

AVATAR

FATE OF EMPIRES



MANUAL

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Introduction

It all starts with the game: Rome Total War (RTW). This turn based strategy game with real-time battles, offers you a unique way to experience how generals and tacticians of the early Roman Empire and all of its enemies must have felt like.

However, the game RTW lacked in many ways in historical accuracy. A few people stepped up and decided to start fixing those inaccuracies by creating their own modification (mod): Rome Total Realism (RTR, www.rometotalrealism.org). They started with RTR 1 and the latest version is RTR 6. Since then the team underwent through many changes of new people coming and experienced people leaving.

Rome Total Realism VII: Fate of Empires (RTR VII: FoE) is the second "mini"-campaign in a line on its way to the final release of the *Rome Total realism VII: Grand Campaign* (RTR VII: GC).

After *RTR VII: The Iberian Conflict* (TIC) was completed, the team suffered from retirements in senior positions and as a consequence, a period of recruitment was required to supplement those losses. The new recruits brought lots of new ideas and techniques and ways of doing things that had never been tried before. As the project neared completion, it was good to see the return of previous team members popping in to our forums to see how things were going. It would seem that Rome Total War has managed to retain its popularity despite the release of Empire Total War. I'm also pleased to say that cross-mod co-operation is alive and well at Total War Center (TWC, www.twcenter.net).

Every project has its turbulence and ours was no exception. The site we were using to host our project files ultimately became a victim of the recession and we had to very quickly, find a new home for our project whilst still working toward FoE. One of the features we had adopted for FOE was the use of subversion. Subversion is a system of file storage that allows all members of the project to share work quickly and easily. When a change is made to a file on someone's PC or Laptop, they can upload it to a central "repository". From there all the other users can download the new file to update their copy of FoE. This means that many developers can work on their sections simultaneously, uploading and downloading files quickly.

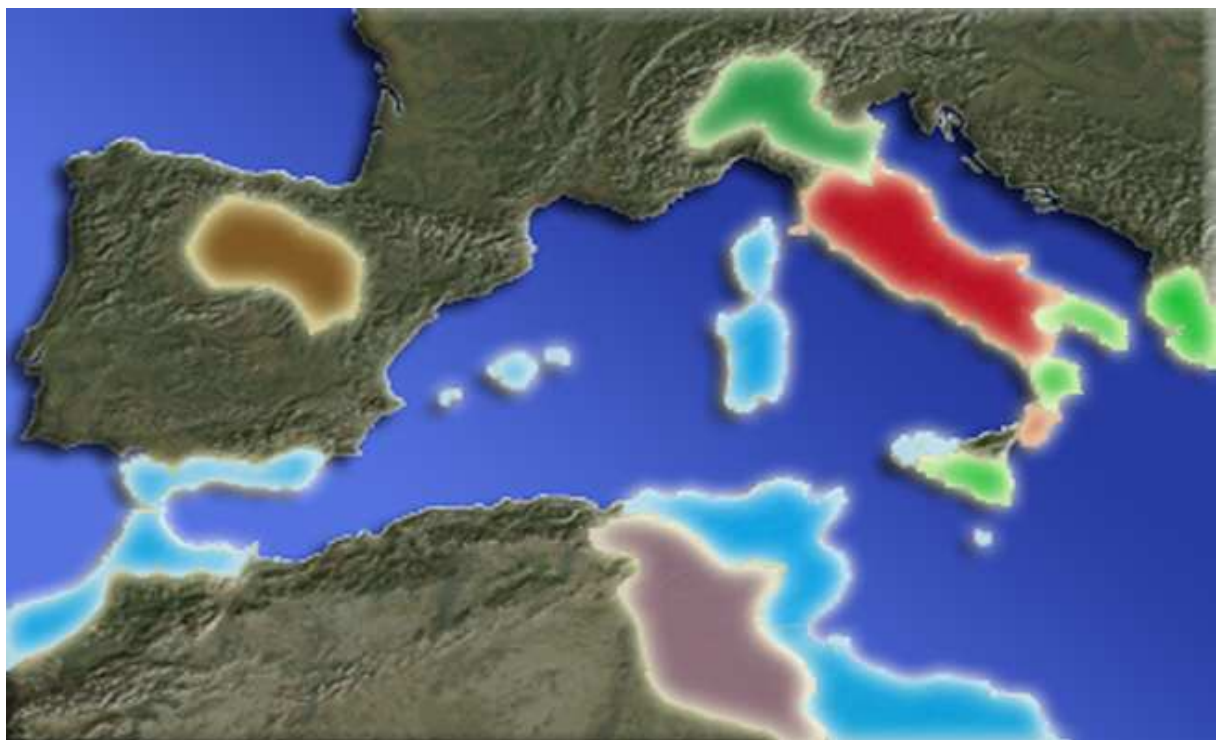


The Factions

In the world in RTR VII: Fate of Empires, there are in total six playable factions and nine mini-factions.

Playable Factions

| | |
|---------------|------------------------|
| Red | - S.P.Q.R. |
| Blue | - Republic of Carthage |
| "Light" Green | - Kingdom of Epeiros |
| "Dark" Green | - Cisalpine Gaul |
| Brown | - Celtiberia |
| Purple | - Kingdom of Massyli |



S.P.Q.R.



From its inauspicious beginnings as a small cluster of huts in the tenth century B.C., Rome developed into a city-state, first ruled by kings, then, from 509 B.C. onward, by a new form of government—the Republic. During the early Republic, power rested in the hands of the patricians, a privileged class of Roman citizens whose status was a birthright.

The patricians had exclusive control over all religious offices and issued final assent (*patrum auctoritas*) to decisions made by the Roman popular assemblies. However, debts and an unfair distribution of public land prompted the poorer Roman citizens, known as the plebians, to withdraw from the city-state and form their own assembly, elect their own officers, and set up

their own cults. Their principal demands were debt relief and a more equitable distribution of newly conquered territory in allotments to Roman citizens. Eventually, in 287 B.C., with the so-called Conflict of the Orders, wealthier, land-rich plebians achieved political equality with the patricians. The main political result was the birth of a noble ruling class consisting of both patricians and plebians, a unique power-sharing partnership that continued into the late first century B.C.

Rome has grown from a city-state into a fledgling empire. In order to fulfil her destiny, Rome will need to control the trade routes across the Mediterranean and the food producing island of Sicily. This will bring her into direct conflict with Carthage again. Meanwhile, to the south, the Epirote king, Pyrrhus has landed with an invasion force claiming to protect the interests of the Greek cities. The Battle of Heraclea should have been one of those decisive moments in history, but in reality, neither side was able to capitalise fully on the result.

Republic of Carthage



The idea that the Punic aristocracy was unwarlike is untrue at any time, and especially untrue of our period. Carthage did depend in good part on foreign mercenaries for its army and its fleet, because its own citizen body was relatively small. But Punic citizen armies fought with valor against Agathocles of Syracuse in 310-308 BC, and later against both Rome and their own mercenaries when they rebelled. As for the aristocracy, the cruelty with which Punic generals conducted their warfare – including the mass slaughter of civilians in captured cities – was famous. In the sixth century the great general Mago was the dominant figure in Punic politics

precisely because of his battlefield accomplishments, which had increased Carthaginian power (Justin, 18.19). In the fifth century the general Hamilcar was the leading figure in Carthage because of his “manly valor” (Justin, 19.1.1). In the fourth century Carthage possessed an elite fighting regiment (the Sacred Band) drawn solely from the scions of the aristocracy (Diod, 16.80.4), and so many Punic nobles were lost with a shipwrecked war fleet on its way to Syracuse in 311 that the city was draped in black (19.106.1-4). It is clear that Carthage was not a polity of peaceful merchants and seafarers victimized by aggressive Greek and Roman rivals – though many modern scholars persist in presenting Carthage in this way.

Carthaginian society and its external policies reveal that the city’s aristocracy were no less expansionist than their counterparts in Rome and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. And while long-distance maritime trade may have been the economic mainstay of Carthage’s Phoenician forebears, it is clear that by the third century BC the Carthaginian aristocracy derived its wealth in large part from their land empire, particularly agricultural resources and the bulk commodity trade. Moreover, the peacefulness of seafaring and maritime trade in ancient times should not be exaggerated either – as ancient traders were typically also potential pirates, raiders and slavers, and it is clear that Punic merchants were regarded as notorious raiders and slavers by their Graeco-Roman contemporaries.

In the sixth and fifth centuries BC Carthage had undertaken the conquest of the rich agricultural lands in Sardinia and Libya, and the ruthless subjugation of the indigenous peoples there. In 300 BC the territory of the Punic state was in fact larger than the contemporary *ager Romanus* in Italy, and rivalled the sum of the territory of Rome and its allies combined; moreover it included some of the richest agricultural lands in the Mediterranean – the Bagradas (modern Medjerda) Valley, stretching for over a hundred miles southwest from Carthage. The territorial expansion of Carthage meant that the landholdings of the Punic aristocracy in Carthage’s hinterland and in Sardinia were enormous. These were not city-dwelling merchants. By 250 BC the huge estates of Hanno the Great were alleged to have required the toil of 20,000 slaves (Justin, 21.4.6); the

Barca family owned large olive plantations sixty miles southeast of Carthage (Livy, 33.48.1; Pliny, NH 17.93). By the fourth century BC it is clear that the greater part of the wealth of the Carthaginian aristocracy rested upon large agricultural estates that were worked by great numbers of native Libyan serfs or slaves. The serfs were Libyans who had been enslaved en bloc by conquest and forced to work for their conquerors in what they might consider 'their' country, while the slaves were procured through the Mediterranean trade in chattel slaves.

The agrarian foundation of Carthaginian wealth can be discerned by modern archaeology. In the fifth, fourth and third centuries BC the Punic settlements in the western Mediterranean expanded into the countryside. The rural expansion of Punic settlements in Africa, Sardinia and Sicily is not an indicator of population increases; it is a shortage of labour rather than a shortage of land that has consistently been the limiting factor in Mediterranean agriculture throughout history. In fact, much of the labour required for the Punic rural expansion was supplied by indigenous inhabitants, where they were enslaved on large Carthaginian estates, or obliged to organise their rural affairs in collaboration with Punic settlers and town-based merchants. In Ibiza, central North Africa and Sardinia wine and olive-oil production are consistently associated with rural settlements and their organisation, and it is these capital- and labour-intensive crops that appear to have played a key role in creating and sustaining new rural landscapes and increased levels of agrarian production.

Kingdom of Epeiros



Tarentum (Greek Taras) was founded in 725 BC by Greek colonists from Sparta. With a fine harbour and fertile hinterland, the colony prospered, displacing the native Messapians and becoming one of the wealthiest cities of southern Italy - known as "Magna Graecia". Yet from the fourth century BC the constant attacks of the native Oscan tribes – Lucanians and Bruttians – against the Greek cities of Magna Graecia posed a constant threat. In desperation Tarentum appealed to their mother city for help; King Archidamnus III of Sparta campaigned in Italy throughout 343 until his death in 338. From 336-331 King Alexander the Molossian, king of Epeiros and brother-in-law to King Phillip II of Macedonia, campaigned against the Bruttians and Lucanians, and finally against the Samnites. Tarentum's prestige suffered when it failed to protect Kroton in 317 when it was besieged by the Bruttians – it was eventually saved by Syracuse. Again in 304 Tarentum called upon Sparta to assist it against the Lucanians; in 303 the Spartan prince Cleonymus responded to this appeal. The attempt by Agathocles of Syracuse between 298-294 BC to establish his own hegemony in Magna Graecia only left several Greek cities destroyed and the remainder further weakened.

After defeating the Samnites, Rome has grown over mighty, and stretched its ambitious hand into the south. In 285 the Greek cities of Thurii, Rhegium, Lokri and Kroton emancipated themselves from Tarentine hegemony, accepted Roman garrisons, and thereby instead turned to Rome as their protector against the native Oscan tribes. Roman forces led by Gaius Fabricius Lucinius heavily defeated the barbarian Lucanians in 282. The Romans had demonstrated both power and a policy of mild treatment of "allies". The hegemony of Tarentum in Magna Graecia was in tatters.

The appearance of ten Roman warships anchored off Tarentum was the final insult – a flagrant breach of the Roman-Tarentine treaty that forbade Roman warships from entering the Gulf of Tarentum. The Tarentine response was violent; their fleet sank the Roman ships, the crews were butchered, and the Tarentine army marched on the Greek Italiote town of Thurii, expelled its Roman garrison, and forced it to again acknowledge the hegemony of mighty Tarentum. When

Roman envoys arrived in Tarentum in 281 seeking an explanation for this act of war, they were publicly insulted, and their demands refused.

It was war. Faced with a new and formidable barbarian enemy, outnumbered, and lacking support from the defunct 'Italiote League', the leading men of Tarentum urgently sent envoys to Pyrrhos, King of Epiros. Tarentum needed a champion, and Pyrrhos was the greatest general of the post-Alexander generation.

Now you, King Pyrrhos, have accepted the challenge. Thirty nine years of age, veteran of the intrigues, campaigns and great battles of the Wars of the Diadochi, you have used all your resources and prestige to prepare for this expedition to Italy. Your rivals in Greece – Ptolemy Keraunos of Macedon, Antigonas II Gonatas, even Antiochus I of the Seleucids and Ptolemy II of Egypt, have all given you soldiers, moneys, even Asian war elephants, so keen are they to see you depart Greece! Now, just as Alexander the Great conquered the Orient, you, Pyrrhos the Great, will conquer the West! Only you can save the Greeks of the West from falling under the domination of Rome and Carthage. King Pyrrhos will be master of Italy, Sicily, perhaps even Carthage and Libya!

Cisalpine Gaul



Several major Celtic tribes migrated into the Po Valley in Italy in c. 400 BC; the Laevi and Lebecii occupied the lands near the Upper Po, the Insubres and Cenomani settled on the north bank of the river, while the Boii, Lingones and Senones settled along the Adriatic coast south of the Po River. The Boii and Insubres were the largest and most powerful of these tribes. The former Etruscan domination of the region was swept aside, and the Celts became masters of the Po Valley. The Etruscan settlement at Felsina fell before the Celtic onslaught, and became Bononia - the chief settlement of the Boii tribal confederation. It appears that Ligurian tribes were also forced southward to the Apennines by the Celtic invasion.

The Celtic invaders not only occupied the land, and undermined Etruria Padana to its very foundation, but they also replaced the Etruscans as the chief middlemen between the Mediterranean and central Europe beyond the Alps. The new Celtic masters of the Po region embraced certain elements of the Etruscan lifestyle (wine, meat and athletic games), and there occurred a gradual "Etruscanization" of the upper level of Celtic society. Nevertheless, the organization of the region by "city" was now replaced by vici (agricultural settlements on plains) and oppidum (hillforts charged with the defence and control of the surrounding territory).

After 400 BC Celtic raiders, warbands and mercenaries are reported throughout Italy. In 387/86 the Senones led by Brennus inflicted a decisive defeat upon Rome at the Battle of the Allia and they went on to sack Rome itself! This is an event that has forever scarred the folk memory of Rome. This defeat encouraged Rome to build stronger city defences – the Servian Wall – and to abandon the Greek-style phalanx and re-organise their military organization. There were several major incursions of Celtic armies into central Italy in the following years, and the sources report them in 356 BC and 344 BC. In around 330 BC the Celts of the Po Valley concluded a formal treaty with the Romans, and there ensued a thirty year period of peace (Polybius, 2.18). In 299 BC further war erupted, and the Celtic tribes are reported as joining alternatively with the Etruscans and the Samnites to combat the growing power of Rome. The Third Samnite War ended in 290 BC without either the Celts or the Etruscans being completely subjugated by Rome; the Senones, however, who lived in Picenum, were expelled from their homeland, and the Romans planted a colony there "... and they named it Sena after the Gallic tribe which had

previously inhabited it." (Polybius, 2.19). This example struck fear in the Boii, who lived just north of Picenum, and who now feared that Rome sought not simply suzerainty over them, but to expel them from their homeland.

In the following years the Etruscan cities of Volsinii and Vulci fomented unrest against the Romans, and in 285 secured an alliance with the Boii and Senone chieftains of Cisalpine Gaul. A large Celtic army marched southward into Italy in 284, intending to join their Etruscan allies, and besieged the Roman city of Arretium en route. A large Roman army was dispatched to raise the siege, and suffered a crushing defeat at Arretium in 283. The Celts and Etruscans then advanced upon Rome, but they were destroyed in a decisive battle at Lake Vadimone in 282 BC by the consul P. Cornelius Dolabella, during which the Senonian contingent was completely destroyed. The Etruscans and Boii fought on, but they were again defeated by Rome at Vetulonia in 282 BC by the new consul Q Aemilius Papus, after which they sued for peace and submitted to Rome.

The situation at game start (280 BC) reflects this recent victory. The Celtic peoples of Cisalpine Gaul are 'allies of Rome', forced to accept Roman supremacy in central Italy. You will need to move quickly to expand your territory in order to stabilise your income. Although you start the game as allies, and Rome is fighting a new war against Epiros, if the Romans are victorious it will not be long before they resume their advance northward into Cisalpine Gaul. To secure your regions, you should prepare for war. You can either assist Epirus by betraying Rome and attacking it from the north, obliging the Romans to fight on two fronts, or hold back and prepare to fight the victorious faction. Assemble your armies carefully for the war will be one of attrition with the winner will be the faction that looks after its population carefully and is able to call upon reserves when needed.

Celtiberia



There is no doubting that the Celtiberians were a tough race of warriors. At Numantia, a force of six to eight thousand men held out against sixty thousand Romans under the command of Scipio for over a year.

The engagements as a rule were only stopped by darkness, the combatants refusing either to let their courage flag or to yield to bodily fatigue, and ever rallying, recovering confidence and beginning afresh.

Polybius, The Histories (XXXV.1)

Scipio Africanus had wrested Spain away from Carthage at the Battle of Ilipa in 206 BC and ended the Second Punic War four years later at the Battle of Zama. But subjugation of the Iberian Peninsula would require another two hundred years of intermittent and often savage warfare, in which Rome, at least in Cicero's estimation, struggled "as with deadly enemies, not to determine which should be supreme, but which should survive" (De Officiis, I.38).

Tough warriors ready to fight and die for their freedom, The Celtiberians infantry require no recruitment costs, though they will require maintenance.

Kingdom of Massyli



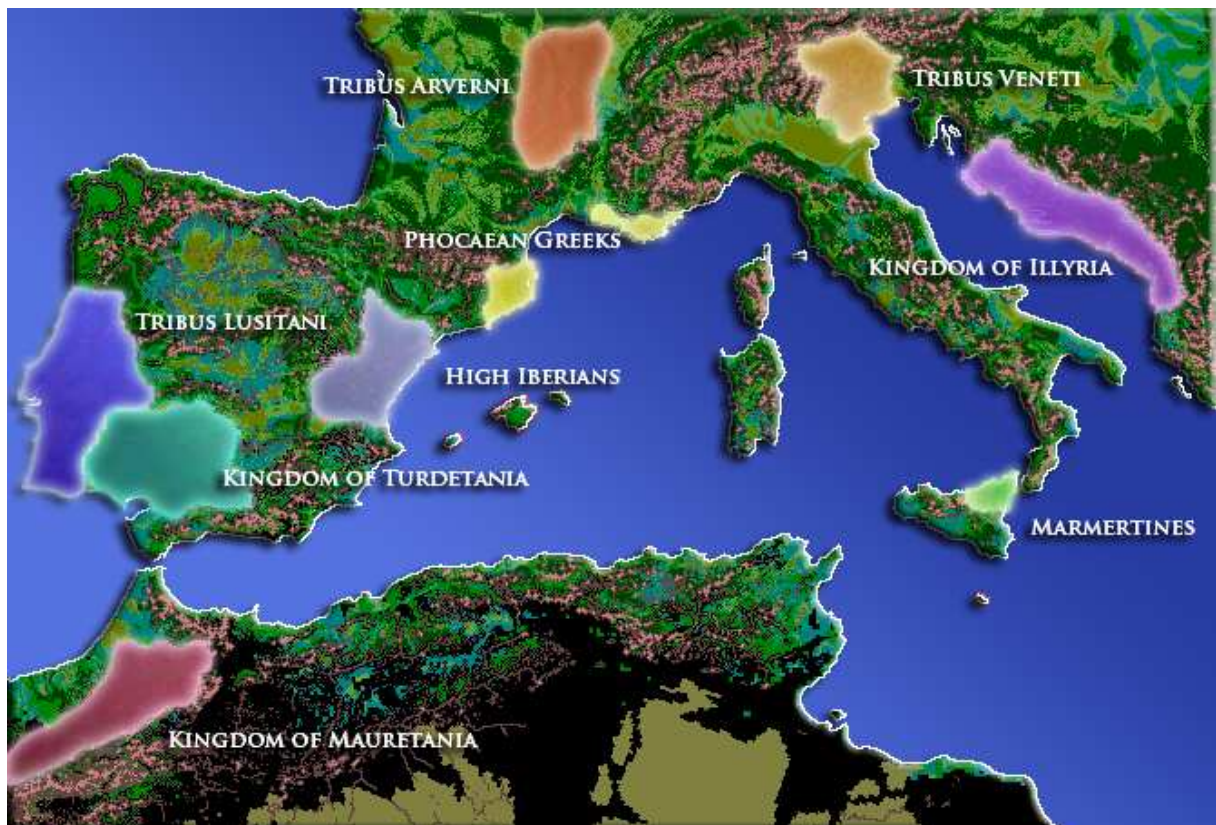
The name Numidia was first applied by Polybius and other historians, during the third century BC, to indicate the territory west of Carthage, including the entire north of Algeria as far as the river Mulucha (Muluya), about 100 miles west of Oran. The Numidians were conceived of as two great tribal groups: the Massylii in eastern Numidia, and the Masaesyli in the west.

Threatened by one of the strongest and most established factions, it is up to you to decide when and where to strike. Be warned though, the consequences of mistiming your strike for power will be severe and unrelenting for you will not be forgiven until your empire is in ruins.

Mini Factions

In FoE there are many so called “mini-factions” which represent small tribes or city-states. Those mini-factions can be split up in three main groups:

- Autonomoi Poleis
- Autonomoi Dynastai
- Barbaroi



Autonomoi Poleis

The Autonomoi Poleis all have a Greek culture. The mini-factions belonging to this group are:

- High Iberians
- Phocaeen Greeks
- Tribus Veneti
- Mamertines

High Iberians

The city of Saguntum is located in Suite 1 of the Mini-Factions, that is, the Greek culture suite. This is a compromise forced upon us by the RTW engine; Saguntum was not a Greek city. Rather, it was an indigenous Iberian polity. Nonetheless, the Iberians of Levantine Spain north of Mastia were greatly influenced by their interactions with the Greeks of Massalia and Emporion (as well as the Punic contact), and the Hellenic influences are apparent in the archaeology of the Middle and Late Iberian Periods.

Saguntum & the Middle Iberian Period (450-325 BC) and Late Iberian Period (325-200 BC)

In the period after 500 BC the native Iberian tribes of southeastern and eastern Spain formed a complex of states or petty kingdoms. These polities, dominated by indigenous elites, typically comprised significant urban settlements that controlled and dominated surrounding territories comprised of smaller, rural settlements. The archaeological record depicts these Iberian polities as reflecting growing urban populations, an increasing number of inhabited sites, and increased specialist production. This production varies from agriculture, to mining, to the manufacturing of pottery. The urban sites show evidence of a highly developed literate culture, with coinage, and images linked to an ideological superstructure, including public places, temples and sacred precincts, necropolises, evidence of social and political elites inhabiting palace complexes, and walled fortifications. Saguntum was a walled settlement built on a hill commanding the coastal plain, and by 218 BC had become a commercially prosperous town. Its coins show both Punic and Italic influences (a Saguntine coin is attached). Livy describes Saguntum as "... possessing great wealth thanks to their maritime and agricultural activities" (Livy, 21.6).

The sources do not tell us about the rulers of Saguntum. It is probable that the city had a republican style constitution, with regularly chosen magistrates and officials. Livy speaks of a Saguntine Senate and a general, and implies an assembly of citizens (Livy, 21.13). Such places were ruled in practice by their local oligarchic elites. While many Iberian towns were the centre of feudal domains, with "kings" at the top, it appears Saguntum remained an independent city.

Iberia was at this time was a jumble of rich towns (including Phoenician and Greek colonies) and rural cantons throughout the broad fertile basin of the River Baetis (Guadalquivir) and along the Levantine coast from Cape de la Nao to Pyrenees. There was a significant degree of Punic and Hellenic acculturation in this Iberian cultural zone of Spain. The period of Orientalization (750-550 BC) and the continuing presence of Punic colonists in southern Spain all ensure that the Middle and Late Iberian periods were heavily influenced by the forms of urban culture prevailing elsewhere in the Mediterranean; for example, the goddess Tanit was widely worshipped.[1] There is evidence for a high representation of Punic deities in the religion of the southern Iberian (Turdetanian) peoples; the bull-warrior motif depicted on Tartessian stelae is, like the stelae found in the Middle East, a representation of the storm god Baal Haddad, and indicative of the transformation of local iconography.[2]

Throughout the period 550-237 BC the Carthaginian authorities regularly recruited mercenaries from Iberia for military service in Sicily, Sardinia and Africa. Numismatic evidence from El Gandul (Alcalá de Guadaíra in the province of Seville) suggests that a military camp and recruitment centre for mercenaries may have existed in this area sometime in the fourth century B.C.[3]

Throughout the period 550-237 BC the Punic colonies in Spain made no attempt to expand their domain vis a vis their Iberian neighbours. Instead, throughout this time, the miscellany of Iberian kinglets and cities in southern Spain continued to enjoy active trade relationships with their Punic neighbours. In eastern Spain in around 400-300 BC a wave of destruction of important Iberian towns and villages has been detected. Many were strongly fortified, but still succumbed, and were either left deserted or reoccupied in a poor way afterwards. About the same time were built systems of small Punic forts in the provinces of Jaen and Cordoba, as if to block access into southern Andalusia from the north. It is unclear from the archaeological record whether this conflict in eastern Spain is because of Carthaginian activity, or increased strife between the Iberian kingdoms themselves. Certainly the Carthaginians probably exploited such strife to secure more silver, or cheaper mercenaries with whom to fight the Greeks in Sicily.[4]

Saguntum enjoyed lively trade connections with the Greek colonies of Emporion and Massalia, the Punic parts of southern Spain, and her own Iberian neighbours. The most important of these were the neighbouring Kingdom of Edetani. Sometime in around 225 BC Saguntum struck a political friendship with Rome. This alliance relationship between Saguntum and Rome may well have been the initiative of the Massaliots, who were long-time Roman allies.[5] Whether the "alliance" between Saguntum was a regular alliance (a *societas* resting on a *foedus* or formal treaty) or a *dediticii* (whereby the Saguntines had surrendered themselves into Roman *fides*) is still debated by scholars. It was Roman arbitrators that settled a domestic factional struggle among the Saguntines in around 220. Predictably, the Roman arbitrators entrenched the diehard pro-independence Saguntine faction in power, putting to death several of their opponents to do so. Those put to death were likely favouring bringing Saguntum into the Punic empire as subordinate allies, like so many other Iberian communities.[6] Saguntum did have disputatious neighbours who became Punic subjects in around 220 when Hannibal spread his hegemony across Spain to the Duero and Ebro. This meant that Saguntum was surrounded by Punic subjects or dependents. A dispute between a Punic dependency, probably the Edetani[7], and the Saguntines was used the basis for an attack upon Saguntum by Hannibal, and the triggering of the Second Punic War.

I could only find two Saguntine names in the sources; the Saguntine Alco was an envoy of Saguntum that deserted to Hannibal, while Alorcus "... was at that time a soldier of Hannibal's, but he was officially regarded as a friend and foreign representative of the people of Saguntum" (Livy, 21.12). Silius Italicus in Book 2 of *Punica* speaks of Marrus and his wife Tiburna.

[1] Juan A Santos Velasco, *City and state in Pre-Roman Spain: the example of Illici*, *Antiquity* 68 (1994), pp. 289-99.

[2] Sebastian Celistino Perez & Caroline Lopez-Ruiz, *New light on the warrior-stelae from Tartessos (Spain)*, *Antiquity* 80 (2006), pp. 89-101.

[3] R. Pliego Vazquez, *Sobre el reclutamiento de mercenarios turdetanos: el campamento cartaginés de el gandul*, *Habis* 34 (2003), *Alcalá de Guadaíra*, Sevilla, pp. 39-56.

[4] Richard J Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History: Iberians, Phoenicians and Greeks*, Thames & Hudson, 1988, pp. 89-92.

[5] Frank R Kramer, *Massilian Diplomacy before the Second Punic War*, *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 69, No. 1, 1948, pp. 1-26.

[6] Dexter Hoyos, *Hannibal's Dynasty. Power and Politics in the western Mediterranean 247-183 BC*, Routledge: London, 2005, p. 93.

[7] Called by Livy the *Turitani*, and by Appian the *Torboletae*, these were probably the Iberian hill-dwellers the Edetani, whose centre Edeta (modern Llíria) lay only 20 miles inland from Saguntum. See B D Hoyos, *Unplanned Wars. The Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars*, Walter de Gruyter: New York, 1998, pp. 187-191.

Phocaeen Greeks

Beginning in c. 600 BC there emerged in the West a new Greek colonial enterprise, launched from the Greek city of Phocaea. Phocaea was a Greek city on the Ionian coastline, that is, the Aegean coast of modern Turkey, near modern Izmir (Smyrna). The Phocaeans were intrepid sailors, sailing the Mediterranean in their 'penekonters', and plying the seas of the western Mediterranean for the dual purposes of trade and piracy. Herodotus reports: "The Phocaeans were the first Greeks to make long sea voyages; it was they who showed the way to the Adriatic Sea, Tyrrhenia, Iberia, and Tartessus. They used to sail not in deep, broad-beamed merchant

vessels but in fifty-oared galleys.”[1] In around 600 BC the Phocaeans also became active colonists, motivated by a desire to escape their homeland, which at this time came under increasing pressure from the expanding Neo-Babylonian and then Persian Empires.

In around 600 BC the Phocaeans established a large colony at Massalia (modern Marseilles) near the mouth of the Rhone, at the terminus of a great trade route that followed the valley of the Rhone and its tributaries and connected the Mediterranean with central Europe. The Phocaeans had to go to the furthest shores of the Mediterranean to plant their colonies because that was all that was left; Phoenicians, Etruscans and earlier waves of Greek colonists had occupied all the other sites in the western Mediterranean. Yet the other attraction of Massalia was trade; Massalia was not only a location from which the trade of the Rhone Valley could be accessed and dominated, but also a place which might access the valuable metals trade with ‘Tartessos’ in southern Spain.[2] Legend says that the Phocaeen colonists were led by Protis, were hospitably received by the local Celtic chieftain, Nannos, and that Protis wed Nanno’s daughter Gyptis. Thus the house of Prodiadai was founded in Massalia. This peace with the local Celtic and Ligurian tribes appears to have lasted only one generation; the sources record how Nanno’s son Comanus mounted an unsuccessful attack on the city, and that thereafter the Massaliots ‘fought great wars with the Ligurians and with the Gauls.’[3]

Massalia was a strategic position from which to dominate the tin trade. The chief sources of tin were Brittany, Cornwall and the Scilly islands, from where it traveled down the Rhone by barge to reach the Mediterranean. Massalia prospered, and itself established further colonies at Emporia (Ampurias) in Catalonia in c. 550 BC, Nikaia (modern Nice) along the coast of Cote d’Azur, and in c. 560 BC Alalia (modern Aleria), at the mouth of the river Tavignano in Corsica. The Phocaeans may also have interacted with the Nuragic tribes in Sardinia. There is evidence of contact between the Greeks at Pithekoussai and the Nuragic people so it is clear that Sardinia was known to the early Greek colonists who plied the Tyrrhenian Sea.[4] It is possible that the Phocaeans established a minor settlement at Olbia, in northeastern Sardinia at this time. By 540 BC Massalia was manufacturing amphorae and exporting local wine throughout the valley of the Rhone, and wine quickly became a popular trade item for the Celtic peoples of the interior. The distribution of Greek amphorae reveal that Massalia controlled extensive trade routes inland into Gaul, along the Rhone and Aude river routes, from which they procured tin, slaves and amber.[5] It is believed that the art of viticulture was introduced into France by the Phocaeans at this time[6], and that it was confined to the Massalia region until c. 120 BC[7].

The foundation of Massalia, and the ensuing flow of Greek goods into northern Europe, may have influenced the growing power of the west Halstatt chiefdoms (Halstatt D period of the ancient Celts, c. 600-440 BC), and contributed to the aristocratic culture of the west Halstatt zone. The Rhone corridor saw a massive movement of goods and commodities, and Massalia developed markets in the hinterland of Western Europe.[8] As can be seen on the map above, Massalia accessed and developed a major axis of contact between the ancient Halstatt Celts and the Mediterranean economic system, that competed with, and may well have supplanted, older axis of contact between the Etruscans and the Celts across the Po Valley and the Alps.

The period of intensive Phocaeen trade in southern Spain lasted less than a century – from around 600-500 BC. The sources assert early Greek contacts with Iberia[9], but only the Phocaeans established a systemic challenge to the long-standing Phoenician trade monopoly there. The geographical location of Pithecusae made it a good base from which to explore the mineral resources of Italy and to navigate the west to trade all manner of Greek and non-Greek (Cypriot & Phoenician) goods. Following the ancient place-names with an –ussa ending, we can hypothesize as to the Phocaeans sea route that linked ‘Tartessos’ with Magna Graecia and thence the Aegean. From the Bay of Naples, and Cumae the oldest Greek city in the West, the Phocaeen navigators would travel to the northeastern portion of Sardinia (Ichnussa), where they may have had a resting place and refuge at Olbia. From here, the Phocaeans traveled to the Balearic

Islands, Menorca may have been named Melussa, Mallorca Kromyussa, while the lesser islands were named Pityussae and Formentera was named Ophiussa. From these islands, the Phocaeans could cross to the Cabo de la Nao, and travel southward along the Spanish coastline to reach the Straits of Gibraltar. The sources report that the Phocaeans established minor ports-of-call and trading posts here, Hemeroskopeion ('Fort Look-out') and Mainake. Archaeologists have been unable to locate these settlements, but they are both likely to have been proximate to the Cabo de la Nao, and Rhys Carpenter believed that Hemeroskopeion should be located on the Ifach Peninsula (Denia). Navigation of these waters must have been unavoidable on the sea route to Tartessos. From these locations, the Phocaeans penetrated the long-standing Phoenician monopoly in southern Spain, and traded directly with Tartessos for precious metals, silver and gold.[10]

It is likely that Huelva, the major urban center of 'Tartessos', was an open port, and was visited by Greek traders at this time. The archaeological record there reveals an increase in Greek commodities at Huelva in the late seventh century BC, which intensified throughout the sixth century BC. The majority of the Greek pottery in Huelva came from the Greek motherland.[11]

The transformation in the Mediterranean trade routes that connecting the world trade system with southern Iberia is dramatically revealed in a study of items of Iberian manufactures outside the peninsula by Ulrich Morgenroth. The Iberian exports of the period prior to around 600 BC are found only in areas of extensive Phoenician activity, such as Sardinia, Carthage and Sicily. After 600 BC, however, the evidence supports the notion of a shift in trade stimulated by the appearance of Greek (Phocaeen) traders from Massalia, and the emergence of an Iberia-Massalia-Halstatt route. The Massaliots, astride a trade route that connected central Europe with Iberia, had become the major protagonists of the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean.[12]

In around 560 BC the city-state of Phocaea lost its independence to the Lydians, and in 546 BC the city fell to the Persian army of Cyrus the Great, commanded by Harpagos, who reduced the whole region to obedience. Herodotus reports that half of the remaining Greek population there resolved to immigrate west, rather than remain in their ancient home under Persian suzerainty. These Phocaeans resolved to sail west, and settle at the pre-existing Phocaeen colony at Alalia on Corsica, which they had founded twenty years earlier. From Alalia in Corsica, the Phocaeans conducted an indiscriminate piracy against their neighbours. The remaining Phocaeans remained behind, as Persian subjects.[13]

In this manner, between 600-540 550 BC, the Phocaeans succeeded in establishing a strong presence in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea. The network of Phocaeen colonies in the West – Alalia, Massalia, Nikaia, Emporion, Mainake, Hemeroskopeion (and perhaps Olbia in Sardinia?) – collectively commanded lucrative maritime trade networks reaching southern Iberia and 'Tartessos', the Ligurian coastline, and the Rhone River trade artery reaching into central Europe – all to the detriment of both the long-standing Phoenician trade monopoly in Iberia and the long-standing Etruscan trade monopoly along the Ligurian coast and transalpine routes into central Europe. The voyages of Greek merchant-adventurers like Kolaos the Samian in c. 638 BC and Pytheas of Massalia in c. 500 BC are reported as interacting with the indigenous Iberian kingdoms and the Atlantic trade systems at this time.

Persian rule of the Greek population of western Anatolia, Cyprus and the Aegean islands was unpopular, and in 499 BC the 'Ionian Rebellion' erupted. The rebellion was finally defeated by the Persians in 494 BC, when the Ionian fleet was destroyed at the sea battle of Lade, and thereafter the city of Miletus was invested by land and sea and overwhelmed. At Lade the Ionian fleet was commanded by the Phocaeen Dionysus. The Persian fleet – largely comprised of Phoenician ships – decisively defeated the Ionian Greeks. Once again, the city of Phocaea was forced to return to Persian obedience. Herodotus reports that the Phocaeen survivors turned to piracy in the west;

“Meanwhile the Phocaean commander Dionysus, who had captured three enemy vessels in the course of the engagement, also made good his escape once he realized that all was lost. He did not, however, make for Phocaea, because he knew his people would share the fate of all the Ionians and be reduced to slavery; instead he set his course, without further preparation, straight for Phoenicia, where he sank a number of cargo-vessels and took them property of considerable value; he then sailed for Sicily, which he made his base for piratical raids against Carthaginian and Tyrrhenian [Etruscan] shipping – Greek ships he never molested.”[14]

It is clear that Carthage and the Massaliots fought a series of sea battles in the waters of Mediterranean Iberia. References to sea battles between Carthage and the Massaliots found in the sources could not refer to the encounter at Alalia, given that that battle ended in Phocaean retreat, whereas later sea battles were the occasion for the establishment of trophies at Delphi. Pausanias observes that;

“Marseilles is a colony of Ionian Phokaia founded by a detachment of Phokaian refugees from Harpagos the Persian. They beat the Carthaginians in a sea battle and obtained the territory they have now.”

and;

“The Apollo nearest to the lion is a tribute from Marseilles, the pickings of the spoils from the naval battle against Carthage.”[15]

Justin records that the Massaliots: “... had great wars with the Ligurians and Gauls, which increased the fame of their city, and rendered the valour of the Greeks, by their manifold victories, renowned among their neighbours. The forces of the Carthaginians, too, in a war which rose between them about the capture of some fishing boats, they often routed, and granted them peace under defeat...”[16] Thucydides also notes that “The Phocaeans, who founded Marseilles, conquered the Carthaginians in a sea-fight.”[17] Strabo observes that in his day Massalia was crammed with war memorials from past naval victories “over those unjustly disputing command of the high seas”. Given the reputation of the Phocaeans as pirates, these comments may very well indicate that the Massaliots remained active in their immediate waters in the northern Tyrrhenian Sea as raiders and freebooters.[18]

It appears that while Carthage was able to eliminate Phocaean/Massaliot trading posts and maritime competition in southern Iberia and in the seas around the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and Corsica, they were nevertheless unable to prevail against them in the Golfe du Lion. Here it seems the Massaliots were victorious in at least one significant sea battle, and thereby able to maintain a sphere of influence that encompassed trading rights along the Mediterranean coastline of the Iberian Peninsula, at least as far south as Mastia.[19]

Massalia appears to have entered into a period of economic stagnation and recession in around 500 BC. Carthaginian and Etruscan competition had successfully limited Massaliot access to Spain and the Tyrrhenian Sea. At around this time the Rhone trade route too declined. The Celtic migrations that were now underway in west central Europe disrupted the long-established economic networks that connected the Atlantic façade with the Mediterranean, and would continue to do so for the next century. The Halstatt D period of the ancient Celts now gave way to the ‘La Tene’ phase. As Barry Cunliffe observes “In Brittany, north-western France, the Low Countries and Britain there is a marked diminution in the volume of centrally produced goods and ideas absorbed into local repertoires.”[20]

The ‘La Tene’ chiefdoms now occupied the hinterland around Massalia, reflected in a series of small, heavily fortified settlements, some with Greek-inspired constructions and houses. It is

possible that at least some of these 'oppida' were under the political control of Massalia, paying tribute in the form of meat and staples. Economic revival did not begin at Massalia until 100 BC, when the trade of the Atlantic façade again became dynamic.[21] Massalia occasionally struggled to maintain its independence from the Celtic and Ligurian tribes that surrounded her, and there was sporadic warfare between the Massaliots and Ligurians. Hemmed in by the mountains, Massalia had few natural avenues for territorial expansion.

In this context, the Phocaeans reorganized their trade in the West, based on Massalia and Emporion, which now invested in trade routes and networks with the southeast of Spain and the Ebro Valley. Founded in the beginning of the sixth century BC, Emporion grew from being a small trading post – dependent upon Massalia – into a significant urban settlement by the mid-fifth century BC. Emporion became the center of Greek trade directed at the Spanish Levant, channeling the Greek exchanges with the Iberian world. While Massalia remained stagnant and restricted to its own hinterland, Emporion developed a system for producing and trading in grain on an unprecedented scale.[22] Interestingly, Emporion appears to have become a major trading partner of Punic Gadir from the mid-fifth century BC until the end of the fourth century BC. Archaeology reveals that Gadir provided Emporion with its whole repertoire of trade products, in exchange for Greek olive oil and wine, manufactured products from the central Mediterranean metal industry, and Attic pottery. These imports were used at Gadir in its own transactions with the Turdetan world.[23]

The remarkable group of sculptures in soft limestone discovered in the ancient city of Obulco (modern Porcuna), in Oretania (modern Jaen), in southern Iberia, were probably a heroon or tumulus for a local leader, and are dated to the second half of the fifth century BC. In a distinctive Greek style, the sculptures were probably made by Phocaean artists. They are testament to the continuing influence of Greek Phocaean culture emanating from Emporion and the Massaliot trade along the Mediterranean coastline of the Iberian Peninsula.[24] While Massalia and Emporion developed an extensive trade during the Middle Iberian period (450-325 BC) and Late Iberian period (325-200 BC) with the Iberian polities of the Guadalquivir and Ebro Valleys and eastern Spain (evidenced by the archaeology at Elche, ancient Ilici)[25], they would never again threaten Phoenician-Punic power in Spain.

It appears that Massalia and Emporion remained suspicious of Carthage in the centuries ahead, and this served as the stimuli for ever closer relations between the Massaliots and Rome. As early as the Gallic invasion of Italy in 390 BC there was a formal treaty between Rome and Massalia granting Massaliots *aequum ius*, 'equal rights', at Rome, as well as immunity from taxation, reserved seats at the theatre and other marks of recognition. This alliance between Rome and Massalia had several advantages for Rome; Massalia was a useful naval ally, Massalia had some control and influence over the road to Spain, and Massalia gave Rome a 'window' into Gaul.[26]

Massalia did not have a large army. Native Massaliots were liable to military service, something like the *ephebes* which were familiar in Athens, but these were unable to fill out the numbers required. The bulk of Massalia's army accordingly seems to have been Ligurian mercenaries and auxiliaries, with a stiffening of Massaliot officers, the Albici (a Ligurian tribe living around modern Riez) being particularly prominent). In the Second Punic War (218 BC) Livy mentions Celtic mercenaries in Massaliot service (Livy, 3.41.9). Yet in Massaliot eyes the army ranked as the Senior service, its general being commander in chief of the city and outranking the admiral of the fleet.

[1] Herodotus 1.163.

[2] A Trevor Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 56-57 and 62-67.

- [3] A Trevor Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1998, p. 94.
- [4] David Ridgeway, 'Sardinia and the First Western Greeks', in Mriam S Balmuth (ed.), *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology*, Vol. II, Ann Arbor, The University of Mitchigan Press, 1986, pp. 172-185.
- [5] Barry Cuncliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*, Penguin Books, London, 2002.
- [6] Justin XLIII, 4.2
- [7] Billiard, *La Vigne dans l'Antiquite*, p. 81, as N.37 in J M De Navarro, 'Massilia and Early Celtic Culture', *Antiquity*, Vol. 2, No. 4, (December 1928), pp. 423-442.
- [8] Barry Cuncliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, Penguin Books, 1999, p. 51-63.
- [9] There is the story of the Greek trader Colaeus, driven to Tartessus (Spain) by a storm while making for Egypt in c. 638BC, and traded his cargo of pottery for silver, returning home fabulously rich. Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners*, 2nd Edition, Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 61-73.
- [10] Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain*, Bryn Mawr Notes & Monographs VI, Bryn Mawr College, 1925.
- [11] Ulrich Morgenroth, *Southern Iberia in the Early Iron Age*, BAR International Series 1330, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2004, p. 31.
- [12] Ulrich Morgenroth, 'Southern Iberia and the Mediterranean Trade-Routes', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18(4), 1999, pp. 395-401.
- [13] Herodotus, 1.164-166; Leonard Woodbury, 'Apollodorus, Xenophanes, and the Foundation of Massilia', *Phoenix*, Vo. 15, No. 3, Autumn 1961, pp. 134-155.
- [14] Herodotus, 6.17.
- [15] Pausanias, X.8.4, 18.6.
- [16] Justin, XLIII, 5.2.
- [17] Thucydides I.13.
- [18] A Trevor Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 98-99.
- [19] P Bosch-Gimpera, 'The Phokaians in the Far West: An Historical Reconstruction', *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. ½, Jan-April 1944, pp. 53-59.
- [20] Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, Penguin Books, London, 1999, p. 154.
- [21] Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe before History: New Studies in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 327-328.
- [22] E Sanmarti, 'La Tumba Cazurro de la Necropolis emporitana de 'El Portixol' y algunos apuntes acerca de la economia de Emporion en el siglo V a.C.', *Archivo Espanol de Arqueologia* 69, 1997, pp. 17-36.
- [23] Paloma Cabera, 'Greek Trade in Iberia: The Extent of Interaction', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 17(2), 1998, pp. 191-206.
- [24] J M Blazquez & J Gonzalez Navarrete, 'The Phokaian Sculpture of Obulco in Southern Spain', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 89, No. 1, Centennial Issue, Jan. 1985, pp. 61-69.
- [25] B B Shefton, 'Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case in Iberia in the Fifth Century BC', in *Social Complexity and the Development of Towns in Iberia. From the*

Copper Age to the Second Century AD, Barry Cuncliffe & Simon Keay (eds.), Proceedings of the British Academy 86, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 127-155.

[26] A Trevor Hodge, *Ancient Greek France, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 100-101.*

Tribus Veneti

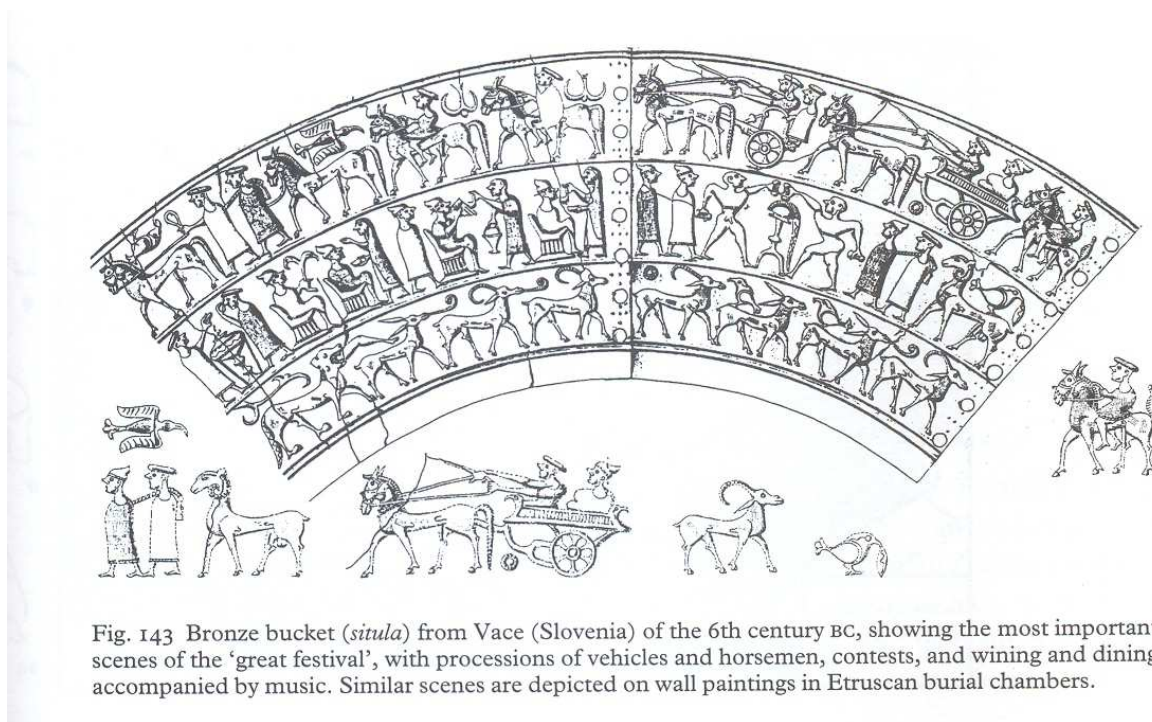


Fig. 143 Bronze bucket (*situla*) from Vace (Slovenia) of the 6th century BC, showing the most important scenes of the 'great festival', with processions of vehicles and horsemen, contests, and wining and dining accompanied by music. Similar scenes are depicted on wall paintings in Etruscan burial chambers.

With the advent of the early Iron Age in Italy in the ninth century BC, regional differences begin to manifest themselves in the archaeological record, reflecting the linguistic and ethnic diversity which later characterized pre-Roman Italy in historical times. For example, to take funerary customs, for which archaeological data are the most plentiful, inhumation predominated in the region east and south of an imaginary line drawn between Rimini and Rome, whereas cremation was the most prevalent burial custom west and north of this line. The inhabitants of the latter area placed the ashes in a bi-conical urn, covered it with an inverted bowl or helmet, and deposited the vessel in a pit grave. This culture, which was common throughout Etruria and much of the Po Valley, takes its name from Villanova, a hamlet near Bologna (Bononia) in southeastern Cisalpine Gaul, which was the first site of this type excavated by Count Gozzadini during the 1850s. By the middle of the eighth century BC the "Villanovan Culture" of Etruria was evolving into what soon became the Etruscan civilization, while the Villanovan Culture of the eastern Po Valley developed into what archaeologists call the "Este Culture".

This "Este Culture" is what later became known to historians as the Veneti.

Linguistically, the Este Culture was characterized by a non-Indo-European language whose origin and connection with other known languages are still enigmatic. The tongue of the Este Culture was named Veneti by the Romans, and Enetoi by the Greeks, and is generally believed to

belong to the Italic family of Indo-European languages, although this is a matter of sharp debate [1]. The Italic family of Indo-European languages included Latin, Oscan, Umbrian as well as Venetic. The Veneti language is attested by over 300 short inscriptions dating from between the 6th century BC and 1st century.

Hence, it is likely that the Etruscan and Venetic languages were already established in their respective areas at the beginning of the Iron Age, and these two populations, though linguistically distinct, for a time shared a common material culture.

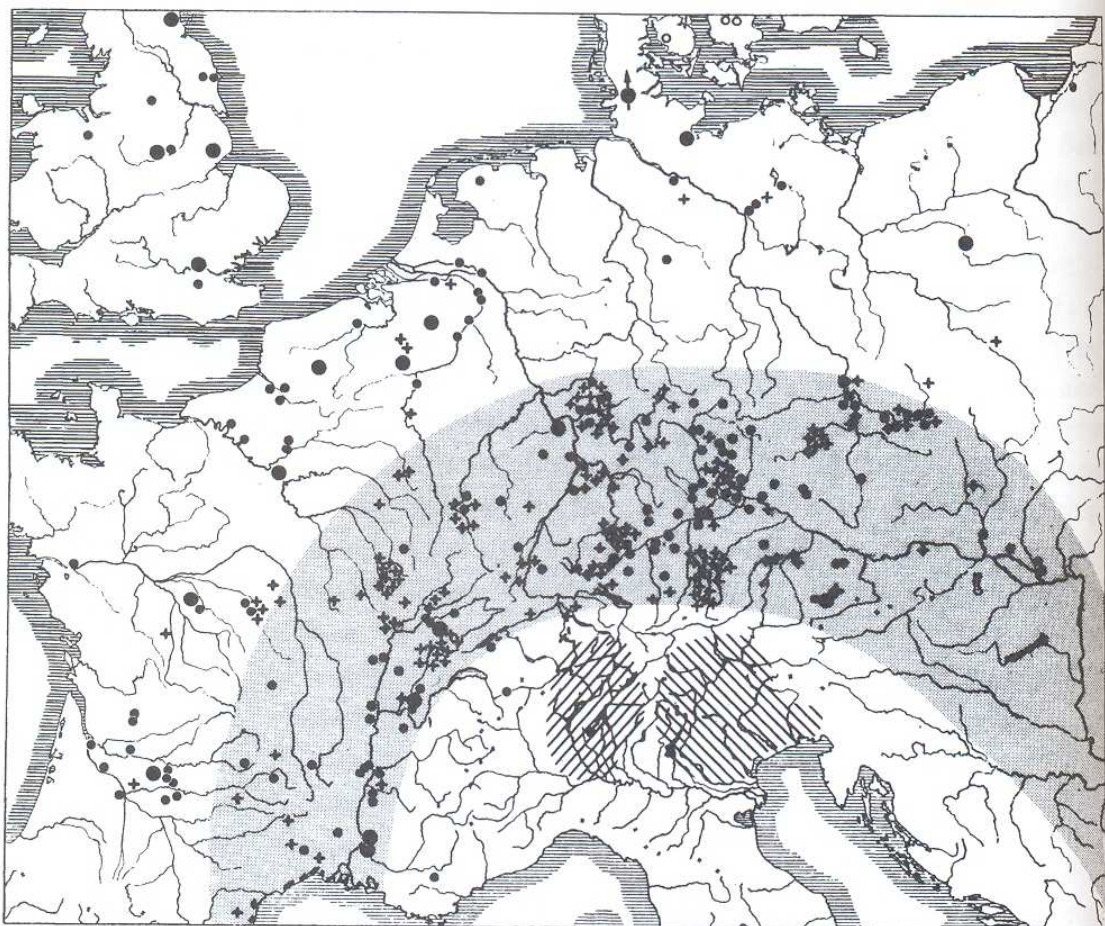


Fig. 111 The initial phase of centre–periphery formation during the early Hallstatt period, a warrior zone being formed around the Adriatic cultural *koine* of early city states, reflected by the distribution of the Hallstatt iron sword (the western Hallstatt) and fortified chiefly centres in the eastern Hallstatt (not mapped). Buffer cultures define the border zone between centre and periphery (Este and Golasecca). Beyond the periphery bronze weapons still dominate: solid circle = bronze sword; cross = iron sword; hatched = Este and Golasecca.

The people of the “Este Culture”, henceforth known as the Veneti, occupied the eastern Po Valley, specifically the shore of the Adriatic from Trieste to the mouth of the Po River. As they occupied the southern flank of the Alps, the Veneti were in a prime position to control the routes connecting the Etruscan city-states with the Transalpine Celtic zone. The Early and Late “Hallstatt Culture” of the Celts in central Europe was fed commercially by the Etruscans and Greeks via the Veneti and Golasecca cultures of the Po Valley. For this reason, the Veneti – together with the “Golasecca Culture” who spoke the now extinct Lepontic language, and

inhabited the western Po Valley – prospered, owing their riches to their central position. In the period c. 600-400 BC this trade intensified, as Etruscan colonies on the Adriatic at Spina and Adria, together with Greek colonies in the Adriatic, were established. The Golasecca and Este Cultures became a bridge between the Mediterranean states and the changing Halstatt world, trading metals and prestige items to the north, and amber and horses southward to the Etruscans and Greeks (Herodotus, 5.9)[2].

“[In northern Italy we see an] expansion of metalwork and trade at important transition zones, leading to the formation of new elites and regional cultural traditions in the southern Alps at nodal points of transfer between Italy and the Alpine region. These come to form the Este and Golasecca cultures.”[3]

The indigenous Italic-Villanovan material culture of the Veneti absorbed significant Etruscan and Greek influences during the period 600-400 BC. The Este begin using the Etruscan alphabet (itself derived from the Phoenician) to develop their own script. As a result of this exchange, the Veneti adopted Etruscan material culture, ideology and institutions, and urban settlements, of which Este and Padua were the most significant [4]. Kristiansen goes so far as to call the Golasecca and Este cultures “northern provinces of Etruscan culture”;

“The Hellenisation, or, more precisely, the acculturation to an Etruscan lifestyle must have been considerable in Slovenia, but of course it had already been underway since the 7th century. The exchange was not only of goods but also of craft specialists, as well as dynastic marriages, was the basis of this development, turning Slovenia into a barbarian Etruscan province.”[5]

In c. 400 BC the Cisalpine region was transformed by the Celtic migrations. Celts of the “Early La

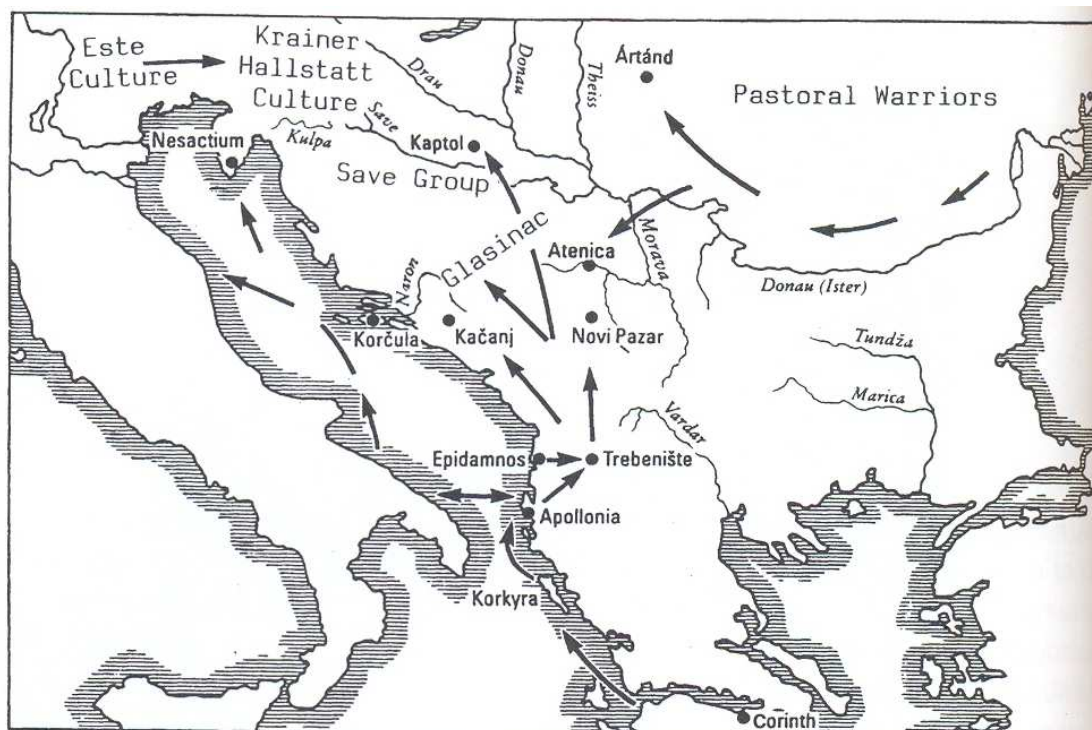


Fig. 115 Greek imports and lines of influence in the Balkans during the Early Iron Age.

Tene Culture” from Transalpine Gaul migrated over the Alps and overran the Po valley. The Golasecca Culture, centred around Lakes Como, Lugano and Maggiore, was destroyed, as were

the Etruscan cities in the Po Valley, and Celtic tribes like the Insubres, Boii, Cenomani and Senones carved out new homelands for themselves in northern Italy. The Etruscan, Golasecca and other indigenous populations in these areas were conquered, expelled or assimilated by their new Celtic masters. In the instance of the Golasecca Culture, this process may have been accelerated by a strong pre-existing Celtic influence on their material culture and pre-existing Celtic populations in Cisalpine Gaul.[6] Some scholars even consider the Golasecca Culture “Celtic” rather than Italic (i.e. Ligurian).[7] As the result of the migration of Celtic tribes into northern Italy during the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the inhabitants of the western and central districts of the Po Valley became Celtic in speech and material culture, and languages like Ligurian, Lepontic and Raetic were henceforth only spoken by peoples dwelling in and along the Alps.[8]

Only the Veneti appear to have survived this “Gallic cataclysm” and the Celtic ethnogenesis of northern Italy. The Veneti appear to have successfully defended their homeland from the Celts, and so their culture and language remained a distinctly Italic (proto-Etruscan) enclave in what was now known as Cisalpine Gaul. The earliest documented occurrence of the name “Veneti” occurs in 390 BC, in the accounts of the sack of Rome by the Senone Gauls. After sacking Rome, the Gauls withdrew back to their homeland in order to counter a Veneti invasion there (Polybius, 2.18.3).

Thereafter, the Veneti remained loyal and valuable allies to Rome in her struggles for mastery of northern Italy. The Veneti supported Rome throughout her wars. When the Insubres, Boii and Gaesetae invaded central Italy in 225, they were obliged to detach a part of their host to protect their lands from the Veneti (Polybius, 2.23.). Again, during the Second Punic War, the Veneti remained loyal.

Thereafter, the Veneti were brought into the Roman alliance system, retaining complete autonomy in their own internal affairs, while becoming part of the Roman hegemony. In 181 BC the Roman triumvirate of Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Manlius Acidinus founded the Latin colony at Aquileia in Veneti, so as to protect the territory of the Veneti from incursions by the hostile Carni and Istri tribes. Thereafter, Roman influence over Veneti steadily increased. In 148 BC the Via Postumia was completed connecting Aquileia to Genua. In 131 B.C., the Via Annia joined Adria to Patavium to Altinum to Concordia to Aquileia. Gradually, the Roman Republic transformed its alliance with the Veneti into a relationship of dominance. Immediately after the 91 BC Italic rebellion, in 89 BC, Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo conferred the rights of partial Roman citizenship (*ius latinum*) upon the Veneti, together with the rest of Transpadania, according to the Lex Pompeia Transpadanis.

An illustration of the Roman friendship and regard for the Veneti was the Roman propagation of a Veneti foundation myth. According to Livy, the Veneti were formed by a merging of the indigenous peoples known as the Euganei and a Trojan-Paphlagonian tribe known as the Eneti (or Enetoi in Greek) who had settled in the area between the Alps and the Adriatic Sea. Homer, and perhaps more significantly, Pliny the Elder, assert that with the death of King Pylaemenes of the Paphlagonians, Antenor the Trojan led the Eneti across the Mediterranean towards the coast of north-east Italy near the Brenta river, where their descendants, the Veneti lived (Natural History, 6.2.5). Antenor was a comrade of Aeneas. Homer (Iliad, 2.852) speaks of the Paphlagonian Eneti as breeders of “wild mules”, and this fondness for horses is regarded as proof of their descent from the “horse-taming” Trojans. This is also stated by Pliny the Elder, who indicates the Veneti ancestry as being Trojan (Natural History, 3.130). Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who assisted the Veneti to repel the attacks of the Liburnian pirates, is said to have kept a stud in their country (Strabo, 5.1.4).

In giving the Veneti a Trojan ancestry, the Romans elevated the Veneti from being “barbarians”, and instead considered them distant relatives, as the Romans themselves believed themselves

descended from the Trojan Aeneas. This fable also explained for Romans the presence of a culturally similar enclave among the predominantly Celtic population of Cisalpine Gaul.

1. See Eric P Hamp, 'The Relationship of Venetic within Italic', *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 75, No. 2 (1954), pp. 183-186; the Slovenian linguist Matej Bor asserts that ancient Venetic is actually an early proto-Slovenian.
2. Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe Before History, New Studies in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 218-225; Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, Penguin Books, 1997, pp. 51, 302-303.
3. Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe Before History, New Studies in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 218-225; Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, Penguin Books, 1997, p. 166.
4. Loredana Capuis, 'The Etruscans in Veneto', in Giovannangelo Camporeale (ed.), *The Etruscans Outside Etruria*, Getty Publications, Paul J Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2004.
5. Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe Before History, New Studies in Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 218-225; Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, Penguin Books, 1997, p. 274
6. J H C Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon. Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy*, Oxford Classical Monographs, 2001, pp. 185-222
7. R De Mainis, 'Golasecca Culture and its links with Celts beyond the Alps', pp. 92-102, in Moscati et. al. (eds.), *The Celts*, Milan, 1991; for the Ligurian thesis, see F Rittatore Vonwiller, 'Liguri, Etruschi e Celti in Transpadana', in *Convegno su Archeologia e Storia nella Lombardia Pedemontana Occidentale*, Cuomo, 1969, pp. 3-38.
8. Gary Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome, From Pre-history to the First Punic War*, University of California Press, 2005, pp. 11-12, 26-27; J H C Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon. Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy*, Oxford Classical Monographs, 2001, pp. 185-222.

Mamertines

In the 350's the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse had relied on numerous Campanian mercenary companies, one of his generals being Nymphsios from Neapolis in Campania. The Campanian mercenaries had a reputation for being fierce, ruthless warriors, and were highly sought-after in Sicily by both the Greeks and Carthaginians. Finally, in 288 BC, in the aftermath of the death of the Syracusan tyrant Agathocles, the Campanian mercenaries were dismissed.

Calling themselves the "Mamertini" (the "men of Mamers", Mamers being the Oscan diety known to Romans as Mars), these vicious mercenaries made their way northward, bound for Campania. En route, however, the Mamertines seized the city of Messina in 288, slaying its menfolk, and taking the city, together with its women and children, for themselves.

Once a prosperous Greek city, Messina now became the base of the Mamertines, from which they launched their piracy and brigandage. The Mamertines began a reign of terror in the north-east of Sicily, extracting tribute from neighbouring Sicilian communities.

When King Pyrrros of Epiros invaded Sicily in 278, the Mamertines appear to have fought the Epirote King and his Siciliot allies. It is likely the Mamertines were allied to Carthage at this time. The Mamertines mustered a field army of some 10,000 men to harass Pyrrros' army as it withdrew from Sicily in 275 (Plut., Pyrrhus, 24). In the succeeding years 275-264 the 'Campanian plague' variously fought Carthage and Hiero II of Syracuse. Hiero II suffered a defeat at their hands in around 270 BC at the battle of Cantoripa, when the mercenary component of

the Syracusan army was destroyed. Hiero II rebuilt the army of Syracuse, and achieved his revenge at the battle of Longanus River in around 265 BC. The Mamertine leader Kion was mortally wounded and his son (unnamed) were slain in this battle.

The Mamertines were soon under dire threat from Hiero, who intended to add Messana to his kingdom, and so the Mamertines accepted the protection of Carthage and a Carthaginian garrison inside their walls. Hiero II withdrew to Syracuse, Carthage's garrison remained in Messana, and the Mamertines sent an appeal to Rome that set in train the events that led to the outbreak of the First Punic War.

Autonomoi Dynastai

The Autonomoi Dynastai all have an “Eastern” culture. The two mini-factions of this group are:

- Kingdom of Turdetania
- Kingdom of Mauretania

Kingdom of Turdetania

The Kingdom of Turdetania was an Iberian polity based around the Baetis Valley (the modern Guadalquivir), and in ancient times it boasted fertile agricultural lands, the fabulously rich silver mines of the Sierra Morena (including Rio Tinto), deposits of copper and lead, and wealthy and long-standing trade connections with the Punic cities to its south – like Gadir and Malaka – as well as with its Iberian and Celtiberian neighbours in the hinterland.

Turdetania was the region of Hellenistic Spain that was the most densely populated, with a string of significant cities like Illipa, Urso, Astigi, Ategua, Obulco, Munda and Tucci all stretched along the middle reaches of the Baetis River and its major tributaries.

The urban, literate, stratified and populous culture of Turdetania has its roots in its contact with Phoenician seafarers, merchants and farmers after around 800 BC. Archaeology has identified a distinct ‘Orientalizing Period’ in this region, during which the indigenous Iberian trends towards proto-urbanism and the development of local elites were intensified. During the period 800-550 BC there emerged hierarchical settlement patterns, related to pre-existing chiefdoms and archaic states, in which the Iberian aristocracy based its power on the possession of land and its control of trade. Evidence of this control is provided by the layout of territory, organized around the exploitation of cultivated land, the control of communications and the creation of larger urban settlements. The Turdetanians assimilated eastern gods and goddesses (Melqart, Astarte and Reshef-Hadad), and adopted established “eastern” symbols, such as mythological winged monsters (griffins or sphinxes) or scenes of combat between predators (lions) and prey (gazelles and wild deer). The Iberian elites demonstrated their wealth and power by securing imported luxury items that are found in the tombs of the region.

The urban settlements of Turdetania were greatly influenced by their Phoenician (and after 550 BC, Punic) neighbours. Native huts were replaced by well-planned rectangular houses built of masonry, and the Iberians surrounded their urban centers with stone walls and defences.

The long-standing trade between Punic Spain and the Iberians of Turdetania was driven by the Punic appetite for silver and metals, as well as the famous Turdetanian red dyes, salt, agricultural foodstuffs, livestock and hides, horses, slaves and Iberian mercenaries. In exchange, the Turdetanian rulers sought prestige imports, like olive oil, wine, novelties and cheap manufactures, jewellery, perfumes and crafts. The Iberian peoples of southern Spain had been

mining silver and other metals from earliest times. Yet the evidence supports the notion that the mining for silver and other metals was greatly intensified after contact with the Phoenicians. The display of wealth and capital among the Turdetanian elites reveal that they accumulated wealth and power, and successfully copied many aspects of Phoenician/Punic society, particularly urbanism.

As the power of the Iberian kings of Turdetania grew, their influence expanded far into the interior, into Vettonia and Carpetania, where there emerged new native elites that sought to export trade items – livestock, cereals and slaves – to Turdetania. Hence, the Phoenician/Punic trade with the Iberians of Turdetania also required products from the centre of the Iberian peninsula;

“This is borne out by imports destined for an elite that availed itself of these markets as a prerequisite for establishing alliances and commercial relationships. These products were very specific in terms of their use and significance, associated with clothes, the funeral banquet, religious worship and the new technologies.... What were the traders in these inland regions looking for? ...There were a priori three basic tradable products: cattle, metal and men... This encounter between the indigenous peoples and the Phoenician colonists of the south of the Iberian Peninsula generated territories with political and economic influence. In the landscape this took the form of a very significant increase in the distance (50-75km) between the most important settlements, while the smallest ones are concentrated around them within a 10-15 km radius. This model reinforces the idea of small hierarchies and differs from the previous stage... It would therefore seem reasonable to suggest that these were groups involved in an economy of prestige goods which they traded with more complex political organizations... The existence of centres of the palatial and religious type, such as Cancho Roano in Badajoz province would support this thesis. The hinterland of the orientaling world known as Tartessos therefore produced prestige objects for local chiefs on the lands situated to the north, thus ensuring a regular supply of raw materials which would in turn be reinvested in their dealings with the Phoenicians of the coast.”

The new products of the Phoenician colonists were highly significant from both the social and political perspective, as the new demand for them created a marked dependence on the Phoenician colonial and trading system, which was necessary for maintaining the structures of control and reproduction of the system. The process benefited a local aristocracy which, in turn, found it had to stimulate demand and consumption amongst the communities of the Turdetanian hinterland in order to increase its own surplus production, encouraging the incorporation of other peripheral regions – Portugal, Extremadura, the Meseta – into the system. The Turdetanian elites acted as intermediaries between the centres of the market – the Punic cities of Gadir and Malaka – and the periphery on the basis of territorial socio-political domination.

Following 500 BC, in the period labelled by archaeologists the Middle and Late Iberian Periods, the Kingdom of Turdetania reached its height of power and wealth. Comprising numerous petty-kingdoms ruled by warrior-princes, who resided in palace-complexes in walled urban settlements that controlled and dominated surrounding territories comprised of smaller, rural settlements. The archaeological record depicts these Iberian polities as reflecting growing urban populations, an increasing number of inhabited sites, and increased specialist production. This production varies from agriculture, to mining, to the manufacturing of pottery. The urban sites show evidence of a highly developed literate culture, with coinage, and an ideological superstructure, including public places, temples and sacred precincts. Turdetania demonstrated a significant degree of Punic and Hellenic acculturation, exemplified by the widespread worship of the goddess Tanit and a high representation of Punic deities and symbols, most spectacularly the bull-warrior motif, a representation of the storm god Baal Haddad.

Throughout the Hellenistic Period the Carthaginian authorities regularly recruited mercenaries from Iberia for military service in Sicily. Numismatic evidence from El Gandul (Alcalá de Guadaíra in the province of Seville) suggests that a military camp and recruitment center for mercenaries may have existed in this area sometime in the fourth century B.C.

It seems that the warlike Lusitanians and Celtiberians periodically launched plundering raids into Turdetania, plundered the Guadalquivir Valley. Yet, the Turdetanian elites also developed a great dependence upon Celtiberian mercenaries. The sources report that the Turdetanian rulers relied upon hired Celtiberian armies both in their struggle against Hamilcar Barca in 238-235 BC, and again when revolting against the Romans.

Kingdom of Mauretania

Strabo said of Mauretania;

“Writers in general are agreed that Mauretania is a fertile country, except a small part which is desert, and is supplied with water by rivers and lakes. It has forests of trees of vast size, and the soil produces everything. It is this country which furnishes the Romans with tables formed of one piece of wood, of the largest dimensions, and most beautifully variegated. The rivers are said to contain crocodiles and other kinds of animals similar to those in the Nile. Some suppose that even the sources of the Nile are near the extremities of Mauretania. In a certain river leeches are bred seven cubits in length, with gills, pierced through with holes, through which they respire. This country is also said to produce a vine, the girth of which two men can scarcely compass, and bearing bunches of grapes of about a cubit in size. All plants and pot-herbs are tall, as the arum and dracontium [snake-weed]; the stalks of the staphylinus [parsnip?], the hippomarathum [fennel], and the scolymus [artichoke] are twelve cubits in height, and four palms in thickness. The country is the fruitful nurse of large serpents, elephants, antelopes, buffaloes, and similar animals; of lions also and panthers. It produces weasels (jerboas?) equal in size and similar to cats, except that their noses are more prominent, and multitudes of apes, of which Poseidonius relates that when he was sailing from Gades to Italy, and approached the coast of Africa, he saw a forest low upon the sea-shore full of these animals, some on the trees, others on the ground, and some giving suck to their young. He was amused also with seeing some with large dugs, some bald, others with ruptures and exhibiting to view various effects of disease.” (Strabo, Geography, 17.3.1-11)

Mauretania is one of the Numidian ‘supra-tribal’ kingdoms that emerged in North Africa in the shadow of Carthage in the Third Century BC. The term ‘Numidians’ refers to those ‘Libyans’ that inhabited North Africa west of the Nile Valley and who remained either independent or clients of Carthage, in contrast to the larger ‘Libyan’ population that inhabited the most fertile regions of modern Tunisia, and were directly ruled by Carthage and the Liby-Phoenician cities of North Africa. These ancient ‘Libyans’ were the ancestors of the modern Libyco-Berber population of North Africa.

The effect of Carthaginian imperialism on the Libyans and that part of North Africa that lay beyond their direct territorial conquests was enormous. The process of emulation and competition transformed Libyan society. As early as the end of the fourth century BC we begin to hear of Libyan ‘kings’, such as Aelymas, with whom the Sicilian tyrant Agathocles treated.[1] As in Iberia and Sardinia, the impact of Phoenician trade and interactions upon indigenous society included greater levels of social stratification, and the formation of larger supra-tribal polities by the Libyans. From at least around 800 BC the most powerful cultural and technological influence upon the Libyan peoples were the Phoenicians, and the Phoenician ports of call on the Algerian and Tunisian coastlines served as stimuli for trade and the orientalizing of the indigenous peoples.

By the end of the third century BC the Numidians were divided into three major kingdoms: the Masaesyles, the Massyles, and the Mauri. It would seem that there were numerous smaller chiefdoms and kinglets as well. Livy speaks of how Roman envoys visited Syphax, King of the Masaesyles. “The men had further instructions to proceed to the courts of other African kings...”.[2] It appears that during the period 500-300 BC the Numidian polities of North Africa became steadily consolidated under the control of ‘princes’ that were the favoured vassals of Carthage.

From around 220 BC the sources describe the area of modern Morocco as the polity of Mauri, and the sources refer to its inhabitants as “Moors”. At the time of the Second Punic War they were ruled by a shadowy king called Baga. The Numidian kings were intimately connected to the governing class of Carthage by marriage alliances. Border disputes and vendettas between the Numidian kingdoms and rival Numidian dynasts were arbitrated by Carthage. It is likely that in addition to tribute and ‘treaty trade’ constructed to benefit Carthage, the Numidian kings were also contracted to furnish Carthage with troops when the need arose. By the third century BC the Numidian kings were treated by both the Romans and Carthaginians with all the honour of Hellenistic monarchs. The language of the Numidian royal courts remained Punic, however, as did religious practices.

Although at the top of the Numidian hierarchy there seems to have been a creative use of Mediterranean cultures, we have far less evidence for what was going on in the countryside. Besides their royal families, what did these Numidian kingdoms consist of? Archaeology tells us little, although new evidence is beginning to emerge for a series of villages scattered over the arable land of the Tell.[3] These were hut settlements, generally defended by a wall across the neck of a spur. Evidently most of the population lived in these. Some sites were larger and can be properly classified as cities. Of these, those in Mauretania are the best known archaeologically. At Volubilis in the interior are found imposing city walls and an apparently orthogonal plan.[4] The evidence suggests that the Numidian landscape was one of villages, practicing mixed farming and paying tribute in kind.

There is, however, little or no evidence for the growth of institutions other than tribute linking the villages with the monarchs. Hence, the situation was one where a large number of small farming communities ruled by a bi-cultural, bi-lingual court. The main market language was Punic, and, indeed, it is clear that Punic was also an important language in the countryside. Under the superficial structure of the Numidian kingdoms, tribal social structures remained strong, and the economy remained primarily agrarian. Hence, while the Numidian elite were able to communicate with the Carthaginian elites, their cultural differentiation from the peasants was strongly marked, and their connections with them based on kinship rather than state structures.

From the Second Punic War onward we begin to hear of indigenous tribes inside Numidia as historical entities: the elder Pliny states that some 463 of these gave allegiance to Rome.[5] It is difficult to ascertain the location, size or structure of these tribes. It seems that these tribes were organized in agnatic family kinship groups. Villages might be composed of such extended family groups, sub-divided into clans. The tendency for clans within a village to feud with each other inhibits the formation of very large units, and makes it difficult for the society to transcend the level of organization of the village itself. It is this split between the indigenous, agnatic structures of the villages and the king – Hellenistic monarchs rather than tribal leader – which may have impeded the development of a state with a highly articulated administrative structure. This disjunction is common in tribal societies and flourishes in the literature on the Berbers: thus Montagne contrasts two antithetical types; the egalitarian tribal republics on the one hand, and the aristocratic tyranny of the caids on the other.[6]

The development of the Hellenistic monarchies among the Numidians/Libyans in North Africa between the fourth and first centuries BC occurred in emulation of Carthage, and was in no way a spontaneous occurrence. Rather, the emerging Numidian tribal states emulated the new model of governance they encountered with the Punic empire. Berber tribal society from the seventh century BC onwards was peripheral to Carthage. The military resources that Carthage was able to command found a counterweight in the development of the Numidian cavalry, a cavalry which could then be used by the paramount tribal leaders to coerce their own people and raid their neighbours. Horses were ridden bareback and bridleless, and the Numidian cavalry served as valued mercenaries in the Carthaginian armies. This cavalry was extra-tribal, and provided an important link between the emerging state and its people.

[1] *Hegesianax, Fragmentum Historicorum Graecorum, III. 50, no. 11, cited by J. Desanges, 'L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbere' in C. Nicolet, Rome et la conquete du monde mediterraneen, Vol. 2, Paris, 1978, p. 2.*

[2] *Livy, 27.4.*

[3] *N. Ferchiou, 'L'habitat fortifie pre-imperial en Tunisie antique: apercus sur le typologie des sites perches et des sites de versant, illustres par quelques exemples a Carthage et sa territoire dans l'antiquite', Antiquites africaines, 26, 1990, pp. 43-86.*

[4] *A Jodin, Volubilis avant les Romains. Dix annees de recherches dans la cite punique' Archeologia, 102, 1977, pp. 6-19.*

[5] *Pliny, NH., 5.1.*

[6] *R. Montagne, The Berbers: Their Social and Political Organisation, trans. D. Sneddon, London, 1973, pp. 45f.*

Barbaroi

The Barbaroi all have the "Barbarian" culture. The Barbaroi factions are:

- Tribus Lusitani
- Tribus Arverni
- Kingdom of Illyria

Tribus Lusitani

Beyond the culturally advanced Mediterranean coastal zone, which included the fertile Baetis (Guadalquivir) Valley and the areas of intensive and long-standing Phoenician and Greek contact, were the more rugged regions inhabited by the Celtiberians and Lusitanians.

The Lusitanians were a tribal grouping that lived between the rivers Douro and Tagus. Later, the name Lusitania was adopted by ancient Calaicians or Gallaeci (tribes living in the north of Douro River) and other closely surrounding tribes, eventually spreading as a label to all the local people fighting the Roman rule - but also because they were all culturally and ethnically very similar. Most of these tribes were from the north of the Douro River.

The etymology of Lusitania, like the origin of the Lusitani, is unclear. The name may be of Celtic origin: Lus and Tanus, "tribe of Lusus". Others say that Lusitania means "City of light".

Ancient Romans, such as Pliny the Elder (Natural History, 3.5) and Varro (cited by Pliny), speculated that the name Lusitania was of Roman origin, as when Pliny says *lusum enim liberi*

patris aut lyssam cum eo bacchantium nomen dedisse lusitaniae et pana praefectum eius universae: that Lusitania takes its name from the lusus associated with Bacchus and the lyssa of his Bacchantes, and that Pan is its governor. Lusus is usually translated as 'game' or 'play', while lyssa is a borrowing from the Greek λυσσα, 'frenzy' or 'rage' (and sometimes the personification thereof). Variant translations take these as proper names: Lusus and Lyssa become flesh-and-blood companions of Bacchus. The Os Lusíadas of Luís de Camões, which portray Lusus as the founder of Lusitania, follow this translation.

The Indo-European Lusitani established themselves in the region of modern Portugal in the 6th century BC. Historians and archeologists are still undecided about their origins; some modern authors consider them to be an indigenous people who were greatly influenced by Celtic culture. The first area colonized by the Lusitani was probably the Douro valley and the region of Beira Alta; in Beira they stayed until they later defeated the Celtiberians and other tribes, when they expanded to cover a territory that reached Estremadura before the arrival of the Romans.

The Lusitani are mentioned for the first time in Livy (218 BC) and are described as Carthaginian mercenaries (Livy, 21.57); they are reported as fighting against Rome in 194 BC, sometimes allied with the Celtiberians.

In 179 BC the praetor Lucius Postumius Albinus celebrated a triumph over the Lusitani, but in 155 BC, on the command of Punicus (perhaps a Carthaginian general) first and Cesarus after, the Lusitani reached Gibraltar. Here they were defeated by the praetor Lucius Mummius.

Servius Sulpicius Galba organized a false armistice, but while the Lusitani celebrated this new alliance, he massacred them, selling the survivors as slaves; this caused a new rebellion led by Viriathus, who was soon killed by traitors paid by the Romans. Romans scored other victories with proconsul Decimus Junius Brutus and Marius (113 BC), but still the Lusitani resisted with a long guerilla war; they later joined Sertorius' troops and were finally defeated by Augustus.

The Lusitanians worshipped various gods in a very chaotic polytheism, using animal sacrifice. They represented their gods and warriors in rudimentary sculpture. Endovelicus was the most important god: his cult eventually spread across the Iberian peninsula and beyond, to the rest of the Roman Empire and his cult maintained until the 5th century; he was the god of public health and safety. Goddess Ataegina was especially popular in the south, and she was the Goddess of rebirth (Spring), fertility, nature, and cure, during the Roman era was venerated as being Proserpina. Lusitanian mythology was related to Celtic mythology, and during later Roman rule it also became heavily influenced by Roman mythology, as Romans also started venerating Lusitanian gods. Runesocesius, the javelin god, was also an important god, and often formed the supreme trinity in the Lusitanian pagan religion with Endovelicus and Ataegina.

The Lusitanian language was a paleo-Iberian, Indo-European language with particular characteristics, different from the languages spoken in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula, being more archaic than the Celtiberian language. The origin of the Lusitanian language is still in debate: there are those who endorse that it is a Celtic language with an obvious "celticity" to most of the lexicon, over many anthroponyms and toponyms. A second theory relates Lusitanian with the Italic languages; based on a relation of the name of Lusitanian deities with other grammatical elements of the area.

Tribus Arverni

The Cubi-Biturge confederation of tribes disintegrated at the beginning of the third century BC, creating an anarchic situation in Gaul between the various Celtic tribes. From this political stability two tribes emerged - the Aedui and Arverni, who succeeded in making themselves the masters of tribal confederations comprised of allied, conquered, or absorbed tribes. The Arverni

confederation was ruled by an elected leader, who governed through a plethora of sub-kings, chieftains, elected leaders and tribal representatives.

The Arverni were expansionist (hence, they are a mini-faction!), dominating central-southern Gaul. Arverni territory was hilly and difficult for Roman infantry and cavalry to manoeuvre in. Their capital city of Gergovia is situated on a plateau 1,200 feet high at the north end of the mountains. The Gallic culture of the Arverni had been heavily influenced by long-term and intensive interactions with the civilizations of the Mediterranean, particularly Greek (via Massalia) and Roman. Known for its iron and silver resources, the Arverni were also comparatively rich, and one of the militarily powerful tribes of southern "Long-Haired Gaul" (as the Romans named independent Gaul).

At the time of 280 BC the rival Arverni and Aedui confederations were at war, each seeking to dominate Gaul. While the Aedui had controlled substantially more of Gaul at this time, they were undermined by attacks from the north from the Belgae, defeats at the hands of the militarily superior Arverni, and defeats at the hands of the German tribes.

Following the final Roman subjugation and conquest of Cisalpine Gaul in 191 BC, Rome began to further extend its influence into Transalpine Gaul. The long-time Roman ally Massalia had long maintained a presence at the mouth of the Rhone and provided a "window" into "barbarian" Gaul. Trade and interactions with the Roman-Mediterranean world had an ever-increasing impact of the Gallic tribes, who began to form larger confederacies and supra-tribal states.

An alliance between Rome and the Aedui against the Allobroges and the Arverni facilitated Roman conquest of the Rhone River valley after 120 BC. The Arverni were comprehensively defeated by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus in 121 BC, enabling the pro-Roman Aedui to now gain the ascendancy in Gaul while the Arverni confederation was reduced to tributary status. Significantly, the defeat of the Arverni also led to the creation of the Provincia and a permanent Roman presence on the far side of the Alps. The Roman colony of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was founded on the coast of southernmost France in 118 BC, and formed the core of the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis. The invasion of the Germanic Cimbri and Teutones destabilised the entire region of Gaul between 110-102 BC before the invaders were defeated by Gaius Marius in 102.

In the period immediately prior to Gaius Julius Caesar's Gallic campaigns, the Arverni were confronted by incursions from the Germani and a new wave of invasions into Gaul, by the Helvetii from Switzerland and the Suevi from Germany. These invasions triggered the Roman conquest of the rest of Gaul by Julius Caesar in 58-50 BC. Gaius Julius Caesar checked the movement of the Helvetii in 58 BC and then proceeded to advance through Gallia Comata. The Arverni initially avoided direct confrontation with the legions until subsequent subjugation of the Galli also gives rise to a new leader "Vercingetorix".

Vercingetorix was the son of a powerful and ambitious Arvernian nobleman called Celtillus. Despite the opposition of his uncle Gobannitio and other leading figures in the tribe, Vercingetorix was proclaimed the new king of the Arverni. Vercingetorix led a widespread revolt that caught Caesar unawares. Vercingetorix's success near Avaricum and at Gergovia until the famous siege of the oppidum of Alesia. Caesar's circumvallation of Alesia led to Vercingetorix's defeat and surrender; he was executed during Caesar's triumph in 46 BC. After this defeat the Arverni were designated a civitas libera and were inexorably Romanized.

Their patron god was Mercury Arvernorum ("King of the Arverni"), though only one inscription

survives, at Miltenberg in Lower Franconia.

Strabo reports;

§3. The Arverni are situated on the Liger; their metropolis is Nemossus, Link to the editor's note at the bottom of this page a city situated on the Liger. This river, after flowing past Cenabum (the emporium of the Carnutes at about the middle of the voyage, an emporium that is jointly peopled), discharges its waters towards the ocean. As for their former power, the Arverni hold out as a great proof thereof the fact that they oftentimes warred against the Romans, at times with two hundred thousand men, and again, with double that number — with double that number, for example, when they, with Vercingetorix, struggled to a finish against the Deified Caesar; and, before that, also, with two hundred thousand against Maximus Aemilianus, and also, in like manner, against Dometius Ahenobarbus. Now the struggles against Caesar took place near Gergovia (a city of the Arverni, situated on a high mountain), where Vercingetorix was born, and also near Alesia (a city of the Mandubii — a tribe which has a common boundary with the Arverni — and this city too is situated on a high hill, although it is surrounded by mountains and two rivers), in which not only the commander was captured but the war had its end. But the struggles against Maximus Aemilianus took place at the confluence of the Isar and the Rhodanus, where the Cemmenus Mountain approaches closely the Rhodanus; and against Dometius Ahenobarbus, at a place still lower down the Rhodanus, at the confluence of the Sulgas and the Rhodanus. Again, the Arverni not only had extended their empire as far as Narbo and the boundaries of Massiliotis, but they were also masters of the tribes as far as the Pyrenees, and as far as the ocean and the Rhenus. Luerius, the father of the Bituitus who warred against Maximus and Dometius, is said to have been so exceptionally rich and extravagant that once, when making a display of his opulence to his friends, he rode on a carriage through a plain, scattering gold and silver coins here and there, for his followers to pick up.[1]

[1] Strabo, *Geography*, 4.2.2.

Kingdom of Illyria

At its height, the ancient Illyrian tribes encompassed the eastern coastline of the Adriatic and the mountainous interior of the western Balkans (modern Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia).[1] According to most archaeologists, the Illyrians were a collection of Indo-European tribes who migrated to this region sometime between 1300-1000 BC.

In the seventh century BC tribal federations formed in southern Illyria. Ancient sources mention a certain Galaour, basileus, the military chief of the Taulantinoi who, towards the end of the seventh century, waged wars against the king of Macedonia. Modern historians, interpreting a passage from Herodotus, have indicated that at this time an army of "Encheliae", who lived around Lake Lychnitis (the present Lake Ochrid), invaded Greece and pushed as far as Delphi where they pillaged the sanctuary of the oracle. For the next two centuries, wars became more frequent in southern Illyria and on its boundaries. The Illyrian tribes aimed not just at pillage; the Illyrian kings aimed to subjugate other Illyrian tribes into their federation. Illyrian society heavily depended on slavery; the Greek author Theopompos asserts that the Illyrians held some 300,000 "slaves", in a manner identical to that of the Helots of Sparta. According to Agatharchidis, the Dardarians - a large Illyrian tribe on the Macedonian border - possessed many slaves; the wealthiest of them more than a thousand.

Illyria was populated by a multitude of tribes deemed "barbarous" by Greek and Roman historians. Different geographic conditions and unequal economic and social development prevented the Illyrians from ever forming a united state. Southern Illyria was alternatively dominated by the supra-tribal kingdoms of the Taulanti (c. 340-300 BC) and then later the

Ardiaei "Kingdom of the Illyrians" (250-168 BC), both of which had a federative character and (like neighbouring Epirus) were distinguished by the instability of their royal power.

The first recorded Illyrian king was Hyllus (The Star) whose death was recorded in 1225 B.C. In the Eighth Century BC the Greeks established colonies such as Epidamnus and Apollonia along the Adriatic coast, bringing the Illyrian tribes into contact with Greek civilization.[2]

Thucydides records Illyrian mercenaries fighting with Corcyra against Epidamnus in 435 B.C.

The height of Illyrian power, however, lies between 400-230 BC.

The first great unifier was Bardhylus ("White Star"), king of the Dardanians[3], who was able to establish a multi-tribal alliance of Illyrians. In 385 BC, Bardhylus, with allied troops provided by the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, launched a successful campaign against Epirus, defeating the Greek-speaking Epirotic tribes.

Phillip II came to the throne at a time when Macedonia appeared likely to be overwhelmed by its enemies. The Illyrians to Macedonia's west had won a decisive victory over Perdikkas III, Phillip's brother, killing the king and 4,000 Macedonians. The Illyrian king Bardhylus occupied Upper Macedonia. An attack by the Paionians to the north led by their king Agis appeared imminent. The Thracians to Macedon's east led by king Kotys also appeared ready to attack. Phillip II of Macedon (359-336) immediately raised an army of 10,000 Macedonian foot and 600 cavalry and confronted Bardhylus; Phillip won a decisive victory, some 7,000 of the 10,000 Illyrians were slain, and Phillip re-established his authority in Upper Macedonia. Bardhylus, reportedly ninety years old at the time of the battle, is heard of no more and may have been killed. Phillip II then made peace with the defeated Illyrians, and married the Illyrian princess Audata, who took the Greek name Eurydike.[4] The sphere of Macedonian power is demonstrated by the fact that in 345 BC he campaigned against King Pleuratus of the Ardiaei, the Illyrians that dominated the region of Skodra and the Dalmatian Coastline. In 337 he campaigned against Pleurias of the Dardanoi on the upper White Drin. Thereafter all the Illyrian tribes except those that lived along the Adriatic were subject to tribute paying and subject to the recruitment of auxiliaries.

By the beginning of the third century BC, especially after the quarrels for the throne between Glaukias successors, his "kingdom of Illyria" lost its former power. Bardylis II, son of Kleitus was reputed to have succeeded Glaukias, although little is known of his reign. The Taulantinoi were not strong enough to withstand Pyrrhus, who occupied a large part of its territory during his reign (297-272 BC).

When the power of Macedonia and Epirus declined, in the 260s, the Illyrians pressed southwards by land and sea, and in particular the Ardiaean kingdom, based on the southern Dalmatian coast, expanded southwards to encompass Scodra and Lissus under King Pleuratus I (c. 260 BC) and later under his son King Argon. The northern limits of the Ardiaean kingdom were reached northwards from central Albania, to include Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian coast. In the second half of the fourth century, ancient authors still refer to the Illyrian Kings, but henceforth they are usually referring to the rulers of the Ardiaei, who held sway throughout the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

[1] Jennifer Wallace, "A (Hi)story of Illyria", *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 45, No. 2, October 1998, pp. 213-225.

[2] R L Beaumont, "Greek influence in the Adriatic before the 4th century BC", *J.H.S.*, Vol. 56, 1936.

[3] Some scholars believe Bardhylus was king of the Taulantinoi, who lived along the Adriatic littoral, rather than the Dardani, who lived to Macedonia's north.

[4] Harry J Dell, "Phillip and Macedonia's Northern Neighbours", in M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulos (ed.), *Phillip of Macedon*, Akdotike Athenon: Athens, 1991, pp. 90-99.

Game play

To enhance the game play experience on the strategic map and the battle map, there have been designed a few brand new systems.

Settlement Types

In FoE you don't just have settlements like you had in RTW. In RTW each settlement had a palace building which determined the settlement's level, varying from "village" to "Huge city". Based on your populations size, you could upgrade to the next level, unlocking more construction options. Barbarian culture had only access to the first three levels, while the more civilized culture had access to all five levels.

In FoE there are three main types of regions:

1. Major regions
2. Mini regions
3. Capital regions

Major regions

This type of region is basically the same as the regions in RTW and there hasn't change much here, except that Barbarians now too have access to all five levels and not just the three lowest levels.

Some of those major region historically had a large influence over the surrounding area. In FoE those regions are represented as "provincial capital". Mostly those regions function exactly like other major regions, however in some cases you might get some additional construction options, recruitment options or any kind of bonuses.

Major regions can be identified by the use of capital characters:



Mini regions

Mini regions are a completely new and exciting concept for FOE, and we hope that their addition will lend significant depth to the campaign. There will be around 80 of them on the map and they will be easily distinguishable from the Major Regions because their names will all start with a capital character and the rest of the name is in lower case. For example (from the Central Italy - Rome map), Cannae, Beneventum, Paestum. (example image on next page)

Mini regions are different because their settlements will be a lot smaller than those of a regular major region. They will have a distinct character (stronghold, agricultural centre, port etc.). While they will contribute financially and strategically to your empire, they cannot construct buildings (just roads and a trader). They also can't produce any troops, so their security will depend on your nearest Major Settlement for their support and your ability to patrol your borders and maintain their integrity.



Capital regions

The historical capital of a faction will not only enjoy all the benefits of a normal settlement and provincial capital, but will also have access to special buildings and bonuses. Lose this capital and you will get serious unrest all over your empire - it may even collapse entirely! So protect it well, because the AI will try its best to take your capital to finish you off!

The player is not be able to change the location of the Capital.



Government

Settlement Integration

Celtiberian Chiefdoms

Provides:

- Public order bonus due to law: 5%
- Public order bonus due to happiness: 5%
- Population growth bonus: -5%
- Tax income bonus: 3%
- Cultural intergration: Independence (5%)

Enables training of:

- Celtiberian Slingers
- Celtiberian Caetrati
- Celtiberian Scutarii (Experience 1)

Description

The tribe is a unit of socio-political organization consisting of a number of families, clans, or other groups who share a common ancestry and culture and among whom leadership is typically neither formalized nor permanent. As with any social development a social hierarchy starts to assert itself and displays of wealth become more important. The social hierarchy is defined by communal networks of kinship.

Recruitment

Expansion

The Factions

\$\$\$!!! Compile all governments here !!! \$\$\$

Economic System

Branches of industry

In FoE, there are eight branches of production. Each one is defined by the raw materials they process:

- **livestock**
- **cereals**
- **fish**
- **wood**
- **stone**
- **base metals**
- **precious metals**
- **assorted luxury goods**

To start developing a branch of industry in a settlement, the first thing you need to do is obtain raw materials. To this end you can either harvest it in the region or import it.

Harvesting raw materials locally

By mousing over the resource icons on the strategy map you can find out which raw materials can be obtained in a particular region and how to obtain it. If the right resource is present you will be able to construct one of the following buildings

- livestock > **livestock pasture**
- cereals > **grain farm**
- fish > **fishing grounds**
- wood > **logging camp**
- stone > **quarry**
- base metals > **metal mine**
- precious metals > **precious metal mine**
- assorted luxury goods > **luxury resource gathering**

The construction of each of these starts with a “**social and economical development**” building.

Importing raw materials

If none of the resources in a region allow you to gather a raw material you will have to import it through the construction of one of the following buildings

- livestock > **livestock import**
- cereals > **grain import**
- wood > **wood import**
- stone > **stone import**
- base metals > **metal import**
- precious metals > **precious metal import**
- assorted luxury goods > **luxury resource import**

Workshops

Obtaining a raw material, either by gathering it locally or importing it, will allow you to attract craftsmen who will found workshops to produce finished goods as follows.

- livestock > livestock pasture/import > **Tailor**
- cereals > grain farm/import > **Miller**

- fish > fishing grounds > **Fishmonger**
- wood > logging camp/wood import > **Carpenter**
- stone > quarry/stone import > **Stonemason**
- base metals > metal mine/import > **Blacksmith**
- precious metals > precious metal mine/import > **Goldsmith**
- assorted luxury goods > luxury resource gathering/import > **Luxury workshop**

Settlement development: Major regions

You will find you will be limited in your choices to found industries in a settlement. Firstly, a settlement can have at most five branches of industry. Of these, three are based on locally available raw materials and two on imported raw materials. Secondly these five industrial “slots” can’t all be developed simultaneously, but become available as your settlement grows :

Town level: first locally available raw material

Large Town level: second locally available raw material and first imported raw material

City: third locally available raw material and second imported raw material

The most basic level of workshop does not require anything, but upgrades require raw materials. Workshops become available at the large town level. If you have gathered a raw material locally, you will have to upgrade your settlement before the workshop upgrades become available. For workshops fed by imported raw materials there is no such delay. As your city grows, the number of upgrades required to reach maximum capacity drops. In other words, large cities can catch up fast.

Within these constraints, there is no set order in which you must develop industries. It is up to you to decide which benefits your region requires first.

Settlement development: Minor regions

In the minor regions you will find some pre-constructed industry buildings, but new ones can’t be constructed there.

Benefits of industrial branches

The RTW engine is such that none of the industries actually produce goods. Their benefits are expressed as bonuses affecting the wellbeing of your settlement, the size of your income and the quality of the military.

Harvesting raw materials will add to your taxable income. In addition, the benefits of the livestock pasture, grain farm and fishing grounds are comparable to the farms in R:TW vanilla. The mines and luxury resources have a similar effect to the mines in R:TW vanilla. The quarry and logging camp both offer cuts to building time and cost. This is not mentioned as an effect in the building scroll, but it is real and substantial.

The import buildings offer similar bonuses, but instead of taxable income, they raise the trade base income.

Workshops are analogous to the blacksmith in RTW. They provide income bonuses to varying degrees. In addition:

The blacksmith is in fact much the same as the one in RTW, giving bonuses to non-missile weapons

The goldsmith provides a taxable income boost and reduces construction time and cost of religious buildings

The fishmonger helps improve your settlements health
 The miller converts the farm benefits to cash
 The tailor improves health and acts as the armourer
 The stonemason reduces construction time and cost of defensive and religious buildings
 The carpenter reduces construction time and cost of defensive buildings and adds bonuses to siege and missile weapons.

An example: Ariminum

In the figure below, we have an overview of Ariminum and the surrounding countryside. In this region, we can observe the resources hides, fish, timber and marble. The tooltip text indicates that the hides resources give access to the livestock industry. If you construct a livestock pasture in this region, you will be able to construct and upgrade the tailor.



In the settlement tab of Ariminum, we can see that a livestock pasture (hides resource) and logging camp (wood resource) and an iron import (absence of metal resource) have been constructed already.



When we scroll down, we can see that two workshops have been constructed as well: the livestock pasture has provided raw materials for a tailor and the metal import for a blacksmith. Both have the qualification “large town”, indicating they cannot be upgraded further until the settlement has grown to a city.



What we do not have yet is a carpenter to process the wood from the logging camp. Because the logging camp was constructed after upgrading the settlement to a large town, we will not be able to upgrade the carpenter until the settlement grows to a city. However, we will have to construct the basic level of the carpenter first, so we can start with that.



As you can see, the basic level is represented by a grey-scale building icon. Note that once it is completed and your settlement grows to a city, you will be able to upgrade it. When you do, it will instantly be a city level carpenter.