely related to those of the Borussians.

HISTORY

Early Yotvingian history is tied into that of the RUS, the founders of Russia, as well as the POLANIANS, the founders of Poland, more than that of the VIKINGS, who had more contacts with Balts living along or near the Baltic Sea. The Yotvingians paid tribute to the Rus as early as 983 C.E. By 1000 the Polish state had formed. Boleslaw I of the POLES recognized the political advantage of converting the pagan Balts to his religion, so he sent the German prelate Bruno of Querfurt to the lands of the Yotvingians. Boleslav competed for the Yotvingian lands with the Rus grand prince Vladimir I. Bruno was led to the estate of local Yotvingian chieftain, Nethimer, and began preaching. Nethimer refused to be christened, however, and after a confrontation ordered that Bruno be burned at the stake; as legend has it, for some reason the fire refused to light. Nethimer considered this to

YOTVINGIANS

location:
West-central Lithuania; northeastern Poland

time period:
Second to 14th century C.E.

ancestry:
Baltic

language:
Baltic

Yotvingians time line

C.E.

c. 180	Ptolemy mentions Yotvingians.
983	Yotvingians pay tribute to Rus.
c. 1009	Yotvingians kill German prelate Bruno of Querfurt.
1038	Grand Duke Yaroslav attacks Yotvingians.
1283	German crusaders defeat Yotvingians and Lithuanians.

be a miracle, released Bruno, and he and his 300 men were baptized. Nethimer' s brother refused baptism and Nethimer had him killed.

Polish influence on the Yotvingians continued until Archbishop Bruno himself was killed in 1009 by the Yotvingians. The eventual death of Boleslaw in 1025 created internal battles in Poland and temporarily ended that period of Polish domination in Lithuania. In 1038 the Rus under Yaroslav again invaded Yotvingian territory. All Yotvingian and other Baltic lands east of the present borders of Lithuania and Latvia were under the control of the SLAVS by the 11th century.

Yotvingians and Crusaders

In later centuries the Yotvingians were forced to contend with Germanic expansion from the west. In 1201 the city of Riga was founded by Germans from Bremen and Hamburg, the beginning of a long period of Germanic influence in the region. The military and religious orders the Brothers of the Sword in the north and the Teutonic Knights in the south campaigned against the pagan peoples of the region. In 1283 the Germans defeated the last Yotvingians and deported some 1,600 to the occupied lands of the Sambians, a subtribe of Borussians, near modern Kaliningrad. The last resisting Yotvingian chief, Scurdo, escaped to Lithuania with many of his soldiers, however. Yotvingian lands eventually became part of Lithuanian territory, and surviving tribal members were assimilated by the 14th century.

CULTURE (*see also* BALTS)

Little is known about the specific culture of the Yotvingians, who are only known from historical accounts that speak of events rather than their sociocultural background. It is assumed that their society and culture were similar to those of other Baltic tribes. Because of their location away from the coast they would not have taken part in the amber gathering that was an important part of the economy of the coastal regions. Their location along the Neman and Neris Rivers, an important trade route from the coast, may have allowed them to play some role in the amber trade, if only as raiders and toll takers. Their territory on the Baltic Highlands was more suitable for grazing than farming. They were also known as hunters.

The name of one of the most renowned war chiefs and pagan priests of the Yotvingians fighting the Germans, Skomantas, is being used as the pseudonym for various writers who contribute to a historical adventure series about Balt history for young readers, published by Nordik in Riga, Lithuania. Some of the novels have been translated into English.

Zemaitians *See* SAMOGITIANS.

Zemgalians *See* SEMIGALLIANS.

Zhmud *See* SAMOGITIANS.

Zyrians *See* KOMI.

APPENDIX I:
European Peoples with Entries in This Book with Alternate Names and Groupings

Abazians (Abazins; Abaza; Apswa; Ashvy)—Caucasic
Abricantes (Abrincati; Abricantui)—Celtic
Achaeans (Achaioi)—Hellenic
Adriani—Italic
Aduatuci (Aduatici; Atuatuci; Audatici)—Celtic
Aducinates—Celtic and Germanic
Aedui (Haedui; Haeduers; Eduans)—Celtic
Aeolians (Eolians; Aeolic Greeks)—Hellenic
Aequi (Equi; Equians; Aequiculi)—Italic
Aestii (Aestae; Aestyans; Aistii; Aistians; Austii)—possibly Baltic or Finno-Ugric
Agessinates (Agesinates; Cambolectri Agessinates)—Celtic
Aigosages—Celtic
Alamanni (Alamani; Alemanni; Alemans; Allemanni; Allemans)—Germanic
Alans (Alani; Alanoi; Alanians; Sarmatians)—Iranian
Albanians: nationality (Albans; people of Albania)
Albici—Celtic
Allobroges (Allobrogi; Allobrogae)—Celtic
Ambarri (Ambarres; Ambarisii)—Celtic
Ambialates (Ambialati)—Celtic
Ambiani—Celtic
Ambibarii—Celtic
Ambidravi—Celtic
Ambivariti (Ambivarii)—Celtic
Amsivarii (Amsivari; Ampsivari; Ambivarii)—Germanic
Anagnutes—Celtic
Anares (Anari)—Celtic
Anartes (Anarti)—Celtic
Ancalites—Celtic
Andecamulenses—Celtic
Andecavi (Andecaves; Andes)—Celtic
Andis (Andians; Qwannab; Khivannal)—Caucasic
Andorrans: nationality (people of Andorra)
Angles (Angli; Engle)—Germanic
Anglo-Saxons (Old English; Engle)—Germanic
Antes (Antae; Anty; Ants)—Slavic
Aorsi—Iranian
Apuli (Apulians; Dauni)—Illyrian
Aquitani (Aquitanians)—Celtic
Arecomici (Aricomi; Volcae Arecomici)—Celtic
Arevaci (Arevacii; Arevacos; Arevacians)—Celtic
Arvanites (Arberor; Shqiptar; Albanian Greeks)—Albanian (Illyrian)
Arverni (Arvernii; Arvernes; Averni; Arveni)—Celtic
Arviens (Aulerci Arviens)—Celtic
Aspiates—Celtic
Astures (Asturii)—Celtic
Atacini—Celtic
Atrebates (Atribati)—Celtic
Attacotti (Attacots)—Pictish
Aulerci—Celtic
Aurunci (Auruncians)—Italic
Ausci (Auscii; Auici)—Celtic
Austrians: nationality (people of Austria)
Auteri (Auterii)—Celtic
Avars (Juan-Juan; Varchonites)—Mongolic, Turkic, or Caucasic
Baiocasses (Bodiocasses)—Celtic
Balkars (Malkarli; Mountain Tatars)—Turkic
Balts (Baltic peoples)—Baltic
Bashkirs—Turkic
Basques (Vasco; Vascons; Vascones; Vascongado; Euskotarak; Euskaldunak)—Basque
Bastarnae (Bastarni; Bastarnians; Peucini; Peucinians) —Germanic and Celtic
Bastetani—Iberian
Bastuli—Iberian
Batavi (Batavii; Bataves; Batavians)—Germanic
Bavarians (people of Bavaria)—regional
Bavarii (Baiovari; Baivvari; Baiuoarii; Boiarii; Bojuvari; Bojovares; Bavarians)—Germanic
Belarusians: nationality (Belarusans; Belorussians; Byelarussians; Byelorussians; Bielorussians; people of Belarus)
Belegezites—Slavic
Belendi—Celtic
Belgae—Celtic
Belgians: nationality (people of Belgium)
Belli (Belos)—Celtic
Bellovaci (Bellovici; Ballovaci; Bellovaques)—Celtic

Bercorates—Celtic
Berones (Beroni)—Celtic
Bibroci—Celtic
Bigerriones (Bigerri; Begerri)—Celtic
Bituriges (Buturiges; Biturges)—Celtic
Bodiotonci—Celtic
Bohemians (people of Bohemia)—regional
Boii (Boi; Boyards)—Celtic
Boikos (Bojko; Boikians; Verkhovyntsi)—Slavic
Boresti—Celtic
Borussians (Borussi; Prussi; Old Prussians)—Baltic
Bosnians and Herzegovinians: nationality (Bosniaks; Hercegovinians; people of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Brannovices (Aulerci Brannovices)—Celtic
Bretons—Celtic
Brigantes (Brigantii)—Celtic
Brigantini—Celtic
British: nationality (Brits; people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain)
Britons (Britanni; Brittones; Brythons; Brithons; Hyperboreans)—Celtic
Bructeri (Bructerians; Bructi; Brutteri)—Germanic
Bruttii (Brittii; Bruzi; Brezi)—Italic
Bulgarians: nationality (people of Bulgaria)
Bulgars (Bulghars; Bulgari; Bolgars; Bolghars; Bolgari; Bulgarians; Ogurs; Onugurs)—Turkic
Burgundii (Burgunds; Burgundiones; Burgundians)—Germanic
Buzhanians (Buzhians; Boujans)—Slavic
Byzantines (Romaioi; Rhomaioi; Romans; people of the Byzantine Empire)—regional
Cadurci (Cadurces)—Celtic
Caerenii (Caereni)—Celtic
Caerosi (Caeraesi; Caeroesi)—Germanic or Celtic
Caledones (Caledonii)—Celtic or Pictish
Caledonians (Caledones; Caledonii)—Celtic
Caleti (Caletes)—Celtic
Cambolectri (Cambolectri Atlantici)—Celtic
Campani (Campanians)—Italic
Cangi—Celtic
Cantabri (Cantabrii; Cantabros)—Celtic
Cantiaci (Cantii)—Celtic
Carantanians (Karantanians; Carinthians; Carinthian Slavs)—Slavic
Carnonacae—Celtic
Carnutes—Celtic
Carpenati (Carpenatians)—Carpenatian
Carpetani—Iberian
Carpi (Carps; Karps; Capes; Carpians)—Thracian
Carthaginians (Phoenicians; Poeni; Puni)—Semitic
Carvetii—Celtic
Cassi—Celtic
Catalanians (Catalans; people of Catalonia)—regional
Catalauni (Catalaunes)—Celtic
Caturiges—Celtic
Catuvellauni—Celtic
Caucasians (Caucasic peoples)—Caucasic
Cauci (Kauki)—Celtic
Cavares—Celtic
Celtae (Galli)—Celtic
Celtiberians (Celt-Iberians; Celtiberi; Celtiberes; Ibero-Celts)—Celtic
Celtici—Celtic
Celts (Celtae; Kelts; Keltoi; Kelten; Celtic peoples)—Celtic
Cenimagni—Celtic
Cenomani (Aulerci Cenomani)—Celtic
Ceretani—Celtic
Ceutrones (Ceatrones)—Celtic
Chamavi (Chamavians; Camavi)—Germanic
Chatti (Catti; Chatten; Cattans)—Germanic
Chattuarii—Germanic
Chauci (Chaucians; Chaukes; Cauci; Chanci)—Germanic
Chechens (Czechens; Nokhchi; Noxchuo; Akki)—Caucasic
Cherusci (Cheruscii; Cherisci)—Germanic
Chorvati (Khorvaty)—Slavic
Chuvash (Chuvashes)—Turkic
Cimbri (Chimbri)—Germanic
Cimmerians (Cymmerians)—possibly Thracian or Iranian
Circassians (Zyukhoy)—Caucasic
Cocosates (Cocossates)—Celtic
Coenicenses—Celtic
Conderates—Celtic
Condrusi—Celtic and Germanic
Consoranni (Consoranis) —Celtic
Convenae—Celtic
Coriondi (Coriundi; Koriondi)—Celtic
Corionototae—Celtic
Coriosolites (Curiosolites; Curiosolitae; Coriosolli)—Celtic
Coritani (Corieltauvi)—Celtic
Cornish (Cornishmen; people of Cornwall)—regional
Cornovii—Celtic
Cossacks (Kazaks)—Slavic
Costobocii (Costoboci)—Thracian
Creones—Celtic
Croats (Croatians; Hrvati)—Slavic
Croats: nationality (Croatians; Hrvati; people of Croatia)
Cumans (Kumans; Qumans; Kun; Polovtski; Polovtsky; Polovetsy; Polovtsians; Kipchaks)—Turkic
Curonians (Cours; Courans; Courones; Cori; Curi; Curlandrs; Kurs; Kurons; Kursa; Kursi; Kurshi; Kurzemians; Kurlanders; Kershes)—Baltic
Cycladites (Cycladians; people of the Cyclades)—regional
Cypriots: nationality (people of Cyprus)
Czechs (Tcheques; Cechove; Češi; Bohemians)—Slavic
Czechs: nationality (people of the Czech Republic)
Dacians (Daci; Daceans; Geto-Dacians)—Thracian
Dál Fiatach (Darini; Darnini)—Celtic
Dalmatians (people of Dalmatia)—regional
Dál Riata (Dalriada; Dal Reti; Redoii)—Celtic
Damnonii (Damnoni; Damnonians)—Celtic
Danes: nationality (Danish; people of Denmark)
Dani—Germanic
Dardani (Dardanians)—Illyrians
Dargwas (Darguas; Dargins)—Caucasic
Decantae—Celtic
Deceangli—Celtic
Deciates—Celtic
Demetae—Celtic
Diablintes (Aulerci Diablintes)—Celtic
Didos (Didoi; Tsunti)—Caucasic
Dobunni—Celtic
Dorians (Doricians; Doric Greeks)—Hellenic
Dregovichians (Dregovichi; Dregoviches)—Slavic
Drevlyans (Drevlyane; Drevliane; Drevlians; Drevlane; Derevlians; Derevlane; Derevlianians; Vervians)—Slavic

Duklianes—Slavic
Dulebians (Dulebi; Duleby; Dulebs; Doulebes; Doudelebi)—Slavic
Dumnonii (Dumnoni; Domnainn)—Celtic
Durocasses (Durocassi)—Celtic
Durotriges—Celtic
Dutch: nationality (Hollanders; people of the Netherlands)
Eblani (Blanii; Ebdani)—Celtic
Eburones (Eburonii; Ebourones; Eberones)—Celtic and Germanic
Eburovices (Eburovici; Aulerci Eburovices; Eburaici)—Celtic
Eleuteti (Eleutheri)—Celtic
Elusates—Celtic
Elymi (Elimi)—Elymian
English (Engle; Anglo-Normans; people of England)—regional
Enotri (Enotrians; Oenotri; Oenotrians)—Enotrian
Epidi (Epidii)—Celtic
Eravisci—Celtic
Ernaigh (Ernagh; Ernaei; Erdini)—Celtic
Essues—Celtic
Esths (Estes; Esthonians; Estonians)—Finno-Ugric
Estonians: nationality (Estes; Esths; people of Estonia)
Esuvii (Esubii; Sessuvi; Aulerci Sesuvi)—Celtic
Etruscans (Etruschi; Rasenna; Tusci; Tyrrhenians)—Etruscan
Faliscans (Falisci; Falerians)—Italic
Finno-Ugrians (Finno-Ugrics; Finnics; Finnish; Finns; Finno-Ugric peoples)—Finno-Ugric
Finns (Fenni)—Finno-Ugric
Finns: nationality (Finnish; people of Finland)
Flemings (Flemish; people of Flanders)—regional
Franks (Franci; Franchi; Ripuarian Franks; Salian Franks; Franci ripuarii; Franci salii)—Germanic
French: nationality (people of France)
Frentani—Italic
Frisians (Frisii)—Germanic
Friulians—Rhaeto-Romanic
Gaballi (Gabali; Gaballes; Gabeli)—Celtic
Gaesati (Gaesatae)—Celtic
Gagauz (Gagauzs; Gagauzi; Gagauzians)—Turkic
Galatoi (Galatai; Galatae; Galatians; Galats)—Celtic
Galicians (Gallaecians; people of Galicia)—regional
Gallaeci—Celtic
Galli—Celtic
Gangani (Ganagani; Siol Gangain)—Celtic
Garites—Celtic
Garumni—Celtic
Gauls (Galli; Galatoi; Keltoi; Celtae; Gallic Celts)—Celtic
Geiduni—Celtic
Gepids (Gepidae; Gepidi)—Germanic
Germanics (Germans; Teutons; Germanic peoples)—Germanic
Germans: nationality (people of Germany)
Getae (Getians; Geto-Dacians)—Thracian
Golaseccans (Golaseccii)—Celtic
Goplanians (Goplans; Goplanes)—Slavic
Goths (Gothi; Gotones; Gothones; Gutones; Gutonen; Götar; Ostrogoths; Visigoths)—Germanic
Graioceli (Graiocelli)—Celtic
Greeks (Graeci; Hellenes; Helleni; Hellenic peoples)—Hellenic
Greeks: nationality (people of Greece)
Grudii—Celtic
Havelians (Hevellers; Hevelli)—Slavic
Helvetii (Helvetians; Helvetes)—Celtic
Helvii—Celtic
Herminones (Irminones; Erminones)—Germanic
Hermunduri (Hermanduri; Hermenduri; Hermunderi; Hermunduringi; Hermonduri; Hermondurians; Ermunduri)—Germanic
Hernici (Ernici; Aernici)—Italic
Heruli (Heruls; Herules; Herulians; Eruli)—Germanic
Hessians (people of Hesse)—regional
Horvatians (Horvats)—Slavic
Hungarians: nationality (people of Hungary)
Huns (Hunni; Hsiung-nu; Xiongnu; Runs)—possibly Mongolic, Turkic, or Ugric
Hutsuls (Huculs)—Slavic
Iapyges (Iapygi; Iapygii; Iapygians; Iapigi; Iapigians; Jagyges)—Illyrian
Iazyges (Iazigs; Iazygians; Iasians; Jazyges; Yazigs; Metanastae)—Iranian
Iberians (Iberi; Iberes)—Iberian
Icelanders: nationality (people of Iceland)
Iceni (Eceni)—Celtic
Ilergetes (Ilergeti; Ilergates)—Iberian
Illyrians (Illyrii; Illyrici)—Illyrian
Ilmen Slavs (Novgorod Slavs; Slovens)—Slavic
Ingaevones—Germanic
Ingrians—Finno-Ugric
Ingush (Ghalghaaj; Ghalghai)—Caucasic
Insubres (Insubrians)—Celtic
Ionians (Ionic Greeks)—Hellenic
Irish (Hiberni; people of Ireland)—Celtic; regional
Irish: nationality (people of Ireland)
Istaevones (Istvaeones; Istwaeoni)—Germanic
Italians: nationality (people of Italy)
Italics (Italic peoples)—Italic
Iuthungi (Iuthungui; Juthungi)—Germanic
Iverni (Eurerni; Iberni; Iberi; Juerni; Uterni; Uterini)—Celtic
Izhorians (Izhora Ingrians; Ijores; Lyds)—Finno-Ugric
Jews (Hebrews; Israelites)—Semitic
Jutes (Jutae; Eotan)—Germanic
Kalmyks (Kalmucks; Oryats; Oirats)—Mongolic
Karachay (Karachai; Karachayevs)—Turkic
Karaim (Karailar; Karaite)—Turkic
Karelians (Carelians; Karjalaiset; Karjalazhet; Korlaks)—Finno-Ugric
Kashubes (Kashubs; Kashubians; Kaschubians; Kasubes; Kasubians; Kaszebe; Cassoubs; Cashubians)—Slavic
Kazakhs (Kazaks; Qazaq; Quazaq)—Turkic
Khazars (Chazars; Kavars)—Turkic
Kipchaks (Kypchaks; Kimaks; Cumans; Polovtsi) —Turkic
Komi (Syryenians; Zyrians; Zyrane; Zyryani; Serjane; Sirene; Saran; Saran-Jakh; Sanor; Sara-kum; Permyaks)—Finno-Ugric
Kosovars (Kossovars; people of Kosovo)—regional
Krivichians (Krivichi; Krivichy; Kriviches; Crivichi)—Slavic
Kumyks (Kumuks)—Turkic
Kuyavians (Kujavians; Kujawianie)—Slavic
Kvens (Kvins; Kvaens; Kwaenes; Kaïans; Kainuu; Kainulaiset; Kainuunmaa)—Finno-Ugric

Lactorates—Celtic
Ladins—Rhaeto-Romanic
Laks (Lakks; Kazi Kumukh; Kizi-Kumuk; Ghazi-Qumuq)—Caucasic
Latins (Latini)—Italic
Latovici (Latovicii; Latobici; Latobrigi)—Celtic
Latvians: nationality (people of Latvia)
Laudani—Celtic
Ledzianians (Ledzians; Ledzianie; Ledziane; Lecsyans; Lendites; Lendizi; Lenthans; Lendians; Lendzanenoi; Lendzeninoi Lachs)—Slavic
Lemkos (Lemko; Lemkians; Lemaky)—Slavic
Lemovices (Limovici)—Celtic
Leponti (Lepontii)—Celtic
Letts (Lette; Lettish; Letis; Letygola; Lettigallians; Lettigallions; Lettgalions; Latgallians; Lattgalls; Latgalli; Latgalians; Latgale; Lalvis; Letgola; Letygola)—Baltic
Leuci—Celtic
Lexovii (Lexobians)—Celtic
Lezgians (Lezgi; Lezghi; Lezgins; Lezghians; Lesghins; Kurins; Kyurins)—Caucasic
Libici—Celtic
Liechtensteiners: nationality (people of Liechtenstein)
Liganiens—Celtic
Ligurians (Liguri; Ligurii; Ligures)—Ligurian
Lingones (Lingons; Longones)—Celtic and Germanic
Lithuanians (Litva; Liluanians; Letuvininkai; Aukstaiciai)—Baltic
Lithuanians: nationality (people of Lithuania)
Livs (Livonians)—Finno-Ugric
Lobetani—Celtic
Lombards (Langobards; Longobards; Langobardi)—Germanic
Lopocares—Celtic
Lucani (Lucanians)—Italic
Lugadii—Celtic
Lugi (Lugians) —Celtic
Lugii (Lugians; Lugier; Lygians; Lygier)—Germanic
Lusitani (Lusitanii; Lusitanians)—Iberian
Lusones—Celtic
Luxembourgers: nationality (Luxemburgers; people of Luxembourg)
Macedonians—Hellenic and Illyrian
Macedonians: nationality (people of Macedonia)
Maeatae—Celtic
Magyars (Ungarii; Hungarians)—Finno-Ugric
Maltanese: nationality (people of Malta)
Mandubii (Mandubians; Mandurii)—Celtic
Manx (Manxmen; people of the Isle of Man)—regional
Marci (Marcians; Marsi; Marsians)—Germanic
Marcomanni—Germanic
Mari (Cheremiss; Cheremisses; Cheremissians)—Finno-Ugric
Marrucini—Italic
Marsi (Marsians)—Italic
Mattiacians—Germanic
Mazovians (Masovians; Mazowszanie; Mazovshane)—Slavic
Mazurs (Mazurians; Masurs; Masurians; Mazurzy Pruscy)—Slavic
Mediomatrici (Mediomatricii; Mediomatrices)—Celtic
Medulli—Celtic
Meldi (Meldae; Meldes)—Celtic
Meminii—Celtic
Memmates—Celtic
Menapii (Menapi; Manapii)—Celtic
Merya (Meria; Merians; Merja)—Finno-Ugric
Meshchera—Finno-Ugric
Messapi (Messapii; Messapians; Messapics; Salentini)—Illyrian
Minoans—unknown
Moesians (people of Moesia)—regional
Moldovans: nationality (Moldavians; people of Moldova)
Monacans: nationality (Monegasques; people of Monaco)
Monaig (Fir Manach; Fermanagh)—Celtic
Mongols (Moguls)—Mongolic
Montenegrins (people of Montenegro)—regional
Moors (Mauri; Mauretanians)—Semitic and Hamitic
Moravians (people of Moravia)—regional
Mordvins (Mordvians; Mordvinians; Mordva)—Finno-Ugric
Morini (Morins)—Celtic
Muroma (Muromians; Mouromians)—Finno-Ugric
Mycenaeans—Hellenic
Nadruvians (Nadrovians)—Baltic
Nagnatae—Celtic
Namnetes—Celtic
Nantuates—Celtic
Naristi (Nariscans; Varisti)—Germanic
Nemetes—Germanic
Nenets (Nenetses; Nentsi; Nentsy; Samoyeds; Samoyedes; Yurak-Samoyeds; Yuraks; Hasaba)—Samoyedic
Nerusi—Celtic
Nervii (Nervi; Nervians)—Celtic and Germanic
Nitiobriges—Celtic
Nogay (Nogai)—Turkic
Nori (Norisci; Noricae)—Celtic
Normans (Northmen)—Germanic
Norwegians: nationality (people of Norway)
Novantae—Celtic
Novioduni—Celtic
Obodrites (Obotrites; Obodriti; Obodrichi; Obodricians; Obodritians; Obotritae; Abodrites; Abodritians; Bodryci; Bodrii; Nortabtrezi)—Slavic
Olcades—Celtic
Onesi (Monesi)—Celtic
Opici (Obsci; Osci; Oscans)—Italic
Ordovices (Ordovicians)—Celtic
Oretani (Oretoni)—Iberian
Oscidates (Osquidates)—Celtic
Osismi (Osismii; Osismes)—Celtic
Ossets (Ossetes; Ossetians; Digoron; Iron; Tualhg)—Iranian
Ostrogoths (Ostrogothi; Ostragothae; Ostrogothones; East Goths; Greutungi; Greutungs; Greutungians; Greuthungi; Greuthungs)—Germanic
Oxybii —Celtic
Paeligni (Peligni; Pelini)—Italic
Paemani—Celtic and Germanic
Palmiensi—Italic
Pannonians (people of Pannonia)—regional
Parisii (Parisi; Parisis)—Celtic
Pechenegs (Petchenegs; Patzinakoi; Patzinaks; Bessenyo; Besseni)—Turkic
Pelasgians (Pelasgoi)—Hellenic
Pelendones (Palendones)—Celtic
Petrocorii (Petrocori; Petrocores)—Celtic
Peuceti (Peucetii)—Illyrian
Phoenicians (Phoenice; Poinicians; Sidonians)—Semitic
Picenes (Piceni; Picenians; Picenti; Picentini)—Picenian

Pictones (Pictons; Pictavi)—Celtic
Picts (Cruithne; Cruithin; Pechti; Caledonii; Caledonians)—Pictish
Pleumoxii (Pleumo)—Celtic
Podilians—Slavic
Polabians (Polabs; Polabian Slavs)—Slavic
Polanians (Polans; Polanie; Polians)—Slavic
Poles (Polish; Polanders)—Slavic
Poles: nationality (Polish; Polanders; people of Poland)
Polianians (Polians; Poliane; Polyans; Poliany; Polyane; Polyanians)—Slavic
Polochanians (Polotchans; Polachanians; Polchani; Polechane)—Slavic
Pomaks (Achrjani)—Slavic
Pomeranians (Pomerani; Pommeranen; Pomorjane; Pomorzanie)—Slavic
Portuguese: nationality (people of Portugal)
Praetutii (Pretuzi)—Italic
Preciani—Celtic
Prussians (Pruzzi; people of Prussia)—regional
Quadi (Quades; Quadians)—Germanic
Quariates (Quariates Sebasiens)—Celtic
Radimichians (Radimichi; Radimichy; Radimiches; Radimitches; Rodimichi)—Slavic
Raeti (Rhaeti; Rhaetii; Raetians; Rhaetians)—Celtic
Ranians (Rügen Slavs; Rugians)—Slavic
Raurici (Rauraci; Rauraki; Rauraques)—Celtic and Germanic
Regni—Celtic
Remi (Remes)—Celtic
Rhedones (Rheidones; Redones; Redons)—Celtic
Robogdi (Rhobogdii)—Celtic
Romanians: nationality (Rumanians; people of Romania)
Romans (Latins; Quirites)—Italic
Roxolani (Roxolanae; Rhoxolani; Roxolans)—Iranian
Rroma (Roma; Rom; Romani; Romany; Romanies; Romanes; Gypsies; Gipsies; Tsigani; Tziganes; Ciganos; Zigeuners)—Indo-Aryan
Rugii (Rugi; Ruges; Rugians; Rugarians)—Germanic
Rus (Ruser; Ruserna; Russes; Varangians; Varjager)—Germanic
Russians: nationality (people of Russia)
Rusyns (Rusins; Rysin; Russniaks; Carpatho-Rusyns; Carpatho-Rusin; Ruthenians; Ruthanians)—Slavic
Ruteni (Rutheni; Ruteni; Rutini)—Celtic
Ruthenes (Ruthenians; Ruthanians)—Slavic
Saami (Saam; Sami; Sámi; Sämi; Same; Samis; Saami Sabme; Lapps; Laplanders)—Finno-Ugric
Sabines (Sabini; Sabaens)—Italic
Salasses Saliensienses—Celtic
Salii—Germanic
Saluvii (Salluvii; Sallurii)—Celtic
Salyens—Celtic
Samnages—Celtic
Samnites—Italic
Samogitians (Samogytians; Zemaitians; Zemaiciai; Zhmud; Zsnudz; Zcnzailcy)—Baltic
San Marinians: nationality (Sammarinese; Sammarinesi; people of San Marino)
Santones (Santoni; Santonae)—Celtic
Saracens (Sarraceni)—Semitic, Hamitic, and Turkic
Sardinians—regional (people of Sardinia)
Sardones—Celtic
Sarmatians (Sarmatae; Sarmats; Sauromatae)—Iranian
Saxons (Saxones)—Germanic
Scandinavians (people of Scandinavia)—regional
Sciri (Schiri; Skiri; Scires; Scirians; Skirians)—Germanic
Sclaveni (Sclavenes; Sclavini; Sclavesians; Sclavenoi; Sklavenoi; Sklavoi; Sclaci; Slovonici)—Slavic
Scordisci (Scordisii)—Celtic
Scots (Scotti; Scoti; Scotch; Scottish; Caledones; Caledonians; people of Scotland)—Celtic; Pictish; regional
Scythians (Scyths; Scythae; Skythians; Skythai; Sai; Sakâ; Sacae)—Iranian
Sea Peoples—unknown
Seduni (Sedunni; Sedunes)—Celtic
Segontiaci—Celtic
Segovellauni (Segovellaunes; Segouellauni)—Celtic
Segusiavi—Celtic
Selgovae—Celtic
Selonians (Selones; Selians; Selijans; Selen; Selhen; Seli; Sels)—Baltic
Semigallians (Semigalleons; Semigalls; Zhemgala; Zemgali; Zemgalians; Ziemgalians; Hellespontians; Daugavians)—Baltic
Semnones (Semoni)—Germanic
Senones (Senonians; Serones)—Celtic
Sequani (Sequoni)—Celtic
Serbs (Serbians; Serbi; Serboi; Sirboi)—Slavic
Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality (Serbians; people of Serbia and Montenegro)
Setantii—Celtic
Severians (Severyane; Severiane; Severyans; Siveryans; Siverianians)—Slavic
Sexovii—Celtic
Sibusates—Celtic
Sicani (Sicans; Sicanians)—Sicanian
Sicilians (people of Sicily)—regional
Siculi (Sikeloi; Sicels; Sikels)—Siculian
Sidicini—Sidicinian
Silesians—Slavic
Silures (Silurians)—Celtic
Silvanecti (Silvanectes)—Celtic
Siraces—Iranian
Skalvians (Scalovians)—Baltic
Slavs (Slays; Slaves; Sclavi; Sklavoi; Sclaci, Slaveni; Slovani; Slovonici; Sclaveni; Sclavini; Sclavenoi; Sclavenes; Sclavesians; Sklaveni; Sklavini; Sklavenoi; Sklavenes; Sklabenoi; Sthlaboi; Sporoi; Esklabinoi; Antes; Venedi; Vinadi; Vinades; Wends; Welatabians; Slavic peoples)—Slavic
Slovaks—Slavic
Slovaks: nationality (Slovakians; people of Slovakia)
Slovenes (Sloveniani; Slovenians)—Slavic
Slovenes: nationality (Slovenians; people of Slovenia)
Slovienie (Slovienians)—Slavic
Smertae—Celtic
Sorbs (Sorbians; Lusatian Sorbs; Lusatians; Serbs of Luzice; Wends)—Slavic
Sotiates (Sotiades)—Celtic
Spanish: nationality (Spaniards; people of Spain)
Suebi (Suebii; Suebians; Suevi; Sueves; Suevians; Swabians; Swabs)—Germanic
Suessiones (Suessons)—Celtic
Suetri—Celtic
Sugambri (Sigambri; Sicambri)—Germanic
Svear (Suiones; Sueones; Sweonas)—Germanic

Swedes: nationality (Swedish; people of Sweden)
Swiss: nationality (people of Switzerland)
Taexali (Taezali)—Celtic
Taifali (Taifals)—Germanic
Tarasconiens—Celtic
Tarbelli (Tarbelles)—Celtic
Tartessians—Iberian
Tarusates—Celtic
Tatars (Tartars; Turko-Tatars; Turko-Mongols)—Turkic
Taurisci (Tauriscii; Teurisci)—Celtic
Tectosages (Tectosagi; Volcae Tectosages)—Celtic
Tectoverdi—Celtic
Tencteri (Tenctheri; Tenchtheri; Toncteri)—Germanic
Teutones (Teutons)—Germanic
Thracians (Thraci)—Thracian
Thuringi (Thurungii; Thuringians)—Germanic
Tigurini—Celtic
Titti (Titos)—Celtic
Tivertsians (Tivertsi; Tivertsy; Tiverts; Tivertians; Tiverians; Tiverchy; Tolmachians)—Slavic
Tolistobogii (Tolistoagii)—Celtic
Tolosates—Celtic
Torks (Uzes)—Turkic
Tornates—Celtic
Tornedalians (Tornedalens; Tornedalicans)—Finno-Urgic
Toutones—Celtic
Treveri (Trevires)—Celtic and Germanic
Triboci (Triboces; Tribocians)—Germanic
Tricassi (Ticasses; Tricasi)—Celtic
Tricastins—Celtic
Tricorii (Tricori; Tricores)—Celtic
Trinovantes—Celtic
Trocmi (Trocmes; Trocini)—Celtic
Tubanti (Tubantes)—Germanic
Tulingi—Celtic and Germanic
Tungri—Germanic
Turboletas—Celtic
Turdetani (Turditani; Turdetanians; Turditanians)—Iberian
Turduli—Iberian
Turkics (Turkish; Turkic peoples)—Turkic
Turkmens (Trukhmens; Türpen)—Turkic
Turks: nationality (Turkish; people of Turkey)
Turmogi (Turmogos)—Celtic
Turones (Turoni; Turons)—Celtic
Uaithne (Auteini)—Celtic
Uberi—Celtic
Ubii (Ubians; Utii)—Germanic
Ubyks (Ubyx)—Caucasic
Uceni (Ucenii)—Celtic
Udmurts (Udmorts; Odmorts; Ukmorts; Vudmurts; Udmurtjoz; Votyaks; Votyaki; Votiak; Ari; Arsk people; Chud Otezkaya)—Finno-Ugric
Ukrainians: nationality (people of Ukraine)
Ulaid (Ulaidh; Uladh; Ulunti; Volunti; Voluntii)—Celtic
Ulichians (Ulichi; Uliche; Ulychians; Uhlychians; Uliuchany)—Slavic
Umbrians (Umbri, Camertes)—Italic
Unelli (Unelles; Venelli)—Celtic
Usdiae—Celtic
Usipetes (Usipeti; Usipii; Useppi; Usipians)—Germanic
Vaccaei—Celtic
Vacomagi—Celtic
Vadicasses (Vadicassi)—Celtic
Vandals (Vandali; Vandili)—Germanic
Vangiones (Vengiones)—Germanic
Varini (Werini; Warni; Warmes; Warnawi)—Germanic
Vasates—Celtic
Vascones (Vascons; Vasconi)—Basque
Vediantii (Vedentii)—Celtic
Veletians (Veleti; Wieletes; Wilzi; Wiltzi;; Wilti; Wilts; Liutizians; Luticians; Lutize; Lutitzes; Lituians; Ljutii)—Slavic
Veliocasses (Veliocassi)—Celtic
Vellabori (Vellibori; Velabri)—Celtic
Vellavi (Vellavii; Vellaves)—Celtic
Venedi (Veneds; Venedes; Venedae; Vendi; Venets; Veneti; Venethi; Vinedi; Venetkeni; Venetkini; Wenets; Wenetes; Winidi; Enetoi)—Slavic
Veneti (Venetii; Venethi; Venetians)—Illyrian
Venetians (people of Venice)—regional
Venetii (Venites; Veneti; Veniti)—Celtic
Venicones (Venniconii; Vennicnii)—Celtic
Veps (Vepses; Vepsa; Vepsians; Ves; Vepslaine; Chukhar; Chukhna; Chuhonets; Chudes; Northern Chuds)—Finno-Ugric
Veragi—Celtic
Verodunenses—Celtic
Verturiones—Celtic
Vestini—Italic
Vettones—Celtic
Viducasses (Viducassi; Viducesi)—Celtic
Vikings (Norse; Norsemen; Northman; Nordmanni; Varangians; Varjager; Danes; Norwegians; Swedes)—Germanic
Villanovans (Italici)—Villanovan
Vindelici—Celtic
Vinderii—Celtic
Viromandui (Viromandues; Veromandes; Veromandui)—Celtic
Visigoths (Visigothi; Wisigoths; West Goths; Tervingians; Tervingi)—Germanic
Vistulans (Vistulanes; Vistulians; Vistulanians; Vislanes; Vislanians; Wislanie)—Slavic
Vlachs (Wlachs; Walachs; Wallachs; Walachians; Walasians; Olahs: Aromani; Romani; Romeni; Roumani; Rumeni; Rumans; Romanians.)—Italic
Vocontii (Voconti; Voconces)—Celtic
Volcae (Volki)—Celtic
Volhynians (Volhinians; Volynyans; Volynyane; Valynanians)—Slavic
Volsci (Volscians; Volusci)—Italic
Votadini—Celtic
Votes (Vodes; Vods; Vadja; Vaigaians; Vadjalain; Vaddalain; Vadjakko; Vatjalaiset; Maavätchi; Chuhonets; Southern Chuds; Southern Chudes)—Finno-Ugric
Vyatichans (Vyatichi; Vyatichy; Viatitches; Viatiachi; Viatichi; Viatichians; Viachians; Vjatichians)—Slavic
Wagrians (Wagri; Vagri)—Slavic
Walachians (Wallachians; people of Walachia)—regional
Walloons (Wallonians; people of Wallonia)—regional
Walsers (people of Valais)—regional
Welsh (Cymri; people of Wales)—Celtic; regional
Wends (Wenden; Winds; Windisch; Vends; Vendians; Sorbs; Sorbians)—Slavic
Wolinians (Woliners; Volinians; Velunzani)—Slavic
Yotvingians (Yatvingians; Yatvigs; Jatvingians; Jatvians; Jatviagians; Jotvingas; Jotvinge; Jotvingiai; Sudovians; Sudavians; Soudinoi; Sudini; Sudavits-Yatvyags)—Baltic

APPENDIX II:
European Peoples Organized by Primary Ancestral Language Family, Nationalities, or Regions

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Baltic

Aestii (possibly Baltic)
Balts
Borussians
Curonians
Letts
Lithuanians
Nadruvians
Samogitians
Selonians
Semigallians
Skalvians
Yotvingians

Celtic

Abricantes
Aduatuci (also Germanic)
Aducinates
Aedui
Agessinates
Aigosages
Albici
Allobroges
Ambarri
Ambialates
Ambiani
Ambibarii
Ambidravi
Ambivariti
Anagnutes
Anares
Anartes
Ancalites
Andecamulenses
Andecavi
Aquitani
Arecomici
Arevaci
Arverni
Arviens
Aspiates
Astures
Atacini
Atrebates
Aulerci
Ausci
Auteri
Baiocasses
Belendi
Belgae
Belli
Bellovaci
Bercorates
Berones
Bibroci
Biducesii
Bigerriones
Bituriges
Bodiotonci
Boii
Boresti
Brannovices
Bretons
Brigantes
Brigantini
Britons
Cadurci
Caerenii
Caledones (also Pictish)
Caledonians
Caleti
Cambolectri
Cangi
Cantabri
Cantiaci
Carnonacae
Carnutes
Carvetii
Cassi
Catalauni
Caturiges
Catuvellauni
Cauci
Cavares
Celtae
Celtiberians
Celtici
Celts
Cenimagni
Cenomani
Ceretani
Ceutrones
Cocosates
Coenicenses
Conderates
Condrusi (also Germanic)
Consoranni
Convenae
Coriondi
Corionototae
Coriosolites
Coritani
Cornovii
Creones
Dál Fiatach
Dál Riata
Damnonii
Decantae
Deceangli
Deciates
Demetae
Diablintes
Dobunni
Dumnonii
Durocasses
Durotriges
Eblani
Eburones (also Germanic)
Eburovices
Eleuteti
Elusates
Epidi
Eravisci
Ernaigh
Essues
Esuvii
Gaballi
Gaesati
Galatoi
Gallaeci
Galli
Gangani
Garites
Garumni
Gauls
Geiduni
Golaseccans
Graioceli
Grudii
Helvetii
Helvii
Iceni
Insubres
Iverni
Latovici
Laudani
Lemovices
Leponti
Leuci

Lexovii
Liganiens
Lingones (also Germanic)
Lobetani
Lopocares
Lugadii
Lugii
Lusones
Maeatae
Mandubii
Mediomatrici
Medulli
Meldi
Meminii
Memmates
Menapii
Monaig
Morini
Nagnatae
Namnetes
Nantuates
Nerusi
Nervii (also Germanic)
Nitiobriges
Nori
Novantae
Novioduni
Olcades
Onesi
Ordovices
Oscidates
Osismi
Oxybii
Paemani (also Germanic)
Parisii
Pelendones
Petrocorii
Pictones
Pleumoxii
Preciani
Raeti
Raurici (also Germanic)
Regni
Remi
Rhedones
Robogdi
Rutenai
Salasses Saliensienses
Saluvii
Salyens
Samnages
Santones
Sardones
Scordisci
Seduni
Segontiaci
Segovellauni
Segusiavi
Selgovae
Senones
Sequani
Setantii
Sexovii
Sibusates
Silures
Silvanecti
Smertae
Sotiates
Suessiones
Suetri
Taexali
Tarasconiens
Tarbelli
Tarusates
Taurisci
Tectosages
Tectoverdi
Tigurini
Titti
Tolistobogii
Tolosates
Tornates
Toutones
Treveri (also Germanic)
Tricassi
Tricastins
Tricorii
Trinovantes
Trocmi
Tulingi (also Germanic)
Turboletas
Turmogi
Turones
Uaithne
Uberi
Uceni
Ulaid
Unelli
Usdiae
Vaccaei
Vacomagi
Vadicasses
Vasates
Vediantii
Veliocasses
Vellabori
Vellavi
Venetii
Venicones
Veragi
Verodunenses
Verturiones
Vettones
Viducasses
Vindelici
Vinderii
Viromandui
Vocontii
Volcae
Votadini

Germanic

Alamanni
Amsivarii
Angles
Anglo-Saxons
Bastarnae (also Celtic)
Batavi
Bavarii
Bructeri
Burgundii
Caerosi (or Celtic)
Chamavi
Chatti
Chattuarii
Chauci
Cherusci
Cimbri
Dani
Franks
Frisians
Gepids
Germanics
Goths
Herminones
Hermunduri
Heruli
Ingaevones
Istaevones
Iuthungi
Jutes
Lombards
Lugii
Marci
Marcomanni
Mattiacians
Naristi
Nemetes
Normans
Ostrogoths
Quadi
Rugii
Rus
Salii
Saxons
Sciri
Semnones
Suebi
Sugambri
Svear
Taifali
Tencteri
Teutones
Thuringi
Triboci
Tubanti
Tungri
Ubii
Usipetes
Vandals
Vangiones
Varini
Vikings
Visigoths

Hellenic

Achaeans
Aeolians
Dorians
Greeks (*see also* Greeks: nationality)
Ionians
Macedonians (also Illyrian) (*see also* Macedonians: nationality)
Mycenaeans
Pelasgians

Iranian

Alans
Iazyges
Ossets
Roxolani
Sarmatians
Scythians

Illyrian

Apuli
Arvanites (Albanian)
Dardani
Iapyges
Illyrians
Messapi
Peuceti
Veneti

Indo-Aryan

Rroma

Italic

Adriani
Aequi
Aurunci

Bruttii
Campani
Faliscans
Frentani
Hernici
Italics
Latins
Lucani
Marrucini
Marsi
Opici
Paeligni
Palmiensi
Praetutii
Romans
Sabines
Samnites
Umbrians
Vestini
Volsci

Rhaeto-Romanic

Friulians
Ladins

Slavic

Antes
Belegezites
Boikos
Buzhanians
Carantanians
Chorvati
Cossacks (also Turkic)
Croats (*see also* Croats: nationality)
Czechs (*see also* Czechs: nationality)
Dregovichians
Drevlyans
Duklianes
Dulebians
Goplanians
Havelians
Horvatians
Hutsuls
Ilmen Slavs
Kashubes
Krivichians
Kuyavians
Ledzianians
Lemkos
Mazovians
Mazurs (also Germanic)
Obodrites
Podilians
Polabians
Polanians
Poles (*see also* Poles: nationality)
Polianians
Polochanians
Pomaks (unknown origin)
Pomeranians
Radimichians
Rugians
Rusyns
Ruthenes
Sclaveni
Serbs (*see also* Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality)
Severians
Silesians
Slavs
Slovaks (*see also* Slovaks: nationality)
Slovenes (*see also* Slovenes: nationality)
Slovienie
Sorbs
Tivertsians
Ulichians
Veletians
Venedi
Vistulans
Volhynians
Vyatichans
Wagrians
Wends
Wolinians

Thracian

Carpi
Costobocii
Dacians
Getae
Thracians

ALTAIC LANGUAGES

Mongolic

Kalmyks
Mongols

Turkic

Balkars
Bashkirs
Bulgars
Chuvash
Cumans
Gagauz
Karachay
Karaim
Kazakhs
Khazars
Kipchaks
Kumyks
Nogay
Pechenegs
Tatars
Torks
Turkmens
Turks

CAUCASIC LANGUAGES

Abazians
Andis
Caucasians
Chechens
Circassians
Dargwas
Didos
Ingush
Laks
Lezgians
Ubyks

HAMITO-SEMITIC LANGUAGES

Semitic

Carthaginians
Jews
Phoenicians

Semitic and Hamitic

Moors

Semitic, Hamitic, and Turkic

Saracens

URALIC LANGUAGES

Finnic (subgroup of Finno-Ugric)

Esths
Finno-Ugrians
Finns (*see also* Finns: nationality)
Ingrians
Izhorians
Karelians
Komi
Kvens
Livs
Mari
Merya
Meshchera
Mordvins
Muroma
Saami
Tornedalians
Udmurts
Veps
Votes

Samoyedic

Nenets

Ugric (subgroup of Finno-Ugric)

Magyars

NON-RELATED OR UNKNOWN LANGUAGES

Avaric (Avarish a modern variant)

Avars (possibly Mongolic, Turkic, or Caucasic)

Basque

Basques
Vascones

Carpenatian

Carpenati

Cimmerian

Cimmerians

Elymian

Elymi

Enotrian

Enotri

Etruscan

Etruscans

Hunnic

Huns (possibly Mongolic, Turkic, or Ugric)

Iberian
Bastetani
Bastuli
Carpetani
Iberians
Ilergetes
Lusitani
Oretani
Tartessians
Turdetani
Turduli

Ligurian
Ligurians

Minoan
Minoans

Picenian
Picenes

Pictish
Picts

Sicanian
Sicani

Siculian
Siculi

Sidinician
Sidinici

Villanovan
Villanovans

unknown identity
Sea Peoples

REGIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Bavarians
Bohemians
Byzantines
Catalanians
Cornish (primarily Celtic)
Cycladites
Dalmatians
English
Flemings
Galicians
Hessians
Irish (primarily Celtic)
Kosovars
Manx (primarily Celtic)
Moesians
Montenegrins (*see also* Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality)
Moravians
Pannonians
Prussians
Sardinians
Scandinavians
Scots (primarily Celtic and Pictish)
Sicilians
Venetians
Walachians
Walloons
Walsers
Welsh (primarily Celtic)

MODERN NATIONALITIES

Albanians: nationality
Andorrans: nationality
Austrians: nationality
Belarusians: nationality
Belgians: nationality
Bosnians and Herzegovinians: nationality
British: nationality
Bulgarians: nationality
Croats: nationality
Cypriots: nationality
Czechs: nationality
Danes: nationality
Dutch: nationality
Estonians: nationality
Finns: nationality
French: nationality
Germans: nationality
Greeks: nationality
Hungarians: nationality
Icelanders: nationality
Irish: nationality
Italians: nationality
Latvians: nationality
Liechtensteiners: nationality
Lithuanians: nationality
Luxembourgers: nationality
Macedonians: nationality
Maltanese: nationality
Moldovans: nationality
Monacans: nationality
Norwegians: nationality
Poles: nationality
Portuguese: nationality
Romanians: nationality
Russians: nationality
San Marinians: nationality
Serbs and Montenegrins: nationality
Slovaks: nationality
Slovenes: nationality
Spanish: nationality
Swedes: nationality
Swiss: nationality
Turks: nationality
Ukrainians: nationality

APPENDIX III:
The Languages of Europe, Past and Present

(Many related languages spoken on other continents not included)
* = extinct

INDO-EUROPEAN

Anatolian* (in Asia)

Armenian (in Asia)

Baltic (Lettic)
- ***Latvian (Lettish)***
- ***Lithuanian***
- ***Old Prussian (Borussian)****

Celtic (Keltic)
- ***Continental Celtic***
  - Gaulish (Gaullish; Gallic)
  - Celto-Iberian (Hispano-Celtic)*
  - Lepontic*
- ***Insular Celtic***
  - Brythonic (Brithonic)
    - *Breton; Old Breton**
    - *Cornish**
    - *Middle Welsh**
    - *Old Welsh**
    - *Welsh (Cymric)*
  - Gaelic (Goidelic)
    - *Irish (Irish Gaelic)*
    - *Manx**
    - *Middle Irish**
    - *Old Irish**
    - *Scottish Gaelic (Scots Gaelic; Erse)*

Germanic
- ***East Germanic***
  - Burgundian*
  - Gothic*
  - Vandalic*
- ***North Germanic***
  - Danish; Old Danish*
  - Faeroese
  - Icelandic
  - Old Norse*
  - Old Icelandic*
  - Norwegian
  - Swedish; Old Swedish*
- ***West Germanic***
  - High German
    - *Alsatian*
    - *Franconian*
    - *German*
    - *Middle High German**
    - *Old High German**
    - *Standard Hochdeutsch*
    - *Swabian*
    - *Swiss German*
    - *Yiddish*
  - Low German
    - *Anglo-Frisian*
      - English
      - Frisian
      - Middle Scots*
      - Old Frisian*
    - *Dutch*
    - *Flemish*
    - *Jutic**
    - *Middle Dutch**
    - *Middle Low German**
    - *Old Low Franconian**
    - *Old Saxon* (Old Low German)*
    - *Platdeutsch (Plattdeutsch; Modern Low German)*

Greek (Hellenic)
- Achaean*
- Aeolic*
- Arcadian*
- Attic*
- Boetian*
- Byzantine Greek*
- Classical Greek*
- Corinthian*
- Cyprian*
- Doric*
- Elean*
- Greek
- Ionic* (Homeric Greek)
- Koiné
- Lesbian*
- Mycenaean*
- Pamphylian*
- Phocian*
- Thessalian*

Illyrian
- ***Albanian***
- ***Illyrian****
- ***Messapic (Messapian)****
- ***Venetic****

Indo-Iranian (mostly in Asia)
- ***Indo-Aryan (Indic)***
  - Romany (Rroma)
- ***Iranian***
  - Ossetic (Ossetian)
  - Sarmatian*
  - Scythian*

Italic
- ***(Non-Romance)***
  - Latino-Faliscan (Latinian)
    - *Faliscan**
    - *Classical Latin**
    - *Latin**
    - *Medieval Latin**
    - *Old Latin**
    - *Vulgar Latin**

- Osco-Umbrian
  - *Oscan**
    - Sabellian
      - Aequian*
      - Marrucinian*
      - Marsian*
      - Paelignian*
      - Sabine*
      - Vestinian*
      - Volscian*
  - *Umbriam**
- ***Romance***
  - Catalán
  - Dalmatian*
  - French
  - Galician
  - Italian
  - Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)
  - Middle French*
  - Moldavian
  - Old French*
  - Old Italian*
  - Old Portuguese*
  - Old Provençal*
  - Old Spanish*
  - Portuguese
  - Provençál
  - Rhaeto-Romanic
    - *Friulian*
    - *Ladin*
    - *Romansch*
  - Romanian (Roumanian; Rumenian)
  - Sardinian
  - Spanish

Slavic (Slavonic)

- ***East Slavic (Ruski)***
  - Belarussian (Byelorussian; White Russian)
  - Boiko (Bojko)
  - Great Russian*
  - Hutsul
  - Lemko
  - Little Russian*
  - Russian
  - Ruthanina (Ruthenian)
  - Ukrainian
- ***South Slavic***
  - Bulgarian
  - Macedonian
  - Old Church Slavonic*
  - Serbo-Croatian (Serbo-Croat)
    - *Bosnian*
    - *Croatian*
    - *Montenegrin*
    - *Serbian*
    - Slovenian
- ***West Slavic***
  - Czech
  - Góralski
  - Kashubian (Kaszub)
  - Lusatian (Sorbian; Wendish)
  - Polabian*
  - Pomeranian
  - Polish
  - Silesian
  - Slovak
  - Sorbian

Thracian*

Tocharian (Tokharian)* (in Asia)

ALTAIC (MOSTLY IN ASIA)

Turkic (Turko-Tatar; Turkish)

- ***Northeastern (North; Siberian) and Southeastern (East; Uighur-Chagatai) in Asia***
- ***Northwestern (West; Kipchak; Ogur)***
  - Aralo-Caspian
    - *Kazakh*
    - *Nogay (Nogai)*
  - Bulgaric (Bulgarian; perhaps its own branch of Altaic)
    - *Bulgar (Volga-Kama Bulgar; East Bulgar; Bolgar)**
    - *Chuvash*
    - *Khazar**
  - Ponto-Caspian
    - *Crimean Tatar*
    - *Karachay-Balkar*
    - *Cuman (Kuman)**
    - *Pecheneg**
  - Uralian: Tatar
- ***Southwestern (South; Oguz)***
  - Oguz
    - *Azerbaijani (Azeri)*
    - *Crimean Turkish*
    - *Gagauz*
    - *Turkish (Osmanli; Ottoman Turkish)*

Mongolic (Mongolian)

CAUCASIC (CAUCASIAN; PALEOCAUCASIAN)

North Caucasic (North Caucasian)

- ***North-Central (Nakh; Veinakh)***
  - Bats (Tsova-Tush)
  - Chechen
  - Ingush
- ***North-East (Dagestanian; Daghestani)***
  - Avar-Andi-Dido (Avaro-Ando-Dido)
    - *Avarish*
    - *Lak-Darwa (Lak-Dargin)*
    - *Lak*
    - *Dargwa (Dargin)*
    - *Lezgian-Samur (Lezghian; Samurian)*
- ***North-West (Abkhazo-Adygheian)***
  - Abkhaz-Abazin (Abkhaz-Abaza)
  - Kabardian (Upper Circassian)
  - Kiakh (Lower Circassian; Adyghe)
  - Ubyk

South Caucasic (South Caucasian; Kartvelian) (mostly in Asia)

- ***Georgian***
- ***Svan***
- ***Zan***
  - Laz
  - Mingrelian

HAMITO-SEMITIC (MOSTLY IN ASIA)

Hamitic

- ***Berber***

Semitic

- ***Arabic***
  - Andalusian*
  - Maltese
- ***Caananite***
  - Hebrew
  - Phoenician*
  - Punic*

URALIC (URALIAN)

Finno-Ugric (Finno-Ugrian)

- ***Finnic (Finno-Permian)***
  - Balto-Finnic
    - *Estonian*
    - *Finnish (Suomi)*
    - *Ingrian*
    - *Karelian*
    - *Livonian*
    - *Veps (Vepse)*
    - *Votic (Vote)**
- ***Permic (Permian)***
  - Komi (Komi-Zyrian or Syryenian)
  - Komi-Permyak

- Udmurt (Votyak)
- Lappish (Saami)
- Volgaic
  - *Cheremis (Cheremissian; Mari)*
  - *Mordvin (Mordvinian)*
    - Eryzya
    - Moksha
  - *Muroma*
- *Ugric (Ugrian)*
  - Hungarian (Magyar)
- Samoyedic
  - *Nenets (Nenen)*

NO APPARENT AFFILIATION

- Basque
- Etruscan*
- Iberian*
- Ligurian*
- Vannic (Urartaean)*

APPENDIX IV:
The Geography of Europe

THE NAME

There are a number of explanations regarding the etymology of the name Europe. Europa is a figure of Greek mythology, who was seduced by Zeus, the ruler of the gods, in Phoenicia and taken to Crete, where she gave birth to their son, Minos, the legendary ancestor of the Minoans. The name has also been associated with the Phoenician word *ereb,* "sunset" or "west"; the word Asia possibly means "sunrise" or "east." The ancient Greeks used the term to describe their lands west of the Aegean Sea. Europe might simply have meant "mainland" in its root form, however.

THE LIMITS OF EUROPE

At about 4 million square miles, Europe, including adjacent islands, is the sixth largest continent. It is actually the western fifth of the vast landmass Eurasia, which comprises Europe and Asia.

To distinguish Europe from Asia most geographers use an imaginary line running from the northern extent of the Ural Mountains on the Kara Sea, then south along the Ural River to the Caspian Sea, then west along the Caucasus Mountains to the Black Sea, then along the Bosporus Strait (linking the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, both forming an arm of the Mediterranean Sea), and the Dardanelles (a strait linking the Sea of Marmara with the Aegean Sea, also part of the Mediterranean). The Mediterranean Sea and the Strait of Gibraltar separate Europe from Africa (in addition to the Black Sea and Aegean Sea, the northern Mediterranean includes the Ionian, Adriatic, Tyrrhenian, and Ligurian Seas).

The northernmost point of the European mainland is Cape Nordkinn (North Cape) in Norway; the southernmost is Punta de Tarifa in southern Spain near the Strait of Gibraltar; the westernmost is Cabo da Roca in Portugal; the easternmost is the Ural Mountains in Russia.

To the west of Europe is the Atlantic Ocean (with the North Sea and Baltic Sea as subdivisions) and to the north is the Arctic Ocean (with the Norwegian Sea, Barents Sea, and White Sea as subdivisions).

MODERN-DAY NATIONS

Europe is commonly discussed as five geographic regions: Scandinavia (present-day Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden); the British Isles (present-day United Kingdom and Ireland); western Europe (present-day Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Monaco, and Netherlands); southern Europe (present-day Andorra, Italy, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, and Vatican City); central Europe (present-day Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Liechtenstein, Poland, Slovakia, and Switzerland); southeastern Europe (present-day Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and the western part of Turkey); and eastern Europe (present-day Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine, and the western part of Russia). Some geographers include Transcaucasia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia) as part of Europe, but that region is generally defined as part of southwestern Asia. A tiny portion of Kazakhstan west of the Ural River can be said to be in Europe, but that nation is grouped with Asian nations.

ISLANDS

The British Isles (the location of the United Kingdom and Ireland), separated from the mainland by the English Channel and the North Sea, are part of Europe. Mediterranean islands include the Balearics (part of Spain), Corsica (part of France), Sardinia (part of Italy), Sicily (part of Italy), Crete (part of Greece), Malta (independent), and Cyprus (independent). The archipelago of Novaya Zemlya (part of Russia) in the Barents Sea and the Faeroe Islands (part of Denmark) in the Norwegian Sea are also defined as part of Europe, as are Iceland (independent), about 600 miles west of northern Europe in the North Atlantic, and the archipelago of Svalbard (part of Norway), about 400 miles to the north in the Arctic Ocean. The Azores, about 900 miles west of southern Europe in the Atlantic, are also politically tied to Europe.

PENINSULAS

Much of Europe, which can be viewed as a large peninsula of Eurasia itself, consists of peninsulas; the largest are the

Scandinavian Peninsula (Norway and Sweden), Balkan Peninsula (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, and part of Turkey), Iberian Peninsula (Portugal and Spain), Italian Peninsula (Italy), Kola Peninsula (part of Russia), and Jutland Peninsula (Denmark).

HIGHLANDS AND LOWLANDS

A west-east mountain chain—the Alpine—traverses Europe. It includes the following ranges: the Pyrenees (separating France and Spain); the Alps (in France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Slovenia); the Dinaric Alps along the Adriatic coast (in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, and Albania); the Carpathians (in Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, and Romania); the Balkans (in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia); and the Caucasus (separating Russia from Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan). Other notable ranges are the Apennines, extending through much of Italy, and the Urals, separating European Russia from Asian Russia. The Scandinavian Peninsula is also mountainous, its highest range the Kjølen (Norwegian) or Kölen (Swedish) Mountains.

The highest point in Europe is Mount Elbrus in the Caucasus, at 18,481 feet above sea level. The lowest point is located along the Caspian Sea's north shore, at 92 feet below sea level. Between the mountainous Scandinavian Peninsula in the north and the Alpine chain in the south, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals, lies the Great European Plain. The Central European Uplands, consisting of a number of ranges, break up the plain. In the east is found some steppe country.

RIVERS AND LAKES

Among the larger rivers in Europe, from west to east, are the Thames in England; the Tagus in Spain and Portugal; the Garonne in Spain and France; the Loire in France; the Seine in France; the Rhône in Switzerland and France; the Rhine in Switzerland, Liechtenstein (border), Austria (border), Germany, and Netherlands; the Elbe in the Czech Republic and Germany; the Oder in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Germany; the Vistula in Poland; the Danube in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Croatia (border), Yugoslavia, Bulgaria (border), and Romania; the Dnieper in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine; the Dniester in Ukraine and Moldova; the Don in Russia; and the Volga in Russia.

The mountainous areas, especially in the Alps of Switzerland, Italy, and Austria, have numerous lakes, as do some plains regions, especially in Sweden, Finland, and Poland. The largest European lake is Lake Ladoga in northwestern Russia.

CLIMATE

Europe's changeable climate results from air-mass circulation. Both polar air masses from near Iceland and tropical masses from near the Azores, with differing climatic effects, have a relatively unimpeded path eastward, as do continental air masses. The west-east mountains prevent the ready interchange of tropical and polar air masses. It can be said in general that the prevailing westerly winds from the Atlantic Ocean pass over the ocean current known as the North Atlantic Drift and cause a moderating effect and significant rainfall in the west, with cooler and drier weather to the east.

Europe can be discussed as four climate types. A maritime climate, influenced by the maritime air masses, is found in the east on Atlantic islands, as well as much of Norway, southern Sweden, western France, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, northern Germany, and northwestern Spain. Temperatures vary according to latitude and altitude but are moderate compared to those of similar latitudes elsewhere. The weather is changeable. There occurs year-round precipitation, the greatest amount in autumn and early winter.

To the east in central Sweden, southern Finland, southern Norway, eastern France, southwestern Germany, and much of central and southeastern Europe is found a transitional climate, resulting from the interaction of maritime and continental air masses. Winters are colder, and summers, especially in the lowlands, are warmer. Precipitation is adequate to abundant, especially in the summer; snowfall is plentiful in the mountains but not elsewhere.

A continental climate type is located in northern Sweden, most of Finland, northern Ukraine, eastern Belarus, and all of European Russia. There is less precipitation than in the west, but with more snowfall due to colder and longer winters and more snow cover than to the west. To the south precipitation can be scarce.

The subtropical Mediterranean climate along the coastal regions of southern Europe is characterized by hot and dry summers, and mild and wet winters.

With part of Europe above the Arctic Circle, tundra and subarctic climates are found in the north. Mediterranean regions in the south have a Mediterranean climate with hot and dry summers and rainfall generally only in winter; there are some subtropical regions as well.

VEGETATION ZONES

Most of Europe, except the treeless tundra in the far north and the grasslands of the Great European Plain, was originally forested. The tundra, located in northernmost parts of Scandinavia and Russia—as well as part of Iceland—is a generally flat and treeless region that is frozen in winter and marshy in summer, with a permanently frozen subsoil (permafrost) and low-growing vegetation, such as mosses, lichens, and dwarf shrubs. Similar vegetation occurs at high altitudes of the Alps and Urals.

To the south of the tundra, also in Scandinavia and Russia, lie the predominantly coniferous forests and swamplands of the taiga, also called the *boreal* forest, meaning "northern" forest. The more northerly boreal zone is "open," with a combination of conifers, willows, birch thickets, and lichen. The more southerly "closed" boreal forest has more trees: conifers, birch, and larch.

A mixed forest of deciduous broadleaf trees once stretched across the heart of Europe, from the British Isles to the Urals; it exists now only in patches. The Mediterranean

vegetation consists of broad leaf evergreen shrubs, bushes, and small trees. The steppes of southwestern Russia and Ukraine have both wooded-steppe and grass-steppe areas. Around the north-northwest coast of the Caspian Sea is found semidesert vegetation.

ANIMAL LIFE

Large mammals including the bear, wolf, bison, boar, reindeer, roe deer, elk, antelope, mountain goat, mountain sheep, wildcat, and wild boar were native to Europe, along with many smaller mammals, such as the fox, marten, badger, polecat, white weasel, ermine, sable, beaver, rabbit, and squirrel and other rodents. Europe has a wide variety of birds, among them the eagle, falcon, hawk, kite, owl, pigeon, finch, nightingale, sparrow, black grouse, snipe, hazel hen, partridge, woodpecker, crossbill, blackbird, tomtit, bullfinch, swan, duck, goose, lapwing, partridge, and lark. Seabirds are found offshore and in coastal areas. European waters have a wide variety of fish, such as cod, mackerel, herring, and tuna; sturgeon are found in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea.

THE HUMAN FACTOR

Humans over the centuries have played a factor in the natural conditions, altering the landscape, flora, and fauna of Europe by clearing forests, planting crops, relocating water supplies, and building towns, cities, and roads. These changes, as well as overhunting, overfishing, and air and water pollution, have adversely affected wildlife. Development and pollution have also altered climatic conditions.

APPENDIX V:
Hominids, the Earliest Europeans

HOMINIDS

The term *hominid* refers to any of the family Hominidae of erect bipedal primate mammals including extinct and related forms as well as human beings. The study of nonhuman hominids involves a number of disciplines, including paleontology, the study of fossils; anthropology, the science of human beings; and archaeology, the study of material remains of past human life.

THE DIVERGENCE OF HUMAN ANCESTORS FROM APES

Human ancestral species first diverged from ancestors of the apes around 6 million years ago in Africa. First the species of the genus *Australopithecus,* and then later species of the genus *Homo,* emerged during successive periods in which the rate of speciation (divergence into new species) increased. These waves of speciation occurred not just among hominids but among many other species and coincided with an important series of climate changes that began around 6 million years ago, in which the prevailing warm and moist tropical to subtropical climate of Africa was interrupted for periods several million years long by cooler and drier weather. Fossils documenting the divergence of apes and hominids are lacking. But evidence provided by studies of genetic differences between humans and apes, showing how long ago they shared a common ancestor, suggests a divergence in the same time frame as the climate shifts in Africa.

Cooler and drier conditions created openings in the dense tropical forests, creating a mixed habitat with different zones of forest and of open savannah or grasslands. This led to a divergence between forest-adapted species ancestral to the apes and species ancestral to hominids. The australopithecines were well adapted to open terrain because they could walk upright, roam around searching for food, and, if threatened, retreat quickly to the forest shelter carrying the food they had found.

In the absence of fossil evidence this scenario for the original divergence of apes and hominids is speculative, but for the period of the next wave of speciation, around 3 to 2 million years ago, again coinciding with a return to cooler and drier conditions, fossils of hominids and of many other species they associated with have been found. They show that many forest-dwelling species of bovids such as antelopes became extinct at this time, and others suited to open habitats evolved. At the same time the forest-dwelling hominid genus *Australopithecus* diverged into species of the genus *Paranthropus* (although this genus is not accepted by all paleontologists), which, as did their immediate ancestors and the apes, continued a herbivorous forest existence, and into species of the genus *Homo,* which exploited the new habitats as aggressive, omnivorous scavengers and possibly hunters. The open-ranging bovids began to disperse and migrate over wide areas, probably as a result of the lower density of nutrients in the grasslands that resulted from the cooler, drier conditions. The hominids of *Homo* with their larger size, longer legs, and a pelvic structure allowing a ranging, bipedal gate, were adapted to follow the herds and may have dispersed with them.

GENUS *AUSTRALOPITHECUS*

The primary characteristic that distinguished the australopithecines from other primates was the ability to walk fully upright. This genus was first known from the discovery in 1924 of the skull of a juvenile, nicknamed the "Taung baby" after the site in South Africa near which it was found. *Australopithecus* means "southern ape." The position of the foramen magnum, the opening in the skull through which the spinal cord attaches to the brain, of this specimen shows that it could walk upright. It was named *Australopithecus africanus* and lived from before 3 million years ago to approximately 2 million years ago. The date of evolution of *Australopithecus* was pushed back in time with the discovery of the remarkably complete skeleton of a female (nicknamed Lucy) in 1974 near Hadar in Ethiopia. Subsequently named *Australopithecus afarensis,* this species is believed to have lived from approximately 4 to 2.7 million years ago along the northern Rift valley of east Africa. An earlier species of *Australopithecus,* tentatively called *Australopithecus anamensis,* was found in 1994 by Mary Leakey, who with her husband, Louis Leakey,

pioneered the search for human ancestors in Africa. This species lived 4.2 million years ago.

Australopithecines did not have large brains; their skull and facial characteristics were more like those of chimpanzees, as was their size: Lucy was only three feet eight inches tall. Males were considerably larger; this sexual dimorphism (large differences between males and females) is more typical of apes than of humans. Their arms were longer relative to their legs than is the case with humans. This proportion is quantified by using the humerofemoral index, the ratio of the length of the humerus, the upper arm bone, to that of the femur, the upper leg bone. An index of 100 means both are the same length; modern humans have an index of 70, meaning our upper arms are 70 percent of the length of our upper legs, whereas chimpanzees have an index of nearly 100, as did australopithecines. Thus australopithecines are classified as "hominid apes," that is, apes closely related to humans.

A number of other species of *Australopithecus* are known and have been grouped according to two distinct body types, gracile and robust. Gracile australopithecines have lighter bones, especially in the face, than robust species, such as *Australopithecus boisei,* which have powerful jaws and teeth adapted to crushing tough foodstuffs, probably mostly plant foods, and a ridge running from front to back on the top of their skull that served to anchor powerful jaw muscles. Robust species are classified alternately as belonging to the genus *Paranthropus* or as being part of *Australopithecus*. It is not clear as yet which lineage of *Australopithecus* is directly ancestral to *Homo;* some researchers favor *Australopithecus africanus* and others *Australopithecus afarensis*. In general the fossil record of early hominids is still so sparse that relationships between lineages are difficult to establish.

GENUS *HOMO*

The earliest members of the genus *Homo* are *Homo habilis* (handy man) and *Homo rudolfensis*. *Homo habilis,* first reported in 1964 on the basis of fossils discovered by Louis Leakey and his colleagues at Olduvai Gorge in east Africa, though having a brain size considerably smaller than that of modern humans, was claimed as human on the basis of numerous finds of stone tools in the same geologic horizon (layer) as the jaw and cranial specimens. This species lived 2 million years ago, as did *Homo rudolfensis*. These hominids were contemporaries of *Australopithecus africanus* and other australopithecines. There is currently debate as to which hominid species evolved into *Homo ergaster,* which is considered the probable ancestor of modern humans. It was probably *Homo ergaster* that, 1.6 million years ago, developed an advanced type of stone working called the Achulean stone tool industry.

With *Homo ergaster* there occurred a dramatic increase in brain size and typically human behavior such as the use of fire and hunting. *Homo ergaster* was tall and thin, probably an adaptation to activity in hot weather, and had narrow hips relative to adult brain size, meaning that their young were born small and helpless. Apes give birth to infants whose brain's weight is 50% of the weight of an adult brain, whereas modern human babies are born with a brain only 25% the adult size. *Homo ergaster* could not have given birth to an infant with a brain more than 30% its adult size. The long childhood of humans is considered a crucial element in fostering intelligence, learning, and socialization.

HOMINIDS LEAVE AFRICA

The first early hominid fossil found outside Africa is that of a skullcap found near the Solo River in Java; it is called Java Man. In the 1950s paleontologists decided that this species, of whom the remains of 40 individuals have been recovered, was the same as that of fossils from caves near Zhoukoudian, China, discovered in the 1930s, which had been called Peking Man. The two were combined into a species called *Homo erectus.* Dating of *Homo erectus* finds has been problematic; once this species was thought to be no more than 1.1 million years old; new dating methods have now pushed back the age of some fossils to 1.6 million years. Claims of dates of as much as 1.8 and 1.9 million years ago have been made. These last are provisional as yet and 1.6 million years old is so far the most reliable date. There is also some disagreement as to whether some early specimens of *Homo ergaster* found in Kenya and dated to as much as 1.8 million years old are actually *Homo erectus,* though the consensus is against this view. In general human paleontology remains a volatile field; again, because so few specimens exist, a single find can have a dramatic effect in realigning the human family tree.

If the claims of dates of 1.8 million years old for *Homo erectus* in Asia are discounted, the earliest hominid find out of Africa becomes that of two skulls found in 1999 in Dmanisi, in the Republic of Georgia, whose date of 1.7 million years old is considered reliable since it is based on dating of volcanic sediments contemporary with the fossils. These skulls are closer to *Homo ergaster* than to Asian *Homo erectus*. More than a thousand stone tools were found with the skulls; they are important because they were made in the more primitive Olduwan style used by *Homo habilis* of Africa, showing that *Homo*'s migration from Africa was not a result of the development of better tools. This find also pushes back the date of the arrival of *Homo* in Europe, once thought to have been first accomplished by a more advanced human, *Homo heidelbergensis.*

HOMO HEIDELBERGENSIS

More fossil evidence exists for the precursors of the Neanderthals, *Homo heidelbergensis,* than for earlier hominids. The earliest traces of *Homo heidelbergensis* are a lower jaw from a site in Mauer, Germany, and part of a leg bone from Boxgrove, England, both about 500,000 years old. More complete specimens date from 400,000 to 200,000 years old. *Homo heidelbergensis* had a large brain and a robust build, pointing to the body type of the Neanderthals. The species is associated with some of the first evidence (400,000 years old) of shelter building, saplings stuck into the ground in a circle with their tops drawn together, and the use of an interior hearth. At Schöeningen, Germany, a collection of

carefully shaped six-foot-long wooden throwing spears that were found (with their center of balance to the front) date to about 400,000 years ago. This represents a "great leap forward" in technological innovation once thought exclusive to *Homo sapiens;* throwing spears allowed hunters to attack prey from a distance, a far less dangerous method than using earlier thrusting spears.

Little evidence has been found from this period of settlement in any one place for an appreciable length of time. More common are sites with a low-density scatter of chipped stone tools and animal bones showing marks of butchering. The stone used for making the tools is always close by, about 10 miles away at most, and could easily have been gathered and taken to the butchering site within a day. The normal sequence, then, was to hunt and kill an animal, then scout around for a suitable stone to make tools for butchering. In areas without flint or chert, which can be made into very sharp cutters, people made do with whatever they found, including coarse-grained basalts and quartzites. The sequence from making a kill to finding stones and making tools, then finally butchering could have taken as little as a few hours or even minutes. This implies a lack of long-range planning and the ability to project ideas very far into the future, even to carrying and reusing better flint and chert tools rather than simply discarding them after use.

THE FIRST EUROPEANS: NEANDERTHALS

The first fossil human form recognized in Europe was that of *Homo sapiens*'s closest relative, the Neanderthal, named after the Neander River valley in Germany, where the first specimen, a skullcap, was found in 1856. There is still disagreement as to whether the Neanderthals represent a distinct species from *Homo sapiens*—that is, *Homo neanderthalensis*—or a subspecies of *Homo sapiens*. Their morphology (body shape) differs from that of humans—particularly their massive physique and extremely heavy bones. Yet they are more like modern humans than any other hominid found. In fact the early specimens were thought at first to be the bones of diseased humans; only in 1864 was the classification *Homo neanderthalensis* proposed.

Evidence for Planning and Forethought in Neanderthals

Early Neanderthals from around 200,000 years before the present (B.P.), transported raw materials for tool making much farther than did *Homo heidelbergensis,* as much as 200 miles. They remained at sites long enough to create well-defined hearths, often in caves, which are surrounded by a debris of stone chips and animal bone, evidence that people sat in a circle around the fire eating and working. Other sites lack such patterns, however; many seem to show that groups were opportunistic, using whatever resources they found when they arrived at a site.

By about 180,000 B.P. more signs of forethought appear, for example, at the site of La Cotte on the island of Jersey in the English Channel, where selected parts of mammoth bones—mostly skulls, shoulder blades, and pelvises—were taken to a central camp. They were probably gathered from the bodies of mammoths that had been stampeded over the nearby cliff, which is a prominent landmark in the area. There is evidence from this period of more elaborate stoneworking techniques, including reworking of the edges of tools for reuse.

Dwellings

After 60,000 B.P. Neanderthals were making more elaborate hearths and shelters—or perhaps only windbreaks—of mammoth skulls and reindeer antlers, "a quantum leap" away from living space arrangements of earlier times. The distances they traveled differed greatly in different regions, being much greater in the north and in the continental interior than in the southwest in modern-day France and the Iberian Peninsula, probably because of greater seasonal change there and the greater impact of the fluctuations of climate from glacial to interglacial that occurred during the Ice Age. Sites in the north and central regions were seldom occupied long enough to accumulate more than a single horizon of artifacts, whereas in the southwest many were occupied continuously over long periods. During the period 60,000–40,000 B.P. Neanderthals were moving for the first time into the North European Plain and the plains of Russia and Ukraine.

Stone Tool Industries of Neanderthals and Modern Humans

Neanderthals, of whom the latest fossil skeleton dates from around 28,000 years ago, probably coexisted with modern humans for thousands of years in Ice Age Europe. In addition to finds of fossil bones, stone tool types have been used to determine which species lived at a site, even in the absence of bones. The stone tool industry that is associated with the first modern humans in Europe is called the Aurignacian. The earliest industries of western Europe showing some Aurignacian characteristics (not yet fully Aurignacian) have been dated to 38,000 to 42,000 years ago. They have been found in modern-day Belgium, southern Germany, northern Spain, and northern Italy. Some scholars believe that the sites in southern Germany in the Danube basin are evidence that this was a major migration route.

Yet there is disagreement over whether these pre-Aurignacian industries were made by modern humans or by Neanderthals. Entry of modern humans at a later period, 30,000 to 35,000 years ago, is supported by the sudden appearance at this time of a distinctly new art style of anthropomorphic (humanlike) animal figurines, such as the beautiful figure of a lion-headed man carved from mammoth ivory found in southern Germany and dated to 30,000 years old. This figurative art is usually associated with Aurignacian tools. The earliest fossil remnants generally accepted as modern, consisting of a frontal (forehead) bone from Hahnöfersand, Germany, is dated to 36,300 years old. Other fossil remains dating some 30,000 years back have been found in England and northern Spain.

Question of Symbolic Behavior in Neanderthals

Far more specimens of Neanderthals exist than for any other hominid because they lived relatively recently. Some paleontologists believe that so many skeletons survived intact because their survivors deliberately buried them, possibly even strewing flowers over them. If that is true, such burials would be the first unmistakable evidence of the awareness of death and of symbolic behavior. This interpretation is far from accepted by most researchers, however, who point out that the apparent burials can be explained as chance depositions; even the flower pollen found with the skeletons could have percolated through overlying sediments or could have been carried there by rodents. The burials are found only in caves, where the sheltered cave environment might have preserved them, whereas in open settings, where burials of modern humans have been found and where the effort involved in digging deep graves provides clearer evidence of intentionality, no Neanderthal bodies have been found.

Perhaps a more powerful argument against symbolic behavior of the Neanderthals are the scarcity of artifacts such as animal teeth, bones, and shells fashioned to be worn as ornaments and the lack of figurative art such as that of the Aurignacian toolmakers. Although Middle Paleolithic Neanderthals are associated with symbolic items such as red ochre pigment, tooth pendants, exotic shells, and carved bones and stones, far fewer of them have been found at Neanderthal sites than at those of modern humans.

Such artifacts, evidence of cultural objects as bearers of symbolic meaning used in the codification and transmission of culture, are found in *Homo sapiens* sites over a broad area after about 40,000 B.P.; some archaeologists refer to a cultural "explosion" among modern humans at this time. It seems unlikely that the ability to think symbolically would have emerged among the Neanderthals without a similar explosion. They may be better understood as "tool-assisted" hominids than as "culture-using," and the similarity of stone tool styles among them, as well as tooth pendants and carved bone, may have been the result simply of imitation, of copying by seeing rather than by being told and instructed. Cultural continuity among modern humans directly results from the fact that certain styles of dress, tools, and behavior take on symbolic meaning, becoming symbols of belonging to a distinctive group. The European "peoples" we follow in this book derive their existence as much or more by these symbolic distinctions as by genetic lineage. Such cultural distinctiveness appears not to have been a characteristic of the first Europeans, the Neanderthals.

Social Organization of Neanderthals

The last interglacial warming period began around 130,000 B.P. In England the warming generated mixed oak forests and abundant big game, which were thinly dispersed through the forests. The same was true over the North European and Russian plains. But the Neanderthals were absent. Apparently they were unable to cope with such conditions. Some paleontologists suggest that their massive physique was an adaptation to cold and that they were unable to survive in a temperate climate. Another possibility is that they lacked the social organization needed for the more difficult task of hunting in forests; theirs has been called a "face to face" social organization in which group cohesion, in the absence of language, could be maintained only when individuals were close together. Language assists in projecting the future, particularly among members of a group. The sort of extended hunting expeditions undertaken by modern human hunter-gatherers, in which the hunters depart the main group for weeks at a time as they roam the forests in search of game, may have been beyond the ability of Neanderthals.

The Last Neanderthals

In 1999 it was determined that pieces of Neanderthal skulls found in a cave in Vindija, Croatia, are as recent as 28,000 years old. The tools in the cave include some made from bone, which had been thought to be an innovation of *Homo sapiens*. Whether the Neanderthals obtained these tools by trade with *Homo sapiens* or by imitation, their presence implies some degree of interaction between the two hominids. Late skulls from the cave seem to have some modern human characteristics. On the other hand a 24,500-year-old early modern human child unearthed in Portugal had distinctive Neanderthal characteristics, an indication of interbreeding. The extinction of the Neanderthals, whether it came about by displacement or population absorption by modern humans, or by some other factor, was a slow and geographically mosaic process. As we learn more about Neanderthals, their differences from modern humans in basic behavior and abilities increasingly appear to have been more subtle than striking.

UPPER PALEOLITHIC REVOLUTION

The period from about 40,000 to 28,000 B.P. has been called one of the critical turning points in European prehistory. It is marked by two developments fundamental to the nature of European societies for the rest of history. The significance of the extinction of the Neanderthals, which meant that the world would forever be populated by a single hominid species, cannot be overstated. The ready ability of *Homo sapiens* to see other members of our own species as "alien" on the basis of ethnicity and even cultural differences alone makes it highly likely that the presence of Neanderthals would sooner or later have led to violence; the two hominids' interactions undoubtedly would have dramatically changed the course of European history.

The demise of the Neanderthals roughly coincided with changes in the behavior of early modern humans—changes so great and so varied that they have been called the Upper Paleolithic Revolution. These are the changes associated with Aurignacian stone tools. The question of whether these two developments were related in a cause-and-effect way—with new techniques and social structures based on language giving modern humans a competitive advantage over the Neanderthals, leading to their extinction—has still not definitively been answered.

Environmental Background

Environmental factors probably played a minimal part in the extinction of the Neanderthals. The period was one in which a harsh glacial climate steadily but only slowly worsened to the glacial maximum (called the Older Dryas) of 16,000 to 13,000 B.P.; however, Neanderthals had prospered during previous glacial periods. The northern and central parts of Europe had a climate similar to that of southern Alaska today. Glaciers extended south to the English midlands and covered all of Scandinavia and the Baltic coastal regions. Winters were bitter and long, and heavy snowfall posed major obstacles to movement by people. On the other hand the treeless tundra conditions that prevailed in southern Britain, France, and Germany and in a belt to the east through central Europe supported an immensely rich biomass of migratory herd animals such as reindeer, wild horse, and bison, as well as the giant pachyderms, the wooly mammoth and wooly rhinoceros. These herds, numbering in the thousands and following a predictable pattern of seasonal movement, afforded humans a resource that could be exploited with relative ease.

Revolution in Stone Tools

A primary feature distinguishing the new types of stone tools was their thinness; slender, tapering flakes were struck from specially prepared conical or barrel-shaped cores and made into blades, a technique requiring a high level of skill. Such blades, it is now known, were already being made in the Middle Paleolithic, though whether by modern humans or Neanderthals is not clear. What distinguishes the Upper Paleolithic industries is a sudden proliferation of many new types of tools, hafted knives, scrapers, projectile points, and chisels and gouges used to work bone and wood.

Beyond the utilitarian purposes served by this new tool kit, the apparent standardization of many of these forms, implying they were shaped according to a preconceived idea, has led some researchers to argue that specific forms had some kind of symbolic significance for their makers and users. The "mental templates" that guided the shaping of these tools may be a sign of language use, as specific shapes were associated with particular verbal and conceptual labels. (For example, certain forms might have been given names by their makers, such as *leaf blade,* or *blade used to kill cave bears,* similar to names we use today, such as *Bowie knife* or *jackknife,* the forms of which we can visualize.) The ability to retain mental templates of forms is crucial to creativity and art in the sense we mean the words today, because innovative conceptions in the mind guide the hand in the making of original forms. Moreover we may be seeing here the first clear sign of cultural and social differentiation. In any case the dynamic creativity of toolmakers at this time stands in the sharpest contrast with the past, when the shapes of tools remained unchanged for centuries and millennia.

Other Artifacts

The new relationship between mind and material is seen most clearly in the more easily worked and malleable media of bone, antler, ivory, and wood, and in drawing on cave walls. Although Neanderthals did use bone and antler tools—for example, sharpening naturally pointed bones for use as awls—they seem never to have appreciated these materials as "plastic," that is, able to be transformed into completely different shapes; a piece of antler might be made over into the figurine of a horse, or a mammoth tusk transposed into a lion-headed man. Such transformations are the sign and signification of an interior life of their makers and of their apprehension of an invisible realm coexisting with the visible.

In 2001 drawings in charcoal of horses on the walls of a cave in Chauvet, France, were shown to be much older than previously thought. The sophistication and complexity of these drawings have led researchers to assume they were made around the same time as the famous Lascaux cave paintings, some 17,000 years ago. The theory was that such art could have developed only slowly over thousands of years of experimentation. But French researchers, using a dating technique called accelerator mass spectrometry, which separates and counts carbon isotopes found in dead animal and vegetal matter, found the Chauvet drawings to be between 29,700 and 32,400 years old, only 4,000 to 6,000 years later than the oldest modern human fossil so far found in Europe.

Thus these highly accomplished artists predate the cave painters of Lascaux by as much as 10,000 years. Yet their technical prowess and fertile creativity were in no fundamental way inferior to those of artists working at any time since, again underscoring the revolutionary nature of such symbolic behavior, but also the essential similarity of these distant ancestors to us. The painter Pablo Picasso, after viewing the Lascaux paintings in 1940, declared, "We have discovered nothing" in reference to the modernist revolution in painting in his lifetime. Art is both immensely old, perhaps as old as our species, and forever new.

Personal Artifacts

Personal ornaments were another class of new objects being made at this time, such as animal teeth perforated to be hung by a cord around the neck. More remarkable are the great numbers of beads and pendants of other shapes that were first made around 34,000 B.P., produced in structures akin to factories using a complex, multistage technique of incising, grooving, and splitting carefully made ivory rods. Two sites alone in southern France have yielded more than 500 such pendants; other "factories" have been found in Belgium and southern Germany.

Economic Basis of the Upper Paleolithic Revolution

The massive, concentrated herds of animals grazing on the tundra during this period made for a rich and relatively reliable resource (when compared to the situation in the later Mesolithic forests) that could be exploited by groups with a fairly simple social structure. The new complexity of the Aurignacian way of life can be seen less in hunting techniques or social organization than in an increasing specialization of

hunting activity with regard to the species being hunted. Animal remains from Upper Paleolithic sites show a marked tendency toward focus on a single-prey species; in some regions wild horses were favored, in others reindeer, steppe bisons, or wooly mammoths. In the Périgord region in southern France it is not uncommon to find that more than 90% and in some cases up to 99% of animals taken were reindeer. This compares to single-species frequencies before the Upper Paleolithic of rarely more than 70% to 80%. Thus Neanderthals can be seen to have acted as more generalized, opportunistic foragers, whereas modern humans became specialists.

This behavior implies the ability to predict the migratory movements of the herds so that the desired species might be taken, as does the fact that Aurignacian sites tend to be heavily concentrated along river valleys that served as major migration routes. Among these were the Dordogne valley in southwestern France, the Rhine and Upper Danube valleys in southern Germany, and the Don and Dnestr valleys in southern Russia. Not only are the sites concentrated, but individual sites are much larger and more structured than ever before, reflecting larger social units.

Dwellings

Substantial houses of a circular or semicircular form were first built during this period, particularly in open areas lacking caves, such as the loess plains of central and eastern Europe; houses were built over depressions or upon stone or sunken post foundations. Some houses in eastern Europe were built of mammoth bones. Settlements could consist of a number of single-family dwellings or of larger structures housing multiple families.

Population Density

Within the region of southern France the number of Upper Paleolithic sites exceeds by four and five times the number of sites from the preceding period. Similar contrasts are seen in central Europe and the south Russian plain.

Social Structure

The denser concentrations of people within large social units probably required a more complex social organization than ever before. Specialization of roles within society is evidenced by the high degree of artistic skill required for the elaborate cave art of the period. Great technological skill was needed for the highly sophisticated stone and bone tools that were being made. The organization of communal hunting activities to feed the greater numbers of people must have required some degree of differentiation of authority. Elaborate burials found in the former Czechoslovakia and in Russia and Italy may point to the beginnings of social stratification, although this interpretation may be reading into the archaeological record ideas of social structure alien to societies whose worldview may have been radically different from our own. Such ceremonial burials may have been intended less to honor an individual than to express communal values and group cohesion.

The "crowding" of populations along the migratory river valley routes may have necessitated recognition and demarcation of discrete "territories." The highly contrasting artifact styles in different regions and among different communities may point to the formation for the first time of distinct, self-conscious cultural or ethnic groups.

Dangers of Overspecialization

However abundant the Upper Paleolithic herds their availability was subject to periods of disruption. Tundra and steppe ecologies are inherently unstable, fragile, and unpredictable over the short term. A period of unusually heavy snowfall or harsh winters, of drought or overgrazing, or destruction of grasslands by fire, causing large population declines in the herds, would have had catastrophic consequences for groups heavily dependent on them. Such instability may have prevented the formation of truly independent and self-sustaining social groups, and local units may have maintained long-distance contacts as insurance against hard times. Evidence of long-distance trade between regions as far as 310 miles from one another has been found for this period. Such patterns are indicated all over Europe and are most conspicuous during the period of glacial maximum from 16,000 to 13,000 B.P., a time of particular vulnerability for the herds and the human groups dependent on them.

END OF THE ICE AGE

The Upper Paleolithic was in many ways a harbinger. The tundra way of life that made possible the great efflorescence of Upper Paleolithic art ended with the warming trend that began around 11,000 or 10,000 B.P. The return of the forests in the Mesolithic led to a simplification of material culture as subsistence became more difficult. The next wave of cultural complexity awaited the next period in which humans experienced an economic stability sufficient to free up energies for use in cultural productions; this time the stable food source was based not on the exigencies of climate change and ecology but on human invention: the development of agriculture.

THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN ANCESTRY

The relationship between very early Europeans and those of more recent times may never be known. Were the makers of the spectacular cave art in southern France the ancestors of the Gauls and later the French? Even the question of whether the first people who populated Europe were later displaced by farming groups arriving from the Near East, were absorbed into them, or adopted farming techniques on their own is difficult to answer.

Linguists have attempted to relate prehistoric cultures to the present by using the similarities among European languages belonging to the Indo-European language group, which comprises most modern European languages, to postulate a proto-Indo-European language. Using a theory that

languages diverge from one another at a relatively constant rate when speakers of a common language are geographically separated, rather like the theory of genetic drift applied to speciation, linguists try to assess how long ago proto-Indo-European was spoken by measuring how different modern languages are from one another and projecting back in time to their original divergence.

This method has proved to be problematic, however, and difficult to relate to archaeological data. It gave rise to the theory that Indo-European speakers arrived after peaceful, matriarchal (goddess-worshipping) farming communities had long been established in southeastern Europe; that they were warlike, patriarchal pastoralists (cattle herders) and that they violently displaced the matriarchal societies. Attempts to relate this to the archaeological record eventually discredited this theory, and it has few adherents today. An alternative theory proposed by the British paleontologist Colin Renfrew is that Indo-European speakers were actually the first farmers; he relates the amount of language drift between modern languages to the probable rate by which farming spread through the continent.

What this illustrates, along with the many uncertainties about human evolution and the relationships among our ancestral species, is that the European peoples who are recognizable either from the historic record, such as the Celts, Scythians, or Thracians, or from their artifacts, such as the La Tène culture, occupy the very latest chapters of an extremely long human prehistory during which the way of life for most people hardly changed at all for hundreds of thousands of years. In the same way, despite disagreement over such issues as whether modern *Homo sapiens* evolved once in Africa or in parallel in Asia and Africa, the discoveries of paleontology have continually reinforced the extremely close relationship among all hominids, and among members of *Homo sapiens*. We are all close cousins under the skin, truly members of the human family.

APPENDIX VI:
Individuals Mentioned in Text through the Nineteenth Century, with Birth and Death Dates, Organized by Peoples

(The names may appear in entries other than those of peoples under which they are listed; popes are listed separately.)
(Some of the nontribal headings are not necessarily strict nationalities and may include indviduals of historic regional entities within a present-day nation.)
(Those dates not marked B.C.E. are C.E.)

AEDUI

Divitiacus. fl. 50s B.C.E. Druid.
Vergobretos. fl. first century B.C.E. Magistrate for Rome.

ALAMANNI

Cnodomarius. fl. 350s. King.
Fraomarius. fl. 360s–370s. King.
Macrianus. fl. 360s–370s. King.

ALANS

Addac. d. c. 415. King
Safrax. fl. 370s. King.
Sangiban. fl. 450s. King.

ALBANIANS

Ali Pasa Tepelenë. 1744–1822. Ruler.
Skanderbeg (George Kastrioti). 1405–1468. Military leader.

ANGLO-SAXONS

Adelred fl. 720s. King.
Aelfric (Grammaticus). c. 955–1010. Abbot and writer.
Aethelbald (Ethelbald). d. 860. Ruler (855–860).
Aethelberht (Ethelbert). d. 794. King and saint.
Aethelberht (Ethelbert). d. 866. King.
Aethelbert (Ethelbert; Aedilberct). d. 616. King of Kent (560–616).
Aethelflaed (Ethelfleda; Aelfled). d. 918. Ruler (911–918).
Aethelred I (Ethelred). d. 871. King (866–871).
Aethelwulf (Ethelwulf; Adelwulf; Athulf). d. 858. King of West Saxons (839–855).
Alcuin (Albinus; Ealhwine; Flaccus). c. 732–804. Scholar.
Alfred (Aelfred; Alfred the Great). 849–899. King of Wessex (871–899).
Athelstan (Aethelstan). 895–939. King of Mercia and Wessex (924–939).
Augustine. c. 354–430. Christian church father, philosopher, and saint.
Bede (Baeda; Beda; Venerable Bede). 672– or 673–735. Scholar, historian, theologian, and saint.
Benedict (Biscop; Benet Biscop). 628?–690. Ecclesiastic and saint.
Boniface (Wynfrid; Wynfrith). c. 675–754. Benedictine missionary and saint.
Caedmon. d. 680. Poet.
Cynewulf (Cynwulf). fl. ninth century. Poet.
Ecgberht (Ecgbryht; Egbert). d. 839. King of West Saxons (802–839).
Ecgfrith (Egfrith). d. 685. King of Northumbria (670–685).
Edward. (Eadward; Eadweard; Edward the Elder). d. 924. King (899–924).
Edward (Eadward the Confessor). 1003?–1066. King (1042–1066).
Edwin (Eadwine). 585?–633. King of Northumbria (616–633).
Egbert. d. 766. Archbishop of York.
Eorpwald. fl. 620s–630s. Ruler.
Godwine (Godwin). 992?–1053. Earl of Essex (c. 1018–1053).
Harold II (Godwinson). c. 1022–1066. King (1066).
Hereward the Wake. fl. 1070s. Rebel and outlaw.
Ine (Ini; Ina). d. after 726. King of West Saxons (688–726).
Margaret. 1045–1093. Queen of Malcolm III of Scotland and saint.
Offa. d. 796. King of Mercians (757–796).
Orosius (Paulus Orosius). fl. 410s B.C.E. Priest and historian.

Oswald. 605–641. King (633–641) and saint.
Raedwald (Redwald). d. c. 625. King of East Anglia.
Sigbert. fl. 630s. Ruler and monk.
Tostig. d. 1066. Earl of Northumbria (1055–1066).
Willibrord (Wilbrord; Wilbrod). 658?–739. Missionary and saint.
Wulfstan (Wulstan). c. 1008–1095. Prelate and saint.

ANTES

Bozh. fl. 380s. Prince.

AORSI

Spadines. fl. 60s B.C.E. King.

ARVERNI

Vercingetorix (Fearcuincedorigh). d. 46 B.C.E. Chieftain.

ATREBATES

Commius. fl. 50s–40s B.C.E. Chieftain.
Verica. d. 35. Chieftain.

AUSTRIANS

Johann Josef Adam (Johann Adam of Liechtenstein). 1690–1732. Prince (1721–1732).
Albert II. 1397–1439. Duke of Austria as Albert V, and king of Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany (1438–1439).
Hermann Bahr. 1863–1934. Writer.
Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Holy Roman Emperor (1558–1564).
Ferdinand II. 1578–1637. Holy Roman Emperor (1619–1637).
Francis II. 1768–1835. Holy Roman Emperor (1792–1806).
Sigmund Freud. 1856–1939. Founder of psychoanalysis.
Franz Joseph Haydn. 1732–1809. Composer.
Gustav Klimt. 1862–1918. Painter.
Leopold I (Leopold of Babenberg). d. 994. Margrave (976–994).
Gustav Mahler. 1860–1911. Composer
Gregor Johann Mendel. 1822–1884. Botanist.
Metternich (Klemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar von Metternich-Winneburg). 1773–1859. Statesman.
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. 1756–1791. Composer.
Rudolf I (Rudolf of Hapsburg) 1218–1291. Holy Roman Emperor (1273–1291).
Arthur Schnitzler. 1862–1931. Physician and writer.
Franz Peter Schubert. 1797–1828. Composer.
Johann Strauss. 1825–1899. Composer.
Maria Theresa. 1717–1780. Archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

AVARS

Baian. fl. 560s–610s. Khan.
Shāmil. 1798?–1871. Leader.

BASQUES

Juan Sebastián del Cano (Juan de Elcano). c. 1476–1526. Navigator.
Ignatius of Loyola. 1491–1556. Knight and saint.
Francisco de Vitoria. 1486?–1546. Theologian.
Francis Xavier. 1506–1552. Missionary and saint.
Sancho III Garcés (Sancho the Great). c. 992–1035. King (1000–1035).

BATAVI

Gaius Julius Civilis. fl. 60s–70s. Chieftain.

BELARUSIANS

Kastus Kalinouski (Vikenty-Konstantin Kalinousky). 1838–1864. Poet and revolutionary.
Simeon Polatsky (Symon Polatski; Simiaon of Polatsk). 1629–1680. Poet, scholar, monk, and saint.
Francysk Skaryma (Frantsysk, Franciszak, or Francis Skoryna). 1485?–1540? Scholar and printer.

BELGIANS

César Franck. 1822–1890. Composer.
Leopold I. 1790–1865. King (1831–1865).
Leopold II. 1835–1909. King (1865–1909).
Maurice Maeterlinck (Maurice-Polidore-Marie-Bernhard Maeterlinck). 1862–1949. Writer.
Josquin des Prez (Josquin Desprez). c. 1450–1521. Composer.
Andreas Vesalius 1514–1564. Anatomist.

BITURIGES

Ambigatus. fl. sixth century B.C.E.? King.
Bellovesus. fl. sixth century B.C.E.? Chief.
Segovesus. fl. sixth century B.C.E.? Chief.

BOSNIANS

Kulin. d. c. 1204. Ruler.
Stephen Kotromanić. d. 1353. Ruler (1322–1353).
Tvrtko Kotromanić and Bosnia. 1338?–1391. King of Serbs and Bosnia (1377–1391).

BRIGANTES

Cartimandua. fl. 50s. Queen of Brigantes.

BRITONS

Ambrosius Aurelianus. b. c. 403. Leader.
Calgacus (Galgacus). fl. 50s. Chieftain.
Gildas (Gildas the wise). c. 516–c. 570. Monk and historian.
Ninian (Ninias; Ninus; Ninnidh). c. 360–c. 432. Bishop and saint.
Patrick (Succat). 389?–461? Apostle and saint.
Roderic. fl. 720s. King.
Vortigern. c. 370–459. Ruler.

BULGARIANS

Alexander I (Alexander Joseph of Battenberg). 1857–1893. Prince (1879–1886).
Boris I. d. 907. Czar (852–889).
Christo Botev (Khristo). 1848–1876. Poet and revolutionary.
Iven Asen I. d. 1196. Czar (1186–1196).
Iven Asen II. d. 1241. Czar (1218–1241).
Kaloyan. d. 1297. Czar (1197–1207).
Paisij. fl. 1760s. Monk and writer.
Peter. d. 969. Czar (927–969)
Samuel. d. 1014. Czar (980–1014).
Simeon (Symeon the Great). d. 927. Czar (893–927).
Ivan Mincov Vazov. 1850–1921. Writer.

BULGARS

Asparukh (Asperuch; Isperich). d. 700. Khan.
Bezmer (Bat-Bayan). fl. 640s. Son of Kurt.
Krum. d. 814. Khan (802–814).
Kurt (Kubrat). d. 642. Ruler. (c. 605–c. 642).
Omurtag. 814–831. Khan.

BURGUNDII

Chilpiric (Chilperic). fl. 470s. Brother of Gundobad.
Clotilda (Chrotechildis). c. 470–545. Queen and saint.
Godomar. d. 534. Brother of Gundobad.
Gundicar (Gundahar; Gunther). c. 385–437. King (413–437).
Gundobad (Gundebaud; Gondobald). c. 475–516. King (480–516).
Sigismund d. 524. King (516–524) and saint.

BYZANTINES (EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE)

Alexius I Comnenus. 1048–1118. Emperor (1081–1118).
Alexius III Angelus. d. 1211. Emperor (1195–1203).
Alexius IV Angelus. d. 1204. Emperor (1203–1204).
Alexius V (Alexius Ducas Murtzuphlus). d. 1204. Emperor (1204).
Anastasius. 430?–518. Emperor (491–518).
Anna Comnena. 1083–?1148. Author and daughter of Alexius I Comnenus.
Arcadius. c. 377–408. Emperor (383–408).
Baldwin I. 1172–1205. Emperor of Constantinople (1204–1205).
Basil I (Basil the Macedonian). 812?–886. Emperor (867–886).
Basil II (Bulgaroctonus). c. 958–1025. Emperor (976–1025).
Chilbudius. fl. sixth century. General.
Constantine IV (Pogonatus). d. 685. Emperor (668–685).
Constantine V (Copronymus). 718–775. Emperor (741–775).
Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus). 905–959. Emperor (913–959).
Constantine VIII. c. 960–1028. Emperor (976–1028).
Constantine XI Palaeologus (Dragases). 1404–1453. Emperor (1449–1453).
Cyril (Constantine). c. 827–869. Missionary and saint.
Heraclius. c. 574–641. Emperor (610–641).
Irene. 752–803. Ruler (780–802) and saint.
John of Ephesus (John of Asia). c. 507–c. 586. Syrian prelate and monk.
Justin I. c. 450–527. Emperor (518–527).
Justin II. d. 578. Emperor (565–578).
Justinian I (Justinian the Great). 483–565. Emperor (527–565).
Justinian II (Rhinotmetus). c. 669–711. Emperor (685–695, 705–711).
Leo III (Leo the Isaurian). 680–741. Emperor (717–741).
Leo IV (Leo the Khazar). 749–780. Emperor (775–780).
Leo V (Leo the Armenian). d. 820. Emperor (813–820).
Leo VI (Leo the Wise; Leo the Philosopher). 866–912. Emperor (886–912).
Marcian. c. 392–457. Emperor (450–457).
Maurice. c. 539–602. Emperor (582–602).
Methodius. c. 825–884. Missionary and saint.
Michael I. d. 843. Emperor (811–813).
Michael III (Michael the Amorian; Michael the Phrygian). 838–867. Emperor (842–867).
Michael VIII Palaeologus. 1224?–1282. Emperor (1259–1282).
Nestorius. d. c. 451. Persian prelate.
Nicephorus III Botaneiates. fl. 1070s–80s. Emperor (1078–1081).
Phocas. d. 610. Emperor (c. 602–610).
Photius. c. 820–891. Patriarch of Constantinople.
Procopius. fl. 520s–550s. Historian.
Pseudo-Maurice. fl. sixth–seventh century. Historian.
Romanus IV Diogenes. d. 1071. Emperor (1068–1071).
Stephen (Stephen of Perm). 1340–1395. Missinary, linguist, and saint.
Theodora. c. 500–548. Wife of Emperor Justinian I.
Theodora. c. 810–862. Wife of Emperor Theophilus.
Theodore I Lascaris. c. 1175–1222. Nicaean emperor (1208–1222).
Theodosius II. 401–450. Emperor (408–450).
Theodosius III. d. after 717. Emperor (715–717).
Theophylactus Simocattes (Theophylact Simocatta). d. after 640. Historian.
Tribonian. d. 545. Jurist.
Valens. 328?–378. Emperor (364–378).
Zeno. d. 491. Emperor (474–491).

CARTHAGINIANS

Clitomachus (Hasdrubal). fl. second century B.C.E. Philosopher among Greeks.
Hamilcar. d. 480 B.C.E. General.
Hamilcar Barca (Barcas). 270?–229 or 228 B.C.E. General.
Hannibal. 247–183 B.C.E. General.
Hanno. fl. c. 470s B.C.E. Navigator.
Hasdrubal. d. 221 B.C.E. General.
Himilco. fl. c. 450s B.C.E. Navigator.

CASSI

Cassivellaunus (Cassivelaunus; Caswallawn; Caswallon). fl. 50s. Prince.

CATUVELLAUNI

Caractacus (Caratacus; Caradoc). fl. 40s–50s. Chieftain.
Cunobelin (Cunobelinus; Cymbeline). d. c. 42. King.
Togodummus. fl. 40s–50s. King.

CHECHENS

Sheikh Mansur. fl. 1780s. Rebel leader.

CHERUSCI

Arminius (Armin; Hermann). 18 B.C.E.?–19 C.E. Tribal leader.

CIMMERIANS

Lygdamis. fl. 630s B.C.E. Military leader.

CORNISH

John Edyvean. fl. 18th century. Inventor.
Thomas Flamank. 1450–1497. Rebel leader.
Goldsworthy Gurney. 1793–1875. Inventor.
Michael Joseph an Gof (Michael the Smith). d. 1497. Rebel leader.
Dorothy Pentreath. d. 1777. Fishseller and Cornish speaker.
Petroc. fl. sixth century. Saint.
Robert of Mortain. c. 1031–c. 1082. Count and landowner.
Richard Trevithick. 1771–1833. Engineer and inventor.

COSSACKS

Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Bogdan Chmielnicki). c. 1595–1657. Leader.
Yemelyan Invanovich Pugachov. 1726–1775. Soldier.
Stenka Razin (Stepan Timofeyevich Razin). d. 1671. Rebel.
Yermak Timofeyevich. d. 1584. Leader.

CROATS

Ivan Gundelić. 1588–1638. Poet.
Ljudevit Gaj. 1809–1872. Publisher and writer.
Hanibal Lucić. 1485–1553. Playwright.
Marco Marulić. 1450–1524. Poet and philosopher.
Ivan Mažuranić. 1840–1890. Poet.
Tomislav. d. 928. King.

CUMANS

Barc. fl. 1220s. Prince.
Kuthen (Kotyan). d. 1240. Prince.

CURONIANS

Lamikis. fl. 1230s. King.

CZECHS (SEE ALSO MORAVIANS)

Adalbert (Adelbert; Wojciech). 956–997. Bohemian prelate, prince, and saint.
Borivoj. d. c. 889. Duke of Bohemia (c. 872–c. 883).
Boleslav I (Boleslav the Cruel). d. 967. Prince of Bohemia (929–967).
Boleslav II. d. 999. Prince of Bohemia (967–999).
Charles IV (Charles of Luxembourg). 1316–1378. Holy Roman Emperor (1355–1378).
Dobrava. 933–977. Wife of Mieszko I of Poland.
Josef Dobrovský. 1753–1829. Philologist.
Antonín Leopold Dvořák (Antonín Leopold). 1841–1904. Composer.
Elizabeth. fl. 1610s–1640s. Queen of Bohemia; wife of John of Luxembourg.
George of Podebrady (Jiří z Poděbrad). 1420–1471. King of Bohemia (1458–1471).
Jan Hus (John Huss). c. 1372 or 1373–1415. Religious leader.
John of Luxembourg. 1296–1346. King of Bohemia (1310–1346).
Josef Jungmann. 1773–1847. Writer and philologist.
Lecho (Becho). fl. 810s. Tribal leader.
Karel Hynek Mácha. 1810–1836. Writer.
Alphonse Mucha (Afons Maria Mucha). 1860–1939. Painter and illustrator.
Jan Neruda. 1834–1891. Writer.
Otakar I. c. 1155–1230. King of Bohemia (1198–1230).
Pavel Josef Šavárik. 1795–1861. Scholar.
Samo. d. c. 658. Merchant and leader.
Slavnik. d. 981. Leader.
Bedřich Smetana. 1824–1884. Composer.
Vratislav I. d. 921. Duke of Bohemia (915–921).
Vratislav II. d. 1092. King (1061–1092). King of Bohemia.
Wenceslas (Wenceslaus; Vaclav). c. 907–929. Prince-duke of Bohemia (c. 921–929) and saint.
Wenceslas III. 1289–1306. King of Hungary (1301–1304) and of Bohemia (1305–1306).

DACIANS

Burebistas (Burebista). d. c. 44 B.C.E. King (c. 60–c. 44 B.C.E.).
Decebalus. d. 106. King.
Deceneus. fl. 80s B.C.E.
Dionysius Exiguus (Dennis the Small). c. 500–c. 560. Christian monk and scholar.

DANES (SEE ALSO VIKINGS)

Absalon (Axel). 1128–1201. Soldier, statesman, and prelate.
Hans Christian Andersen. 1805–1875. Writer.
Tycho Brahe. 1546–1601. Astronomer.
Canute the Great (Knud den Store). d. 1035. King of England (1017–1035) and of Denmark (1020–1035).
Erik V (Glipping). 1249?–1286. King (1259–1286).
Johannes Ewald. 1743–1781. Poet and playwright.
Frederick III. 1609–1670. King (1648–1670).
George I (Prince William). 1845–1913. King of Greece (1863–1913).
Karl Adolph Gjellerup. 1857–1919. Novelist.
Saxo Grammaticus. 1150–after 1216. Historian.

Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. 1813–1855. Philosopher.
Margaret. 1353–1412. Queen of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.
Carl August Nielsen. 1865–1931. Composer.
Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger. 1779–1850. Poet and playwright.
Olaf II. 1370–1387. King of Denmark (1376–1387) and Norway as Olaf V (1380–1387).
Hans Christian Ørsted. 1777–1851. Physicist.
Christiern Pedersen. 1480?–1554. Theologian and historian.
Henrik Pontoppidan. 1857–1943. Novelist.
Rasmus Kristian Rask. 1787–1832. Philologist.
Ole Rømer. 1644–1710. Astronomer.
Bertel Thorvaldsen (Bertel Thorwaldsen). 1768 or 1770–1844. Sculptor.
Valdemar II (Waldemar II). 1170–1241. King of Denmark (1202–1241).

DUTCH

Hiëronymus Bosch (Jerom Bos; Jeroen Anthoniszoon; Jeroen van Aeken of van Aken). c. 1450–1516. Painter.
Desiderius Erasmus (Gerard Gerards). 1466?–1536. Scholar.
Vincent van Gogh (Vincent Willem van Gogh). 1853–1890. Painter.
Frans Hals. between 1581 and 1585–1666. Painter.
Christiaan Huygens. 1629–1695. Mathematician, physicist, and astronomer.
Willem Kloos (Willem Johan Theodoor Kloos). 1859–1938. Poet and critic.
Antoni van Leeuwenhoek. 1632–1723. Naturalist.
Rembrandt (Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn; Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Ryn). 1606–1669. Painter and etcher.
Baruch Spinoza (Benedict de Spinoza). 1632–1677. Philosopher.
Johannes Vermeer (Jan Vermeer; Jan van der Meer). 1632–1675. Painter.
William I (Willem I; William the Silent). 1533–1584. Prince of Orange and stadholder of Netherlands (1579–1584).
William III (Willem III). 1650–1702. Stadholder King of Netherlands (1672–1702) and King of England (1689–1702).

EBURONES

Ambiorix. fl. 50s B.C.E. Chieftain.

ENGLISH

Robert Adam 1728–1792. Architect.
Lancelot Andrewes. 1555–1626. Prelate and scholar.
Jane Austen. 1775–1817. Novelist.
Francis Bacon. 1561–1626. Philosopher.
John Ball. fl. 1370s–1380s. Priest and rebel.
Bartholomew (Bartholomaeus Anglicus). fl. 1220s–1240s. Friar.
Thomas Becket (Thomas à Becket; Thomas of London). 1118–1170. Archbishop of Canterbury and saint (1162–1170).
William Blake. 1757–1827. Poet.
Anne Bronte. 1820–1849. Novelist.
Charlotte Bronte. 1816–1855. Novelist.
Emily Bronte (Emily Jane Bronte). 1818–1848. Novelist.
William Byrd. 1543–1623. Composer.
Lord Byron (George Gordon Byron). 1788–1824. Poet.
Charles I. 1600–1649. King (1625–1649).
Charles II. 1630–1685. King (1660–1685).
Charles Edward (Young Pretender; Young Chevalier; Bonnie Prince Charlie). 1720–1788. Prince.
Geoffrey Chaucer. c. 1342–1400. Poet.
Samuel Taylor Coleridge. 1772–1834. Poet.
John Constable. 1776–1837. Painter.
Oliver Cromwell. 1599–1658. Soldier and statesman.
Thomas Cromwell. 1485?–1540. Earl of Essex and politician.
Cuthbert. c. 635–687. Monk and saint.
John Dalton. 1766–1844. Chemist and physicist.
Charles Robert Darwin. 1809–1882. Biologist and naturalist.
Charles Dickens (Charles John Huffam Dickens). 1812–1870. Writer.
Daniel Defoe. 1660–1731. Novelist.
John Donne. 1572–1631. Poet.
Arthur Conan Doyle. 1859–1930. Physician and writer.
John Dryden. (1631–1700). Poet.
Edward I. 1239–1307. King (1272–1307).
Edward II. 1284–1327. King (1307–1327).
Edward III. 1312–1377. King (1327–1377).
Edward VI. 1537–1553. King (1547–1553).
George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans; Marian Evans). 1819–1880. Writer.
Elizabeth I. 1533–1603. Queen (1558–1603).
William Fitzwilliam. 1526–1599. Administrator and deputy.
Thomas Gainsborough. 1727–1788. Painter.
Geoffrey (Geoffrey V; Geoffrey Plantagenet). 1113–1151. Count of Anjou and Maine (1131–1151º.
Geoffrey of Monmouth. c. 1100–1154. Ecclesiastic and chronicler.
George I (George Louis). 1660–1727. (1714–1727).
George IV (George Augustus Frederick). 1762–1830. King (1820–1830).
Humphrey Gilbert. c. 1539–1583. Navigator and soldier.
William Ewart Gladstone. 1809–1898. Politician.
Thomas Hardy. 1840–1928. Writer.
Henry I (Henry Beauclerc). 1068–1135. King (1100–1135).
Henry II (Curtmantle). 1133–1189. King (1154–1189).
Henry III. 1207–1272. King (1216–1272).
Henry IV (Henry Bolingbroke; Henry of Lancaster). 1366–1413. King (1399–1413).
Henry V. 1387–1422. King (1413–1422).
Henry VII (Henry Tudor). 1457–1509. King (1485–1509).
Henry VIII. 1491–1547. King (1509–1547).
Henry de Bracton (Henry de Bratton, Henry de Bretton). d. 1268. Ecclesiastic and judge.
William Herschel. 1738–1822. Astronomer.
James II. 1633–1701. King (1685–1688).
James Edward Stuart (Old Pretender). 1688–1766. Claimant to British throne.

Edward Jenner. 1749–1823. Physician.
John (John Lackland). 1167–1216. King (1199–1216).
Samuel Johnson. 1709–1784. Writer, lexicographer, and critic.
James Prescott Joule. 1818–1889. Physicist.
John Keats. 1795–1821. Poet.
Rudyard Kipling (Joseph Rudyard Kipling). 1865–1936. Writer.
William Langland. c. 1330–c. 1400. Poet.
John Locke. 1632–1704. Philosopher.
Thomas Malory. fl. 1470s. Author.
Thomas Robert Malthus. 1766–1834. Economist.
Margaret Tudor. 1489–1541. Queen of Scotland (1503–1541).
Mary I (Mary Tudor; Bloody Mary). 1516–1558. Queen (1553–1558).
Mary II. 1662–1694. Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1689–1694).
Matilda (Maud). 1102–1167. Princess.
John Milton. 1608–1674. Poet.
Thomas More. 1478–1535. Statesman, writer and saint.
Isaac Newton. 1642–1727. Mathematician and physicist.
Wilfred Owen. 1893–1918. Poet.
Samuel Pepys. 1633–1703. Statesman and diarist.
William Pitt (William Pitt the Younger). 1759–1806. Politician.
Alexander Pope. 1688–1744. Poet.
Henry Purcell. c. 1659–1695. Composer.
Walter Raleigh (Walter Ralegh). 1554–1618. Courtier, navigator, historian, and poet.
Joshua Reynolds. 1723–1792. Painter.
Richard I (Richard the Lionhearted). 1157–1199. King (1189–1199).
Richard II. 1367–1400. King (1377–1399).
William Shakespeare. 1564–1616. Dramatist and poet.
Percy Bysshe Shelley. 1792–1822. Poet.
William Smith. 1769–1839. Geologist.
Edmund Spenser. 1552 or 1553–1599. Poet.
Stephen. c. 1097–1154. King (1135–1154).
Robert Surtees. 1803–1864. Writer.
Jonathan Swift. 1667–1745. Churchman and writer.
Thomas Tallis (Thomas Tallys or Talles). c. 1505–1585. Composer.
Alfred Tennyson (Alfred, Lord Tennyson). 1809–1892. Poet.
J. M. W. Turner (Joseph Mallord William Turner). 1775–1851. Painter.
William Tynedale (William Tindal). c. 1494–1536. Translator.
Robert Walpole. 1676–1745. Earl of Orford and statesman.
Izaak Walton. 1593–1683. Writer.
Arthur Wellesley (Iron Duke). 1769–1852. General and statesman.
Gilbert White. 1720–1793. Naturalist and writer.
William II (William Rufus). c. 1056–1100. King (1087–1100).
Thomas Wolsey (Cardinal Wolsey). c. 1475–1530. Prelate and statesman.
William Wordsworth. 1770–1850. Poet.
Christopher Wren. 1632–1723. Architect.
John Wycliffe (John Wickliffe). 1330–1384. Religious reformer and theologian.

ESTONIANS

Anton Thor Helle. 1683–1748. Clergyman and writer.
Lydia Koidula (Lydia Emilie Florentine Jannsen). 1843–1886. Poet and playwright.
Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald. 1803–1882. Physician, poet, and folklorist.
Kristjan Jaak Peterson. 1801–1822. Poet.
Juhan Sommer. fl. 1830s. Novelist.

FINNS

Michael Agricola. 1509–1557. Prelate and writer.
Kaarlo Bergbom. 1843–1906. Writer and theatrical producer.
Robert Kajanus. 1856–1933. Composer.
Elias Lönnrot. 1802–1884. Musicologist.
Fredrik Pacius. 1809–1891. Composer.
Johan Ludvig Runeberg. 1804–1877. Poet.
Jan Sibelius (Jean Julius Christian Sibelius; Johan Sibelius). 1865–1957. Composer.
Aleksis Stenvall (pseudonym, Aleksis Kivi). 1834–1872. Writer.
Martin Wegelius. 1846–1906. Composer and educator.

FLEMINGS

Giovanni da Bologna (Giambologna; Jean Boulogne). 1529–1608. Sculptor.
Pieter Brueghel (Bruegel; Breughel; Pieter the Elder). c. 1525–1569. Painter.
Anthony van Dyck. 1599–1641. Painter.
Hubert van Eyck (Huybrecht van Eyck). c. 1370–1426. Painter.
Jan van Eyck. before 1395–1441. Painter.
Guido Gezelle. 1830–1899. Poet.
Peter Paul Rubens. 1577–1640. Painter.
Rogier van der Weyden (Roger de La Pasture). 1399?–1464. Painter.
Jan Frans Willems. 1793–1846. Scholar and poet.

FRANKS (*SEE ALSO* FRENCH)

Baldwin I (Iron Arm). d. 879. Count of Flanders (862).
Bauto. fl. 380s. Regent.
Bertha. fl. 590s. Wife of Saint Ethelbert of Kent.
Carloman (Karlmann). 751–771. Son of Pépin the Short.
Charibert (Caribert). d. 567. King (561–567).
Charlemagne (Charles the Great). 742–814. King (768–814).
Charles Martel (Charles the Hammer). c. 688–741. Ruler.
Childebert I. c. 495?–588. King (511–588).
Childeric I. d. c. 481. King (c. 457–481).
Childeric III. d. 754. King (743–751).
Chilperic II. c. 675–721. King (715–721).
Chlodio. fl. 420s–450s. King.

Chlotar I (Clotaire). c. 497–561. King (558–561).
Chlotar II (Clotaire). d. 629. King (613–629).
Clodimir (Chlodomer). d. 524. King (511–524).
Clotilda (Chrotechildis; Clotilda of Burgundy). c. 470–545. Queen and saint.
Clovis I (Chlodovic). c. 466–511. King (481–511).
Dagobert I. 605–639. King (629–639).
Einhard (Eginhard). 770?–840. Secretary and biographer.
Felix. d. c. 647. Bishop
Germain. c. 378–448. Ecclesiastic and saint.
Gregory of Tours. 538–594. Prelate.
Guntram (Gunthchramn). d. c. 592. King of Burgundy (561–592).
Karl (Charles). d. 811. King.
Lothair I. 795–855. Holy Roman Emperor (840–855).
Louis I (Louis the Pious). 778–840. King (814–840).
Louis II (Louis the German). c. 804–876. King (843–876).
Martin (Saint Martin of Tours). c. 316–397. Prelate and saint.
Merovich (Merovech; Merowech; Merowig; Merwich). fl. fifth century. Ruler.
Pépin II (Pippin the Younger; Pippin of Herstal). d. 714. Ruler (687–714).
Pépin III (Pippin the Short). 714?–768. King (751–768).
Samo. d. c. 660. Merchant; ruler.

FRENCH (*SEE ALSO* FRANKS)

Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. 1717–1783. Mathematician, scientist, and philosopher.
René François Armand (pseudonym, Sully Prudhomme). 1839–1907. Poet.
Honoré de Balzac. 1799–1850. Writer.
Charles-Pierre Baudelaire. 1821–1867. Poet.
Henri Bergson. 1859–1941. Philosopher.
Hector Berlioz (Louis-Hector Berlioz). 1803–1869. Composer.
George-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon. 1707–1788. Naturalist.
John Calvin (Jean Cauvin). 1509–1564. Theologian and religious reformer.
Paul Cézanne. 1839–1906. Painter
Charles II (Charles the Bald). 823–877. King of France (840–877) and Holy Roman Emperor (875–877).
Charles III (Charles the Simple). 879–929. King (893–923).
Pierre Corneille. 1606–1684. Playwright.
Jacques-Louis David. 1748–1825. Painter.
Claude Debussy. 1862–1918. Composer.
Edgar Degas (Hilaire-Germain-Edgar Degas). 1834–1917. Painter.
Eugène Delacroix (Ferdinand-Victor-Eugène Delacroix). 1798–1863. Painter.
René Descartes. 1596–1650. Mathematician and philosopher.
Denis Diderot (Pantophile Diderot). 1713–1784. Encyclopedist and philosopher.
Alfred Dreyfus. 1859–1935. Army officer.
Eustace IV. d. 1153. Count of Boulogne (1150–1153).
Gabriel-Urbain Fauré. 1845–1924. Composer.
Gustave Flaubert. 1821–1880. Writer.
Anatole France (Jacques Anatole Thibault). 1844–1924. Writer.
Francis I. 1494–1547. King (1515–1547).
Francis II. 1544–1560. King (1559–1560).
Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange. 1610–1688. Scholar.
Paul Gauguin (Eugène-Henri-Paul Gaugin). 1848–1903. Painter.
Geoffrey V (Geoffrey Plantagenet). 1113–1151. Count of Anjou and Maine (1131–1151).
Théodore Géricault (Jean-Louis-André- Théodore Géricault). 1791–1824. Painter.
Pierre Guérin (Pierre-Narcisse Guérin). 1774–1833. Painter.
Henry IV (Henry of Navarre). 1553–1610. King of Navarre (1572–1589) and of France (1589–1610).
Victor-Marie Hugo. 1802–1885. Writer.
Joan of Arc (Maid of Orleans). c. 1412–1431. Military leader and saint.
Marie-Madeleine de La Fayette (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette). 1634–1693. Novelist.
Jean de La Fontaine. 1621–1695. Poet.
Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Antoine de Monet, chevalier de Lamarck (Jean-Baptiste Lamarck). 1744–1829. Naturalist.
Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier. 1743–1794. Chemist.
Louis IX (Saint Louis). 1214–1270. King (1226–1270).
Louis XI. 1423–1483. King (1461–1483).
Louis XIV (Louis the Great; The Sun King). 1638–1715. King (1643–1715).
Louis XV (Louis the Well-Beloved). 1710–1774. King (1715–1774).
Stéphane Mallarmé. 1842–1898. Poet.
Édouard Manet. 1832–1883. Painter.
Mary of Burgundy. 1457–1482. Duchess of Burgundy (1477–1482).
Frédéric Mistral. 1830–1914. Poet.
Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin). 1622–1673. Playwright.
Claude Monet. 1840–1926. Painter.
Michel Eyquem de Montaigne. 1533–1592. Writer.
Napoleon I Bonaparte (The Little Corporal). 1769–1821. Emperor (1804–1814).
Napolean III (Louis-Napoleon). 1808–1873. Emperor (1852–1871)
Louis Pasteur. 1822–1895. Chemist and microbiologist.
Philip II (Philip Augustus). 1165–1223. King (1179–1223).
Philip II (Philip the Bold). 1342–1404. Duke of Burgundy (1363–1404).
Philip III (Philip the Good). 1396–1467. Duke of Burgundy (1419–1467).
Camille Pissarro. 1830–1903. Painter.
Nicolas Poussin. 1594–1665. Painter.
François Rabelais. c. 1483–1553. Writer.
Jean Racine. 1639–1699. Playwright.
Pierre-Auguste Renoir. 1841–1919. Painter.
Arthur Rimbaud (Jean-Nicolas-Arthur Rimbaud). 1854–1891. Poet.
Auguste Rodin (François-Auguste-René Rodin). 1840–1917. Sculptor.
Romain Rolland. 1866–1944. Novelist.

Pierre de Ronsard. 1524–1585. Poet.
Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 1712–1778. Philosopher and writer.
Alfred Sisley. 1839–1899. Painter.
Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle). 1783–1842. Writer.
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (Henri-Marie-Raymond de Toulouse-Lautrec-Monfa). 1864–1901. Painter.
Chrétien de Troyes.
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire). 1694–1778. Writer.
Émile Zola (Émile-Édouard-Charles-Antoine). 1840–1902. Writer.

GALATOI

Achichorios. 270s B.C.E. Chieftain.
Bolgius. 280s B.C.E. Chieftain.
Brennus. 270s B.C.E. Chieftain.

GEPIDS

Ardaric (Arderic, Ardasic). fl. 440s–450s. Leader.
Kunimund (Cunimund). d. 567. King.

GERMANS

Adam of Bremen. d. 1081 to 85. Ecclesiastical historian.
Albertus Magnus (Albert, Graf von Bollstädt; Saint Albert; Albert the Great). c. 1200–1280. Bishop, philosopher, and scientist.
Johann Sebastian Bach. 1685–1750. Composer.
Ludvig van Beethoven. 1730–1827. Composer.
Bishop Berthold. fl. 1190s. Preacher.
Otto von Bismarck (Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck). 1815–1898. Prussian statesman and German chancellor (1871–1890).
Johannes Brahms. 1833–1897. Composer.
Bruno (Bruno of Querfurt; Brun; Boniface). c. 974–1009. Prelate, missionary, and saint.
Bruno I (Bruno the Great; Brun). 925–965. Prelate and saint.
Albert von Buxhoevden (Albert of Riga). c. 1165–1229. Prelate.
Charles VII (Charles Albert; Charles of Bavaria). 1697–1745. Holy Roman Emperor (1742–1745)
Conrad I. d. 918. King (911–918).
Dietrich von Haldensleben. d. 985. Count of the North March (965–985).
Friedrich Engels. 1820–1895. Political activist and editor.
Rudolph Christoph Eucken. 1846–1926. Philosopher.
Ferdinand II. 1578–1637. King of Bohemia (1617–1619, 1620–1627) and of Hungary (1618–1625) and Holy Roman Emperor (1619–1637).
Frederick I (Barbarossa). c. 1123–1190. Holy Roman Emperor (1152–1190).
Frederick II (Frederick von Hohenstaufen). 1194–1250. King of Sicily (1198–1250) and Holy Roman Emperor (1212–1250).
Carl Friedrich Gauss. 1777–1855. Mathematician and astronomer.
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. 1749–1832. Poet.
Gottfried von Strassburg. fl. 1210s. Poet.
Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm. 1785–1863. Philologist and folklorist.
Wilhelm Carl Grimm. 1786–1859. Philologist and folklorist.
George Frideric Handel (Georg Friedrich Händel). 1685–1759. Composer.
Gerhart Johann Robert Hauptmann. 1862–1946. Writer.
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Philosopher.
Heinrich Heine. 1797–1856. Poet.
Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz. 1821–1894. Physicist and anatomist.
Henry. c. 920–955. Duke of Bavaria (947–955).
Henry I (Henry the Fowler). c. 876–936 Duke of Saxony (912–936) and king of Germany (919–936).
Henry IV. 1050–1106. King (1056–1106) and Holy Roman Emperor (1056–1106).
Johann Gottfried von Herder. (1744–1803). Theologian and philosopher.
Hermann von Salza. fl. 1230s. Grand Master of Teutonic Order (1210–1239).
Friedrich Wilhelm Herschel (Sir William Herschel). 1738–1822. Astronomer.
Paul Johann Ludwig Heyse. 1830–1914. Writer.
Alexander von Humboldt. 1769–1859. Naturalist.
Joseph II. 1741–1790. King of Germany (1764–1790) and Holy Roman Emperor (1765–1790).
Immanuel Kant. 1724–1804. Philosopher.
Johannes Kepler. 1571–1630. Mathematician and astronomer.
Leopold II. 1747–1792. Holy Roman Emperor (1790–1792).
Louis III (Louis the Child). 893–911. King (899–911).
Ludolf. fl. 950s. Duke of Swabia.
Martin Luther. 1483–1546. Religious reformer.
Karl Heinrich Marx. 1818–1883. Political philosopher.
Maximilian I. 1459–1519. King of Germany (1486–1519) and Holy Roman Emperor (1493–1519).
Maximilian II. 1527–1576. King of Bohemia (1572–1576) and Hungary (1563–1576) and Holy Roman Emperor (1564–1576).
Meinhard. fl. 1160s–1190s. Bishop.
Felix Mendelssohn (Jakob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy). 1809–1847. Composer.
Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen. 1817–1903. Historian.
Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. 1844–1900. Philosopher and poet.
Oda von Haldensleben. c. 960–1023. Second wife of Mieszko I of Poland.
Otto I (Otto the Great). 912–973. King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor (936–973).
Otto II. 955–983. Holy Roman Emperor (973–983).
Otto III. 980–1002. Holy Roman Emperor (983–1002).
Max Karl Ernst Ludwig Planck. 1858–1947. Physicist.
Rudolph II. 1552–1612. Holy Roman Emperor (1576–1612).
Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling. 1755–1854. Philosopher.
Friedrich von Schiller (Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiler). 1759–1805. Poet, playwright, and critic.

Heinrich Schliemann. 1822–1890. Archaeologist.
Arthur Schopenhauer. 1788–1860. Philosopher.
Robert Alexander Schumann. 1810–1856. Composer.
Georg Philipp Telemann. 1681–1767. Composer.
Richard Wagner (Wilhelm Richard Wagner). 1813–1823. Composer.
Wilhelm I (William I). 1797–1888. King of Prussia (1861–1888) and emperor of Germany (1871–1888).
Wolfram von Eschenbach. c. 1170–c. 1220. Poet.

GOTHS (*SEE ALSO* OSTROGOTHS; VISIGOTHS)

Cniva (Kniva). fl. 250s. King.
Jordanes (Jordanis). fl. 550s. Historian.
Ulfilas (Wulfila). c. 311–c. 382. Prelate.

GREEKS (ANCIENT)

Agathocles. 361–289 B.C.E. Tyrant of Syracuse (317–c. 304 B.C.E.) and king (304–289 B.C.E.).
Alcaeus. c. 620–c. 580 B.C.E. Poet.
Alcibiades. c. 450–404 B.C.E. Athenian statesman.
Alexander I of Epirus. d. c. 330. King of Epirus.
Anacreon. c. 582–c. 485 B.C.E. Poet.
Anaxagoras. c. 500–c. 428 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Anaximander. 610–c. 547 B.C.E. Astronomer and philosopher.
Apollonius of Perga. c. 262–c. 190 B.C.E. Mathematician.
Appian (Appianos). second century. Historian.
Archimedes. c. 287–c. 212 B.C.E. Mathematician and inventor.
Aristagoras of Miletus. d. 497 B.C.E. Tyrant of Miletus.
Aristotle. 384–322 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Aristoxenus. fl. fourth century B.C.E. Philosopher.
Arius. c. 250–336. Ecclesiastic.
Aspasia. 470?–410 B.C.E. Adventuress and consort of Pericles.
Athenodorus Cananites. c. 74 B.C.E.–c. 7 C.E. Philosopher.
Attalus I. 269–197 B.C.E. Ruler (241–197).
Cimon. c. 510–c. 451. Athenian general and statesman.
Cypselus. fl. seventh century B.C.E. Tyrant of Corinth (c. 657–627 B.C.E.)
Damon. fl. fifth century B.C.E. Musician and philosopher.
Democritus. c. 460–c. 370 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Demosthenes. 384–322 B.C.E. Orator and statesman.
Diodorus Siculus. c. 90–21 B.C.E. Historian.
Dionysius (Dionysius the Elder). c. 430–367 B.C.E. Tyrant of Syracuse (405–367 B.C.E.).
Draco (Dracon). fl. seventh century B.C.E. Athenian lawgiver.
Epicurus. 341–270 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Eratosthenes (Eratosthenes of Cyrene). c. 276–c. 194 B.C.E. Astronomer and geographer.
Euclid. fl. late fifth or early fourth century B.C.E. Mathematician.
Euripides. c. 484–406 B.C.E. Playwright.
Galen. 129–c. 194. Physician.
Hecataeus of Miletus. fl. 520s–490s B.C.E. Traveler and historian.
Heraclitus (Heracleitus). c. 540–c. 480 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Herodotus. c. 484–between 430 and 420 B.C.E. Historian.
Hesiod. fl. c. ninth century B.C.E. Poet.
Hiero I. d. 467 or 466 B.C.E. Tyrant of Syracuse (478–467 or 466 B.C.E.).
Hieronymus. fl. 210s B.C.E. Tyrant of Syracuse.
Hippias. d. 490 B.C.E. Tyrant of Athens (c. 528–510 B.C.E.).
Hippocrates. c. 460–c. 377 B.C.E. Physician.
Homer. fl. c. ninth to eighth century B.C.E. Poet.
Leonidas I. d. 480 B.C.E. King of Sparta (490?–480 B.C.E.).
Pacesanias. fl. 140s–170s. Geographer.
Peisistratus (Pisistratus). d. 577 B.C.E. Tyrant of Athens (546–528 B.C.E.).
Pericles. c. 495–429 B.C.E. Athenian statesman.
Pericles (Pericles the Younger). fl. fifth century. Athenian politician.
Phidias. c. 490–430 B.C.E. Sculptor.
Pindar. c. 522–c. 438 B.C.E. Lyric poet.
Plato (Aristocles). c. 428–348 or 347 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Plutarch. c. 46–after 119. Biographer.
Polybius. c. 200–c. 118 B.C.E. Historian.
Poseidonius (Posidonius). c. 135–c. 51 B.C.E.
Protagoras. c. 485–410 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemy). c. 90–150. Alexandrian astronomer, mathematician, and geographer.
Ptolemy Keraunos. d. 279 B.C.E. (Ptolemaeus Ceraunos). King of Macedonia (280–279).
Pyrrhus. 319–272 B.C.E. King of Epirus (306–297 B.C.E.).
Pythagoras. c. 580–c. 500 B.C.E. Philosopher and mathematician.
Pytheas (Pytheas of Massalia). fl. c. 320s B.C.E. Navigator and geographer.
Sappho (Psappho). fl. 610s–580s B.C.E. Lyric poet.
Scylax (fl. late sixth century B.C.E.). Mariner.
Socrates. c. 470–399 B.C.E. Philosopher.
Solon. c. 630–c. 560 B.C.E. Athenian statesman.
Sophocles. c. 496–406 B.C.E. Playwright.
Strabo. 64 or 63 B.C.E.–after 23 C.E. Geographer.
Thales (Thales of Miletus). 625?–?547 B.C.E. Philosopher and scientist.
Themistocles. c. 524–460 B.C.E. Athenian statesman and general.
Theocritus. c. 310–245 B.C.E. Poet.
Theodore. c. 602–690. Prelate and saint.
Thucydides. d. c. 401 B.C.E. Historian.
Timaeus (Timaeus of Tauromenium). c. 356–270 B.C.E. Historian.
Timagenes. fl. mid–first century B.C.E. Historian.
Tyrtaeus. fl. c. 650s B.C.E. Poet.
Xanthippus. fl. fifth century B.C.E. Athenian commander.
Zeno of Citium. c. 335–c. 263 B.C.E. Philosopher.

GREEKS (MODERN)

Ioánnis Antónios Kapodístrias. 1776–1831. President (1827–1831).

HERULI

Silinga. fl. 530s. Daughter of king.

HUNGARIANS (*SEE ALSO* MAGYARS)

János Arany. 1817–1882. Poet.
Andrew II. 1175–1235. King (1205–1235).
Béla I. d. 1063. King (1060–1063).
Charles I (Charles Robert of Anjou; Carobert). 1288–1342. King (1308–1342).
János Erdélyi. 1814–1868. Writer and folklorist.
József Katona. 1791–1830. Playwright.
Ferenc Kazinczy. 1759–1831. Poet and translator.
Károly Kisfaludy. 1788–1830. Writer.
Sándor Kisfaludy. 1772–1844. Writer.
László IV (Ladislas the Cuman). 1262–1290. King (1272–1290).
Franz Liszt (Ferenk Liszt). 1811–1886. Pianist and composer.
Louis I (Louis the Great). 1326–1382. King of Hungary (1342–1382) and of Poland (1370–1382).
Louis II. 1506–1526. King (1516–1526).
Matthias Corvinus. 1443–1490. King (1458–1490).
Michael. d. 1301. Ruler.
Sándor Petöfi (Alexander Petrovics). 1823–1849. Poet.
Ferenc Rákóczi II. 1676–1735. Prince of Transylvania (1704–1711) and rebel leader.
Stephen I (István). 977–1038. King (977–1038) and saint.
Stephen V. 1239–1272. King (1270–1272).
Stephan Valyi. fl. 1750s. Pastor.

HUNS

Attila. 406?–453. King (434–453).
Balamir (Balamber). fl. 370s. Leader.
Bleda. d. 445. King (434–445).
Dengizik. d. 469. King.
Ellak. d. 455. King.
Ernak. fl. 450s. Khan.
Rugilas (Roas). d. 434. King.

IBERIANS

Orosius. c. 385–420. Priest.

ICENI

Boudicca (Queen Boadicea) d. 61. Wife of Prasutagus and rebel leader.
Prasutagus. d. 60. King.

ICELANDERS

Ísleifur Gissurarson. fl. 1050s–1080s. Bishop.
Hallgrímur Pétursson. 1614–1674.
Jón Sigurdsson. 1811–1879. Scholar and activist.
Snorri Sturluson. 1179–1241. Politician and historian.
Jón Thóroddsen (Jón Thórdarson). 1819–1868. Writer.

ILLYRIANS

Clitus. fl. 330s B.C.E. General.
Demetrius. fl. 210s B.C.E. King.
Genthius. fl. 160s B.C.E. King.
Glaucius. fl. 310s B.C.E. King.
Teuta. fl. 220s B.C.E. Queen (c. 231–228 B.C.E.).

IRISH

Aidan. d. 651. Monk and saint.
George Berkeley. 1685–1753. Philosopher.
Brendan (Brendan of Clonfert; Brenainn; Brandon; Brandon). c. 484–c. 578. Traveler and saint.
Brian Bóruma (Brian Boru). 941–1014. King (1002–1014).
Columba (Columcille; Colum). c. 521–597. Missionary and saint.
Columbanus (Columban). c. 543–615. Missionary and saint.
Conn Cétchathach (Conn of the Hundred Battles). fl. second century. King.
Cormac of Cashel. d. c. 903. Warrior and scholar.
Cormac macAirt. fl. third century. King.
John Field. 1782–1837. Composer.
Thomas Fitzgerald (Silken Thomas). 1513–1537. 10th earl of Kildare.
Fursa (Fursey). c. 567–c. 650. Missionary and saint.
Gall (Cellach; Caillech). c. 550–c. 645. Missionary and saint.
Gerait Og (Gerald the Younger). 1487–1534. Ninth Earl of Kildare.
Oliver Goldsmith. 1730–1774. Novelist.
Isabella Augusta Gregory (Lady Gregory). 1852–1932. Playwright and dramatist.
Killian. c. 640–c. 689. Bishop and saint.
Daniel O'Connell (The Liberator). 1755–1847. Nationalist leader.
Charles Stewart Parnell. 1846–1891. Nationalist leader.
Roderic of Connaught (Rory O'Connor). 1116?–1198. King (1156–1198).
George Bernard Shaw. 1856–1950. Playwright.
John Millington Synge. 1871–1909. Playwright and dramatist.
Tigernach (Tigernach hua bahrein). d. 1088. Abbot.
Wolfe Tone (Theobald Wolfe Tone). 1763–1798. Republican and rebel.
Oscar Wilde (Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills). 1854–1900. Writer.
William Butler Yeats (W. B. Yeats). 1865–1939. Poet and dramatist.

ITALIANS (*SEE ALSO* POPES)

Leon Battista Alberti. 1404–1472. Mathematician, architect, painter, and writer.
Pietro Bernini. 1562–1629. Sculptor.
Giovanni Boccaccio. 1313–1375. Writer.
Filippo Brunelleschi (Filippo Brunellesco). 1377–1446. Architect.
Giordano Bruno. 1548–1600. Philosopher.
Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi). 1573–1610. Painter.
Giosuè Carducci. 1835–1907. Poet.
Christopher Columbus (Cristóbal Colón). 1451–1506. Mariner.
Dante (Dante or Durante Alighieri). 1265–1321. Poet.
Donatello (Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi). 1386?–1466. Sculptor.

Victor Emmanuel II. 1820–1878. King (1861–1878).
Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro; Giovanni da Fiesole). c. 1400–1455. Painter.
Galileo Galilei. 1564–1642. Mathematician, astronomer, and physicist.
Luigi Galvani. 1737–1798. Physician and physicist.
Giotto (Giotto di Bondone). 1266/67 or 1276–1337. Artist and architect.
Lanfranc. 1005?–1089. Prelate.
Leonardo da Vinci. 1452–1519. Artist and scientist.
Michelangelo (Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni). 1475–1564. Artist, architect, and poet.
Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca or Petracco). 1304–1374. Poet.
Giacomo Puccini (Giacomo Antonio Domenico Michele Secondo Maria). 1858–1924. Composer.
Raphael (Raffael or Rafael or Raffaelo Santi or Sanzio). 1483–1520. Painter.
Gioacchino Antonio Rossini. 1792–1868. Composer.
Alessandro Scarlatti (Pietro Alessandro Gaspare Scarlatti). 1660–1725. Composer.
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. 1696–1770. Painter.
Titian (Tiziano Vecelli or Vecellio). 1488 or 1490–1576. Painter.
Giuseppe Verdi (Giuseppe Fortunino Francesco Verdi). 1813–1901. Composer.
Giovanni Verga. 1840–1922. Writer.
Antonio Lucio Vivaldi. 1678–1741. Composer.

JEWS (*SEE ALSO* NON-EUROPEANS)

Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra. c. 1090–1164. Poet and critic.
Zacharias Frankel. 1801–1875. Rabbi.
Moses ben Maimon (Maimomides). 1135–1204. Philosopher.
Moses de León. 1250–1305. Kabbalist.
Moses Mendelssohn (Moses Desau). 1729–1786. Philosopher.
Paul (Paulus). d. after 62. Tentmaker, rabbi, and saint.
Mayer Amschel Rothschild. 1744–1812. Financial adviser.
Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel Ben Eliezer; Bescht). c. 1700–1760. Religious healer.
Shabbetai Tzevi (Sabbatai Zebi). 1626–1676. Mystic.
Ibrahim ibn Yaqub. fl. 960s. Merchant.

JUTES

Hengist (Hengest; Horsa). d. 488? King of Kent.
Horsa. d. 455? Leader.
Wihtgils. fl. fifth century. Chief.

KAZAKHS

Kasym Khan. fl. 1510s–1520s. Ruler.

KHAZARS

Obadiah. d. 809. King.
Bulan Sabriel. d. c. 786. King
Georgius Tzul. d. c. 1016. Khagan.

KIPCHAKS

Bachman. fl. 1230s. Chief.

LATVIANS

Juris Alunans. 1832–1864. Poet.
Rudolfs Blaumanis. 1863–1908. Writer.
Indrikis the Blind. 1783–1828. Poet.
Matiss Kaudzites. 1848–1926. Novelist.
Reinis Kaudzites. 1839–1920. Novelist.
Georgius Mancelius. fl. 1630s. Lexicographer.
Andrejs Pumpurs. 1841–1902. Poet.
Janis Rainis (of Janis Pliekšans). 1865–1928. Writer.
Johann Georg Rehehausen. 1640s. Grammarian
G. F. Stender. 1714–1796. Grammarian.

LITHUANIANS

Algirdas (Olgierd). d. 1377. Grand duke (1345–1377) and prince (1341–1345).
Mikalojus Konstantinas Ciurlionis. 1875–1911. Composer and painter.
Simonas Daukantas. 1793–1864. Historian.
Kristijonas Donelaitis (Kristijonas Duonelaitis). 1714–1780. Poet.
Gediminas (Gedymin). c. 1275–1341. Grand duke (1316–1341).
Jogaila (Jagiello; Jagiellon; Wladyslaw II; Vladislav II). 1351–1434. King (1386–1434).
Kestutis. c. 1300–1382. Duke (1381–1382).
Maironis (Jonas Maciulis). 1862–1932. Poet.
Martynas Mažvydas. c. 1520–1563. Priest and writer.
Mindaugas (Mendovg; Mindove). d. 1263. Ruler.
Vytautas (Vytautas the Great; Witold). 1350–1430. Ruler.

LOMBARDS

Aistulf (Astolf). d. 756. King (749–756).
Alboin. d. 572. King (565–572).
Authari. fl. 580s. King (584–590).
Clyph (Cleph). d. 575. King (572–574).
Desiderius. d. after 774. King (757–774).
Himalchus. d. c. 573.
Ildigis (Hildigis). fl. sixth century. Son of Risiulf.
Liutprand (Luitprand). d. 744. King (712–744).
Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconis). c. 720–c. 799. Historian and poet.
Rosamund. d. c. 573. Wife of Alboin.
Rothari. d. 652. King (636–652).
Waccho. d. 539. King (c. 510–c. 539).

LUSITANI

Viriathus (Viriatus). d. c. 139 B.C.E. Rebel.

LUXEMBOURGERS

Adolf of Nassau. 1817–1905. Grand duke (1890–1905).

MACEDONIANS (ANCIENT)

Alexander I. d. c. 454 B.C.E. King (c. 500–c. 454 B.C.E.).
Alexander III (Alexander the Great). 356–323 B.C.E. King (336–323 B.C.E.).

Amyntas I. d. c. 498. King.
Amyntas II. d. 370 or 369 B.C.E. King (c. 393–370 or 369 B.C.E.).
Amyntas III. d. 336 B.C.E. King (360–359 B.C.E.).
Andriscus. d. after 148 B.C.E. Adventurer.
Antigonus II (Gonatas). c. 319–239 B.C.E. King (276–239 B.C.E.).
Antigonus III (Doson). 263–221 B.C.E. King (227–221 B.C.E.).
Antipater. c. 397–c. 319 B.C.E. General.
Cassander. c. 358–297 B.C.E. King (305–297 B.C.E.).
Perdiccas I. fl. c. 690s B.C.E. King.
Perdiccas III. d. 359 B.C.E. King.
Perseus. c. 212–c. 165 B.C.E. King (179–168 B.C.E.).
Philip II. 382–336 B.C.E. King (359–336 B.C.E.).
Philip V. 238–179 B.C.E. King (221–179 B.C.E.).
Polyperchon (Polysperchon). c. 380–c. 303 B.C.E. General.
Thessalonica. fl. 310s B.C.E. Wife of Cassander.

MACEDONIANS (MODERN)

Jordan Hadzhi Konstantinov-Dzhinot (ordan Haxi Konstantinov-Xinot). fl. 1870s. Playwright.
Dimitar Miladinov. 1810–1862.
Konstantin Miladinov. 1830–1862.
Kiril Pejchinovic. d. 1845. Monk and writer.

MAGYARS (*SEE ALSO* HUNGARIANS)

Árpád. 869–907. Chief (c. 890–907).
Géza. d. 997. Prince.

MALTANESE

Giovanni Francesco Abela. 1582–1655. Historian.
Mattia Preti (Il Cavaliere Calbrese). 1613–1699. Painter.

MARCOMANNI

Ballomarius. fl. 160s–180s. King.
Fritigil. fl. c. 500. Queen.
Marobodus (Marboduus; Marbod). d. 37 C.E. King.

MARSI

Caius Papius Mutilus. fl. 90s–80s B.C.E. Federation leader.
Quintus Pompaedius Silo. fl. 90s–80s B.C.E. Federation leader.

MOLDOVANS

Bogdan I. fl. 1350s. Prince.
Dimitrie Cantemir. 1673–1723. Prince (1693–1723), scholar, and composer.
Michael I (Michael the Brave; Mihai Viteazul). 1558–1601. Prince of Walachia (1593–1601).
Stephan IV (Stephen the Great; Stefan IV). 1435–1504. Prince of Moldavia (1457–1504).

MONGOLS

Batu Khan. d. 1255. Ruler.
Genghis Khan (Jenghiz Khan; Chingis Khan; Temüjin). c. 1162–1227. Ruler.
Juchi. fl. 1230s. Son of Genghis Khan; ruler.
Nogay (Nogai). d. 1300. Ruler.
Ögödei (Ogadai, Ogdai, Ogotai, Ugedei). 1185–1241. Ruler (1229–1241).
Subatai (Subotai; Subedei; Subodai; Sabatai; Sabutai). c. 1172–1245. General.

MOORS

Abd ar-Rahman I (Ad-Dakil Rahman). 731–788. Ruler.
Abu ar-Rahman al-Ghafiqi. d. 732. Soldier.
Abd ar-Rahman III an-Nasir. 891–961. Amir (912–929) and caliph (929–961).
Abu 'Amir al-Mansur. c. 938–1002. Military commander.
El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar). c. 1043–1099. Military leader.
Ibn Tumart (Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Tumart). c. 1080–1130.Religious leader.
Mojmír I. fl. 830s–840s. Prince (830–846).
Musa ibn Nusayr. c. 640–714. Leader.
Tarik ibn Ziyad (Tariq ibn Ziyad). d. c. 720. General.
Yusuf ibn Tashuvin (Tashfin). d. 1106. King (1061–1106).

MORAVIANS

Mojmír I. fl. 830s–840s. Prince.
Rotislav. fl. 840s–860s. Prince (846–870).
Svatopluk. d. 894. Prince (870–894).

NORMANS

Bohemond I (Bohemond of Taranto). c. 1050 or 1058–1111. Prince of Antioch.
Drogo de Hauteville. d. 1051. Nobleman.
Dudo (Dudon; Dudo of Saint-Quentin). c. 960–before 1043. Historian.
Richard FitzGilbert de Clare (Strongbow). c. 1130–1176. Earl of Pembroke.
Geoffrey Gaimer. fl. c. 1140s–1150s. Historian.
Godfrey de Bouillion. c. 1060–1100. Duke of Lower Lorraine (1082–1100).
Humphrey de Hauteville. d. 1057. Soldier.
William Longsword (Guillaume Longue Épée). d. 942 or 943. Ruler.
Philippe of Thaün. fl. 1120s. Poet.
Ralph (Ralph Mantes; Ralph the Timid). fl. 1050s–1060s. Earl.
Raymond IV (Raymond de Saint-Gilles). 1042–1105. Count of Toulouse.
Richard II le Bon. d. 1027. Duke (996–1027).
Robert II (Courteheuse). 1054?–1134. Duke (1087–1134).
Robert Guiscard (Robert de Hauteville). c. 1015–1085. Military leader.
Roger I. 1031–1101. Ruler of Sicily.
Roger II. 1095–1154. King of Sicily (1130–1154).
Rollo. d. c. 932. Chief; founder of Normandy (911).
Stephen. c. 1097–1154. King (1135–1154).
Tancred de Hauteville. fl. mid-11th century. Crusader.
William I (William the Conqueror). c. 1028–1087. King (1066–1087).

William Iron Arm (William de Hauteville; William of Apulia). fl. mid-11th century. Soldier of fortune and count (1042–1046).

NORWEGIANS (*SEE ALSO* VIKINGS)

Peter Christian Asbjørnsen. 1812–1885. Poet and folklorist.
Absalon Pederssøn Beyer. 1528–1575. Historian.
Björnstjerne Martinius Björnson. 1832–1910. Writer and political activist.
Johan Christian Clausen Dahl. 1788–1857. Painter.
Petter Dass. 1647–1707. Clergyman and poet.
Edvard Hagerup Grieg. 1843–1907. Composer.
Haakon IV Haakonsson. (Haakon the Old). 1204–1263. King.
Harold III Sigurdsson (Harald Hardraade). 1015–1066. King (1045–1066).
Ludvig Holberg. 1684–1754. Scholar.
Henrik Johan Ibsen. 1828–1906. Playwright.
Jørgen Engebretsen Moe. 1813–1882. Poet and folklorist.
Knut Pedersen (pseudonym, Knut Hamsun). 1859–1952. Writer.
Gustav Vigeland (Adolf Gustav Vigeland). 1869–1943. Sculptor.
Henrik Arnold Wergeland. 1808–1845.
Johan Herman Wessel. 1742–1785. Writer.

OBODRITES

Gotterschalk. d. 1066. Duke.
Niklot. d. 1160. Prince.

OSSETS

Kosta Khetagurov. 1859–1906. Poet.

OSTROGOTHS

Amalasuntha (Amalasuentha; Amalaswintha). 498–535. Queen (526–534).
Athalaric. 516–534. King (526–534).
Ermanaric (Hermanric). d. by 376. King.
Ostrogotha. fl. 290s. King.
Radagaisus (Radagais). d. 406. Chieftain.
Theodoric (Theodoric the Great). 454?–526. King (474–526).
Thiudemir. d. 474. Chieftain.
Totila (Baduila). d. 552. King (541–552).
Vinitharius. fl. 380s. Ruler.
Walamir. fl. 450s. Chieftain.
Widimir. fl. 450s. Chieftain.

PECHENEGS

Kuryea. fl. 970s–980s. Khan.

PICTS

Angus (Oengus mac Fergus; Onuist). 728–761. King.
Brude (Bruide). fl. late sixth century. King.
Eoganan (Eogan; Uven mac Angus) fl. 830s. King (837–839).

POLABIANS

Chrosciszko. fl. 840s. Prince.
Drahomir (Drahomira). fl. 910s. Wife of Borivoj, duke of Bohemia.
Ludmila (Ludmilla). c. 860–921. Christian advocate and saint.

POLES (AND POLANIANS)

Augustus III. 1696–1763. King (1734–1763).
Wojciech Bogusławski. 1757–1829. Actor and playwright.
Boleslaw I (Boleslaus Chrobry). c. 966–1025. Prince (992–1025) and king (1000–1025).
Boleslaw III (Krzywousty). 1085–1138. Prince (1102–1138).
Frederic Chopin (Frédéric-François Chopin; Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin). 1810–1849. Composer and pianist.
Conrad of Mazovia. 1187–1247. Duke.
Nicolaus Copernicus (Mikolaj Kopernik). 1473–1543. Astronomer.
Czcibor. d. 972. Military leader.
Jadwiga (Hedwig). c. 1374–1399. Queen (1384–1399).
John III (John Sobieski). 1629–1696. King (1674–1696).
Kazimir IV (Casimir). 1427–1492. King (1447–1492).
Jan Kochanowski. 1530–1584. Poet.
Tadeusz Kósciuszko (Thaddeus Kosciusko). 1746–1817. Rebel leader.
Jan Matejko. 1838–1893. Painter.
Adam Mickiewicz. 1798–1855. Poet.
Mieszko I (Mieczyslav; Mieczyslaw). c. 930–992. Duke (963–992).
Stanisław Moniuszko. 1819–1872. Composer.
Wacław Potocki. 1625–c. 1697. Poet.
Wław Stanisław Reymont (Władysław Stanisław Rejment). 1867–1924. Novelist.
Henryk Sienkiewicz (Henryk Adam Aleksandr Pius Sienkiewicz; pseudonym, Litwos). 1846–1916. Novelist.
Sigismund II (Sigismund Augustus). 1520–1572. King (1548–1572).
Jan Stefani. fl. 1790s. Composer.
Swiatoslawa (Sygryda; Sigrid the Proud; Gunhild). c. 970–after 1014. Queen of Sweden; queen of Denmark.
Stanisław Wyspianski (Stanisław Mateuz Ignacy Wyspianski). 1869–1907. Printer, poet, and playwright.

PORTUGUESE

Afonso I (Afonso Henriques). 1109?–1185. King (1143–1185).
Afonso III. 1210–1279. King (1248–1279).
Gomes Eannes de Azurara. c. 1410–1474. Historian.
Luis Vaz de Camões (Luis de Camoëns). 1524 or 1525–1580. Poet.
José Maria Eça de Queirós (José Maria Eça de Queiroz). 1845–1900. Novelist.
Ferdinand I. 1345–1383. King (1367–1383).

Vasco da Gama. c. 1460–1524. Navigator.
João Baptista da Almeida Garrett. 1799–1854. Poet and playwright.
Nuno Gonçalves. fl. 1450s–1470s. Painter.
Henry the Navigator (Prince of Portugal). 1394–1460. Prince.
Henry of Burgundy. d. 1112. Count.
Joachim Machado de Castro. 1736–1822. Sculptor.
João I (John I the Great). 1357–1433. King (1385–1433).
João IV (John IV the Fortunate). 1604–1656. King (1640–1656).
José I (Joseph I). 1714–1777. King (1750–1777).
Manuel I (Manuel the Fortunate). 1469–1521. King (1495–1521).
António Soares dos Reis. 1847–1889. Sculptor.
García de Resende. c. 1470–1536. Poet and chronicler.
Gil Vicente. c. 1465–c. 1536. Poet and playwright.

PRUSSIANS

Frederick II (Frederick the Great). 1712–1786. King (1740–1786).
Frederick William II. 1744–1797. King (1786–1797).

QUADI

Gabinius. d. 373. King.

REGNI

Togidubnus. fl. 60s. King (c. 43–80).

ROMANIANS

Vasile Alecsandri. c. 1821–1890. Poet.
Theodor Aman. 1831–1889. Painter.
Ion Luca Caragiale. 1852–1912. Playwright.
Ion Creanga. 1839–1889. Writer.
Mihai Eminescu. 1850–1889. Poet.
George Enescu. 1881–1955. Composer.
Nicolae Grigorescu. 1837–1907. Painter.
Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu. 1836–1907. Historian and philologist.

ROMANS (*SEE ALSO* BYZANTINES)

Aegidius. d. 464. Military Leader.
Flavius Aetius. c. 396–454. General.
Gnaeus Julius Agricola. 40–93. Soldier.
Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. 63?–12 B.C.E. General and statesman.
Vipsania Agrippina (Agrippina the Elder). c. 14 B.C.E.–33 C.E. Daughter of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa.
Antoninus Pius. 86–161. Emperor (138–61).
Mark Antony (Marc Antony; Marcus Antonius). 82 or 81 B.C.E.–30 B.C.E. Orator, triumvir, and soldier.
Apollinaris Sidonius. c. 430–487 or 488. Prelate and writer.
Atia. fl. first century B.C.E.
Augustine (Austin). d. 604. Archbishop and saint.
Augustine (Augustine of Hippo; Aurelius Augustinus). 354–430. Philosopher, church father, and saint.
Romulus Augustulus. fl. 470s. Emperor (475–476).
Augustus (Gaius Octavius; Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus; Octavian). 63 B.C.E.–14 C.E. Emperor (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.).
Aurelian (Restitutor Orbis). c. 215–275. Emperor (270–275).
Flavius Avianus (Avianius). fourth century. Writer.
Rufus Festus Avienus. fourth century. Poet.
Benedict of Nursia. c. 480–547. Religious leader and saint.
Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus). c. 480–524. Philosopher.
Bonifacius. d. 432. General.
Germanicus Caesar. 15 B.C.E.–19 C.E. General.
Julius Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar). 100–44 B.C.E. General and statesman.
Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus). 188–217. Emperor (211–217).
Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus. c. 490–c. 585. Statesman and writer.
Dio Cassius (Dion Cassius; Cocceianus). c. 150–235. Historian and politician.
Marcus Porcius Cato (Cato the Elder; Cato the Censor). 234–149 B.C.E. Statesman, moralist, and writer.
Gaius Valerius Catullus. c. 84–54 B.C.E. Poet.
Gaius Lutatius Catulus. fl. 240s B.C.E. Consul (242 B.C.E.)
Petillus Cerealis. fl. 70s. General.
Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero; Tully). 106–43 B.C.E. Orator and writer.
Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus. b. c. 519 B.C.E. General and statesman.
Claudius I. 10 B.C.E.–54 C.E. Emperor (41–54 C.E.).
Claudius II. 214–270. Emperor (268–270).
Columella (Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella). born c. 16 C.E. Writer.
Commodus. 161–192. Emperor (180–192).
Constans I. c. 323–350. Emperor (337–350).
Constantine (Constantine III). d. 411. Self-proclaimed emperor (407–411).
Constantine I (Constantine the Great). 274?–d. 337. Emperor (306–337).
Constantine II. 317–340. Emperor (337–340).
Constantius I (Constantius the Pale). d. 306. Emperor (305–306).
Constantius II. 317–361. Emperor (337–361).
Marcus Licinius Crassus (Dives). 115?–53 B.C.E. Financier and Politician.
Decius (Dacius). c. 201–251. Emperor (249–251).
Manius Curius Dentatus. d. 270 B.C.E. General.
Didius Julianius (Marcus Didius Salvius; Julianus). c. 135–193. Emperor (193).
Diocletian. 245 or 248–313 or 316. Emperor (284–305).
Domitian. 51–96. Emperor (81–96).
Marcus Livius Drusus. d. 91. Tribune.
Eumenius. 260–311. Orator.
Quintus Fabius Maximus (Verrucosus; Cunctator). d. 203 B.C.E. Military leader and consul.
Flavius Honorius. 384–423. Emperor (395–423).
Sextus Julius Frontinus. c. 35–103. Soldier and writer.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. 210?–?151 B.C.E. Tribune (185 B.C.E.) and consul (163 B.C.E.).
Gratian. 359–383. Emperor (367–383).
Hadrian. 76–138. Emperor (117–138).
Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). 65–8 B.C.E. Poet and satirist.
Jerome. (Eusebius Hieronymus; Sophronius). c. 347–419 or 420. Church father and saint.
Julian (Julian the Apostate). c. 331–363. Emperor (361–363).
Justa Grata Honoria. fl. 450s. Daughter of Constantius III.
Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis). c. 55–c. 130. Satirist.
Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. d. 13 or 12 B.C.E. Consul (46 B.C.E.) and triumvir (43 B.C.E.).
Licentius (Licinius). d. 325. Emperor (308–324).
Livy (Titus Livius). c. 59 B.C.E.–17 C.E. Historian.
Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus). c. 39–65. Poet.
Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus). c. 100 to 90–c. 55 to 53 B.C.E. Poet.
C. Maenius. fl. 330s. Consul.
Magnus Maximus. d. 388. Emperor (383–388).
Marcus Aurelius. 121–180. Emperor (161–180).
Marcus Aurelius Probus. d. 282. Emperor (276–282).
Marcus Cassianius Latinius Postumus. d. 268. General and emperor.
Gaius Marius. c. 157–86 B.C.E. General and politician.
Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis). c. 40–c. 103. Poet.
Maxentius. d. 312. Emperor (306–312).
Maximian. d. 310. Emperor (286–305, 306–308).
Maximinus Thrax. 173–238. Emperor (235–238).
Mellitus. d. 624. Prelate and saint.
Julius Nepos. d. 480. Emperor (474–480).
Nero. 37–68. Emperor (54–68).
Octavia (Octavia Minor). 69–11 B.C.E. Matron.
Gaius Octavius. d. 58 B.C.E. General and politician.
Orestes. d. 476. Soldier.
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso). 43 B.C.E.–17 C.E. Poet.
Paulinus. 584?–644. Missionary and saint.
Suetonius Paulinus (Gaius Suetonius Paulinus). d. c. 70. General, military governor of Britain, and consul (66).
Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus). 34–62. Satirist.
Petronius (Titus Petronius Niger; Arbiter). d. 66. Writer
Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus). c. 23–79. Scholar.
Pliny the Younger (Caius Plinius Cecilius Secundus). 61 or 62–c. 113. Praetor (93) and consul (100).
Pompeius (Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo). d. 87 B.C.E. Politician and general.
Pompeius Trogus. fl. late first century B.C.E. Historian.
Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus; Pompey the Great). 106–48 B.C.E. General and statesman.
Pontius Pilate. d. after 36. Procurator of Judea.
Sextus Propertius. c. 50–c. 15 B.C.E. Poet.
Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianis). c. 35–c. 100. Orator and writer.
Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus. d. c. 290 B.C.E. Consul.
Marcus Atilius Regulus (d. c. 250 B.C.E.). Consul (267 and 256) and general.
Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus). c. 86–35 or 34. Historian and politician.
Publius Ostorius Scapula. fl. 40s. Legate.
Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (Publius Cornelius; Scipio the Younger). 185 or 184–129 B.C.E. General.
Scipio Africanus (Publius Cornelius; Scipio the Elder). 236–184 or 183 B.C.E. General.
Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio. d. 211. General.
Publius Cornelius Scipio. d. 211. General.
Seneca the Older (Lucius Annaeus Seneca). 55? B.C.E.–c. 39 C.E. Orator.
Seneca the Younger (Lucius Annaeus Seneca). 4? B.C.E.–65 C.E. Statesman and philosopher.
Quintus Sertorius. c. 123–72 B.C.E. General and politician.
Severus Alexander. 208–235. Emperor (222–235).
Lucius Septimius Severus. 146–211. Emperor (193–211).
Silvanus (Claudius Silvanus). d. 356 C.E. General.
Statius (Publius Papinius Statius). c. 45–96. Poet.
Lucius Cornelius Sulla. 138–78 B.C.E. General and politician.
Syagrius. 430?–486. Governor.
Tacitus (Cornelius Tacitus). c. 56–c. 120. Orator, politician, and historian.
Theodosius I (Theodosius the Great). 347–395. General and emperor (379–395).
Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar Augustus). 42 B.C.E.–37 C.E. Emperor (14–37 C.E.).
Albius Tibullus. c. 54–19 B.C.E. Poet.
Titus. 39–81. Emperor (79–81).
Trajan. 53–117. Emperor (98–117).
A. Postumius Tubertus. fl. 430s B.C.E. Dictator.
Valentinian I (Flavius Valentinianus). 321–375. Emperor (364–375).
Valentinian III (Flavius Valentinianus). 419–455. Emperor (425–55).
Marcus Tarentius Varro. 116–27 B.C.E. Scholar and writer.
Publius Quintilius Varus. d. 9 C.E. General and consul (13 B.C.E.).
Vespasian. 9–79. Emperor (69–79).
Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro). 70–19 B.C.E. Poet.
Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Pollio). fl. c. first century B.C.E. Architect and engineer.

RROMA

Cinka Panna. fl. 18th century. Violinist.

RUGII

Feletheus. fl. late fifth century. King.

RUS

Andrew Bogolyubsky. c. 1111–1174. Prince.
Igor. c. 877–945. Ruler.
Oleg. d. c. 912. Warrior and prince.
Olga (Olha). c. 890–969. Saint.
Rurik. (Rorik; Hrorekr; Ryurik). d. c. 879. Ruler.
Svyatoslav (Svyatoslav Igorevich). d. 972. Prince (945–972).
Vladimir I. c. 956–1015. Prince (980–1015) and saint.

Vladimir II (Vladimir Monomakh). 1053–1125. Prince (1113–1125).
Yaroslav (Yaroslav the Wise). 980–1054. Prince (1019–1054).

RUSSIANS

Alexander II (Aleksandr Nikolayevich). 1818–1881. Emperor (1855–1881).
Aleksandr Porfiryevich Borodin. 1833–1887. Composer.
Catherine I. 1684–1727. Empress (1725–1727).
Catherine II (Catherine the Great). 1729–1796. Empress (1762–1796).
Anton Palovich Chekhov (Chekov or Tchekov). 1860–1904. Writer.
Sergey Pavlovich Diaghilev. 1872–1929. Art critic and impresario.
Fyodor Mikhaylovich Dostoyevsky. 1821–1881. Novelist.
Fyodor I Ivanovich (Feodor I). 1557–1598. Czar (1584–1598).
Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov. 1865–1936. Composer.
Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka. 1804–1857. Composer.
Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol. 1809–1852. Novelist.
Maksim Gorky (Maxim Gorky; Aleksey Maksimovich Peshkov). 1868–1936. Playwright.
Ivan III (Ivan III Vasilyevich; Ivan the Great). 1440–1505. Grand prince (1462–1505).
Ivan IV (Ivan IV Vasilyevich; Ivan the Terrible). 1530–1584. Czar (1547–1584).
Wassily Kandinsky. 1866–1944. Painter.
Nilolay Mikhaylovich Karamzin. 1766–1826. Writer.
Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov. 1711–1765. Poet, playwright, and scientist.
Michael Romanov (Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov). 1596–1645. Czar (1613–1645).
Modest Petrovich Mussorgsky. 1839–1881. Composer.
Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko. 1858–1943. Dramatist.
Nestor (Venerable Nestor). c. 1056–1113. Monk and chronicler.
Alexander Nevsky. c. 1220–1263. Prince; grand duke; military leader.
Nicholas II. 1868–1918. Czar (1894–1917).
Grigory Orlov. 1734–1783. General and statesman.
Paul I (Pavel Petrovich). 1754–1801. Emperor (1796–1801).
Peter I (Peter the Great). 1672–1725. Czar (1682–1725).
Peter III. 1728–1762. Czar (1762).
Avvakum Petrovich. 1620 or 1621–1682. Clergyman and writer.
Grigory Potemkin. 1739–1791. Statesman.
Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin. 1799–1837. Poet.
Nikolay Andreyevich Rimsky-Korsakov. 1844–1908. Composer.
Andrey Rublyov. 1360 to 1370–c. 1430. Painter.
Aleksandr Nikolayevich Scriabin (Aleksandr Skryabin). 1872–1915. Composer.
Konstantin Stanislavsky. 1868–1938. Dramatist.
Aleksandr Petrovich Sumarokov. 1718–1777. Writer.
Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky (Piotr Illyich Tschaikovsky). 1840–1893. Composer.
Leo Tolstoy (Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy). 1828–1910. Novelist.
Vasily Kirillovich Trediakovsky. 1703–1768. Poet.
Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev. 1818–1883. Novelist.

SAAMI

Lars Levi Laestadius. 1800–1861. Religious leader.

SAMOGITIANS

Erdvilas. fl. 1210s. Prince.
Treniota. d. 1264. Prince.
Vykintas. d. 1251. Prince.

SARMATIANS

Babai. d. 472. King.
Beukan. d. 472. King.

SAXONS

Henry the Lion. c. 1130–1195. Duke of Saxony.
Offa. d. 796. King of Mercia (757–796).
Widukind (Wittekind). d. c. 807. Chieftain.

SCIRI

Edica. fl. mid-fifth century. Chieftain
Odoacer (Odovacar). c. 433–493. King (476–493).

SCOTS

Adomnan. 627–704. Abbot (679–704) and saint.
Aidan (Aedan macGabhran; Aiden of Argyll). d. 608. King (574–608).
Alasdair of Glencoe (Alasdair MacDonald). d. 1692. Clan chief.
Alexander III. 1241–1286. King (1249–1286).
Alpin (Alpin of Kintyre). c. 778–834. King (834).
Richard Arkwright. 1732–1792. Inventor and manufacturer.
John de Baliol. 1249–1315. Ruler (1290–1315).
Edward Bruce (Edward the Bruce; Edward I). d. 1318. King (1316–1318).
Robert Burns. 1759–1796. Poet.
Conall (Conall mac Comgall). d. 574. King (c. 558–574).
John Dalrymple (Marshal Stair). 1673–1747. Military leader and diplomat.
David I. c. 1082–1153. King (1124–1153).
Donald I MacAlpin. d. 863. King (859–863).
Duncan. d. 1040. King.
James Graham 1612–1650. Earl of Montrose and general.
David Hume. 1711–1776. Philosopher and historian.
James Hutton. 1726–1797. Geologist.
James IV. 1473–1513. King (1488–1513).
James VI. 1566–1625. King of Scotland (1567–1625) as James VI and of Great Britain (1603–1625) as James I.

Kenneth I (Kenneth MacAlpin). c. 810–858. King (c. 834–858).
Kenneth II. d. 995. King (971–995).
Kentigern (Mungo). d. c. 612. Ecclesiastic and saint.
John Knox. 1513–1572. Religious reformer.
Macbeth. d. 1057. King (1040–1057).
James Macpherson. 1736–1796. Poet.
Malcolm II MacKenneth. c. 953–1034. King (1005–1034).
Malcolm III MacDuncan (Canmore). 1031–1093. King (1058–1093).
Mary of Guise (Mary of Lorraine). 1515–1560. Queen.
Mary, Queen of Scots (Mary Stuart). 1542–1587. Queen (1542–1587).
James Clerk Maxwell. 1831–1879. Physicist.
Robert I (Robert Bruce; Robert the Bruce). 1274–1329. King (1306–1329).
Robert II. 1316–1390. King (1371–1390).
Walter Scott. 1771–1832. Novelist.
Adam Smith. 1723–1790. Economist.
Somerled (Somerled of Argyll). d. 1164. King of the Isles.
George Thomson. 1757–1851. Folk song collector.
William Wallace (William Walays; William Wallensis). 1272?–1305. Rebel leader.
James Watt. 1736–1819. Engineer and inventor.
George Wishart. 1513?–1546. Reformer and martyr.
Cunedda Wledig. fl. c. 450s. Chieftain.

SCYTHIANS

Ateas. d. 339. King.
Palakus. fl. late second century. King.

SEMIGALLIANS

Nameisis. fl. late 13th century. King.
Viestards. fl. early 13th century. Regional Ruler.

SERBS

Pop (Father) Dukljanin. fl. 1770s–1780s. Historian.
Vuk Karadžič. 1787–1864. Linguist and folklorist.
Miloš Obrenović. 1780–1860. Prince (1815–1839, 1858–1860).
Dositej Obradović (Dimitrije Obradović). 1742–1811. Monk and writer.
Stefan Dušan. 1308–1355. King (1331–1355).
Stefan Nemanja. fl. c. 1160s–1190s. Ruler (c. 1167–1196).
Karageorge (Karadorde; Black George). 1762–1817. Rebel leader.
Petar Petrović Njegoš (Peter II). 1812–1851. Prince-bishop (1830–1851) and poet.

SIRACES

Abeacus. fl. 60s B.C.E. King.

SLOVAKS

Josef Ignác Bajza. 1754–1836. Novelist.
Anton Bernolák 1762–1813. Linguist and priest.
Ján Chalupka. 1791–1871. Playwright and clergyman.
Ján Hollý 1785–1849. Poet and priest.
Ján Kollár. 1793–1852. Scholar, poet, and clergyman.
Janko Kráľ. 1822–1876. Poet.
Juraj Palkovič. 1769–1850. Writer and linguist.
Andrej Sládkovič (Andrej Braxatoris). 1820–1872. Poet.
Ľudovít Štúr 1815–1856. Linguist.

SLOVENES

Ivan Cankar. 1876–1918. Writer.
Jacob Handl (Jacob Hähnel; Jakobus Gallus; Jakob Petelin Gallus-Carniolus). 1590–1591. Composer and monk.
France Prešeren. 1800–1849. Poet.
Primož Trubar. 1508–1556. Writer.

SORBS

Derevan. fl. seventh century. Ruler.

SPANISH

Isaac Manuel Francisco Albéniz. 1860–1909. Composer.
Alfonso I (Alfonso the Catholic). c. 693–757. King of Asturias (739–757).
Alfonso III (Alfonso the Great). c. 838–910. King of Asturias (866–910).
Alfonso VI (Alfonso the Valiant). 1040?–1109. King of León (1065–1109) and of Castile (1072–1109).
Alfonso VIII. c. 1155–1214. King of Castile (1158–1214).
Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. 1836–1870. Poet.
Gonzalo de Berceo. c. 1194–c. 1264. Poet.
Bermudo II (El Gotoso). King of Galicia (982–999) and of León (985–999).
Pedro Calderón de la Barca. 1600–1681. Poet and playwright.
Don Carlos (Charles VI). 1818–1861. Prince; count of Montemolín.
Don Carlos (Charles VII). 1848–1909. Prince; duke of Madrid.
Don Carlos de Borbón (Charles V). 1788–1855. Prince; count of Molina.
Catherine of Aragon. 1485–1536. Daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; queen to Henry VIII of England (1509–1533).
Charles V. 1500–1558. King as Charles I (1516–1556) and Holy Roman Emperor (1519–1556).
Miguel de Cervantes (Megue de Cervantes Saavedra). 1547–1616. Novelist.
Benito Gerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro. 1697–1764. Monk and scholar.
Ferdinand I (Ferdinand the Great). 1016 or 1018–1065. King of Castile (1035–1065) and of León (1037–1065).
Antonio Gaudi y Cornet. 1852–1926. Architect.
Luis de Góngora y Argote. 1561–1627. Poet.
Francisco de Goya (Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes). 1746–1828. Painter.
Enrique Granados (Enrique Granados y Campina). 1867–1916. Composer.

El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos; Domenico Theotocopali). 1541–1614. Painter.
Ferdinand II (Ferdinand the Catholic). 1452–1516. King of Sicily (1468–1516) and of Castile (1474–1504) and joint ruler of Aragon (1479–1516).
Ferdinand III (Ferdinand the Saint). 1201?–1252. King of Castile (1217–1252) and of León (1230–1257).
Ferdinand VII. 1784–1833. King (1808, 1814–1833).
Isabella I (Isabella the Catholic). 1451–1504. Queen of Castile (1474–1504).
Isabella II. 1830–1904. Queen (1833–1868).
Isidore (Isidore of Seville). c. 560–636. Prelate, scholar, and saint.
Mariano José de Larra (Mariano José de Larra y Sánchez de Castro; pseudonym, Figaro). 1809–1837. Writer.
Ignacio de Luzán (Ignacio de Luzán Claramunt de Suelves y Gurrea). 1702–1754. Writer.
Jorge Manrique. 1440?–1479. Writer.
Juan Manuel (Don Juan Manuel). 1282–1348. Writer, prince, and general.
María Cristina de Borbón. 1806–1878. Queen (1829–1833).
Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana. 1398–1458. Poet.
Jorge de Montemayor (Jorge de Montemor). 1520?–?1561. Poet and novelist.
Elio Antonio de Nebrija. 1444–1522. Linguist.
Benito Pérez Galdós. 1843–1920. Writer.
Philip II. 1527–1598. King (1556–1598).
Philip V. 1683–1746. King (1700–1724, 1724–1746).
Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas. 1580–1645. Writer.
Fernando de Rojas. c. 1465–1541. Writer.
Juan Ruiz. 1283?–?1351. Priest and poet.
Joaquin Sorolla (Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida). 1863–1923. Painter.
Gabriel Téllez (pseudonym, Tirso de Molina). c. 1580–1648. Playwright.
Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo. 1864–1936. Writer.
Lope de Vega (Lope Félix de Vega Carpio; el Fénix). 1562–1635. Poet and playwright.
Diego Velázquez (Diego Rodríguez de Silva Velázquez). 1562–1635. Painter.
José Zorrilla (José Zorrilla y Moral). 1817–1893. Poet and playwright.
Ignacio Zuloaga (Ignacio Zuloaga y Zabaleta). 1870–1945. Painter.

SUEBI

Andeca. fl. 580s. King.
Ariovistus (Ariovist; Ariovisteric). fl. 70s–50s B.C.E. Chieftain.
Hermeric. fl. early fifth century. King.
Rechiar. fl. 440s–450s. King (448–456).
Rechila. fl. 440s. King

SWEDES (*SEE ALSO* VIKINGS)

Albert. 1340–1412. King (1363–1389) and duke of Mecklenburg as Albert III (1384–1412).
Karin Bergöö. 1859–1928. Painter.
Franz Adolf Berwald. 1796–1868. Composer.
Erik IX (Erik Jedvardsson). d. 1160. King (c. 1150–1160) and saint.
Erik Gustaf Geijer. 1783–1847. Historian and poet.
Gustav I Vasa. 1496?–1560. King (1523–1560).
Gustav II Adolf (Gustavus Adolphus). 1594–1632. King (611–632).
Carl Gustaf Verner Von Heidenstam. 1859–1940. Poet and novelist.
Carl Fredrik Hill. 1849–1911. Painter.
Ingegärd (Ingigerd). fl. 1010s–1020s. Princess.
Birger Jarl. d. 1266. Noble; military leader.
Ernst Josephson. 1851–1906. Painter.
Selma Ottilia Lovisa Lagerlöf. 1858–1940. Novelist.
Carl Larsson. 1853–1919. Painter.
Carolus Linnaeus (Carl von Linné). 1707–1778. Botanist.
Alfred Bernhard Nobel. 1833–1896. Inventor, manufacturer, and philanthropist.
Carl Gustav Pilo. 1711–1793. Painter.
Johan Helmich Roman. 1694–1758. Composer.
Alexander Roslin. 1718–1793. Painter.
Johan Tobias von Sergel (Johan Tobias Sergel). 1740–1814. Sculptor.
Sigismund III Vasa. 1566–1632. King of Poland (1587–1632) and of Sweden (1592–1599).
Olof Skötkonung (Olof the Tax). d. 1022. King.
August Strindberg (Johann August Strindberg). 1849–1912. Novelist and playwright.
Esaias Tegnér. 1782–1846. Poet.
Anders Zorn (Anders Leonard Zorn). 1860–1920. Painter.

SWISS

Albert Bitzius (pseudonym, Jeremias Gotthelf). 1797–1854. Writer.
Jacob Christopher Burckhardt. 1818–1897. Historian.
Jean-Henri Dunant. 1828–1910. Philanthropist.
Ferdinand Hodler. 1853–1918. Painter.
Gottfried Keller. 1819–1890. Writer.
Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim). 1493–1551. Physician and scientist.
Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. 1746–1827. Educational reformer.
Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz. 1878–1947. Novelist.
Jean-Jacques Rosseau. 1712–1778. Philosopher.
Ludwig Senfl. c. 1486–1542 or 1543. Composer.
Carl Friedrich Georg Spitteler (pseudonym, Carl Felix Tandem). 1845–1924. Writer.
Madame de Staël (Anne-Louise-Germaine de Staël, née Necker). 1766–1817. Writer.
Johann David Wyss. 1743–1818. Writer.
Johann Rudolf Wyss. 1781–1830. Writer and philosopher.
Huldrych Zwingli (Huldreich Zwingli). 1484–1531. Religious reformer.

THRACIANS

Spartacus. d. 71 B.C.E. Gladiator and rebel leader.

THURINGI

Radegunda. d. 587. Queen, nun, and saint.

TOLISTOBOGII

Chiomara. fl. 180s B.C.E. Wife of chieftain.

TURKS

Bayezid I (Yildirim; Thunderbolt). c. 1360–1403. Sultan (1389–1402).
Yunus Emre. (?1238–c. 1321). Poet.
Namik Kemal (Mehmed Namik Kemal). 1840–1888. Writer.
Mehmed I (Çelebi Sultan Mehmed). d. 1421. Sultan (1402–1421).
Mehmed II (Fatih Mehmed the Conqueror). 1432–1481. Sultan (1444–1446, 1451–1481).
Murad I. 1326?–1389. Sultan (1360–1389).
Murad II. 1404–1451. Sultan (1421–1451).
Osman I (Osman Gazi). 1258–c. 1326. Ruler.
Selim I (Yavuz Selim the Grim). 1467–1520. Sultan (1512–1520).
Selim II (Sari Selim the Blonde). 1524–1574. Sultan (1524–1574).
Sinan (Joseph). 1489–1588. Architect.
Suleiman I (Süleyman the Magnificent; Kanuni; Lawgiver). 1494 or 1495–1566. Sultan (1520–1566).

UKRAINIAN

Vasyl Bilozersky. 1823–1899. Journalist.
Mykola Dyletsky. 1630–1690?. Composer.
Ivan Franko. 1856–1919. Poet.
Semen Hulak-Artemovsky. 1813–1873. Composer.
Larisa Petrovna Kosach-Kvitka (pseudonym Lesya Ukrayinka or Ukrainka). 1871–1913. Poet.
Mykola Kostomarov. 1817–1885. Historian.
Ivan Kotlyarevsky (Ivan Kotliaretsky). 1769–1838. Poet and playwright.
Panteleymon Kulish (Panteleimon Kulish). 1819–1897. Writer.
Mykola Vitaliyovych Lysenko. 1842–1912. Composer.
Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa. c. 1644–1709. Cossack hetman and rebel leader.
Teofan Prokopovych (Feofan Prokopovych). 1681–1736. Playwright.
Roxelana (Khourrem; Aleksandra Lisouska). c. 1510–1558. Slave girl who became wife of Turkish sultan Suleiman I.
Panas Rudchenko (pseudonym, Panas Myrny). 1849–1920. Novelist.
Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko. 1814–1861. Poet and painter.
Hryhory Skovoroda. 1722–1794. Philosopher and poet.
Samiylo Velychko. c. 1670–1728. Historian.

UNELLI

Viridovix. fl. c. 50s B.C.E. Military leader.

VANDALS

Fredbal. d. 415. King.
Gaiseric (Genseric). d. 447. King (428–447).
Gelimar (Gelimer). fl. 530s. King (530–534).
Godigisel. d. 406. King.
Gunderic. d. 428. King (406–428).
Rapt. (Raptus) fl. 170s. King.
Raus. (Rhaus) fl. 170s. King.
Stilicho (Flavius Stilicho). c. 365–408. General and statesman.

VENETIANS

Maffeo Polo. fl. 1260s–1290s. Traveler and merchant.
Marco Polo. 1254–1324. Traveler, merchant, and diplomat.
Niccolò Polo. 1260s–1290s. Traveler and merchant.

VIKINGS

Ingólfur Arnarson. fl. 870s. Mariner and colonizer of Iceland.
Eric the Red (Erik; Erik Thorvaldson). c. 950–1010. Mariner and colonizer of Greenland.
Leif Ericsson (Leif Eriksson; Leifr Eiríksson). c. 975–c. 1020. Mariner.
Geirmund the Swarthy. fl. 860s–870s. Chieftain.
Godfred (Gudfred). d. 810. King of Denmark.
Guthrum (Godrum; Guthorm; Guttorm). d. 890. Danish king of East Anglia.
Harold I (Harald Fairhair). c. 860–c. 940. King of Norway.
Harold II (Harald Bluetooth). c. 910–c. 985. King of Denmark (c. 950–c. 985).
Magnus III (Magnus the Barefoot; Magnus of Norway). c. 1073–1103. King of Norway (1093–1103).
Naddod. fl. 860s–870s. Mariner in Iceland.
Olaf I (Olav Tryggvason). c. 964–1000. King of Norway (995–1000).
Olaf II (Olaf Haraldsson; Saint Olaf). 995?–1030. King of Norway (1016–1028).
Olaf Sihtricson (Anlaf; Olaf the Red; Olafr Sigtryggsson). d. 981. Danish king of Nothumbria and Dublin.
Raegnald. fl. 920s. Norse king of York.
Raven-Flóki. fl. 860s–870. Chieftain.
Sweyn I (Svein Forkbeard). d. 1014. King of Denmark (c. 987–1014).
Sweyn II (Svein). d. 1075. King of Denmark (1047–1075).

VISIGOTHS

Alaric I. c. 370–410. King (395–410).
Alaric II. d. 507. King (484–507).
Ariarich. fl. 330s. King.
Ataulf (Atawulf; Ataulphus). d. 415. King.
Athaneric. fl. 360s–370s. Chieftain.
Euric. d. 484. King (466–484).
Fritigern (Fridigern). d. 380. King (369–380).
Hermenigild. d. 585. Arian Christian.
Ingunthis. fl. 580s. Princess and saint.

Leovigild. d. 589. King (c. 569–586).
Pelayo. d. 737. King of Asturias (718–737).
Recared (Ricared). d. 601. King (586–601).
Roderick (Rodrigo). d. 711. King (710–711).
Theodoric I. d. 451. King (419–451).
Theodoric II. 426–466. King (453–466).
Thorismond (Thorismund). d. 453. King (451–453).
Wallia. d. 419. King (415–419).
Witiza. d. 710. King (701–710).

VLACHS

Radu Negru (Rudolf the Black). d. 1310. Prince.

WELSH

Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barri, Gerald the Welshman). 1146–c. 1223. Ecclesiastic and historian.
Ceredig. fl. c. 470s. King.
Dafydd ap Gwilym. c. 1320–c. 1380. Poet.
Dafydd ap Llywelyn. c. 1208–1246. Prince.
David (Dewi). c. 520–600. Ecclesiastic and saint.
Eliseg. fl. eighth century. King.
Gruffudd. fl. 1230s. Ruler and father to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.
Gruffudd ap Llywelyn. d. 1063. King (1055–1063).
Hywel (Hywel Dda; Hywel the Good). d. 950. Ruler.
Iago ap Idwal. c. 984–1039. King (1023–1039).
Griffith Jones. 1683–1761. Clergyman.
Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. d. 1282. Prince.
Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great). d. 1240. Prince.
Madog ap Maredudd. d. 1160. Prince.
Nennius. fl. c. 790s. Compiler.
Owain ap Gruffudd (Owain Gwynedd). d. 1170. King.
Owain Glyndwr (Owen Glendower). c. 1349–1416. Prince and rebel leader.
John Penry. 1559–1593. Puritian pamphleteer.
Rhodri Mawr (Rhodri the Great). 789–878. King.
Rhys ap Gruffudd (Lord Rhys of Deheubarth). 1132–1197. Prince.
Samson. 490–565. Saint.
Swegen Godwinson. fl. 1050s. Earl.

YOTVINGIANS

Nethimer. fl. 1010s. Chieftain.
Scurdo. fl. 1280s. Chieftain.
Skomantas. fl. 13th century. Chieftain.

POPES (ITALIANS AND OTHER NATIONALITIES)

Adrian I (Hadrian I). d. 795. Pope (772–795).
Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear). 1100?–1159. Pope (1154–1159).
Felix III. d. 492. Pope (483–492) and saint.
Gregory I (Gregory the Great) c. 540–604. Prefect of Rome (c. 572–574), pope, (590–604), and saint.
Gregory VII. c. 1020–1085. Pope (1073–1085) and saint.
Innocent III. 1160 or 1161–1216. Pope (1198–1216).
Innocent IV. d. 1254. Pope (1243–1254).
John IV. d. 642. Pope (640–642).
John VIII. d. 882. Pope (872–882)
John X. d. 928. Pope (914–928).
John XII. 937?–964. Pope (955–964).
Leo I (Leo the Great). c. 400–461. Pope (440–461) and saint.
Leo III. d. 816. Pope (795–816) and saint.
Leo VII. d. 939. Pope (936–939).
Leo VIII. d. 965. Pope (963–965).
Leo IX (Bruno of Egisheim). 1002–1054. Pope (1048–1054) and saint.
Nicholas I (Nicholas the Great). c. 819 to 822–867. Pope (858–867).
Nicholas II. 980?–1061. Pope (1059–1061).
Pelagius. d. 590. Pope (579–590).
Stephen II (Stephen III). d. 757. Pope (752–757).
Stephen IV (Stephen V). d. 817. Pope (816–817).
Urban II. c. 1035–1099. Pope (1088–1099).
Zacharias (Zachary). d. 752. Pope (741–752) and saint.

NON-EUROPEANS

Anan ben David. fl. 760s. Religious leader. *Jew.*
Babur (Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad). 1483–1530. Emperor of India. *Turk*
Simon Bar Kokhba (Simeon bar Koziba). d. 135. Revolt leader. *Jew*
Cleopatra VII. 69–30 B.C.E. Queen (51–30 B.C.E.). *Egyptian*
Croesus. d. c. 546 B.C.E. King (c. 560–546 B.C.E.). *Lydian*
Cyrus II (Cyrus the Great). c. 585–c. 529 B.C.E. King. *Persian*
Darius I (Darius the Great). 540–486 B.C.E. King (522–486 B.C.E.). *Persian.*
David. d. 962 B.C.E. King. *Jew*
Ibn Fadlan. fl. 920s. Ambassador and writer. *Arab*
Judas Maccabeus (Judah Maccabees). d. 160 B.C.E. Leader (166–160 B.C.E.). *Jew*
Mattathias. d. 166? B.C.E. Priest and leader. *Jew*
Merneptah. fl. 1230s–1220s B.C.E. King (1236–1223 B.C.E.). *Egyptian*
Mithridates VI Eupator (Mithradates the Great). d. 63 B.C.E. King (120–63 B.C.E.). *from Pontus*
Muhammad. c. 570–632. Founder of Islam. *Arab*
Psamtik I (Psamtek; Psammetichus; Psummetichos). fl. seventh century B.C.E. Pharaoh (664–610). *Egyptian.*
Ptolemy. c. 90–150. Astronomer, geographer and mathematician. *Hellenized Alexandrian*
Ramses III (Rameses). fl. 1190s–1160s B.C.E. King (1198–1166 B.C.E.). *Egyptian*
Sargon II. d. 705 B.C.E. King (721–705 B.C.E.). *Assyrian*
Simeon ben Yohai. second century. Rabbi and scribe. *Jew*
Solomon. fl. 10th century B.C.E. King. *Jew*
Tamerlane (Tamburlane; Timur; Timur the Lame). 1326–1405. Ruler. *Turk*
Xerxes I (Xerxes the Great). 519–465 B.C.E. King (486–465). *Persian*

APPENDIX VII:
List of Individuals Featured in Biographical Sidebars, Organized Alphabetically (showing entries where found)

Alaric—Visigoths
Alexander the Great—Macedonians
Alfred—Anglo-Saxons
Arminius—Germanics
Árpád—Magyars
Attila—Huns
Augustus—Romans
Basarab I—Vlachs
Bede—Anglo-Saxons
Boris I—Bulgars
Boudicca—Britons
Charlemagne—Franks
Clovis I—Franks
Constantine I—Byzantines
Cyril and Methodius—Slavs
Gaiseric—Vandals
Gregory I—Romans
Hadrian—Romans
Harold I—Vikings
Herodotus—Greeks
Julius Caesar—Romans
Justinian I—Byzantines
Kenneth I MacAlpin—Scots
Martin Luther—Germanics
Mieszko I—Poles
Odoacer—Sciri
Otto I—Germanics
Patrick—Irish
Pericles—Greeks
Pliny the Elder—Romans
Ptolemy—Greeks
Pytheas—Greeks
Rollo—Normans
Spartacus—Thracians
Strabo—Greeks
Suleiman I—Turkics
Tacitus—Romans
Theodoric—Ostrogoths
Vercingetorix—Gauls
Vladimir I—Rus
William the Conqueror—Norman

APPENDIX VIII:
Chronology of European Prehistory and History

The following chronology is designed to give an overview of European prehistory and history and to be used in conjunction with the text, that is, with an emphasis on the formation and movements of peoples as well as developments that affected all European peoples. There are many more important dates found in the time lines in the entries themselves. Sources of information about the past change as we look ever farther back in time. A watershed in sources of information is the point at which cultures adopt writing and begin to record earlier oral traditions about themselves and to keep written records—often in the form of annals recording the notable events of each year. We have divided this chronology into two parts based on the predominant source of data available, one beginning 1.7 million years before the present, when different hominid species began entering Europe, and the other taking up the story in the eighth century B.C.E., when, with the end of the Greek Dark Ages, Greeks began writing about themselves and their world, first in mythological tales and poetic epics, then in histories, travelogues, and other accounts. The first part of the chronology, based in large part on archaeological evidence, mostly covers broad cultural trends rather than history—historical events and specific peoples—because little of such matters can be deduced from archaeological artifacts. All prehistoric dates are circa, with cultural overlapping occurring from one age to the other; start dates indicate the first appearance of a culture or cultural characteristic anywhere in Europe and end dates indicate the latest survival of the same. The rate of change in this first part is slow, measured in millions and then thousands of years. In the second part, the rate speeds up greatly as the time scale shifts to specific centuries and years.

PART ONE: PREHISTORIC PERIOD

Paleolithic (Old Stone Age): 1.7 million before present (B.P.)–10,000 B.P. (10,000 B.P. is the equivalent of 8000 B.C.E.)

Stone tool industries are the pebble tool/flake traditions (Clactonian/High Lodge) and Acheulian/Abbevillian hand axes, flakes, and scrapers (Lower Paleolithic); scrapers, flakes, and points of the early Mousterian and Levallois tradition, and knives, small axes, scrapers, flakes, and points of the Mousterian and late Acheulian and early Aurignacian (Middle Paleolithic); and Aurignacian and Gravettian technologies, bifacial pressure-flaking of the early Solutrian, and Azilian bone and stone technologies (Upper Paleolithic).

Lower Paleolithic Age: 1.7 million B.P.–200,000 B.P.

The peopling of Europe occurs, apparently in waves by separate hominid species; first *Homo ergaster,* around 1.7 million B.P.; then *Homo heidelbergensis* (earliest finds are **500,000 B.P.**).

Middle Paleolithic Age: 200,000–40,000 B.P.

Neanderthals occupy much of Europe; the youngest skeletal remains so far found date to **28,000 B.P.** The earliest modern human find in Europe to date is **36,300 B.P.** The huge migratory herds in the tundra regions of southern Europe provide an abundant food supply that can be exploited with a relatively simple social organization.

Upper Paleolithic Age: 40,000 B.P.–10,000 B.P.

The Upper Paleolithic Revolution consists of a proliferation of new stone tool types, sophisticated stoneworking techniques, and the beginning of figurative art in bone, ivory, cave drawings, and paintings. The extent to which Neanderthals take part in this is unclear. The migratory herds attract large, dense settlements along river valleys such as the Dordogne Valley in southwestern France; the fairly predictable food supply allows for a high degree of craft specialization, leading to the masterpieces of cave art.

Mesolithic Age (Middle Stone Age): 10,000–9000 B.P.

The period is often defined by the use of microliths, small retouched blades or blade segments, probably used to tip arrows. Industries of microliths are organized into three cultures: the Maglemose (**9500–7600 B.P.**), the Kongemose (**7600–6500 B.P.**), and the Ertebølle (**6500–5200 B.P.**) of southern Scandinavia, in which people continued a Mesolithic lifestyle as the Neolithic had begun elsewhere in Europe. Other important stone tool types are scrapers, perforators such as awls, burins for working bone and antler, and axes. Tools of organic materials such as bone, antler, wood, and plant fiber for nets, are widely used.

The return of forests at the end of the Ice Age causes the migratory herds to move north. A dramatic series of ecological changes occurs throughout the period. The rise in sea level caused by the melting of the glaciers inundates large land areas; there is a complex interplay between formation of ice-dammed lakes during the glacial melting period, their draining and then replacement by incoming sea water, and the slow isostatic rising of the land that had been depressed by the weight of the ice. All of these are accompanied by changes in flora and fauna. In general the

return of the forests occurs in stages, each with a different assortment of plant and animal species. As a result subsistence is more difficult than in the Paleolithic Age and necessitates in some places a seasonal round of movement to fishing, hunting, and foraging grounds. In others, such as at Lepenski Vir in the Danube valley, an abundant supply of fish fosters a sedentary existence; the best preserved dwellings from the Mesolithic Age are here, located on terraces along the river, most houses containing a block of limestone carved into the shape of an anthropomorphic fish. The closest equivalent in the Mesolithic Age to the tundra herds of the Ice Age are aquatic resources, as attested by massive shell middens, found from Portugal to southern Scandinavia. These resources include lake, shore, and sea birds. Material culture becomes more focused on the utilitarian and varies greatly among people living in the variety of ecologies of Europe. Yet figurative art is not wanting as, for example, the rock art of the Spanish Levant. The common elements are a continual adaptation to the changing environment and exploration for foods and sources for tools and shelter. When farming practices become known to Mesolithic foragers, some groups adopt them selectively, incorporating herding or gardening into their repertoire as just one of a number of subsistence means.

(Some theories of the emergence of the language ancestral to the Finno-Ugric language family, later spoken in a wide area of the northern forest zone of Europe, posit that it originated as a lingua franca, made up of elements of languages from Asia and Europe, used by peoples from both continents who followed migratory herd animals to northern Europe to hunt and forage as the glaciers receded. These peoples from widely divergent backgrounds could have used the lingua franca of proto-Finno-Ugric to communicate with one another. Common cultural characteristics—pottery, burial rites—shared for millennia by peoples throughout the circumpolar region, including those in North America, suggest that contacts throughout the region and a common way of life created a distinct cultural province in these lands "on top of the world.")

Neolithic Age (New Stone Age): 7000–5000 B.C.E. (9000–7000 B.P.)

The Neolithic Age is defined less by tool materials and industries than by the emergence of new elements in people's subsistence strategies; in Europe most of these elements originate elsewhere. They include plant and animal foods not native to Europe, such as wheats and barleys, sheep, and goats, together with the knowledge of how to raise them, which then is applied to native cattle and pigs. Also important as these new material subsistence means are a new set of values surrounding sedentary existence, the acquisition and storage of food and goods, close kin groups, and a symbolic interpretation of the world.

after 7000 B.C.E.

The first farmers arrive in Europe from the Near East, spreading from southeast to northwest through northern Greece and Thessaly to the Balkans and Danube basin.

7000–6000 B.C.E.

Early Aegean and Anatolian Painted Ware Culture: The people of this culture farm wheat and barley and keep sheep and goats; fish and both small and large wild game are also important. They make polished stone artifacts; simple pottery and fired clay figurines, often of human females with sexual parts exaggerated; and animals. Later pottery is painted with geometric designs, often in red and white; styles seem to be used as social identification. Their dwellings are squarish to rectangular mud brick or clay-covered timber-framed buildings arranged in small clusters or hamlets, some houses freestanding, others interconnected; some people live in caves, such as that at Franchthi in the northeast Peloponnese of Greece. The hamlets often include buildings that seem to have been used as shrines; otherwise little sign of differentiation has been found. The dead are buried in the settlement areas, often close to dwellings, perhaps an indication of ancestor worship and continuity with the past. The many female figurines that have been found in and around buildings may be connected with ancestor worship, though they have also been interpreted as evidence of a widespread goddess cult. Sites are occupied for a long time, so that decayed building material and other detritus build up into mounds (tells), sometimes many feet high.

7000–5000 B.C.E.

Makers of tells inhabit Bulgaria and Serbia, later moving onto the Hungarian plain.

6500–4000 B.C.E.

Balkan Painted Pottery Cultures: These cultures are very similar to those of people in the Aegean area; during this period older settlements are joined by many new ones. Pottery and figurines gradually become more elaborate, and different regions develop distinct styles; one of the most famous of these is the style of figurines found at Vinéa in Serbia, which have catlike or insectlike triangular faces with large bulging eyes. Anthropomorphic vessels are made with stylized faces, breasts, stubby arms, and incised lines in complex geometric patterns. The cultural complex exists throughout the Balkan region and extends to the southern Hungarian plain. Newer sites tend to be larger with larger houses; in a few cases, such as at Sesklo in Thessaly, there are more complex arrangements, such as an inner enclosure containing a large house surrounded by smaller ones. An infilling of the landscape takes place later in this period, with settlements in areas previously avoided. Cattle become increasingly important, particularly for people who live near Tisza on the Hungarian plain. Copper is first worked into beads, hooks, pins, and awls, both by beating and by smelting. Commodities and raw materials, such as fine pottery, flint, and obsidian, are traded over distances of up to 100 miles away.

6000–5000 B.C.E.

Farming spreads to western Mediterranean. Some people live in caves; others build timber houses within circular ditches.

6000–4000 B.C.E.

Impressed Pottery Cultures: Impressed ware is made by the first farmers in the central and western Mediterranean region; bowls, dishes, jars, and a variety of other vessels are decorated with impressions made in the wet clay. The islands in the region are possibly colonized by seafaring people from the eastern Mediterranean, but native Mesolithic groups, who are known to have occupied Sicily and southern Italy as early as **9000 B.C.E.**, may possibly adopt farming as well. Too little is known about the North African coast at this period to assess whether farming practices possibly spread north from there. In southeast Italy painted ware is made, possibly introduced from Greece, from around **6000 B.C.E.** Sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs (and even red deer) are introduced to the region, followed by cereals by the end of the **sixth millennium.** From here farming practices, along with impressed pottery, slowly move northward through Italy to southern France, and along the coast to the Iberian Peninsula. Obsidian from Sardinia and other islands is an important export.

6000 B.C.E.

Farming arrives in central France.

after 6000 B.C.E.

Farming arrives in the Iberian Peninsula (it is not known whether there are any influences from North Africa).

5500–5000 B.C.E.

Farming arrives in central and western Europe, at first confined to river valleys and light, easily worked loess soils. Agriculture spreads in separate waves, first along the Upper Danube, Upper Rhine, and Neckar Rivers; second down the Rhine to the southern Netherlands and southern Poland; third to southern Belgium and the northern European plain. During the last phase there is more evidence of contact between farming groups and the indigenous Mesolithic foragers. Settlement expands out of river valleys and onto other than loess soils.

5500–4200 B.C.E.

Linienband Keramic (LBK) or Linear Pottery Cultures: Pottery decorated with linear designs (but not painted) is made by the first farmers in the central and western temperate forests of Europe to the southern edge of the north European plain, from northern Hungary to northern France, southern Belgium, the southern Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, northern Austria, central and southern Poland, and Germany. Farming arrives late in this region compared to the Mediterranean, but it develops more quickly. A distinctive pottery style appears as farming spreads from the Hungarian plain and the Carpathian basin, both westward and also eastward into the Ukraine and on to the steppe lands to the east.

Farming perhaps spreads through the region generation by generation, the young moving on to find new land in which to settle; whether native Mesolithic groups take up farming along with the other features of the Linear Pottery cultural complex or whether they maintain their way of life side by side with the newcomers has not been determined.

People live in scattered single homesteads, hamlets, and small villages usually along river valleys and on fertile loess soils. The distinctive building style is the post-framed long house, made of substantial timbers, housing single to multiple families and possibly animals. The building of these houses represents a considerable investment of labor. Larger concentrations of building, such as those found in the Balkan tells, apparently do not have streets or lanes, and buildings are not made to any standard length, perhaps evidence of greater independence of individual households within villages here than in the Balkans. On the other hand, the buildings share a common orientation.

Single inhumation (underground) burials, sometimes with pottery, stone tools, and simple ornaments, are organized into cemeteries near some settlements, with graves aligned in a common orientation. Numerically the graves that have been located are too few to account for all of the dead in the settlements with which they are associated; the criteria for choosing who is to be buried have not been determined; men, women, and to a lesser extent children are buried in cemeteries. Pottery and stone tools are found in graves of both men and women, though stone tools such as arrowheads predominate for men and pots for women; older people have more grave goods; as many as a third of adult graves have no goods at all. (Such evidence has to be used with caution in attempting to identify social differentiation because one cannot assume that goods buried with the dead belong to them in life in a straightforward modern sense. Western concepts of individual ownership and private property are by no means universal. Grave goods may be offerings by the whole community to the ancestors via the agency of the deceased. Infrequency of burial could have had less relation to do with the status of those buried than to the timing or circumstances of their deaths.)

5000–4000 B.C.E.

Lengyel Circular Enclosure Culture: While houses, settlements, and subsistence practices remain the same as in the Linear Pottery culture, in Slovakia, eastern Austria, and northern Hungary ditched, palisaded circular enclosures are first built, with multiple concentric circles, interrupted by one or more causeways, and surrounding an area of a few acres. Some of these are built on the sites of earlier longhouses; often they are near current settlements. Many do not contain buildings; others with buildings may serve a defensive purpose. Others may be used to pen cattle or to mark out sacred space for ritual use. In the ditches of some enclosures, numerous fragments of broken figurines have been found, possibly having been "killed" after being used in rituals to rid them of dangerous spiritual potency. Such enclosures may indicate ritual activity on a community as well as a household level.

5000–3400 B.C.E.

Combed Ware Pottery: Pottery making begins in Finland before people adopt a fully Neolithic farming way of life; hunting, fishing, and gathering continue to be the main means of subsistence. Pottery may be adopted as seal hunting grows in importance and better containers are needed for storing the fat and blubber. The most common style bears decorations made with a comb-like stamp; pots are round bottomed and probably secured by being set in sand in the typical beach settlements. Gradually during this period, in Finland and elsewhere in the Finno-Ugrian region and surrounding areas, people may begin to take up farming.

(An alternate theory on the emergence of the ancestral language of the Finno-Ugric languages later spoken in the northern forest zone posits that arrival of Neolithic or sub-Neolithic practices in the Finno-Ugrian area led to the spread of the language of the earliest group to adopt farming to other peoples as they, in turn, adopted farming. If, as is likely, farming techniques such as domestication of herd animals, cattle, and reindeer, were viewed in mystical terms as gifts from the gods, the first group in the northern forest zone to master such techniques would have enjoyed great prestige, perhaps causing others to use their language.)

Copper Age (Chalcolithic Age): 5000–2500 B.C.E.

Copper begins to be mined and worked by beating and smelting in the Balkans. Large-scale mining is undertaken in 4800 B.C.E.

Copper is used for ornaments and axes. (However, flint continues to be used for knife blades and arrowheads.)

Fifth millennium B.C.E.

Roessen Culture: Settlements from this time in the region west of Cologne in Germany have trapezoidal longhouses more closely grouped than before, with timber palisades surrounding them. It has been theorized that they indicate a denser settlement of the region, leading to competition and instability; at the same time farmers are beginning to expand farther west and north into Normandy, Brittany, and the Lower Seine region, indicating population pressure farther east.

4500–3500 B.C.E.

Farming arrives in the coastal regions of France, Britain, Netherlands, Denmark, and southern Sweden.

Megalith Builders: Large timber and stone tombs covered by long or circular mounds are first built in the coastal regions of France, Britain, Netherlands, Denmark, and southern Sweden, where incoming farming groups meet dense populations of Mesolithic foragers. It has been theorized that this development results from a kind of compromise between the farming and foraging lifestyles, the greater mobility of the latter leading to a shift in the focus of farming communities from the extreme sedentarism of the tell societies of the first farmers in the east, with their substantially built and long-lasting settlements, to a more mobile lifestyle in which the building of houses for the living is less important socially than the building of these for ancestors. These large mortuary houses

become prominent features in the landscape through which people may move in a seasonal round. Such tombs are built in a great variety of shapes and styles, some covered in long mounds, others having a burial chamber within a round mound that is approached by a long corridor; chambers are built of dry stone walling culminating in a corbelled vault. In the British Isles dolmens are important, each consisting of a huge horizontal block of stone weighing many tons perched on slender stone uprights, the whole then covered with earth. It has been theorized that the proliferation of forms arise from a dialectic of imitation and competition (which can be traced by comparing styles in neighboring regions) as different groups strive to forge distinctive identities in a changing cultural landscape.

Lake Village Cultures: Mesolithic groups in the Alpine foreland in southern Germany, Switzerland, and Austria begin to farm, building villages of timber houses on piles along the margins of lakes.

Pontic Steppe Horse-Rearing Culture: Nomadic herding peoples north of the Black Sea begin to move into tell areas of Hungary; they build circular burial mounds, perhaps in emulation of tell mounds; their pottery has cord impressions, possibly symbolic of ropes used to control horses and cattle.

4200–3800 B.C.E.

Tripolye-Cucuteni Cultures: These are located in the forest-steppe region of Ukraine and Moldova, and in the foothills of the northern Carpathian Mountains. They develop from a Linear Pottery lifestyle, which accompanied the beginning of farming. Villages of these groups generally occupy high terraces on the interfluves between river tributaries and consist of concentrations of as many as 200 substantial rectangular buildings, some surrounded by ditches. Pottery is elaborately painted in two and three colors. Copper objects, particularly beads, have been found, although fewer than farther west.

4200–2800 B.C.E.

Funnel-Necked Beaker Cultures: This pottery type is made in northern Germany, in Jutland in Denmark, and on the coasts and islands of the Baltic as native Mesolithic groups take up farming. A characteristic assortment of vessels found in tombs of this culture includes a large beaker with a tall, funnellike neck, a smaller collared flask, and a drinking cup, possibly used to mix ingredients for an alcoholic drink.

A dialectic in tomb making similar to that of the megalith builders to the west takes place in these regions, as descendants of the Linear Pottery peoples, moving north out of the loess lands, make long mounds reminiscent of long houses. In response coastal Baltic peoples make dolmens or *dysser,* long or round mounds curbed with stone.

4000–3000 B.C.E.

Globular Amphora Culture: People of this culture, who live in a region roughly bounded by the Elbe and the Vistula Rivers in central Europe, engage in complex and probably protracted funeral rites. Burial grounds that have been located contain the remains of both people—men, women, and children—and animals, including cattle. Many people are buried with body parts missing; different people are buried together and animal bone is included in human graves. Whole bodies of cattle are buried alone, occasionally accompanied by pieces of human bone. Grave goods include pots and polished flint axes. The burials may suggest rituals involving postponement of the interment of some human remains, which may be carried for a long time by the living, perhaps to be used in rituals of ancestor worship, before their eventual burial. Great feasts accompany burials; other animals are sacrificed and not eaten but rather offered whole. Little indication of social differentiation has been found in these burials, while the treatment of animals suggests both a recognition of the separation of people from animals and a wish to unite with them in consciously enacted rites. Burial grounds are more often found than settlement sites, which can only be recognized by pits and artifacts, not remains of buildings, which perhaps are insubstantial.

after 3500 B.C.E.

Passage Grave Builders: The first colonists on the Orkney Islands of Britain build monumental corbelled stone tombs approached by narrow stone passages, covered with earth mounds and precisely oriented to the winter solstice sunset (such as Maes Howe), as well as large ditched and banked stone circles (such as Brodgar and the Stones of Stenness). In Ireland the massive passage graves of Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth are built.

3500–2500 B.C.E.

In the Aegean area trade links (especially in silver) with the urban cultures of Syria and Mesopotamia lead to a transition from mud brick villages to hilltop stone forts; the earliest level of Troy is built; silver wine cups emulating Anatolian (in Asia Minor) models are made.

In Iberia copper metallurgy and chambered stone burial mounds (which indicate contact with North Africa) are developed.

In southern France, stone cairns are used to cover stone chambers; anthropomorphic menhirs (tall, upright stones) are constructed.

On Malta, major temple complexes with huge representations of female figures (possibly a mother goddess) are developed.

Pit Grave or Kurgan Culture: Beginning in the Carpathian basin and the region north of the Black Sea, spreading to the lower Danube area and along the Danube into northern Bulgaria and eastern Hungary, this culture has male graves in pits covered by wooden beams and topped by a round mound called a kurgan. Cattle are sometimes buried with the men, and sometimes women; occasionally wagon wheels and whole wagons are also included, as well as pottery drinking cups imitating, in their lustrous gray finish and their shape, silver wine-drinking vessels being made at the same time in the Aegean area.

Oxen are being used to pull wagons and plows, which allow the farming of soils not workable before, particularly the dry lands north of the Black Sea. Cultures to the southeast in the northern Caucasus on the periphery of the Near Eastern urban civilizations, which are already using bronze, in interaction with pastoral horse raisers of the steppes north and east, possibly help lead to the Pit Grave culture. The peoples of this region are another conduit into Europe, besides the Aegean area, for Near Eastern innovations such as wool-bearing sheep and two-piece mold metal casting.

3000–2000 B.C.E.

Corded Ware Culture: Beginning in the forested regions of northern Europe just south of the North European Plain, a new cultural pattern appears with characteristics closer to those of steppe cultures to the east. Instead of communal graves, individual graves begin to be constructed. Those of males contain a characteristic set of objects: stone battle-axes and pottery drinking vessels of a shape similar to those of silver wine cups in the contemporary Aegean region and bearing cordlike decorations very similar to those used far to the east, where the cord impressions may have evoked ropes used to control horses. The emphasis on drinking, both in ritual and as a means of forging bonds of loyalty, has begun to filter north, as the shape of burial mounds is introduced from the east, the rounded form perhaps symbolizing the tents of nomadic herding people.

This phenomenon coincides with the culmination of long centuries of forest clearance; there is now enough pastureland available for cattle rearing to become an important activity. This leads to the so-called secondary products revolution in which, for the first time, cattle, sheep, and goats (and possibly horses) begin to be used for more than their meat—for milk, wool, and traction in pulling wheeled wagons and plows.

The pastoral lifestyle leads to a general loosening of social ties, particularly for men, and a new emphasis on the individual, whose social importance is measured by the portable wealth of objects and cattle rather than by land. With the greater mobility and increase of contacts among different groups common allegiance to place becomes less important and is replaced by new ideals—of leadership and hospitality, symbolized by the wine cups in burials, and modes of negotiation supplemented by the threat of force, symbolized by the battle-axes. The village possibly decreases in focal importance in favor of wider networks of villages and homesteads linked by allegiance to a chieftain. This cultural pattern soon spreads over a wide area of central Europe, from Switzerland to Moscow, and south into Greece, and has been called one of the most revolutionary transformations of European prehistory.

(Recent thinking has linked this transformation to the appearance of the ancestor of Indo-European languages. A new language could have emerged as a "trade language," or lingua franca. The derivation of this new language may never be known. Earlier theorists held that it must have reached central Europe from the Asian steppes along with a new way of life, perhaps brought by the Pit Grave people, with their apparent pattern of male dominance, nomadic lifestyle, and patriarchal religious belief, who displaced by force the matriarchal religions of the sedentary tell peoples of the Balkans and Greece. The Indo-European language was seen as synonymous with an ideology of male dominance. But this theory has fallen out of favor. It is no longer clear that the Corded Ware revolution was wholly or even mostly a foreign product. The rituals of hospitality that became important at this time could have derived from the communal world of the tell societies. There is as much evidence of former tell-dwellers moving eastward toward the steppe lands, as they sought grazing for their herds, as of steppe dwellers migrating westward. Far from seeing the abandonment of tells as the collapse of an ideology and sense of community that had developed among their inhabitants, it may be preferable to consider the new, much more mobile and open way of life the fulfillment of the tell ideology, with former tell-dwellers able to maintain their ties with their home communities even while traveling far from them or settling abroad. Membership in a community now may thus include sharing cultural forms and activities—pottery and other art styles, customs and rituals—and no longer necessitate staying at home. If Indo-European languages did emerge as part of the Corded Ware phenomenon, it, too, need not have come from abroad nor represent a complete abandonment of the ways of the past.)

Grooved Ware Culture: People in Wessex, England, construct huge henge monuments, possibly in emulation of the Orkney passage graves, consisting of a circular bank and interior ditch, such as at Avebury, surrounding an inner stone circle; the first construction, consisting of a bank with an exterior ditch, is carried out at Stonehenge. Some henges contain huge timber roundhouses. The 130-foot-high Silbury Hill, a turf-covered earthen mound, is erected at this time. Cursus monuments are built, consisting of pairs of earth walls flanked by ditches extending for miles across the countryside. These constructions may have been made in reaction to incomers who had a Corded Ware lifestyle or to natives who have taken it up. Some hilltop ritual sites show evidence of fortification and of assault by warriors using bows and arrows. The communal labor on henges may be a way of reinforcing traditional social bonds and demonstrating their spiritual power in the face of the new and competing ideology.

3400–2300 B.C.E.

Pit-Comb Ware Culture: This is located in the Ural region extending to Finland and from the White Sea to the Upper Dnieper River and the Middle Volga River basin. It is characterized by pottery with pit decorations, often with comb-shaped motifs, a development of earlier Combed Ware. This style is associated with the arrival of incomers who seem to have a close interaction with natives of the sub-Neolithic Narva culture, with whom they join in gathering and shaping amber for export. Amber is shaped into disks, rounds, and convex beads. Some theorists believe that the Finno-Ugric language group in Finland had its beginnings with this culture rather than at an earlier time.

3000–2800 B.C.E.

The Corded Ware culture is adopted in the southern parts of Finno-Ugrian territory in the northern forest zone, including Finland.

(The survival of the non-Indo-European Finno-Ugric languages in the northern forest zone shows that, unlike most regions of Europe where Indo-European languages come to dominate—possibly spread by Corded Ware users—the arrival of Corded Ware here does not result in a similar language change. However, when Corded Ware arrives in Finland, the fact that it is people in coastal regions who come to use it while those in the interior do not may lead to the language divergence between the two groups, coastal peoples developing the Balto-Finnic branch of Finno-Ugric and interior peoples developing the Saamic branch.)

after 3000 B.C.E.

The use of the plow leads to cultivation on a larger scale; a need for more forest clearance leads to industrial scale flint mining for axes. Horses begin to be used in central Europe.

2500–1800 B.C.E.

Corded Ware and use of stone implements continues in Finno-Ugrian areas.

Bronze Age: 2500–800 B.C.E.

The few sources in Europe for the copper and tin used to make bronze are rare and highly sought; as a result the spread in the use of bronze of necessity is accompanied by the emergence of elites involved in the exchange cycles and long-range trading links that bring both copper and tin into the hands of smiths. Bronze is prestige material at least as important as gold or silver, and it is used to make ornaments as often as weapons or tools. Bronze is quite useless as a material for armor, yet bronze armor is made. Flint continues to be used during this period, notably to make arrowheads.

Early Bronze Age: 3200–1300

3200–1800 B.C.E.

Urban civilizations spread from the Fertile Crescent to Anatolia and Crete and result in the rapid emergence of regional bronze-using cultures in the Balkans, the Danube basin, the Carpathian Mountains, central Germany, and Italy. The Minoan culture emerges on Crete.

(The languages of Greece and the Balkans may have begun to diverge into the Hellenic and Thracian languages from a common Indo-European ancestor during the Early Bronze Age, as the proximity of Greece and the Aegean islands to Near East civilization and Mediterranean trade routes fosters a rapid development of technology and society there, while the Balkans and the Danube region, where

Thracian dialects are spoken in historic times, remain more isolated from these trends.)

2800 B.C.E.

Bell Beaker Culture: This culture expands from its beginnings in the Lower Rhine delta through northwestern coastal Europe to Britain and to southern Iberia, Italy, and Sicily. It represents a spread of the new values of aggressive individualism that began in central Europe with the Corded Ware complex. The characteristic bell-shaped beakers with incised decoration begin as a variant of Corded Ware in the Lower Rhine region; the complex quickly spreads by sea along the Atlantic coasts. Artifacts in burials, covered with a round mound, replace the Corded Ware battle-axes first with stone, then copper, and later bronze daggers; these are accompanied by barbed flint arrowheads and wrist guards of fine stone; bone belt fasteners complete the array. Images of belted warriors on stelae (inscribed standing stones) from the western Alpine region give an idea of the Bell Beaker warrior. Garments of woven wool are first made during this period; since wool can absorb dyes in contrast to the skin and linen used for clothing in the past, colorful clothing becomes another element in the trend toward ostentation and self-definition through appearance and possessions.

Bell beakers have been found with a residue showing they had contained mead flavored with herbs such as meadowsweet (known from pollen) or wild fruits. They seem to point to social rituals of individual hospitality in contrast to the great communal ceremonies that must have taken place in the henges and cursus monuments. The Bell Beaker ideology appears to arrive among the communal societies of the Atlantic coastal regions as a disruptive influence, more a movement of ideas than of whole peoples, though it is carried by the material means of alcohol and of horses. (The first appearance of horse-drawn chariots in these regions must have made as great an impression as the arrival of horses among the tribes of the North American plains.)

The complex may have been adopted by local elites that had emerged earlier under a Corded Ware influence or by people who had lived on the fringes of the closed megalith-building societies of the past. The reaction to the Bell Beaker phenomenon varies from place to place. In Ireland Beaker motifs are used in elaborately worked crescent-shaped gold necklaces (*lunulae*) and other ornaments, but drinking and burial practices are not adopted. In Wessex the first Beaker burials are located far from the henge monuments, as though to form with them a pole of opposing cultural values. The stone alignments such as Carnac in Brittany in France seem to be another response to the Beaker ideology.

Midway during this period the final construction at Stonehenge takes place, seeming to document the struggle between old and new, as the timber and earth henge idea of the past is reinterpreted in stone. Beaker people clearly take part in building the Stonehenge stone circle, as Beaker burials from the time are located close by. In about **2300** B.C.E. a partial circle of bluestones transported from Wales is erected and then dismantled. (There is still disagreement among scholars over whether the bluestones were transported by people, probably by boat, or were already present on Salisbury Plain as glacial erratics—stones deposited by glaciers.)

(In 2002 C.E. a typical Bell Beaker burial was found several miles away from Stonehenge, dating from **2300** B.C.E. Later Beaker burials would be in the immediate vicinity of the monument; thus this burial may document a stage in an ongoing process of rapprochement between Beaker users and henge makers. The inclusion of gold ornaments makes it the earliest Beaker burial representing that extent of wealth yet found in Britain. Analysis of the man's teeth shows that he was from somewhere in the Alpine region, perhaps Switzerland, a sign of the wide-range hegemony of the Beaker culture. Near him is buried a younger man who, judging by a shared skeletal abnormality, may be his son. Analysis of the younger man's teeth shows he was born and raised in Britain.)

The bluestones are erected in their present positions in about **2000** B.C.E. They are used in several temporary constructions during this period, which are hard to date but whose sequence was as follows: (1) a separate setting is made at the same time as the bluestone circle; (2) the separate setting is dismantled and the bluestones are raised into a circle and an oval that are incorporated into the sarsen circle design; and (3) an arc of stones is removed from the oval to create the present horseshoe shape. Again there is a sense that these buildings and rebuildings represent some sort of dynamic interplay of ideas.

The interior passage and communal burial chamber of the nearby West Kennet long barrow, first built in about **3600** B.C.E., are filled to the ceiling with rubble and earth in **1600** B.C.E., as though to close a chapter of cultural history. Whether Stonehenge represents the triumph of the Beaker ideology—social influence based on force and the possession of wealth—or a compromise in which Beaker elites partake of the spiritual power wielded by participants in communal rituals is unclear. (The existence of so influential a priestly class as the Celtic Druids a thousand years later suggests the latter, as does the account of sixth-century B.C.E. Greek geographer Hecateus of Miletus about the priests of the Hyperboreans of Britain worshipping Apollo in a remarkable round temple that may be Stonehenge.)

(An Indo-European language may have arrived on the Italian Peninsula, in Sicily, and elsewhere in the region with users of Bell Beakers beginning in a second wave in about **2500** B.C.E.—after the earlier wave associated with Corded Ware users, who never came to or emerged in this region. This language may have evolved into the Italic languages.)

(Parts of the Iberian Peninsula participated in the Bell Beaker phenomenon; it is possible that the characteristic Beaker weaponry and warrior status first emerged there. If the Beaker trade network brought an Indo-European language to Iberia, it either was never adopted by people there or else disappeared by historic times, because the Iberian language was not Indo-European. It is also possible that the people who built the large fortified centers in Iberia at this time had too robust and complex a society for Indo-European-speaking incomers to influence to any great extent; the evidence is that Beaker users were peacefully absorbed into Iberian society.)

2500–1600 B.C.E.

Balkan and Carpathian Bronze Age Group: Craftsmen here benefit from improved bronze-making techniques from the Caucasus region; the distribution of bronze products from this region leads to the establishment of important long-range trade routes across Europe. The most striking new form being made is a bronze battle-ax with a shaft hole, crafted in a two-piece mold.

2000 B.C.E.

Steppe peoples transfer knowledge of metal working to the copper-rich southern Ural Mountains. In succeeding centuries metal-working technology spreads through the Finno-Ugrian zone.

2000–1800 B.C.E.

Unetice or Bronze-Hoarding Cultures: In central Germany and Denmark massive accumulations of bronze objects are buried in hoards. Some of these hoards may have a sacral aspect in the sense of an offering to the gods; others consist of broken bronze objects and may have been buried by smiths to be melted down and reused.

El Argar Culture: In southern Spain hilltop settlements are built and livestock are reared.

2000–1500 B.C.E.

Peoples ancestral to later Baltic tribes possibly migrate to the Baltic Sea region.

3000–1200 B.C.E.

Minoan and Mycenaean Palace (Aegean) Cultures: Trade with Egypt fuels the emergence of civilization in the Aegean; Linear A script is invented; sailboats replace row galleys.

after 2000 B.C.E.

Horses are now used for pulling chariots in much of Europe.

1800–1300 B.C.E.

Wessex Culture: In Britain, extensive forest clearance promotes cattle rearing on a large scale, leading to the creation of wealthy elites living a warrior elite lifestyle and buried with rich grave goods, including sheet goldwork, amber, and bronze weapons made with the most advanced techniques of the time. The wealth of the Wessex culture may also derive from the importance of the region's rivers as routes for trade between western Britain and the Continent, along which ores important for the making of bronze, particularly tin from Cornwall, are carried by boat to launching points for crossing the English Channel.

Tumulus Cultures: Burials are covered with tumuli (mounds) in northern France and central Germany.

Nordic Bronze Age: Bronze making begins in Denmark and southern Sweden.

Relief-Band and Timber-Grave Cultures: Located northeast of the Black Sea, these cultures represent a continuation of the Pit Grave culture.

Abashevo Culture: Between Don and Volga Rivers, a Finno-Ugrian region, wealthy elites emerge who may engage in raiding on and trading with copper traders traveling through the region from the southern Urals south to east-west trade routes along the central steppe zone. This culture receives influences from steppe peoples, including multiple relief band pottery, decorated bone cheek pieces for horse bridles, and timber graves. Some burials are communal covered with a mound.

Sub-Neolithic Forest Cultures: In Norway, northern Sweden, and Finland farming is still supplemented by foraging and hunting.

1400 B.C.E.

The Mycenaean culture of mainland Greece replaces Minoan civilization as the dominant force in the Aegean as the latter is weakened by a catastrophic volcanic eruption 200 years earlier.

Late Bronze Age: 1300–800 B.C.E.

after 1300 B.C.E.

Through most of Europe there is a change from burial of the dead to cremation and deposition of ashes underground in urns; this has been called the Urnfield period.

In a central zone of temperate Europe from France to Poland a trend develops toward fortification, with hilltop forts and palisaded stockades.

There is a dramatic increase in the amounts of metal objects produced and in their complexity. Enormous hoards of metal objects from this period have been unearthed, displaying great progress in the skill of smiths. Multiple-piece rather than the simpler two-piece molds of earlier times are being used to form molten metal, allowing a greater variety of shapes. Sheet-metal working begins during this period, and bronze armor is made: cuirasses, greaves, helmets, and shields, shaped and elaborately embossed by using hammers of various sizes. Such armor is useless for actual defense; experiment has shown that it can easily be penetrated by blows from a bronze sword. Its main purpose then must be decorative and/or ritualistic. The lost-wax method becomes important; in this method wax is shaped into the desired form and encased in clay, which is fired in a kiln, causing the wax to melt away, leaving a mold without seams. The ease with which wax can be worked enables smiths to create much finer and more subtle forms with more intricate detailing. These new techniques both enable and inspire smiths to endow even the most utilitarian objects, such as axheads, cauldrons, rivets, and buckles, with beautiful decoration and form.

The great increase in the volume of bronze being made implies a well-established, long-range trading network because the sources of copper were widely dispersed (Ireland, the Alps, Carpathians, and Balkans), as are the probable sources of tin (Cornwall, Brittany, and parts of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and Italy).

Many new domestic plants are adopted, including millet, legumes such as Celtic beans, and oil-bearing plants such as flax and poppy; there is greater specialization in different regions as to the predominant domestic animal, whether cattle, pigs, or sheep and goats. More systematic methods of herding horses are adopted as they become more widely used as prestige animals to carry warriors in battle; large ranches or estates replace the small fields of the past.

The adoption of cremation may indicate a different belief system concerning death and the body. Images of birds, often associated with wheeled carts, become important.

The Phoenicians establish trade routes throughout the Mediterranean region.

Armies of warriors called Sea Peoples carry out attacks from the sea. (Knowledge of them is based on Egyptian written sources. The Sea Peoples may have been groups of seaborne raiders who preyed on the lucrative trade routes of the Mycenaeans and Phoenicians; opposition to them on the part of the Mycenaeans may have caused them, in retaliation, to join forces into actual armies; they may have been joined by warrior bands from the north, the source of northern-style weapons that have been found from this period.)

c. 1200 B.C.E.

Aegean civilization collapses, possibly as a result of invasions, earthquakes, a massive drought, or a systems collapse caused by internal socioeconomic problems.

Northern forms of swords, spears, armor, ornaments, and other artifacts, such as statuettes of warriors with horned helmets, appear in the Mediterranean region, possibly by means of indigenous peoples' copying of styles, possibly introduced by outsiders such as war bands from the north.

(Evidence of technology transfer between the Thracian Balkans and Greek Mycenaean society during the Bronze Age suggests that Thracian-speaking peoples were coming into the Mycenaean sphere; Minoan-Mycenaean double axes have been found in the north, although they seem to have been used there as tools rather than in ritual. Hordes of forged and hammered sheet bronzework have been found in the Balkans dating to the time Mycenaean civilization was disintegrating, evidence that Thracian-speaking warriors played a part in this.)

1200–800 B.C.E.

Peoples in present-day Greece undergo a "Dark Age" after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization; many migrate to Asia Minor and the western Mediterranean. New groups possibly migrate to Greece, probably including those referred to as Dorians by later Greeks.

c. 1050 B.C.E.

Widespread use of iron in Greece begins (thought to have been spurred by the disruption in the Mycenaean bronze trade network, iron replacing bronze).

c. 1000 B.C.E.

A culture archaeologically recognizable as ancestral to that of people known in historic times as Illyrians is established in the western Balkans.

c. 1000–900 B.C.E.

The Ionians of Greece begin to unite in confederacies, probably in the context of the collapse of Mycenaean civilization as different groups ally with one another in the face of the ensuing disruption of the Dark Ages. Greek refugees migrate across the Aegean to Anatolia from Attica and other central Greek territories.

Iron Age: 1000 B.C.E.–1200 C.E.

The transition to the Iron Age happens slowly and incrementally and earliest in Greece (around 1050), although iron is far more readily available than the copper and tin needed for bronze; iron is found throughout most of Europe. The melting point of iron is only slightly higher than that of copper, and bronze-working techniques are used at first in working iron. Recent research has raised the possibility that iron does not directly replace bronze at the end of the Bronze Age, but rather takes over the roles of flint, which had continued in use during the Bronze Age because of its superior hardness and cutting ability.

The Iron Age ends at different dates in different regions. Its end is often defined politically and socially rather than in terms of iron use, which of course has continued to the present. In Britain the Iron Age has usually been considered to end with the Roman conquest in **42** C.E., as the Iron Age culture of the Celts is radically modified by the Romans into a culture with true cities and a high level of civilization. This process occurs earlier in Gaul during the **first century** B.C.E. In Scandinavia the end date is often given as around **1200** C.E., when Christianity becomes a dominant force and the tribal societies of the Viking Iron Age give way to a medieval feudal society of powerful Christian kings and important urban centers emerge. For the Germanic tribes that destroy the Roman Empire, their conversion to Christianity during the ensuing centuries aids their transition from a tribal to a politically more advanced society.

1000–800 B.C.E.

Hallstatt Culture: This culture is named for the Austrian Alpine village of Hallstatt, where salt mining begins around **1000**. Salt mines are dug in other locations in the region, such as Hallein. Hallstatt people bury their dead in large cemeteries; near Hallstatt itself is a cemetery that by the Iron Age contains 2,000 graves; some are richly furnished with trade goods from distant locations; some contain bronze models of cult wagons carrying birds and other animals such as stags, as well as worshippers and in one case a tall, slender goddess. Hill forts, walled hilltop settlements, and other defensive structures guarded by timber palisades are characteristic, because warfare is common. The chief weapon is the sword, and warriors carry bronze shields and wear bronze armor for display; actual armor is probably of leather or wood. The Hallstatt culture continues into the Iron Age and may be a part of the Celtic cultural complex. Its characteristic elements have been found over a wide area of central temperate Europe from the British Isles and France to Poland.

(The Indo-European languages of central and western Europe may have begun the basic differentiation into the Celtic and Germanic language families in association with many changes in society and culture that occurred mostly in the region which would later be part of the Celtic world, the central temperate zone. This area increasingly feels the impact of proximity to the Mediterranean world with trade goods and influences leading to ever greater stratification and complexity of society and the development of town-like hill forts and then *oppida*, while people in the later Germanic lands of the north European plain and Scandinavia continued to live a far simpler tribal life based on villages and characterized by much less social stratification.)

after 800 B.C.E.

Horses are first ridden in eastern and central Europe.

PART TWO: HISTORIC PERIOD

c. ninth–eighth century B.C.E.

The Greek epics the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* emerge and are credited to Homer; various tribal names are cited, such as Achaeans, Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians.

c. late ninth–mid-eighth centuries B.C.E.

Phoenicians found the city of Carthage in North Africa.

c. 800 B.C.E.

Greeks begin to colonize Sicily.

c. eighth century B.C.E.

The disorders of the Dark Ages come to an end and the Greeks begin to found city-states; they rediscover writing, using the Phoenician alphabet.

Phoenicians establish trading colonies among the Iberians of the coastal Iberian Peninsula.

Etruscans expand their trade routes southward on the Italian peninsula.

The Scythians reach Europe from the Asian steppes, arriving in the territory of the Cimmerians.

eighth–fifth century B.C.E.

The Archaic Age occurs in Greece.

eighth century B.C.E.

The Olympic Games held at Olympia, the Pythian games at Delphi, the Nemean games at Nemea, and the Isthmian games at Corinth have major importance.

772 B.C.E.

The Assyrians conquer the kingdom of Israel.

753 B.C.E.

According to legend Rome is founded by Latins and Sabines.

c. 750 B.C.E.

The Etruscans form a loose confederation of city-states.

736–716 B.C.E.

Spartans capture Messenia (southwestern Greece).

733 B.C.E.

Greeks from Corinth found Syracuse on Sicily.

c. 720–714 B.C.E.

The Cimmerians invade Asia Minor.

seventh or sixth century B.C.E.

Celtic tribes migrate to the Iberian Peninsula.

660 B.C.E.

Greeks found Byzantium (on the site of later Constantinople); it serves as a trading center with the Thracians and Scythians.

c. 630 B.C.E.

Greeks establish trading colonies among the Iberians.

621 or 620 B.C.E.

Exceptionally severe laws called the Draconian Code are implemented in Athens; the death penalty is specified for every manner of crime; although these are not the first rules of law written and implemented, they are thought to be the first codes comprehensively recorded.

late seventh century B.C.E.

Greeks found coastal cities among the Illyrians of the eastern Adriatic coast.

600 B.C.E.

Greeks found the trading center of Massalia (modern Marseilles) among the Celts of southern France.

sixth century B.C.E.

Greeks extend their trade to the Black Sea region, having contacts with Caucasians.

Rome emerges as a city-state under Etruscan influence.

586 B.C.E.

The Babylonians out of Mesopotamia conquer Judah and destroy the Temple at Jerusalem, beginning the 50-year-long period of their rule, known as the Babylonian Captivity, in which many Jewish leaders are exiled; this and the subsequent scattering of the Jews, many of them to Europe, becomes known as the Diaspora.

c. 509

The Romans adopt a republican form of government.

490–479

The Persian Wars are fought between allied Greek city-states and Persia.

fifth century B.C.E.

The Etruscans established trade routes across the Alps in the Rhine-Moselle region.

c. 493 B.C.E.

The Romans sign a treaty with the Latin League.

480–323 B.C.E.

The period designated as the Classical Age occurs in Greece.

c. 478 B.C.E.

The first Delian League is founded by Athens and Ionian city-states in Asia Minor.

460 B.C.E.

Pericles gains rule of Athens; his period of power, with economic and cultural flourishing among Athens and other city-states of the Delian League, lasts until his death in **429 B.C.E.**

mid-fifth century B.C.E.

Carthaginian Himilco explores Atlantic coast of Europe.

c. 443 B.C.E.

Greek historian Herodotus begins work on his *History* describing the geography of the known world in Europe, Asia, and Africa, including information on peoples and cultures.

431–404 B.C.E.

Athens and Sparta fight the Peloponnesian War, with Sparta victorious.

409 B.C.E.

The Carthaginians gain a foothold in Sicily.

c. late fifth century B.C.E.

The Carthaginians establish trading contacts with the Iberians.

c. late fifth–early fourth centuries B.C.E.

Celtic tribes cross the Alps into northern Italy and occupy territory, especially along the Po Valley.

c. fourth century B.C.E.

The Sarmatians arrive on Scythian territory in the Caucasus.

390 or 387 B.C.E.

Celts besiege Rome and lay waste to the surrounding countryside.

358 B.C.E.

The Macedonians under Philip II campaign against the Illyrians.

The Latin League is reorganized under Roman leadership.

343–341 B. C.E.

The Romans drive back the Samnites in the First Samnite War.

341 B.C.E.

Italic tribes of the Latin League revolt against the Romans, who dissolve the league in **338 B.C.E.**

338 B.C.E.

The Macedonians under Philip II defeat allied Greek city-states.

336–335 B.C.E.

The Macedonians under Alexander III (the Great) consolidate rule in Illyria and Greece; Alexander receives a delegation of Celts.

332 B.C.E.

Alexander the Great founds the city of Alexandria in North Africa; in **333 B.C.E.** he defeats the Persian King Darius I.

326–304 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the Samnites and their allies in the Second Samnite War, but sporadic resistance follows.

c. 325 B.C.E.

Greek scholar and navigator Pytheas sails through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Atlantic Ocean and explores coastal Europe, including the British Isles.

312–264 B.C.E.

The most important of the Roman roads, the Appian Way, is constructed enabling easy access through Italic lands.

third century B.C.E.

Celts migrate to Asia Minor.

The Romans conquer Gallia Cisalpina.

298–295 B.C.E.

The Romans fight the Samnites and their allies in the Third Samnite War, gaining final victory at Sentinum in **295** B.C.E.

279 B.C.E.

The Galatoi (Celts) invade the Balkan Peninsula.

264–241 B.C.E.

The Romans and Carthaginians fight the First Punic War; Carthage is forced to give up holdings in Sicily.

238 B.C.E.

The Romans annex Sardinia.

237 B.C.E.

The Carthaginians occupy part of the Iberian Peninsula; in **227** B.C.E. they found New Carthage (Cartagena).

218–201 B.C.E.

The Romans and Carthaginians fight the Second Punic War; in **218** B.C.E. Carthaginian general Hannibal leads an army from Spain over the Alps into Italy; in **202** B.C.E. Hannibal suffers a major defeat at Zama in North Africa; Carthage is forced to give up territory in Spain.

215–205 B.C.E.

The Macedonians defeat the Romans in the First Macedonian War.

200–197 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the Macedonians in the Second Macedonian War.

197 B.C.E.

The Romans establish colonies on the Iberian Peninsula.

195–190 B.C.E.

The Lusitani revolt against the Romans on the Iberian Peninsula; other revolts occurs in **154–150** B.C.E. and **147–139** B.C.E.

171–168 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the Macedonians in the Third Macedonian War.

168–167 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the Illyrians and capture Scodra.

167 B.C.E.

The Jews under the Maccabees revolt against Greek rule over Judah.

149–148 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the Macedonians in the Fourth Macedonian War; Macedonia becomes a province of Rome in **146** B.C.E.

149–146 B.C.E.

The Romans and Carthaginians fight the Third Punic War; in **146** B.C.E. the Romans sack Carthage.

133 B.C.E.

The Romans begin to conquer Greek city-states.

102–101 B.C.E.

The Teutones and Cimbri, migrating Germanic tribes from northern Europe, are defeated by the Romans under Gaius Marius in southern France.

90–88 B.C.E.

Italic tribes seek equality with the Romans in the Social War, in **90–87** B.C.E. various tribes are granted Roman citizenship.

86 B.C.E.

Athens is sacked by the Romans under Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

80–73 B.C.E.

The Lusitani revolt against the Romans under the Roman expatriate Quintus Sertorius; they are pacified by troops under Julius Caesar in **61** B.C.E.

73–71 B.C.E.

Spartacus, a Thracian, leads a slave revolt against the Romans in the Gladiatorial War; despite early victories it ends in defeat.

c. 71 B.C.E.

The Suebi and other Germanic tribes under Ariovistus cross the Rhine and attack the Celtic Aedui; they are defeated by the Romans under Julius Caesar in **58** B.C.E.

67 B.C.E.

The Romans annex the island of Crete.

63 B.C.E.

The Romans under Pompey conquer Judah and established the province of Palestine, with Judea as the southern division.

c. 60 B.C.E.

The Dacians under Burebista begin expansion from west of the Black Sea into Hungary and defeat Celtic tribes, the Boii, Scordisci, and Taurisci.

58 B.C.E.

The Helvetii, a Celtic tribe out of Switzerland, attempt to migrate to France until driven back by the Romans under Julius Caesar.

57–56 B.C.E.

The Romans under Julius Caesar battle Celtic tribes of northern and western Gaul.

55–53 B.C.E.

Julius Caesar leads a Roman force across the Rhine into territory of Germanic tribes; he leads two military expeditions to Britain,

encountering tribes of Britons; he pacifies the Celtic tribes of northern Gaul.

52 B.C.E.

Vercingetorix of the Arverni leads united tribes of Gauls in a revolt against the Romans; it is suppressed by Julius Caesar.

50 B.C.E.

The Romans pacify the last resisting Gauls; in 49 B.C.E. Julius Caesar confers Roman citizenship on pacified inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpina.

48 B.C.E.

Julius Caesar defeats Pompey at Pharsala, becoming master of Rome and ending the republic; he is assassinated in 44 B.C.E.

35–33 B.C.E.

The Romans defeat the southern Illyrians.

29 B.C.E.

The Romans build a new city at Carthage.

The Romans defeat the Bastarnae, the easternmost of the Germanic tribes.

27 B.C.E.

Augustus becomes, in effect, emperor of Rome and reorganizes Gaul into three provinces—Gallia Belgica, Galli Lugdunensis (Gallia Celtica), and Gallia Aquitania—based on Julius Caesar's classifications of tribes.

19 B.C.E.

The Celtiberians, after a two-century-long sporadic resistance against Roman occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, are pacified.

17 B.C.E.

The Romans establish trade contacts with the Caucasians.

12–7 B.C.E.

The Romans take control of Germanic territory east of the Rhine.

6–9 C.E.

The Romans suppress an Illyrian revolt and found Illyricum.

9 C.E.

The Cherusci, Chauci, and Marci—Germanic tribes allied under Arminius—defeat the Romans at Teutoburger Wald, forcing the Roman frontier back from the Elbe to the Rhine.

16 C.E.

The Romans under Tiberius stop campaining across the Rhine, establishing the river as the empire's northeastern bounary.

17 C.E.

The Cherusci defeat the Marcomanni.

c. 23 C.E.

Greek scholar Strabo completes his 17-volume *Geography,* describing the known world, including information on peoples and cultures.

43 C.E.

A Roman army under Emperor Claudius I invades Britain; in 48 C.E. the Romans invade Wales; in 50 C.E. they found Londinium (London).

51 C.E.

Caractacus of the Catuvellauni, a tribe of Britons, leads an unsuccessful resistance against the Romans in Britain; he seeks refuge with the Brigantes, but their queen, Cartimandua, turns him over to the Romans.

52 C.E.

The Silures defeat a Roman legion.

60–61 C.E.

Queen Boudicca of the Iceni, a tribe of Britons, leads an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans in Britain.

69–70 C.E.

A Roman cohort of Batavi with fellow Germanics from among the Sugambri mount an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans.

77 C.E.

Roman scholar Pliny the Elder publishes the encyclopedia *Historia Naturalis* (*Natural History*).

79 C.E.

The Italian city of Pompeii is destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius.

79–85 C.E.

Roman general Gnaeus Julius Agricola campaigns in Scotland, defeating northern tribes known to the Romans as Caledonians at Mons Graupius in 84 B.C.E.

c. 98 C.E.

Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus publishes two works: *De Vita Iulii Agricolae* (Life of Agricola) and *De origine et situ Germanorum* (Concerning the origin and location of the Germans) about Germanics and other peoples, such as the Fenni, probably Finno-Ugrians, and Aestii, probably Balts; and *De Vita Iulii Agricolae* (Life of Agricola) about his father-in-law, Gnaeus Julius Agricola.

98–117 C.E.

The Roman Empire reaches its greatest extent under Trajan.

101–106 C.E.

The Romans campaign against the Dacians in the First Dacian Wars and Second Dacian Wars; in 107 the Romans create the province of Dacia.

122 C.E.

Roman emperor Hadrian tours Britain and orders the building of Hadrian's Wall.

127–147 C.E.

Alexandrian historian Ptolemy publishes the eight-volume *Geographia,* identifying European peoples.

142 C.E.

The Romans build the Antonine Wall in Britain north of Hadrian's Wall, the northernmost extent of the empire.

166–180 C.E.

The Romans drive back the Germanic Marcomanni, Quadi, and other allies from the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia in the Marcomannic Wars.

238

The Gothic confederacy begins raiding the lower Danube region.

mid-third century

The Franks live as two distinct groups, Ripuarian Franks and Salian Franks, along the Rhine River.

c. 250–280

Germanic tribes carry out attacks on the Roman Empire from across the Rhine-Danube frontier.

260

Incursions by the Germanic confederacy known as the Alamanni cause the Romans to abandon the frontier system along the Rhine and Danube Rivers.

260–273

Inhabitants of Gaul, Spain, and Britain form a Gallic empire independent from Rome.

267–268

The Goths plunder Athens; in **269** they are defeated by the Romans.

271

The Romans abandon the province of Dacia, probably leaving Latin-speaking peoples behind.

273

Emperor Aurelian reclaims Gaul for Rome.

275

The Alamanni, Goths, and Vandals overrun part of the Roman province of Dacia, defeating the Sarmatians.

278

The Burgundii move across the Danube but are repulsed by Roman forces.

c. 290

The Goths separate into groups that evolve into the Ostrogoths and Visigoths.

fourth century

Irish Celts, such as the Dál Riata, migrate to Scotland and battle for territory with the Picts.

313

Roman emperor Constantine I issues the Edict of Milan, tolerating Christianity within the Roman Empire.

330

Constantine I changes the name of Byzantium to Constantinople (modern Istanbul), the new capital of the Roman Empire.

332

The Visigoths sign a formal treaty with the Romans, agreeing to stay out of Greece.

370s

The Huns out of central Asia accompanied by Bulgars reach the Black Sea, beginning the conquest and displacement of various European peoples, including the Goths and Alans; the Ostrogoths and Heruli become their principal allies.

378

Roman emperor Valens is killed by the Visigoths and allied Alans at the Battle of Adrianople (modern Edirne, Turkey).

395

The Roman Empire is divided into the Eastern Roman and Western Roman territories under two emperors.

406

The Vandals, Suebi, and Alans cross the Rhine in an invasion of Roman Gaul; in **409** they invade the Iberian Peninsula.

410

The Visigoths under Alaric sack Rome.

Roman troops and government officials withdraw from Britain.

412–414

The Visigoths under Ataulf are granted territory in Roman Gaul; from there they expand into Spain.

413

The Burgundii create a kingdom along the Rhine River with a capital at Worms, the first Germanic kingdom within the old Roman imperial frontier; in **443** they establish a second kingdom along the Rhône River, with a capital at Geneva.

429

The Vandals under Gaiseric, under pressure from the Visigoths, enter North Africa from Spain; by **439** they seize Carthage from Roman control; in 440 they mount an invasion of Sicily.

433

St. Patrick begins preaching in Ireland.

434

Attila and his brother Bleda come to power among the Huns; **c. 445** Attila becomes sole ruler.

440–446

The Huns carry out raids in the Balkans.

443

The Alamanni settle in Alsace, soon seizing territory in Switzerland.

fifth–sixth centuries

The Angles, Frisians, Jutes, and Saxons—Germanic tribes out of northern Europe—occupy parts of Britain; the kingdom Kent, founded by the Jutes, rises to dominance in the late sixth century.

451

The Huns and allied tribes under Attila invade Roman Gaul; they are defeated by allied Romans and Visigoths in the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains south of modern Châlons-sur-Marne in northeastern France.

453

Attila the Hun dies; in **455** his sons are defeated by allied Germanic tribes; the Hunnic Empire breaks up as the Huns disperse.

455

The Vandals and allied Alans under Gaiseric sack Rome.

460

The Bulgars settle northwest of the Black Sea.

469

The Ostrogoths defeat the Sciri.

476

The Sciri, Heruli, and Rugii, Germanic tribes led by Odoacer, capture Ravenna, the capital of the Western Roman Empire, causing the deposition of the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustus. (This date is cited as the beginning of the Middle Ages.)

486

The Franks under Clovis I capture the last Roman outposts in Gaul.

487

The Heruli and Sciri defeat the Rugii.

488–489

The Ostrogoths under Theodoric defeat the Gepids as well as the Sciri and allied tribes under Odoacer; in **493** after a period of joint rule of Italy with Odoacer, Theodoric assassinates Odoacer to become sole ruler.

496

The Franks under Clovis I defeat the Alamanni; Clovis I converts to Christianity about this time.

c. late fifth century

Slavic peoples possibly are living on the northeastern flank of the Carpathian Mountains.

c. 500

The Komi, a Finnic people of eastern Europe, split into various groups, some migrating away from the Kama River.

507

The Franks under Clovis I defeat the Visigoths.

508

The Lombards defeat the Heruli; the Heruli disperse.

c. 518

Allied Britons defeat the Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Mons Badonicus in Britain (according to possibly mythical accounts).

520–550s

Slavs from the north bank of the lower Danube carry out raids into Byzantine territory to the south.

531–534

The Franks defeat the Thuringi and the Burgundii.

533–553

Justinian I wages war against the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths, expanding the Byzantine Empire (Eastern Roman Empire) to its greatest extent, including Carthage in North Africa; the Byzantines regain control of Italy in **552**.

c. 540

Roman statesman Cassiodorus writes *Historia Gothica* (History of the Goths); the original manuscript is lost but Jordanes's abridgment of it, published in **551**, *De origine actibusque Getarum* (also known as *Getica*), survives.

mid to late sixth century

Slavic tribes reach Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland

The Anglo-Saxons begin to establish kingdoms in Britain.

559–561

The Avars, originally out of Asia, reach the lower Danube; they disperse the Bulgars; by the **late sixth century** the Avar Empire is at its height.

567

The Lombards and Avars, with the complicity of the Byzantines, defeat the Gepids.

568

The Lombards under Alboin invade Italy; in **572** Alboin founds Lombardy.

570–602

Avars and Slavs attack coastal towns on the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black Seas, until driven back temporarily by the Byzantines; the Slavs settle the Balkans in the seventh century.

590–604

Pope Gregory I reforms the Catholic Church.

597

St. Columba converts Pictish king Brude to Christianity; St. Augustine converts Anglo-Saxon king Aethelberht, and the church of Canterbury is founded.

seventh century

Arabs take all of Byzantine Africa and much of eastern territory.

605

The Byzantines cede Lombards much territory in northern Italy.

623

Frankish merchant Samo leads the Slavs in a successful revolt against the Avars on the middle Danube and creates a kingdom, staying in power until **658**.

626

The Avars attack Constantinople and are repelled.

679

The Western Bulgars come to power in Bulgaria, the start of the First Bulgarian Empire; in **680** they overrun Slavic lands in the Balkans; in **681**, they defeat the Byzantines, preserving their territory.

685

The Picts of Scotland defeat an army of Anglo-Saxons from Northumbria.

The Khazars drive the Arabs from the northern Caucasus region.

698

Arab forces seize control of Carthage.

eighth century

The Khazars are dominant in western Russia and Ukraine.

The Picts attain their height of power.

eighth–ninth centuries

Various Caucasic and Turkic peoples of the Caucasus region adopt Islam.

711

The Moors (Arabs and Berbers) under Tarik ibn Ziyad invade the Iberian Peninsula and defeat the Visigoths.

720s

The Carantanians founded a state known as Carantania or Karantania; it is conquered by the Franks in 787.

731

Anglo-Saxon historian the Venerable Bede publishes *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*).

732

The Franks under Charles Martel defeat the Moors at Tours in southern France, pushing them back into Spain; Charles Martel becomes secular leader of Christendom in the West.

737

Itil on the lower Volga becomes the capital of the Khazars.

751

Pepin III deposes Childeric III, the last Merovingian ruler, and becomes the first king of the Carolingian Franks.

772–804

The Franks under Charlemagne wage campaigns against the Saxons.

773–774

Charlemagne defeats the Lombards in Italy; Charlemagne is crowned king of the Lombards.

778

Charlemagne invades Muslim Spain, capturing Barcelona.

785

The Franks under Charlemagne defeat the Frisians.

790s

Vikings out of Scandinavia raid Scotland, Ireland, and France.

796–805

The Franks under Charlemagne campaign against and defeat the Avars.

ninth century

Tribes in the Baltic region—Balts and Finno-Ugrians—coalesce into groups that become part of the historic record.

Rascia, the first Serbian state, is formed in the mountains of Bosnia.

800

Charlemagne of the Franks is crowned emperor of the West, an event that is claimed as the birth of the Holy Roman Empire.

800–950

Groups known as Domba, ancestors of the Rroma (Gypsies) migrate from northern India westward.

804

The Franks under Charlemagne defeat the mainland Saxons.

830

Magyar and Khazar clans unite into a tribal confederation.

843

Kenneth I MacAlpin, king of the Scots, creates the kingdom of Alba, which includes the Picts (Alba evolves into Scotland).

The Treaty of Verdun partitions the Frankish Empire among Charlemagne's three grandsons as three kingdoms.

858

Vikings sail through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean Sea.

c. mid-ninth century

Novgorod, an important trading center, is founded probably by Viking traders.

863

Cyril and Methodius, Eastern Orthodox Christian missionaries, travel to Moravia to convert the population.

860s

The Vikings settle in the Faeroe Islands from where they expand overseas.

865

Boris I of the Western Bulgars converts to Christianity.

c. 870

Moravia is recognized as an independent kingdom by the Franks.

c. 870–c. 930

The Vikings colonize Iceland.

871

Alfred assumes the Wessex throne; in the next years, he successfully defends England against Danish armies, defeating them, at Edington in 878, creating the *danelaw* in 880 (Danish territory in England), and recapturing London from them in 886.

c. 876–879

Several provinces ruled by Croats unite to form a state.

877

The Duchy of Burgundy is founded.

882

Kiev, ruled by the Rus, becomes the capital of the principality of Kievan Rus, united with Novgorod.

c. 895

The Magyars under Árpád settle in Hungary.

late ninth century

Harold I Fairhair unites much of Norway.

10th century

The Pechenegs control territory north of the Black Sea in Ukraine and Russia.

c. 906–907

The Magyars defeat the Moravians; the state of Moravia is dissolved; freed of Moravian dominance, the Bohemian state rises to power.

907

Oleg of the Rus leads an alliance of Eastern Slavic tribes in an unsuccessful attack on Constantinople.

911

Rollo of the Vikings founds Normandy; a lineage of Normans is started.

912

Vikings are recorded as having reached the Caspian Sea by way of eastern Europe.

922

The Eastern Bulgars convert to Islam and found a state.

925

King Tomislav is crowned first king of Croatia by decree of the Roman Catholic Church.

930

The Althing, an annual parliament, is established in Iceland; the Republic of Iceland forms.

955

German forces under King Otto I defeat the Magyars on the Lechfeld.

962

Otto I of Germany is crowned emperor (of what is to become known as the Holy Roman Empire) by Pope John XII, in effect becoming the first Holy Roman Emperor.

963

Luxembourg is founded as an independent entity.

965

The Rus defeat the Khazars.

966

Mieszko I of the Polanians is christened Catholic; during this period he campaigns against and gains hegemony over other Slavic tribes in the Oder-Vistula region.

968

The Pechenegs attack Constantinople and are repelled.

980–1015

Vladimir I establishes dynastic seniority of his clan over all the territories of the Rus and spreads Eastern Orthodoxy.

11th century

Albanians migrate southward into Greece, where they become known as Arvanites; others end up in Greek territory because of changing boundaries; migrations continue over the centuries.

1000

Stephen I is anointed first king of Hungary.

Boleslaw I is anointed first king of Poland.

Rroma are recorded as living in Persia, Turkey, and Greece.

1018

The weakened Bulgarian Empire is annexed by the Byzantines.

1018–1035

The Danish king Canute the Great rules a kingdom that includes Denmark, Norway, Southern Sweden, and England.

1036

The Rus defeat the Pechenegs.

1054

The Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) breaks with the Roman Catholic Church.

1057

Gruffudd ap Llwelyn unites the kingdoms of Wales.

1064

The Cumans defeat the Pechenegs.

1066

The Normans defeat the Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Hastings; William I the Conqueror is crowned king of England.

1086

The *Domesday Book,* a report on the Norman's economy, is published.

1096–1099

The First Crusade to the Near East is undertaken by Christian forces, culminating in the capture of Jerusalem from the Seljuk Turks.

12th century

The Kipchaks are dominant on the eastern European steppes and in the northern Caucasus.

1130

Roger II of the Normans creates the kingdom of Sicily, which includes Sicily as well as Norman possessions in southern Italy.

1139

Portugal becomes independent from Castile and León; Alfonso Henriques proclaims himself Alfonso I, the first king of Portugal.

1147–1149

The Second Crusade to the Near East is undertaken.

1160

Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, defeats Slavic tribes in northern Germany near the Baltic Sea, after which German settlers and missionaries settle the region.

c. 1167

Stephen Nemanja founds the Nemanjic dynasty in Serbia.

1185–1186

The Western Bulgars revolt against the Byzantines and create the Second Bulgarian Empire.

1189–1192

The Third Crusade to the Near East is undertaken.

1198

The first crusade to the Baltic region is sanctioned; in **1202** Bishop Albert von Buxhoevden establishes the military and religious order Brothers of the Sword to Christianize Baltic lands.

1201

The Germans found the city of Riga in Latvia.

1202

The French defeat the Normans and gain control of Normandy.

1204

Crusaders sack Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, the occupiers found the Latin Empire of Constantinople.

1215

King John of England signs the Magna Carta, establishing the concept that royal power is not absolute.

1236–1238

Mindaugas begins uniting the Lithuanian tribes, including the Lithuanians and Samogitians.

1237

The Mongols defeat the Kipchaks and eastern Bulgars; in **1239** the Kipchak confederation collapses.

Two German military and religious orders active in the Baltic region to convert pagan peoples of the region—the Brothers of the Sword and the Teutonic Knights—unite, becoming known as the Livonian Order of Teutonic Knights.

1238

The Mongols capture Moscow; in **1240** they capture Kiev; in 1241 they invade Poland.

1243

The Mongols and subject Tatars found the Kipchak khanate in eastern Russia.

1245

The Cumans, a branch of the Kipchaks, settle in Hungary.

1260

The Mongol Empire is divided into four khanates.

1261

The Byzantines retake Constantinople.

1262

The king of Norway is recognized as the ruler of Iceland.

1278

Rudolf I of Hapsburg conquers Austria; the Hapsburg dynasty remains powerful until **1918.**

1290

Osman I proclaims Ottoman Turk independence from the Seljuk Turks and begins a period of expansion.

1288–1391

Jews are expelled from Naples, England, France, and Spain.

1291

The Crusades end with a rout of Christian forces by Muslims at Jerusalem.

Three Forest Cantons—Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden—sign a treaty of mutual defense, forming the Swiss Confederation; other cantons join the confederation in later centuries.

1297

Monaco is settled by the Genoese family known as Grimaldi and becomes a state.

1310

Radu Negru founds the principality of Walachia in southern Romania under the control of the Hungarians.

1347–1351

The Black Death (bubonic plague) ravages Europe, with subsequent outbreaks.

1381

Commoners rebel in England in the Peasants' Revolt.

1389

The kingdom of Montenegro, southwest of Serbia on the Adriatic Sea, is founded when Serbs, defeated by the Ottoman Turks, hide out.

1391–1395

The Turks and Turkic-speaking Mongols under Tamerlane (Timur) invade western Russia and defeat the Mongol Golden Horde and subject peoples.

1397

Queen Margaret I unites Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in the Union of Kalmar; the union is dissolved in **1523.**

1400–1416

Owain Glyndyr leads a revolt against the English in Wales.

1410

A Lithuanian-Polish army defeats the Teutonic Knights at Tannenburg.

1415

Jan Huss, an anti-Catholic reformer of Bohemia, is burned at the stake for heresy; in **1420–34** fighting occurs between his followers and the Holy Roman Empire, known as the Hussite wars.

1429

Joan of Arc leads a French force in relief of Orléans under siege by the English.

1431

The Russians defeat the Eastern Bulgars.

1440s

The Kipchak khanate breaks up into four independent Tatar khanates.

1444

Albanian chieftains are united under Skanderberg (George Kastrioti).

1453

Constantinople falls to the Ottoman Turks, ending Byzantine rule; the Turks rename the city Istanbul.

France defeats England, ending what is known as the Hundred Years' War; the English are driven from France.

1455–1485

England experiences a civil war known as the War of the Roses, brought to an end by Henry Tudor, who as Henry VII founds the Tudor dynasty.

1466

East Prussia is ceded to Poland.

1471

Switzerland becomes the first nation-state to pass anti-Rroma laws; other nations follow suit over the centuries.

1478

The Spanish Inquisition is started by Ferdinand II and Isabella to punish heresy.

The Grand Principality of Muscovy destroys the Principality of Novgorod and divides it into five parts.

The Crimean khanate becomes a vassal state of the Ottoman Turks.

1479

Spain unites under Ferdinand II and Isabella I.

1480

Ivan III of Moscow defeats the Tatars.

1492

The Moors are defeated at Granada; Moorish power ends in Spain; remaining Jews are expelled from Spain along with many of the Moors; the Rroma are also subject to persecution.

The Italian Christopher Columbus, exploring for Spain, lands in America.

1494

France and the Holy Roman Empire compete to control Italy.

16th century

Russian Slavs expand southward onto Tatar lands.

1504

The Rroma are expelled from France; in 1530 they are expelled from England.

1516–1546

Barbarossa, a Muslim (called a Saracen by some Europeans), leads raids out of North Africa on Mediterranean coastal cities as well as on European ships in the Atlantic Ocean.

1517

Martin Luther posts his Ninety-five Theses, the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

1519

Charles I of Spain becomes Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor; in 1527 Charles takes control of Rome, Milan, and Sicily; in 1549 Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg are ceded into the Spanish Empire.

1534

Henry VIII establishes and heads the Church of England.

1536

Wales is united with England.

Norway becomes a province of Denmark.

1545–1563

The Council of Trent reforms the Catholic Church.

1547

Hungary is divided, with the Hapsburgs of Austria governing the west, and the Ottoman Turks the central area.

Ivan IV becomes the first czar of a united Russia.

mid-16th century

The Ottoman Empire reaches its greatest extent under Suleiman, including much of central and eastern Europe.

1555

Holy Roman Emperor Charles V signs the Peace of Augsburg, establishing the right of princes to choose Lutheranism or Catholicism for their territories.

1558–1582

Poland, Russia, and Sweden dispute over and divide Livonia (now part of Latvia and Estonia) in the Livonian War.

1558–1603

During the reign of Elizabeth I England becomes a European naval power, commerce and industry grow, and the arts flourish.

1571

The Ottoman Turks conquer Cyprus.

1579

Seven northern Dutch Protestant provinces form the Union of Utrecht; in **1581** the United Provinces of the Netherlands declare independence from Spain; the southern provinces remain loyal to Spain.

1581–1582

Yermak leads the Cossacks against Tatar forces on behalf of the Russian czarist government.

1588

England under Elizabeth I defeats the invading Spanish Armada.

1598

The Edict of Nantes grants considerable freedom to French Protestants.

1603

James I becomes king of England and Scotland, founding the Stuart dynasty.

1618

The Thirty Years' War unites German Protestant princes with France, Sweden, and Denmark against the Hapsburgs of Austria and Catholic princes of the Holy Roman Empire; the war is sparked by a Protestant rebellion in Bohemia, where papal officials are thrown from a window (the Defenestration of Prague).

1628

The Nenets of Arctic Russia come under Russian rule.

1631

The Roman papacy recognizes San Marino as an independent nation.

1636

The *Annals of the Masters,* are compiled tales of ancient Irish peoples, are published.

1642

The English Civil War begins.

1648

The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War and leads to increased religious tolerance; Spain recognizes the independence of the Netherlands.

1649–1660

Oliver Cromwell governs England as a Commonwealth.

1668

Under the Treaty of Lisbon, Spain recognizes Portugal's independence.

1670–1671

The Cossacks under Stenka Razin rebel against Russian rule.

1685

Louis XIV of France revokes the Edict of Nantes.

1689–1725

Peter I (Peter the Great) carries out reforms, introducing Western European civilization into Russia; in **1712** he founds St. Petersburg and makes it Russia's capital.

1699

Most of Hungary is ceded to Austria by Ottoman Turks.

1700–1721

Denmark, Poland, and Russia fight Sweden in the Great Northern War; by the terms of the Treaty of Nystad in **1721**, Sweden cedes Karelia to Russia.

1701

The kingdom of Prussia is founded.

1701–1714

European dynasties struggle for the throne of Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession; in **1714** Spain loses many of its European holdings, such as Gibraltar, to Great Britain.

1706–1707

The Act of Union unites England and Scotland, forming Great Britain.

1719

Vaduz and Schellenberg become Liechtenstein, an independent principality of the Holy Roman Empire, ruled by the Liechtenstein family.

1733–1735

European dynasties struggle for the throne of Poland in the War of the Polish Succession, with a final reshuffling of territories negotiated in the Treaty of Vienna.

1740

Frederick II (Frederick the Great) is crowned king of Prussia and begins building it into European power.

1756–1763

In the Seven Years' War England and France compete for supremacy in colonial North America and India, and the house of Austria and the kingdom of Prussia compete for power in Germany.

1775–1783

The American colonies gain independence from Great Britain in the American Revolution.

1783

Territorial partitions among Russia, Prussia, and Austria inspire the Polish Revolutionary War.

1785

The North Caucasus is designated a Russian province.

1789–1792

In the French Revolution, the monarchy of Louis XVI is overthrown; in **1792** France is declared a republic.

late 18th century

The Russian Empire expands into the Black Sea region, Caucasus, Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldavia.

1801

Great Britain and Ireland are formally united.

1804

Napoleon I Bonaparte declares himself the emperor of France.

1806

Napoleon establishes a series of French-dependent German states known as the Confederation of the Rhine, ending the Holy Roman Empire.

1809

During the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden loses Finland to Russia.

Sweden becomes a constitutional monarchy.

1810–1825

Most of Spain's overseas colonies win independence.

1812

The French under Napoleon invade Russia and are defeated.

The Ottoman Turks recognize Serbian autonomy.

1814

Denmark cedes Norway to Sweden; Iceland remains part of Denmark.

1815

In the Battle of Waterloo Napoleon is defeated by the English and Prussians.

The German Confederation, a union of 39 independent states, and the kingdom of Poland are formed at the Congress of Vienna; Netherlands unites with Belgium and Luxembourg to form a kingdom.

1829

Greece wins independence from the Ottoman Empire; the Treaty of Constantinople of **1832** defines its modern boundaries and places it under the protection of Britain, France, and Russia.

The Catholic Emancipation Act frees Irish Catholics from repression by England.

1830–1831

Belgium rebels against Dutch rule to establish an independent nation.

1831

Poland declares indpendence from Russia but the rebellion is crushed.

1834–1859

Shamil, possibly of Avar ancestry, leads the people of the Caucasus in an unsuccessful struggle for freedom from Russia; in **1864** Russia annexes the North Caucasus after suppressing the last tribal resistance in the region.

1845–1854

The Irish potato famine leads to the great emigration.

1848

Revolutions (known as the Revolutions of 1848) occur throughout Europe; French, Italians, Germans, Danes, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, and Romanians demand greater freedoms from their own governments or from the empires dominating them.

1853–1856

Great Britain, France, and Turkey defeat Russia in the Crimean War.

1856

Slavery is abolished in Romania, an event known to the Rroma as *Slobuzenja.*

1860–1861

The kingdom of Italy is formed, including most of the Italian Peninsula, Sicily, and Sardinia; in **1866** Italy annexes Venice, and in **1870** occupies Rome; in **1871** Rome becomes Italy's capital.

Monaco is recognized as an independent state under the protection of France.

1861–1862

Moldavia and Walachia are united as Romania.

1867

Austria-Hungary, a dual state, is established, existing until **1918.**

1870–1871

France and Germany fight in the Franco-Prussian (or Franco-German) War, with Germany victorious.

1871

The German states are united as the German Empire, as organized by the Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck.

A new provisional government in France establishes the Third Republic.

1877

The British Empire reaches its greatest territorial expansion.

1878

The European powers call a conference, the Congress of Berlin, to revise the European map following the Russo-Turkish Wars of **1875–78,** last in a series of wars between the Russians and Ottoman Turks starting in the **18th century.**

The Pomaks try unsuccessfully to create an autonomous region in Bulgaria.

1881

Attacks on the Jews are condoned by authorities in Russia, the first pogrom.

1897

The Jewish Zionism movement is founded.

1905

Norway gains full independence from Sweden.

1908

Serbia leads the creation of the Balkan League, which includes Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece in order to fight for independence from Austro-Hungary and Turkey.

1912–1913

The Balkan Wars are fought, two consecutive wars fought among the countries of the Balkan Peninsula for possession of European territories held by the Ottoman Empire; in **1913** a conference of the Great Powers—Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria, France, and Italy—revise the European map.

1913

Crete, independent since **1898,** unites with Greece.

1914

The assassination of the Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Serbian nationalist leads to outbreak of World War I (the Great War), in which the Central Powers of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, and the

Ottoman Empire fight against the Allied Powers of Great Britain, Russia, Italy, France, Belgium, Montenegro, and Japan; the war lasts until **1918.**

1916

The Easter Rebellion against British rule takes place in Ireland.

1917

The Russian Revolution overthrows the monarchy of Nicholas II; the Bolsheviks seize power.

During the Russian Revolution, Finland declares its independence from Russia; in **1918** the country is torn by civil war.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German U-boat leads the United States to join the Allied Powers in World War I.

Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, and Montenegrins unite in a union of South Slavs under the Pact of Corfu.

The Ukrainian Republic declares independence; Bolsheviks invade Ukraine, creating Soviet Ukrainian Republic.

1918

An armistice is signed, ending World War I.

With the Austro-Hungarian monarchy defeated, Hungary proclaims itself a republic.

The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, led by Peter I of Serbia, forms.

Moravia, Bohemia, and Slovakia form the independent state of Czechoslovakia.

Poland declares independence from Russia.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declare independence form Russia and Germany.

Denmark recognizes Iceland's independence by the terms of the Treaty of Union; the Iceland republic is proclaimed in **1944.**

1919

The Treaty of Versailles is signed revising the European map.

The Weimar Republic is founded in Germany.

Finland becomes a republic.

Benito Mussolini introduces fascism in Italy.

The League of Nations is formed.

1921

The Anglo-Irish Treaty creates the Irish Free State (later known as the Republic of Ireland) within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

1922

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR; Soviet Union) is established.

Fascist Benito Mussolini becomes the prime minister of Italy.

1923

Adolf Hitler forms the National Socialist Party in Germany.

Turkey is declared a republic after a revolt that ends the sultanate.

1925

Cyprus becomes a British Crown colony.

1929

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes becomes Yugoslavia.

1934

Adolf Hitler and the Nazis assume power in Germany.

1934–1939

Joseph Stalin purges the opposition in the Soviet Union.

1936

The Rome-Berlin Axis agreement is signed by Hitler and Mussolini.

1936–1939

The Spanish civil war pits Nationalists (or Insurgents) against the Republicans (or Loyalists); the right-wing Nationalists under Franco triumph.

1938

Germany annexes Austria; German Jews are the target of concerted violence on Kristallnacht (the Night of Broken Glass).

1939

Germany annexes Czechoslovakia.

Italy annexes Albania.

Germany invades Poland.

The Allied powers of the British Commonwealth (except Ireland) and the French declare war on the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan, beginning World War II; the war lasts until **1945.**

1939–1940

Russia defeats Finland in the Russo-Finnish War.

1939–1945

During World War II, millions of Jews lose their lives in the Holocaust; hundreds of thousands of Rroma are also executed; other groups are also targeted, such the mentally ill, homosexuals, and political dissidents.

1941

The German invasion of the Soviet Union ends the nonaggression pact between Germany and the Soviets.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor leads the United States to join the Allied Powers against the Axis Powers.

1943–1944

Joseph Stalin accuses various Muslim peoples living in the Caucasus region—Caucasians and Turkics both—of collaborating with Nazi Germany and orders the deportation of many to Soviet Asia; many die en route; in **1956–57** some of the survivors are allowed to return to their homelands.

1944

The Soviet Union annexes Estonia and Lithuania.

1945

Leaders of the Allied Powers meet at the Yalta Conference.

The Allied Powers divide Germany into the American, British, French, and Soviet zones.

The Potsdam Conference marks the end of World War II.

Serbia becomes a Communist republic under the Yugoslav Socialist Federation.

1945–1946

Nazi war criminals are tried at Nürnberg (Nuremberg), Germany.

1945

The League of Nations is replaced by the United Nations (UN).

1946–1958

The Fourth Republic is established in France; many of France's colonies gain independence; Italians vote to establish a republic.

1947

The Marshall Plan, a program of United States economic aid to rebuild Europe, is announced; the European Recovery Act in **1948** authorizes the plan.

1948

The Americans, British, and French integrate their sections of Berlin into one economic entity.

The state of Israel is founded from part of ancient Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

1949

The Council of Europe, an organization of European states, is established to achieve a greater unity among the member nations on the basis of common traditions of political liberty.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance of Western nations, is formed.

Two German republics, East Germany and West Germany, are established; the city of Berlin in East Germany is divided between them.

1950

French foreign minister Robert Schuman proposes idea of a union of European nations in a speech on May 9, 1950, celebrated as the birthday of the European Union.

1955

East Germany and West Germany become sovereign states.

The Warsaw Treaty Organization (the Warsaw Pact) is formed, a military alliance of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

1956

The Hungarian Revolution overthrows the Communist dictator; the Soviet Union crushes the uprising.

1957

By the terms of the Treaty of Rome the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market) is formed to promote European development; the original 12 members are Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom, and Spain.

The Soviet Union launches *Sputnik I*, the first artificial satellite, into space.

1958

A new constitution establishes the Fifth Republic in France; Charles de Gaulle becomes president.

1960

Cyprus becomes an independent republic; in **1975** the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in northern Cyprus is established.

The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) is formed.

1961

Yuri Gagarin of the Soviet Union becomes the first human in space and the first to orbit around the Earth.

The East German government builds the Berlin Wall around the West German sector of Berlin.

Valentina Tereshkova of the Soviet Union becomes the first woman in space.

Alexei Leonov of the Soviet Union becomes the first human to walk in space.

1964

Malta declares full independence from Great Britain.

1967

Three organizations—the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)—merge as the European Community (EC).

1968

The Soviet Union invades Czechoslovakia following a rebellion.

The Basque separatist organization, Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna (ETA), is founded.

1972

The Irish Republican Army (IRA), opposing English rule in Northern Ireland, carries out attacks known as Bloody Friday.

1973

East and West Germany establish diplomatic relations; they join the United Nations.

The European Space Agency is formed.

1978

Under a new constitution, Spain becomes a democratic parliamentary monarchy.

1979

The United Nations recognizes the Rroma as a distinct ethnic group.

1980

The Polish Solidarity trade union forms.

1986

The Chernobyl nuclear plant in Ukraine melts down.

The Saami of various nations adopt a flag.

1986–1987

The European Community formulates and adopts the Single Europe Act, which revises the Treaty of Rome, committing the EC to establishing a single market in which all trade barriers and customs frontiers are eliminated.

1989

Poland holds elections to form a government free of Soviet domination.

The Velvet Revolution takes place in Czechoslovakia.

The Communist government in East Germany collapses, and the Berlin Wall, separating East German and West German sectors, is dismantled; in **1990** East Germany and West Germany are reunited under the government of the former West Germany.

Serbia invades Kosovo, ending its autonomy.

1990–1991

The Soviet Union dissolves into loosely allied republics as the Russian Federation; some former Soviet states declare independence, among them Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, and Ukraine in Europe; other nations formerly under Soviet influence, among them Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, and Yugoslavia, begin new period of self-determination.

1992

The Russian government gives the Cossacks status as an ethnic group.

Bosnia and Herzegovina declare independence from the Serbs in Yugoslavia; ethnic conflicts of Croat and Muslim nationalists against the Serbs erupt into civil war; Serbia and Montenegro form the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; in **1995** the Dayton Peace accord establishes the two states, consisting of Bosnian Muslim and Croatian territory, and Serb territory.

1992–1993

The federation of the Czech Republic with Slovakia is dissolved; Czechoslovakia splits into two republics, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

1992

The Maastricht Treaty (formally, the Treaty on European Union) is signed in Maastricht, Netherlands, by the members of the European Community (EC), including Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and Spain; the treaty takes effect in **1993,** creating the European Union (EU).

Belgium becomes a federalist state with the three autonomous regions of Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

1993

Andorrans vote to establish their first constitution, declaring themselves a parliamentary co-principality; Andorra joins the United Nations.

Monaco and San Marino join the United Nations.

1994

The Channel Tunnel between the United Kingdom and France is officially opened.

1994–1996

Following a declaration of independence from the Russian Federation by the Chechens of Chechnya, fighting occurs between the Chechens and Russians; in **1999–2000** renewed fighting takes place, with Chechen resistance continuing to the present.

1995

Austria, Finland, and Sweden join the European Union.

1997

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Russia sign a cooperation pact, in 1999 Poland joins NATO.

Wales and Scotland vote to create their own legislative bodies.

1998

A secessionist rebellion erupts in Kosovo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, leading to an air bombardment of Yugoslavia by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in **1999** and an agreement calling for the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo and their replacement by NATO peacekeeping troops, with Kosovo a UN-administered region.

The Good Friday Agreement negotiated by Irish and British heads of state leads to the formation of an independent government of Northern Ireland in **1999**.

2002

The euro—euro-denominated coins and bills—goes into circulation in 12 of the 15 European Union member states, replacing national currencies.

2003

The European Convention in Brussels drafts a treaty for a constitution for the European Union.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia becomes Serbia and Montenegro.

2004

Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia join the European Union.

2005

The European Parliament, the representative assembly of the European Union, gives approval for the membership of Romania and Bulgaria (scheduled for 2007); French and Dutch voters vote no to the ratification of the European Constitutional Treaty.

Glossary of Cultural Terms

abbot The superior of a monastery or abbey for men, specifically one following the Benedictine rule or certain other orders. The word *abbot* has a linguistic forebear in the Aramaic word for *father;* the man elected abbot is granted both civic and spiritual authority over other members of his community.

acropolis Originally the upper fortified part of the ancient Greek city of Athens on which the Parthenon stands; later any usually fortified or strengthened high point of a city or district. From the Greek *akros* meaning "topmost; extreme" and *polis* meaning "city."

adaptation Change in behavior of an individual or group in response to a new cultural situation or a new physical environment (sometimes through the application of information and technology).

amber A hard translucent fossil resin, yellow to brown in color, that takes a fine polish. It is typically found in alluvial areas and some seashores, as in the Baltic Sea region.

amici Latin for "friends;" used for people who were allies of the Romans.

amphora (pl. *amphorae*) A jar or vase, typical of the ancient Greeks, having a large oval body, narrow cylindrical neck, and two high handles.

animism The belief that natural phenomena and inanimate objects possess souls and personalities.

annals A written record of events arranged by the year; a type of **chronicle.**

anthropology The study of humankind; from the Greek *anthropo,* "human being," and *logy,* "doctrine; theory; science." Anthropology encompasses the physical, racial, social, and cultural origins; development; geographical distribution; and characteristics of the human animal. The science of anthropology can broadly be subdivided into "physical anthropology" and "cultural anthropology." (Anthropology is subdivided into four main fields: **archaeology,** ethology, **linguistics,** and paleography.)

archaeology (archeology) The recovery, reconstruction, and study of material evidence (such as fossil relics, implements, and artifacts) of bygone peoples and cultures to determine their ways of life. From the Latin for "antiquarian lore" and before that from the Greek word *archaio,* "ancient," and *logy,* "doctrine," "theory," or "science."

archon The chief **magistrate** of ancient Athens.

Arianism (Arian Christianity) A theological movement initiated by the Greek ecclesiastic Arius (c. 250–336) maintaining that God is unknowable and separate from all other beings and that Jesus Christ is a created being and not a divinity in the fullest sense.

artifact An object made by humans (as distinguished from a natural object).

Atlantic wheelhouse A later development of the stone Atlantic **roundhouse** of northern Iron Age Scotland, the name referring to the interior walls that radiate out similarly to spokes from the center; wheelhouses were sunk into the ground; only their thatched roofs and upper walls were visible from the outside.

augur One who foretells the future from omens; an official position in ancient Rome.

barbarian The term in its original sense meant "alien" or "foreign," originally applied as non-Greek, then non-Roman, and non-Christian. It developed the connotation of someone uncivilized.

barrow A large earthen or stone mound placed over the remains of the dead; used synonymously with the term ***cairn*** or ***tumulus.*** In England *barrow* can refer to a hill.

basileus Among the Mycenaeans a minor official who helped the ***wanax*** administer his court. The term also was used as the title of the ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire as well as the title of Anglo-Saxon rulers of Britain.

basilica In ancient Rome a building used for public assembly or a court of justice; typically oblong with a semicircular apse (projection). The term was also used for early Christian church buildings, also with apses.

B.C.E. "Before the Common Era." B.C.E. has replaced B.C., the term used for dates before the birth of Christ according to the Christian calendar.

Black Death (bubonic plague) An epidemic across Europe and Asia in the 14th century, which killed somewhere between 20 to 40 percent of the European population. It was named for the black patches (hemorrhages) that commonly formed on the skin of its victims.

B.P. "Years before the present," in which 1950 C.E. represents the present, the year the calibration curves for carbon dating were established. B.P. dating tends to be approximate.

boyar Member of an old Russian aristocratic order ranking just below the ruling princes; the rank of boyar was abolished by Peter the Great.

broch A drystone round tower used for fortification by the ancient Scots; some 30 to 42 feet tall and 40 to 80 feet in diameter, brochs often consisted of double walls surrounding apartments and overlooking a central court. From a Scottish word meaning "borough."

Bronze Age Arbitrary technological stage invented as part of a three-part system (Stone or **Paleolithic Age**, Bronze Age, and **Iron Age**, with sometimes the **Copper Age** included as a phase); the dates vary from region to region. In a general sense the Bronze Age was the period from about 2500 B.C.E., when bronze making was adopted in the Balkans and Danube-Carpathian regions, to about 1050 B.C.E., when iron use began to be important in Greece.

Early Bronze Age—The period from about 2500 B.C.E., the start of bronze making in southeastern Europe and the spread of the Bell Beaker complex, to about 1800 B.C.E., when bronze making had begun to reach the rest of Europe, including Scandinavia.

Middle Bronze Age—The period from about 1800 B.C.E. to 1300 B.C.E., during which bronze making was important in most of Europe, chariot-using steppe cultures begin to influence central Europe, and urban civilization arrived in the Greek mainland.

Late Bronze Age—The period from about 1300 B.C.E., when new bronze-working techniques led to a proliferation of new forms, to about 1050 B.C.E., when widespread iron use began in Greece.

burgh A town in Scotland that is incorporated with local jurisdiction.

bylina (pl. *byliny* or *bylinas*) A traditional form of orally transmitted Old Russian and Russian heroic narrative song, folk epic, or ballad; from the Russian for "what has been."

cairn A typically cone-shaped pile of stones used as a burial site during the Neolithic Age and the Early Bronze Age. *Cairn* also refers to a heap of stones piled up as a memorial, a landmark, or sometimes a boundary marker. The word is of Scottish Gaelic origin. It is not clearly distinguishable from **barrow**, with which it is sometimes used interchangeably.

caliph A spiritual leader of Islam, often with political power as well; successors of Muhammad. Caliphate is the office or dominion of the caliph.

carnyx (carnex) A Celtic trumpet, used in warfare. Nearly man high they had mouths fashioned to look like beasts.

cashel A stone circular enclosure surrounding buildings, particularly church buildings. From the Middle Irish and ultimately the Latin word for "castle." See also **rath.**

castellan A commander or warden of a stronghold, typically with military, judicial, and fiscal powers over local populations.

C.E. "Common Era." C.E. is used in place of A.D., a term that means *Anno Domini,* "in the year of the Lord," or after the birth of Christ in the Christian calendar.

censor One of two officials in ancient Rome, chosen from former consuls, who were responsible for taking the census, especially accounting for holdings of property; administered public finances; and inspected morals and conduct.

chronicle A written record of events arranged sequentially. **Annals** and **sagas** are types of chronicles.

city-state A state consisting of an independent city and territories under its control.

civitas (pl., *civitates*) A Roman political community; a self-governed region based largely on preexisting Celtic tribal territories. Each *civitas* had a capital, often at the location of a Celtic ***oppidum,*** although new towns were sometimes established.

clan A multigenerational social group within a **tribe**, made up of several families who trace descent through either the male or the female line ("patriclan" or "matriclan," i.e., a patrilineal clan or matrilineal clan) from a common, sometimes mythical, sometimes real, or totemic ancestor.

colonization The process of establishing control of a territory in a foreign, commonly distant location, where the new settlers retain ties to their country of origin.

comitas A warrior band or society formed around the nucleus of a successful war leader, one whose good fortune

in war signaled the favor of the gods. Typical of Germanic tribes.

composite bow (reflexed bow) A bow made of varying layers of wood, horn, and sinews for extra tension. Typical of the Huns and other steppe peoples.

confederation (confederacy) An alliance of nations or states whose association is commonly based on a desire for mutual support. *Confederation* and *confederacy* have ancestors in the Latin terms that mean "agreement" or "compact."

consul Either of two annually elected chief magistrates of the Roman Republic, who held the **imperium**, the divine authority for their power.

Copper Age Also known as the Aeneolithic period (Latin *aenus* means "of copper or bronze") and the Chalcolithic period (Greek *chalkos* means "copper"); it refers to the times when copper was used to make various small tools, although such usage was sporadic. The Copper Age was a transitional age between the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. As with other ages the dates attributed to the Copper Age vary. The period can be placed to 5000 B.C.E. in southeastern Europe to 3200 or 2500 B.C.E. elsewhere.

crannog An artificial island built in a lake or marsh, constructed by driving a circular framework of vertical timbers into the lake floor and filling it with boulders and clay topped with a timber, clay-covered platform on which a house was built. It served also as a fort. Typical of the Celts of the British Isles. From the Middle Irish word meaning "wooden structure" and, before that, the Irish word meaning "tree."

cremation The practice of reducing a dead body to ashes by burning. It is a very old custom, long associated with deaths in battle.

Crusades Any of eight major (and other minor) military expeditions marshaled by Western Christian powers between the years 1095 C.E. and 1291 C.E. (and even later, according to some reports); their purpose was to reclaim the Holy Land from the Muslims. The term is also applied to campaigns against pagan peoples in the Baltic region.

culture The learned customs characteristic of a given people. Culture includes behavior and beliefs, as found in institutions and rituals, as well as material objects, such as tools, clothing, and art. The term *culture* is also used in reference to particular societies or communities. In archaeology the term can refer to a cluster of diagnostic characteristics, or a recurring assemblage used to identify a group of associate sites.

curragh (currach; curach; skin boat) A type of boat constructed from oiled animal hides covering a light wooden frame. It is also called a skin boat. Pointed at both ends, it resembles a large canoe. Although normally propelled by oars, it can be rigged with a sail. The curragh has been used especially in waters off Ireland.

cylix (pl. cylixes) A two-handled drinking cup, typical of the ancient Greeks, having a shallow bowl set on a stem and a foot.

czar (tsar) The ruler of Russia before the Russian Revolution in 1917. In medieval Russia before the 1453 fall of Constantinople *czar* was the title for the head of the Orthodox Christian Church.

democracy Any government by the people, or majority rule. The ancient Greeks practiced direct democracy in their city-states; in representative democracy people exercise their power indirectly, through representatives chosen periodically at free elections. From Greek terms meaning "populace" plus "strength" or "form."

dendrochronology The practice of dating and interpreting the past on the basis of analysis of tree rings.

dialect A variety of a language, commonly regional, that is distinguished from other regional counterparts in the same language by pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

diaspora A large-scale migration of a people. From the Greek term meaning "dispersion" or "scattering."

differentiation (social) The process by which a culture becomes more complex through increasing specialization.

diffusion The movement of ideas or technologies over space and time.

dolmen A monument consisting of at least two upright stones topped by a stone placed horizontally. Believed to be a tombstone, the dolmen was found throughout prehistoric Britain and France. From the Breton words meaning "table" plus "stone."

domestication The process of adapting an animal or plant to suit better the needs of human beings.

dun A fortified residence typical of the ancient Scots. Fortification consisted of either two or more concentric circular earthen mounds surrounding the residence containing a moat between them or a wall and a circular mound holding palisades. From the Old Irish word meaning "fortress."

dromos (pl. dromi or dromoi) A long passageway to a subterranean tomb (a dromos tomb); often cut in rock as found among the Mycenaeans.

Druids Specialized class of priests, seers, philosophers versed in nature study. Associated with healing and teaching, politics and judicial systems, and known also for practice of sacrificial rites and for cruelty. Pre-Celtic, but associated with

many Celtic tribes through Roman rule. Pliny connects the word *druid* with the Greek word *drys* meaning "oak tree."

duchy (dukedom) The territory or jurisdiction of a duke or duchess.

dynasty A family, group, or class with authority over others, which has the power to choose its successors.

earthwork Any construction made primarily of earth and stone. Applied to permanent and temporary mounds, enclosures, and embankments.

elegiac Poetry using the elegiac meter in rhymed couplets, typically in elegies commemorating the dead. It originated in ancient Greece.

emir From the Arabic word meaning "commander" or "prince," *emir* is both a title and a term for a ruler or chief in Islamic countries. The jurisdiction of an emir is an emirate.

emporium A place of trade, that is, a marketplace, among the ancient Romans; from the Greek *emporos* for "traveler" or "trader."

eponym In these contexts *eponym* refers to the legendary ancestor after whom a tribe believes it is named. More generally *eponym* is one for whom something is named.

ethnicity The term is applied to the quality shared by members of a group whose association with each other is based on common cultural, national, racial, or linguistic attributes.

ethnogenesis The birth of new tribal groupings.

feudalism (feudal system) A system of political organization based on the obligation of a **vassal** to a superior related to the holding of land.

fibula (pl. fibulae) A metal clasp in the shape of a modern safety pin, used by the Greeks and Romans and other ancient peoples.

flaking (knapping, chipping) Removing flakes of stone, usually from chunks of flint, chert, or obsidian, to shape tools or points.

foederatus (pl. *foederati*) Latin term meaning "federate" or "confederate." Applied to auxiliary troops from among other peoples serving in the Roman army.

folkright The collective will of a people as embodied in rules and laws that have been established over time, whether or not recorded in writing.

forum In ancient Rome the forum was the public gathering place and the center of public business. It was a centrally located open air area surrounded by public buildings and colonnades.

fresco (pl. frescoes) The art of painting on freshly spread plaster before it dries with water-based pigments, or the painting itself executed in fresco.

galley (galley ship) A variety of wooden vessels powered mainly by oars, but in some cases by sails as well. The term is primarily associated with the vessels of ancient civilizations surrounding the Mediterranean Sea but also applies to the **longship** of the Vikings.

gavelkind A system of inheritance practiced in Anglo-Saxon Kent (until 1925), in which the lands of the landholder who died without a will were divided equally among the heirs.

gorget Piece of armor that protects the throat.

hegemony A political term used to describe leadership or dominance, particularly the strong influence or authority of a government.

Hellenism The ancient Hellenic thought or customs or ideals associated with ancient Greece, including a love of knowledge, arts, and reason, and a belief in civic responsibility and moderation. The term, from Greek words that mean to imitate the Greeks or speak Greek, also refers to the Greeks as a national or cultural group.

helot The lowest of the people of ancient Sparta, serfs attached to landed estates; possibly derived from the name of the town Helos in the region of Laconia conquered by the Spartans.

henge Any circular Bronze Age structure surrounded by a bank and ditch (and found in England); derived from Stonehenge, the immense circular monument of large stones surrounded by an earthwork constructed during the Bronze Age in England.

hieroglyphic writing A system that consists primarily of pictographs (pictorial characters), representing words or ideas (as opposed to a sounds, as in alphabet writing or in syllabaries). The term was originally used for the picture writing of ancient Egyptians and later applied more broadly.

hill fort (hill-fort) A Celtic stronghold built on a hill with ditches, earth rampants, and wooden palisades, serving as a permanent settlement, a refuge in times of war, or a sacred site. Hill forts were first built in the Bronze Age but were more typical in the Iron Age. A Celtic fortified settlement on lower ground is known as an ***oppidum;*** one constructed as an artificial island, a **crannog.**

hominid A creature of the family Hominidae (order Primates). Only one hominid species currently exists: *Homo sapiens.*

hoplite A heavily armed infantry soldier in ancient Greece.

horde A clan or tribal group of nomadic Mongolian tent dwellers claiming jurisdiction over a defined area.

horizon An anthropological term for a particular cultural period, as evidenced in archaeology by a level or stratum. Or a geological term for a deposit of a particular time, usually identified by distinctive fossils.

hunting-gathering (hunting-and-gathering) Subsistence in which food is obtained solely through hunting, fishing, and foraging for wild plant foods. All peoples were hunter-gatherers until the invention of agriculture.

Ice Age (or Ice Ages) A period of repeated glacial to interglacial cycles, eight in all, which began at the Middle Pleistocene boundary in about 730,000 B.P. and ended around 10,000 B.P.

icon A pictorial representation of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. From the Greek word meaning "image."

Iconoclasm A religious movement within the Byzantine Empire, primarily during the eighth and ninth centuries; its members opposed the use of icons in the Orthodox Church.

imperium The divine authority for power, a concept perhaps passed to the ancient Romans by the Etruscans.

Indo-European The large group of related languages derived from a single root, called proto-Indo-European. Indo-European language families include Baltic, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Italic, Romance, Slavic, Illyrian, and a number of smaller groupings.

inhumation Grave burial.

Inquisition A papal tribunal of medieval and early modern times devoted to inquiring into (from a Latin root that means inquire into), combating, and punishing heresy, sorcery, apostasy, and witchcraft; violence was typically involved.

in situ Latin for "in place." Archaeologists use the term to describe an artifact at the point of discovery, when it has not been removed from its surrounding soil.

Iron Age An arbitrary technological stage invented as part of a three-part system (Stone, Bronze, and Iron); the dates vary from region to region. In a general sense the Iron Age was the period from about 1050 B.C.E., when iron use began in Greece, to the beginning of the Roman Empire in 27 B.C.E. and annexation of large parts of central Europe and Britain during the first centuries B.C.E./C.E. (The Iron Age ended in Scandinavia in the 12th century C.E. with the adoption of Christianity and the emergence of strong kingdoms.)

khan A Mongol or Tatar lord or prince. A **khanate** is the dominion or jurisdiction of a khan.

kingdom The territory or jurisdiction of a king or queen.

kurgan A long and round burial mound.

laird A landed proprietor or owner of a small estate in Scotland.

language family A term used in linguistics to describe two or more languages, distinct but with elements in common and related historically in that they are descended from a common language.

La Tène Stylized curvilinear art style (named after a site in Switzerland) developed in the Rhine-Moselle region after 500 B.C.E. under the influence of Etruscan trade goods. La Tène elements were widely copied and incorporated into local styles throughout temperate Europe from Ireland and Britain to northern Italy to Poland and Transylvania. The style remained influential well into the Roman period. La Tène influences can be seen in the illuminated manuscripts of early medieval Ireland.

lawagetas A leader among the Mycenaeans, below the **wanax**; perhaps a war leader.

limes A boundary; the Roman frontier line extending from the Rhine near Koblenz to the Danube near Regensburg. The Romans fortified this line with forts and watchtowers. The Rhine line from the North Sea to Koblenz and the Danube line from Eining to the Black Sea are referred to as the wet *limes*.

lingua franca Literally "Frankish language" in Italian, the original Lingua Franca was a common language spoken in Mediterranean ports during the Middle Ages, probably developed by traders and/or crusaders. It included elements of French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Arabic.

linguistics The scientific study of human speech or of a specific language, in which particular attention is paid to the association between speech and writing.

longship A type of galley used by the Vikings in the fjords of their homeland in Scandinavia and for their travels to other parts of Europe and North America. Two types of Viking ships have been called by that name: the *drakkar,* meaning "dragon ship," or the *langskip,* meaning "longship"; and the *knorr* or *hafskip,* meaning "half-ship," also called *kautskip,* "merchant ship."

lost wax A process in metal casting in which a piece of wax is fashioned in the desired shape, then encased in clay; the heating causes the melting of the wax and the firing of the clay, creating a mold into which molten metal can be poured.

lyre A stringed instrument related to the harp used by the ancient Greeks especially in the accompaniment of song and recitation (the lyric).

magistrate A general term for an official entrusted with the administration of laws, from the Latin *magistratus*.

major domus During the first Frankish dynasty (500–751 C.E.) the person to whom the **seneschal** would answer; translates roughly as "mayor of the palace."

mark (march) A territorial border or frontier, typically defended by soldiers, or the region beside a boundary line.

material culture Artifacts or other physical objects left by past cultures, such as projectile points or ceramic vessels.

Medieval Warm Period Also called Little Climatic Optimum, the period was one of worldwide warming that occurred between the 11th and mid-13th centuries. Scholars believe the warmer weather and reduced sea ice influenced the increase in exploration by the Vikings.

megalith A large stone monument, typically chambered tombs from the **Neolithic Age** found in western Europe.

megaron The great central hall of the Mycenaean house, usually rectangular with a circular hearth in the center; also called the king's hall.

menhir A **monolith** standing alone or as one in an avenue or circle. From the Breton words meaning "stone" plus "long."

Mesolithic Age (Middle Stone Age) The period from 8000 B.C.E. to the beginning of farming in southeastern Europe in approximately 7000 B.C.E.

microlith An extremely small stone tool made to fit into a handle of bone or antler and associated primarily with the Mesolithic Age.

midden A refuse heap marking the site of human habitation.

Middle Ages Period of European history from the fall of the Roman Empire to the start of the Renaissance (approximately 500–1500 C.E., although the latter date can vary by a century or so).

monasticism With an ancestor in a Greek word believed to mean "to live alone," monasticism names the religious ascetic movement in which its members separate themselves from society and devote themselves to practicing good works above and beyond those required of others in their religion.

monolith A single stone shaped into a pillar, monument, or statue.

monotheism The belief in a single, all-powerful god.

mosaic A picture or design made by placing small colorful pieces of stone, shell, feathers, or other material onto a mortar.

myth A traditional story, typically of the distant past, containing supernatural elements and involving spiritual beings and legendary beings, and/or the origins and history of a people or a natural phenomenon.

mythology The body of myths of a people; the study of myths.

Neanderthal A species of **hominid** (*Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*) widespread in Paleolithic Europe. From the name of a valley in Germany where remains were first found in 1856.

Neolithic Age (New Stone Age) The period from the earliest appearance of farming around 7000 B.C.E. to 5000 B.C.E., when copper metallurgy begins in Greece and the Balkans.

ogham Irish linear script from the fifth century C.E. or earlier, developed from Latin. Ogham letters consist of strokes inscribed on each side of or crossing a stem line. Ogham inscriptions were often carved on stones, with the strokes cut along a stem line represented by an edge of the stone.

oligarchy A form of government in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few.

oppidum (pl. *oppida*) A Celtic fortified settlement built on lower ground than a hill fort. Many developed into extensive towns, typically with well-planned street layouts.

paganism A religion with a belief in a **polytheism** as opposed to the **monotheism** of Christianity, Judaism, or Islam.

Paleolithic Age (Old Stone Age) Arbitrary technological stage invented as part of a three-part system (Stone, Bronze, and Iron); the dates vary from region to region. In a general sense the Stone Age was the period from about 1.7 million B.P., the date of the earliest known hominid fossil in Europe, to the end of the last Ice Age cycle around 10,000 B.P.

Lower Paleolithic—The period from about 1.7 million B.P., the beginning of the Paleolithic Age, to about 200,000 B.P., the date of the oldest known Neanderthal fossils.

Middle Paleolithic—The period from about 200,000 to 40,000 B.P., the approximate date of the beginning of the Aurignacian tool industry associated with late Neanderthals and early modern humans (earliest fossil found so far is dated to 36,300 B.P.).

Upper Paleolithic—The period from about 40,000 B.P. to 10,000 B.P., the end of the last Ice Age.

paleontology The study of fossil remains and ancient lifeforms.

palisades (stockade) A fence of upright logs placed around a village for purposes of fortification.

patriarch Any one of the bishops of the **sees** of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Moscow, and Jerusalem, who has authority over other bishops.

patrician A member of one of the original citizen families of ancient Rome; they were the landowning nobles by birth for whom a common person, a **plebeian**, might work. The term was eventually used in a general sense to refer to a person of high birth or aristocrat.

phalanx In its broad military sense any body of troops in close array; in ancient Greece it named a block of armed infantry standing shoulder to shoulder in deep and solid rank and file. The phalanx is considered the beginning of European military development.

plebeian (pleb) A common person in ancient Rome, typically in service to a **patrician.**

pogrom A massacre of helpless people, usually organized by government officials.

polis The basic larger social unit of the ancient Greeks (aside from tribe and family), consisting of the city and the community of its people, that is, the city-state. The term was later used in a general sense for a state or society, a **polity**, having a sense of community.

polity Various permutations of political organization; it can mean simply "political organization," or it can refer to a specific form of political organization. The term also can refer to the form of government of a religious denomination.

polytheism Belief in and worship of more than a single god.

praetor An ancient Roman **magistrate** ranking below a **consul**, typically one who performed judicial functions.

prefect An official or **magistrate** of various ranks and functions in the Roman Empire.

prehistory The cultural stage of a people before written records.

primogeniture From the Latin words meaning "first" plus "birth," the term refers to the exclusive right of inheritance under English law that benefits the eldest son or male heir and excludes all female and younger male descendants.

principality The territory or jurisdiction of a prince.

rath (ring fort) A small circular earthen enclosure containing single houses, sometimes with an outbuilding. A **cashel** is a stone-built equivalent of a rath.

Reformation The religious revolution that began in the Roman Catholic Church during the 16th century and became a basis for the establishment of Protestantism. Two of its notable leaders were Martin Luther and John Calvin.

reiks A war leader of Germanic peoples, below the ***thiudans***.

Renaissance Literally "rebirth"; the Renaissance is the European period of rebirth of interest in classical values and pursuits generally said to have begun in 14th-century Italy and continued into the 17th century. The Renaissance is viewed as a transitional era between medieval and modern times.

rhyton A drinking vessel of ancient times, which had the shape of part of an animal or mythological creature, especially its head.

roundhouse A round dwelling constructed by the Celts by using a variety of materials. Those of stone found in Scotland are called Atlantic roundhouses.

rune Writing symbols used by Germanic peoples from about the third century C.E. The runic alphabet is thought to be derived from both Greek and Latin. Runes were used as magic signs as well as alphabet characters.

rune stone A stone with a **rune** inscription.

saga A tale, often a poetic narrative; originally applied to stories of heroic deeds, both historical and legendary, of the Vikings.

sarsen One of the large sandstone blocks scattered over the chalk downs in England. Also called a sarsen stone or druid stone.

see A seat of power or throne. Typically used in reference to the authority or jurisdiction of a bishop.

seignorialism A system of political, economic, and social relations between seigneurs, or lords, and their dependent farm laborers.

seneschal In feudal times the person in charge of a lord's estate.

serf From the Latin word meaning "slave," the term has at least two distinct senses: In 12th- and 13th-century England it designated a person of the lower class of the feudal system, who was bound to the soil and subject to the owner of the land. In Germany, Poland, and Russia of the 17th and 18th centuries it referred to a member of various unemancipated farming classes.

shire An administrative subdivision of land ruled by a sheriff (shire-reeve) in England predating the Norman Conquest of

1066. After the Norman Conquest *shire* was superseded by *county.*

Silk Road A system of overland routes (not a constructed road) crossing nearly 4,000 miles of Asia and used for about 1,500 years for trade between the East and the West. It was named for silk, a valued commodity transported over it.

situla (pl. situlae) A deep vase-like vessel with a wide opening at the top; the Celts made them in bronze.

socius (pl. *socii*) A person or people in alliance with the ancient Romans, who did not have the rights of Roman citizens.

specialization The process of changing to adapt or adjust one's acts or behavior so that they are in harmony with changed conditions or a changed environment.

stele (pl. stelae) An upright slab or pillar, typically sculpted with an inscription and often used as a gravestone.

steppe (steppeland) A level grassy treeless plain, as found in southeastern Europe or Asia.

Stone Age See **Paleolithic Age.**

subsistence The means of supporting life.

subtribe A subdivision of a tribe, or a subordinate tribe.

suzerainty The dominion or authority of a feudal lord with regard to a subject.

symposium (pl. symposia) A gathering of ancient Greeks, typically characterized by drinking, music, and conversation. The term evolved to refer to a formal meeting at which addresses are presented on a topic or related topics.

taiga The swampy, coniferous forest region that begins where the **tundra**, lying to the north, ends.

tartan The name given the plaid textile design used in Scotland to designate a particular clan.

tell A mound of decayed building material built up over successive generations.

tenant farmer A farmer who works on land that is owned by another and who pays for the use of the land (either in produce or in cash).

theme Originally a military unit stationed in the provinces in the Byzantine Empire; by the seventh century *theme* was applied to the military districts used as buffers against Muslim encroachments. By the 11th century the force of themes had waned; their decline contributed to the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

Thing A council among the Vikings, held at a Thingstead, a sacred or historic place. The Germanic term has survived in the name of the Storting, Norway's parliament; in the Allting, Denmark's parliament; and in the Althing, Iceland's parliament.

thiudans A type of sacred king of Germanic peoples, more powerful than a ***reiks*.**

tholos (pl. tholoi) A circular tomb in the shape of a beehive, typical of the Mycenaeans; also called a dome tomb. The term is also applied to round buildings in later classical Greece.

torc (torque) A neck ring made of metal wires twisted together so as to resemble a rope or cord, with an opening in the front and molded terminals welded to the ring ends.

totem An animal, plant, natural object, natural phenomenon, or legendary being serving as the symbol of a tribe, clan, family, secret society, or individual. *Totemic* is the adjective form. A Native American–derived word.

tribe A general term applied to different kinds and degrees of social organization. Tribes usually have a common language, culture, kinship, territory, history, and purpose and comprise a number of bands (subtribes) or towns.

tumulus (pl. tumuli) A burial mound; see also **barrow** and **cairn.**

tundra The treeless plain of the Arctic region, frozen in winter and marshy in summer, with a permanently frozen subsoil (permafrost) and low-growing vegetation, such as mosses, lichens, and dwarf shrubs. To the south of the tundra lie the forests of the **taiga.**

tyrant An absolute ruler or monarch unrestrained by law or constitution; the Greek spelling was *tyrannos* (or pl. *tyrannoi*).

Urnfield period From 1300 B.C.E., when over most of Europe there was a change from burial of the dead to cremation and deposition of ashes underground in urns in cemeteries, to around 900 B.C.E., when burial practices began to change again.

vassal One who has placed himself under the protection of a superior who gives land in return for loyalty and military protection.

villa A country estate or property, as used by the Romans in foreign lands.

wanax The term for the king or highest ruler among the Myceanaeans; the ***lawagetas,*** perhaps a war leader, was below him; the ***basileus*** also helped him rule.

warrior society A club or sodality with exclusive membership, a common military purpose, and particular ritual organized around warfare.

yeoman (pl. yeomen) A member of the class between the gentry and the laborers in England. A yeoman (perhaps a contraction of *young man*) could serve as a retainer in a noble household or own land.

yurt (ger) A dwelling of central Asian nomadic peoples, a circular domed tent that consists of skins or felt stretched over a collapsible framework.

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