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The Clash of Cultures
after Roman Colonisation of Britain

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Z á s a d y   p r o   v y p r a c o v á n í :

Studentka se ve své diplomové práci zaměří nejprve na charakterstiku obou kultur, které
bude analyzovat zejména z pohledu různosti jejich politických systémů. Dále porovná
kultury Keltů a Římanů z hlediska víry a náboženství, práva a společenských institucí. Tyto
poznatky pak uplatní v rozboru konfliktu mezi oběma kulturami, kdy rovněž zhodnotí jejich
potenciál pro ovládnutí Britských ostrovů. Nezbytným doplněním teoretické části práce
bude ilustrativní analýza střetu obou kultur v Legend of Queen Boudicca.
Kromě kulturní analýzy založené na výzkumu sekundárních zdrojů bude studentka využívat
i textové analýzy primární literatury.

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Abstract

This diploma paper deals with the comparison of two ancient cultures influencing the development of the British Isles. The cultures of the Celts and Romans will be compared not only concerning their faith and the world of religion but also the law and social hierarchy. All these most important aspects of the Celtic and Roman world will be used in the analysis of the conflict between both cultures, as well as evaluating their potential for the domination of the British Isles.

The arrival and, above all, the later gradual expanding influence of the Romans will be illustrated by the Legend of Queen Boudicca.

The findings based on the research of secondary sources will be completed and supported by the textual analysis of primary literature, i.e. literary sources written by classical writers.

Souhrn

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá porovnáním dvou starověkých kultur, které ovlivnily vývoj na Britských ostrovech. Budou zde porovnány kultury Keltů a Římanů, a to nejen z hlediska jejich víry a náboženství, ale také právní a společenské hierarchie. Všechny tyto důležité aspekty kelského a římského světa budou využity při analýze konfliktů mezi oběma kulturami, stejně tak jako zhodnocení jejich potenciálu pro ovládnutí Britských ostrovů.

Příchod a především stupňující se vliv Římanů bude ilustrován v legendě o královně Boudicce.

Zjištění založená na studiu sekundárních zdrojů budou doplněna a podpořena textovou analázou primární literatury, tj. literaturou klasických autorů.

Klíčová slova: Keltové, Římané, Britské ostrovy, Británie po ovládnutí Římem, Cesarovy výpravy, královna Boudicca

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1. Introduction

The intention of this diploma paper is a comparative study of Celtic culture before and after Roman colonisation of the British Isles and the influence of Roman culture on lives of the Celts, something of whose culture and language has survived into modern times.

For centuries, Celtic culture has been perceived as one of the most influential as for its contribution to the history of Britain. Leaving a lot of myths and legends, the Celts have provided the picture of their civilization and its main aspects.

The thesis is divided into seven main chapters dealing with the Celtic world as compared to the lifestyle of the Roman Empire.

The paper initially traces the historical origin of the Celts, their significance within cultures occuring at the turn of the first millenium in Europe, with a particular emphasis placed on culture of the Ancient Romans whose authors are also quotet in order to obtain a detailed conception of their approach to Celtic culture. Equal attention is devoted to the tribal system and particular classes forming the pyramid of the Celtic society which is compared with the hierarchy of the Roman society.

Second part of the paper is aimed at the a prestigious class of the Celtic society, the class of warriors, who played a crucial role in the historical events concerning the warfare either of the internal origin or of the outside interference. This chapter is also completed by an outline of the Roman Army and its distinct method of warfare.

The third part focuses mainly on the world of Celtic religion and mythology describing the most essential principles of the belief, the distinctions between the Celtic and the Roman faith, although some of the Celtic gods seemed to share some similar characteristics with those of Rome. Further, a separate part describes Celtic pre-Christian priests, the Druids, and their sphere of influence upon the common folk as well as the aristocrats and tribal chieftains or kings. The Druids and also Druidesses represented the connection between religion and cultism of gods.

The fourth part introduces the British Isles at the time of the significant attempts to conquer a major part of the territory beginning with the arrival of Caesar in 55 BC and ending with the following expeditions of Claudius in 43 AD.

The impact of Roman dominance on lives of native inhabitants is analysed in the Legend of Queen Boudicca who was admired and commemorated for her courage in the major revolt against the Roman Army. First of all, the causes of the revolt are explained, its political and historical background, and it is followed by the description of the actual conflict. Naturally, the causes of the defeat are specified at the end of the chapter.

The concluding part deals with examining the life in Britain after the colonisation, a new situation which dominated in the British Isles, such as the economic impact of Romanization, political changes concerning Roman administrative organization and the proportion of British and Roman citizens participating in the newly established system.

The study gives a picture of diverse worlds of the Ancient Celts and the Romans, their mutual interfusion and interaction. Knowledge work is based on the study of historical and religious literature supplemented by illustrative extracts of primary source material by Julius Caesar, Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as well as electronic secondary sources.

2. The Celts

The questions of formation and ethnic genesis of the Celts still provoke various disputes among historians, scholars and etghnographers. For most of the nonspecialists, the Celts represent a mixture of myths, imagination and historical fiction. As Bellingham puts it: "Today, the epithet *Celtic* depicts an idea of a mysterious moonlit scenery where the Druids are dressed in white practicing rituals and mixing magical nostrum" (7). However, is this poetical visualization truthful? Who were the Celts?

The origin of the Celts is mystified. Even today, many writers or scholars propose various hypothesis and theories of Celtic roots. Nevertheless, most of them agree that the Celts emerged as one of the important peoples of Europe during the first millenium BC. More precisely, Kalweit specifies that this culture developed around 2000 BC among Indo-European tribes in the South-European territory and throughout centuries they spread to the west as far up as Britain and Ireland. The peak of the culture was reached around 500 BC when the name *Celts* appeared for the first time. (27) In most of the writings of classical authors, the expressions such as *Gauls* and *Britons* are frequently used, especially by Tacitus and Caesar.

It is not known the factual period when the Celts came to the British Isles. The most approximate date of their appearence is the nineth century BC. All the scholars also agree that their arrival, and most of all, their settlement in Britain have greatly contributed to British history. According to Chadwick, "they provide a link between the prehistoric period - at the end of which they had emerged as the product of much cultural evolution and the early historic period". (7)

It is generally believed that the Celts were one of the Ancient nations inhabiting the British Isles, nevertheless, to denote them as a nation is debatable seeing that nations are only time-limited formations in terms of certain historical development. Kalweit clarifies the picture of the ethnic group of the Celts which consisted of various tribes living their own lives, forming temporary alliances and blending each other. (28)

Unfortunately, there are no available sources of Celtic literature written by Celtic authors because their culture remained exclusively oral. They did not write down any of their history, traditions or religious issues. Consequently, the only sources that are at disposal, are those of classical authors from Rome or Greece.

2.1. Roman authors about the Celts

The first mentions about the Celts in the British Isles come from classical authors such as Caesar, Dio Cassius and Tacitus. Practically all of their works are rich in the elements of exoticism and ni this sense, they do not differ from works of European norm of that time. Such writings had created a biased picture of the Ancient tribes inhabiting the Isles and had led to their prejudiced perception.

Since the Celts did not write any of their own stories, myths and legends or memoirs of Greek and Roman authors are still very valuable sources of information about Celtic traditions and habits, although they should not be taken literally.

At the time when first Roman conquerors came to Britain, the island was an undeveloped country in comparison to the Roman Empire and some other countries on the Continent, hence most of the newcomers described the inhabitants as savages and barbarians as in the case of Caesar:

> All the Britains, indeed, dye themselves with wood, which occasions a bluish color, and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight. They wear their hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except their head and upper lip. (Caesar, Book 5)

Even nowadays some historians still think of the Celts as unadvanced culture. According to Collingwood, Celtic culture was "primitive in its civilization, stagnand and passive in its life, and receiving most of what progress it enjoyed through invasion and importation from overseas". (20) But the things that are today regarded as primitive were certainly regarded as inevitable at the time of Ancient Europe. A complicated period full of conflicts and wars demanded solutions not always corresponding to our more cultivated approach.

2.2. The Pyramid of the Celtic Society

From the findings surviving for nearly ten centuries, an approximate picture of a life of the Celts can be reconstructed, however, conceptions of Celtic lifeway cover a certain degree of speculation, uncertainty or pure supposition. As far as is known, the Celts did not write any of their own stories. The amount of myths and legends has survived in Ireland and Wales from the later period being written by Christian monks or scholars. All the three sources - archeology, memoirs and legends - can support the

image of these people. The only native sources available for Europe and Britain are those derived from archaeology which can offer a lot of information about the Celtic society, its division, main aspects of life and the hierarchical system.

2.2.1. The Tribes

As for the regional division, the identification of territories was based on the system of tribes rather than on precise delimitation of boundaries. Filip states that the tribe was the largest social unit of the same ancestry, although they very often changed their settlements and joined another tribe. (95-96)

Dodgshon is even more specific:

> *Tribes.....*are linked to agricultural economies and are characterized by greater cohesiveness because of the existence of varied means of linking the members of different local social groups, for example by exchanging women in marriage and prestige goods and perhaps above all by the pressures of external contacts and warfare. (Dodgshon, Butlin, 15)

It would be misleading to think of a tribe as a state as it is considered today because there was no organized public administration.

A Celtic tribe (*tuath*) consisted of several families, according to Welsh and Irish law four-generational families. Wealth was measured by a quantity of stock and slaves. When the aristocrat kept a numerous herd of cattle, he usually hired out the animals to clients, namely for a certain charge or more often for a service which meant that he could lately use this service and in wartime, to take actions against the neighbouring tribes in order to obtain more livestock. (Stewart, Matthews, 53)

Each tribe had its own chieftain or king, but as for their precise function, Filip mentions those of public sphere such as "action in connection with warfare, the conclusion of pacts of friendship with other *tuath*, and so on". (98)

Among the most powerful and largest tribes at that time, were the tribes in the south of Britain, the Trinovantes, the Coritani, the Dobunii, the Belgae, the Atrebates and the Iceni. Taking into account that there were no clear boundaries between the individual territories, it is rather impossible to specify the precise location of particular tribe. As might be expected, a lot of tribes meant a lot of kings and chieftains which extremely complicated the possiblity to form any integrated policy towards new conquerors as the Romans were. At the time when the Romans tried to control the

British Isles, they distinguished over twenty tribes. Kerney characterizes "the existence of tribal groupings in both Britain and Ireland" as "an indication of political differences at the local level." (14)

Although the country was divided into many tribes, a certain connection worked in terms of the system of fosterage which consisted in an exchange of sons of the nobility between the neighbouring tribes. Such alliances would be very beneficial for the future. (Chadwick, 115)

> Within the structure of tribes, if power becomes centralized in the hands of an individual or a family, who coordinates social activity and has special privileges, a *chiefdom* emerges. (Roberts in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, 15)

The words of Roberts concerning tribes and a chiefdom are therefore aplicable to the the statemens of historians and scholars describing the Celtic society as highly hierarchically organized and ranked with clear distionctions between classes. Considering a number of kingdsom dividing the country, the kingship was the most important of the Celtic institutions, though Kerney argues that

> Power and prestige rested with the kingship group.… This did not mean that ownership of land was communal. It seems clear that the actual cultivation and ownershiop of the land rested with individual nuclear families. (17)

Though Chadwick depicts the importance of the kingship, she completes that it was always non-hereditary but, on the other hand, she is not sure if the word non-hereditary would always denote the same function. (117-118) As Filip makes clear, the king was not necessarily a son of his predecessor. If a king had no suitable descendent, a new ruler was chosen from the line of a great-grandfather, hence any of the male relatives, for instance uncle, cousin or father, could become a new king. (94, 98)

In case of a small tribe headed by a king, he could be bound by personal allegiance to an "over-king". (Chadwick, 111-112). Taking into account elapsed time and the absence of any authentic sources, it is not easy to identify the real duties of the king. A Celtic expert Chadwick claims that the inferior king could "gave hostages to his overlord and perhaps received from him a stipend in token of his dependence." (112) Their relationship could be labeled as a mutual obligation.

Nevertheless, from time to time some economic conflicts and power tendencies occured among the aristocracy who was trying to strengthen their influence and social position. (Filip, 96-97)

Anther important term mentioned in connection with the Celtic society, is the clientship. Filip explains that as for the institution of clientship, the client was obliged to his lord especially during the time of war and in return he could rely on his protection and support. But all these benefits and duties were bound only to their own tribe. (98)

Notwithstanding, to be a client did not automatically mean to lose one´s freedom. Stewart adds that a man was classed according to the fact whether he or she was free or not. Unfree people or slaves were men and women usually captured during various invasions or the original inhabitants of the conquered territory. A client served to his lord in return for the cattle or a property. (Stewart, Matthews, 53)

Freemen within a tribe abided by clearly defined rights and law. In serious matters such as murder, they would prefer other punishment rather than imprisonment, for example a redress in form of an "honour price". This kind of penalty was completed by "suretyship, by which a guarantor, often of higher status than that of the offender, was responsible for the actions of the offender". The situation was more complicated when someone offended against the other tribe and usually an agreement between those two tribes and their chieftains or kings was neccesary. (Chadwick, 113)

An unwritten law in the form of the vendetta also existed, especially in cases of homicide or insult but, on the other hand, it could be solved in a different way, for example the clan of the deliquent would pay a fine in order to maintain peace and friendly relation. The amount usually depended on a position of the injured party, the higher rank of the society they occupied, the higher fine would be paid. (Chadwick, 116-117)

The sense of justice of the Celts was far-famed almost the same way as their pride which was phenomenal. They were the first European inhabitants who developed, to a great extent, a certain system of law and they would subordinate it to their daily life. (Stewart, Matthews, 51)

Kearney admits that the only reliable sources referring to Celtic law are those derived from the area of today´s Wales though it could be presumed as the similar legal system existing in the entire British Isles. And since Wales was the area of a direct

contact with Rome, it is unquestionable that the legal practice of Wales was later affected by Roman codes. (Kearney, 18)

2.2.2. The Classes of the Society

Archaeological findings and literary sources enlighten the division of the Celtic society. Most of the historical publications indicate that the society itself was divided into three main classes. Firstly, there was a very honourable and reputable aristocracy of warriors and landowners. Penrose elucidates that the real power was in the hands of the aristocracy and among them, new kings and tribal chieftans were chosen. (192) Since the head of each tribe was the head of the most respected family, i.e. the king, a plenty of kings and queens could be found in Ancient Britain.

Another very important representatives of the society were the Druids, the pre-Christian priests, who shared just as much admiration and credit as the aristocracts. They will be discussed further in one of the following chapters.

The third class was composed of freemen and small farmers being valued according to their wealth, social status or dignity. Unfortunately, the attention has always been directed to the aristocratic group of society, for evidence of their existence has better prospect of survival in archaeological records. The society of ordinary people is less well documented.

The only piece of knowledge that the modern history possesses is that the majority of the Celts lived in villages and the society itself was based on cultivation of the soil and cattle-rearing. Fields were usually bounded by some ditches or fences or various kinds. (Filip, 110-112) If a new land was acquired by conquest, it "was divided among the tribes and further subdivided within the tribe". (Filip, 112)

Archaeological records prove that before and even after the Roman conquest, most Britain´s inhabitants were peasant farmers working on single farms of family groups. (Wild in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 32) Kearney confirms that most of the society in the pre-Roman period seemed to have been rather pastoral and season-grazing oriented. After the Romans´ arrival, it mirrored a contrast between the urbanised societies of the south and east, and rural societies of Highlands. (18)

Hawkes considers the first millenium BC as characterized by "the spread of a system of rural economy, attested not only by the plough-agriculture of the Celtic fields but by the extensive use of ditch-and-bank boundary strips". (*Prehistoric Cultures and Peoples in the British Isles*)

The division of the classes introduced above is not the only one that could be found in literature. There are another possibilities and suggestions regarding the classes of the Celtic society. For instance, Chadwick proposes three principal classes: *the druides*, *equites* and *plebs*. *Equites* could be compared to the warriors, landowners and patrons of the arts. The term *plebs* would correspond to freemen, farmers and minor craftsmen. Outside this subdivision, slaves would be placed. (112)

In other literary sources by Clarusová, Bauerová or Green, it is likely to find the slightly different division of the Celtic society, three main branches of so called "professionals", the *Bards*, the *Vates* and the *Druids*. The first of them, the *Bards*, served as a professional singers and satirists being feared by many since they could either glorify or mock the hero. Secondly, there were the *Vates* who could be described, from the present point of view, as diviners or prophets. Their role in the society was to interpret signs and forebodings. As for the position of the Druids, it has already been mentioned earlier that they belonged to one of the most venerated members of the society. One of the examples how important role among the Celts they represented is their image in many legends and myths where the Celtic kings were not allowed to make their speech until the Druid had started.

As it is generally known, Celtic women played a quite prominent role in the society of the Pagan Celts. In contrast with their Roman counterparts, they could freely enter the political life or to become Druidesses. Especially as for the aristocracy, women were often equal to men.

In Pre-Roman Times, marriage resembled that of a comparable partnership. Celtic women could marry the man they chose though their families´ opinion was also very important. In case of husband´s death, the widow got her dowry back, together with profits, and the same happened in case of a divorce. A marriage was also a matter of woman´s social role. Female members of aristocracy or nobility very often wedded for political reasons. (Filip, 94)

Marriage itself was a very important matter because it could influence future generations. Chadwick exaplains that the Celtic society was based on the inheritance system and its system of *fines* (kindred) which was one of the strongest institutions and it enabled to any of the descendants of the four generations to claim their share. This bloodline also obliged all their members to be mutually responsible for one another. (113-114) It surely helped to guarantee justice and order since there were no instituions such as police or authorities.

The Romans were rather suprised by the social position which Celtic women enjoyed and also by the interior relations within the tribe.

Caesar wrote

> Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children; but if there be any issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when a virgin. (*The Gallic Wars*, Book 5)

Roman society was based on totally different principles, eliminating women from the important parts of a public life therefore when the Romans encountered some of the Celtic customs, they must have been shocked by such behaviour.

2.3. Social Institutions of the Romans

To discover eventual differences in the societies of the Romans and Celts, it is necessary to make clear what social institutions existed in the Ancient Rome.

The common people of the Roman Empire were not only those living in Rome, but also living abroad as farmers, soldiers or traders. Still, this chapter includes the social status of Roman citizens of today´s Italy.

To enjoy priviliges of Roman citizenship, it was essential to be born or at least to be a resident of the Empire. As soon as it was fulfilled, among other things, "the estates of the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from the arbitrary jurisdiction of governors". (Gibbon, 30)

Although the Romans considered other cultures and nations as barbarious, they themselves had a reputation of brutal and unforgiving people among their enemies, beginning with genocide of inhabitants of newly gained lands or towards their slaves.

Bauman completes

> Genocide occurs in two forms on the Roman scene. The external form encompasses acts of unbridled savagery, of virtual extermination, against large groups of non-Romans. In the internal form Romans systematically annihilate each other. (Bauman, 112)

Speaking about the Roman society, it is also necessary to remind of the class of the poorest and unprivileged, the slaves. According to Gibbon, slaves did not enjoy any privileges at all, more likely they were the property of their master who treated them the way he or she wanted, although legally the jurisdiction of life and death over the slaves was reserved to the magistrates. (36) This treatment could originate from the fear of the possible uprising and simultaneously it maintained order and distance within the society.

The slaves were not the only social class to fulfil their commitments to the Empire. Harlow emphasizes the citizens´ "duty" to marry and have children as the state would expect in order to ensure its own survival. (92) But it could, of course, be of much simplier reasons that the common people had in mind, to ensure the survival of individual families.

Bradley in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* states that marriage itself was bound up with the world of politics and some of the greatest men of that time began their political careers with a beneficial marriage. (79)

As mentioned above, the status of Celtic women was incomparable with the status of Roman women who were excluded from the political life as the direct participants and voters, and it was highly unthinkable for a Roman woman to command armies or to receive governorship. But more suprising was the fact that legally they were "the subject to the legal control of either father, guardian, or husband to their dying hour." (Davis, 60)

As for the Roman marriage from the legal perspective, it is pictured by Treggiari in detail:

> Originally it seems to have been the norm for a bride to enter into the control of her husband. This control, *manus*, was theoretically separate from marriage, but normally synchronous with it. It must be viewed together with the father's power, *patria potestas*, which later jurists saw as characteristic of Romans. Paternal power was held by the oldest male ascendant in a family, the *paterfamilias*. It gave him power of life and death over his legitimate children, his *filiifamilias*…. (31)

A Roman woman seemed to be fully dependent on her husband or other members of her family, whereas a Celtic woman enjoyed much more freedom and independence, though it mainly applied to those of a higher social rank who were not excluded from any place or positions, for example to become Druidesses or warriors if they wished.

3. The Class of Warriors

The Celtic civilization, from the point of view of the Romans, was by no means peace loving. More to the contrary, as Bellingham states, the Celts were above all the society of wariors. (9) The same way they impressed even Caesar: "…almost all the Gauls were fond of revolution, and easily and quickly excited to war; that all men likewise, by nature, love liberty and hate the condition of slavery". (*The Gallic Wars*, Book 3, Chapter 10) Or as Chadwick quotes Strabo: "The whole nation…is war-mad, both high-spirited and ready for battle, but otherwise simple and not uncultured."(131)

It is assumed that the Celts were outstanding and fearless people who could appreciate an honest battle. Their warriors were part of the most privileged and honoured caste and hence not only men but even women were trained for the warfare. It was the caste of warriors of which the new chief was chosen. (McCoy, 12) When it was necessary, Celtic warriors lived for war. According to Penrose, a lot of archaeological findings support this theory. Warfare and conflict really played a significant role in the Celtic society. (192)

Not only some refined reason for warfare was the matter of the Celtic warrior. Penrose adds that also stealing the cattle, inscursions in order to gain new slaves and the vendetta represented warrior´s every-day life. Such conflicts shaped abilities of a young warrior and provided the possibility how to prove his courage and skill. (192)

Though, the Celts were considered to be the one of the most fightable warriors of that time, they were hardly considered to be at least to some extent disciplined. A Celtic warrior usually fought for himself, for his glory and for a war trophy. (Stewart, Matthews, 54)

The first thing that had astonished the Romans was the behaviour and manners of the Celtic warrior. As Tacitus wrote in *The Annals*,

> The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder….. Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage…… To make prisoners, and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people, who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and defoliation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies. (Book XIV, Chapter 33)

Roman soldiers must have been also horrified by the physical appearance because Celtic warriors did not often wear any clothes. Steward explains that the warrior´s nakedness was either due to his pomposity or due to the lack of harness which belonged usually only to the wealthy and nobled people. A common poor warrior had to rely on the protection of magical paintings on his naked body. Together with their hair coloured by the lime and combed into unusual tails and chignons, it all supported their eccentric image. (Stewart, Matthews, 55)

Their look was very often mocked by the Romans likewise the Celtic tactic which worked upon the Roman soldiers as unorganized and disunited. Filip finds a certain strategy in the usual methods of warfare comprising of scaling enemy fortification with the help of wooden ladders and after the warriors reached the ground, they formed a circle out of which there was no escape. To form a defence, they very often used chariots from which they threw lances and spears. (107-108)

Also fighting as a sport shaped the ancient warrior´s capability and mirrored one of the parts of aristocratic life. Concerning the fightings or battles, it is important to distinguish between vital fighting and non-essential fighting. The former was often led because of the need of a new land for settlement but, understandably, one of the very common ways how to secure that was also the infiltration. In case this method did not work, fighting followed. Roman conquest belonged among the vital warfare.

Roman authors usually described aggresive (according to the Romans) fightings between individual tribes. The image of an Ancient Celtic warrior can be reconstructed from many of the surviving archaeological findings. The appearance of a warrior can be traced according to his or her weapons and ornaments found in graves.
One of the burial-places of an Ancient Celt is described as following

> The warrior was laid on his back across the platform of his chariot, his weapons to hand, and accompanied sometimes by helmet and shield, personal ornaments and those trappings which adorned his chariot and horses. It was common for him to have been provided with food and wine and fine vessels appropriate to a fest in the after-life. (Chadwick, 132-133)

Except of fighting, feasting represented one of the popular ways of living, being accompanied by an entertainment such as story-telling and talking which were enjoyed by all grades of society. Clarusová illustrates that during the feast, the most honourable

person got the best piece of meat, so called "a bite of a hero", which often caused a lot of bloody quarrels. (23). It also help to distinguish the hierarchical system of the Celtic society.

Their liking for rough amusement and games was not purposeless. As McCoy completes, it would stress and deepen their physical maturity and on this account, children were initiated in their early age. (McCoy, 13) A young warrior was systematically educated in his or her role.

As concerned the warfare, the Celts did not discriminate women and there were a plenty of schools which gave classes in warcraft to the both, men as well as women. (Stewart, Matthews, 67) Women participated in war mainly when their property, their land was threatened. Their significant role is also evident in training of future warriors. Caitlín Mathews gives an example of Ireland where young boys and girls were sent to the neighbouring tribes to get education. It also supported firmer bond between both families which ensured a greater tolerance in the society. Young boys were trained more often by female warriors than by men. It was quite common since women as warriors belonged to the image of the Celtic society although not all of them were obliged to master weapons. (112) Also McCoy refers to this custom of training the opposite sex. "Based on the old belief in transfer of the power between both sexes, women used to train boy-warriors and girl-warriors were trained by men." (13, my translation)

It was a privilege of the most proficient warriors to participate in the battle and to deserve the fame. Penrose suggests that the battle usually began with a dreadful roar accompanied by name-calling and invectives towards the enemy. The fear and dread were raised with a sound of *carnyx*, a long horn. (199) The battle itself began when the enemy armies faced each other and their best warriors came forward and challenged to fight their rivals.

Penrose quotes Diodorus Siculus saying

> When the armies are arranged and they stand against each other just before the attack, they come forward and the most courageous warriors call on to a single combat. Whenever there is somebody to take the dare, they recount heroic achievements of their ancestores and acclaim their own bravery and at the same time, they offend and bellitle the enemy to take away his martial spirit. (199, my translation)

Celtic warriors encouraged themselves not forgetting about the forebodings and signs which could influence their passion for victory.

> …. combat was not solely a matter of physical strength or skill in the handling of arms, and the rules to be respected did not concern only what would now be called fair play. The attitude of each warrior was conditioned by a series of prohibitions, independent of his will and sometimes contradictory…. (Kruta, 64)

Their belief in favour of gods and godesses was so strong that unlike Roman soldiers, the Celts did not wear any battle bowlers and relied on the protection of their deities. As Penrose states, the Celtic warriors soaked hair in lime to roughen their hair and help them in the combat since it was a certain protection from the hits of their enemies. For a Celtic warrior being protected by his totem was a sufficient prevention. (193-194) The front lines consisted of the most honourable warriors being surrounded with their suite which could be identified only according to wooden or metal effigy of their deities. A similar symbol of an eagle existed and was worshiped within the Roman Army. (198-199)

3.1. The Roman Army

Alike other conqueror nations, the Romans possessed a great knowledge of using weapons and the army on new territories and were ready to use them.

> The Romans took Britain by the sword and they held it by the sword, but that weapon was always kept in the background except when it was necessary that it should be drawn. (Windle, *The Romans in Britain,* 40)

A promise given to the standard, a submission to the army and commanders, a dedication of soldier´s life for the Empire, these were the principles of the military service. A soldier would also protect and guard the golden eagle as a symbol of a legion and of soldier´s devotion. To maintain a perfect discipline, a life of a Roman soldier was filled with military exercises and "the science of tactics was cultivated with success". On the other hand, he could rely on regular pay, occasional plunder and a recompense after the end of his service. Commanders and generals expected in return an absolute obedience with a right to punish with death and most soldiers were more afraid of their commanders than of their enemies. (Gibbon, 10-11)

Penrose agrees with the opinion that the strength of the Roman army consisted in the strength of their battle formations based on discipline and training. This approach helped them to move easily on the battle field in formations and even to recede in defensive formations which enormously minimized the amount of wounded and killed. Not only the Roman soldier was obliged to fulfil orders, he was also challenged to his own initiative. (106-107).

To become a member of the Roman Army, it was not a very complicated matter. The only limitations were the age of a new recruit (at least 17 years) and the Roman citizenship. (Penrose, 102-103) At the time of the Ancient Republic, young nobles prepared themselves for the offices of consul or senator by serving in the army. (Gibbon, 13)

What was so attractive about becoming a Roman soldier? Although the soldier´s pay was not high, he had many opportunities for its increase, especially in the period of Roman expeditions to Galia and Britain. He could bring gold, silver, luxurious goods, slaves, …. All these were commodities worth of the danger. Moreover, a career in the army was a golden opportunity how to reach the top of the social pyramid.

Speaking about the military discipline and strategy, it is necessary to explain the bases of the Roman Army.

There were no differences in the army operating in Britain and in Italy. It consisted of two branches, the *auxilia* and the legions. Allies of Rome commanded by their tribal leader formed the auxiliary unit, while Roman citizens formed the legion, led by officers from the Roman gentry. (D. J. Breeze in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 24)

The Roman Army was a unit based on professional soldiers serving their military service in legions and considering it to be their life´s career. Soldiers earned money from the state and they usually served for many years. (Penrose, 102) By contrast, the Celtic warfare was based on the society of warriors, thereby the Roman aggression mirrored the clash of two different cultures and two different methods of warfare.

Gibbon expressed the martial spirit of the Romans as follows:

> …they preserved peace by a constant preparation for war; and while justice regulated their conduct, they announced to the nations on their confines that they were as little disposed to endure as to offer an inury. (8)

The force of the Roman army lay in their absolute discipline, tested experience and the support of the Empire that invested in one of the most powerful components of the Roman society.

4. Celtic Religion

It has been already explained that religion played a very important role in lives of the Ancient Celts. Religion and living were practically inseparable. Their religion, represented by the clergy of the Druids, was intricate and full of mysticism.

The research of Celtic religion and myths is rather complicated by the lack of extant sources. All the knowledge about Celtic gods and religion is a combination of interpretation of archaeological sources and written memoirs of Ancient authors. In the words of Chadwick:

> Occasionally some archaeological evidence allows hypotheses relevant to intagibles, such as social organization and religious beliefs, to be offered. But these must remain no more than hypotheses.(18)

Archaeology represents the main category of the evidence which clarifies unimplicitly the era of the pagan Celts. Unfortunately, the majority of the iconographic material adherent to the Celtic religion originates from the epoch of the Roman influence. Consequently, it is very difficult to isolate the Celtic symbology and belief from the Roman tradition.

One of the certain facts known about their religion is that the Celts were polytheistic, that is they worshipped a number of deities from which a plenty of gods and goddesses were worshipped by their ancestors. According to Green and others, the Celts believed that their deities could be spotted everywhere. Each tree, river, mountain and spring had its own spirit. The idea of deity appeared in nature gave rise to various cults and myths connected with fertility. The most important ones related to mother - goddess who supervised all aspects of wealth and prosperity, in life or after death. (71) In contrast to a lot of other pagan beliefs, Celtic goddesses never played any secondary role. They represented a highly respected part of Celtic Paganism.

Although Celtic culture and its religion were not as adherent as those of the Romans or Greeks,

> It might be assumed that a certain unity of belief had prevailed throughout the Celtic world, despite the continuing influence of earlier indigenous and localized cults and the effect of contact with the Mediterranean civilizations. (Chadwick, 141)

When comparing Celtic religion and information of classical authors, it is necessary to remind that those written by the Romans or Greeks were adjusted to the needs and comprehensibility of their readers, as well as a certain projection of Roman deities could be traced there .

> Hesitation which might prove fatal was prevented by inducing the means necessary for divination and by interpreting the omen thus obtained according to preconceived idea. (Ettlinger, 11)

Caitlín Matthwes insists that it is hard to say how the Celts exactly imagined their gods because every story which has survived shows gods without mentioning their names and instead the Celts said: "I swear by the gods by whom my people swear." This secrecy protected gods against foreigners because only the members of a tribe could share the mystery of their god, which includes also the knowledge of his or her name and titles. (28)

As for the names of Celtic gods and goddesses, some of them agree with those recorded in writings of classical authors, but a large amount remains uknown. Some Celtic gods belonged only to a certain territory and could not be found in all the areas of the British Isles. It is quite possible that each tribe had its own deities, while many of these were worshiped in the entire Celtic world. The majority of Celtic deities was not associated with Roman deities but still, there were some of the deities which were recognized by both cultures. One of such examples was the cult of Epona whose name stood for a horse goddess (*horse = epo-*) and was pictured as a woman seated on a mare and accompanied by a foal. As Chadwick states, "she appears to have been the only Celtic divinity actually honoured in Rome. Her attributes, unlike those of many Celtic deities, seem never to have varied."(154). However, a certain similarity of the local deities and Roman gods such as Mercury, Mars or others, is found in the ancient literature. (Filip, 173)

With the arrival of the Romans, the British Isles met a large Roman pantheon of gods. At the beginning, the Romans did not force the Celtic inhabitants to accept their religion implicitly, they slowly began to enter Celtic religion adoring mainly nature based gods.

Today, it seems very difficult to understand the Celts´ view of gods and goddesses and consequently it is almost impossible to determine Celtic deities regarding

animal form. As in other religions of the world, Celts worshipped certain animals as the sacred ones.

> …some animals may have been regarded as totems, or at least as symbolic of certain groups. This is suggested by the use of boar figurines, for example, as crests on helmets, and the representation of this animal on other pieces of military equipment. (Chadwick, 161)

Not only the animals represented the world of religion but they aso personified Celtic perception of symbols and omens as it is introduced by Ettlinger:

> The presence of crows frequently observed near the slain on the battlefield may have brought about their association with death and disaster, and consequently with the war-goddess, the Morrigan. (12)

The nature mirrored the Celtic perception of their deities. By observation of the surrounding, they interpreted various events that they did not understand. The Greeks and Romans built colossal and decorated temples in order to reconcile or conciliate their gods. But this was not the practice of the Celts. As Chadwick explains, there is hardly any evidence of building such as the house of a chieftain, a shrine or a temple that could confirm without any speculations social organization or cult-practices. (20) Preferably, the worship of gods was closely connected to sacred places in the nature.

What is known about the Celtic religion and lifestyle today, comes from the ancient authors or Celtic myths and legends which outlasted for many centuries.

4.1. Mythology

Mythology can offer a picture of the Celtic lifestyle, how they perceived the world, what they thought about the origin of life, who took care of children, who belonged to the privileged class and so on. To understand their myths means to learn about all the aspects of life that they considered as the most important.

"If we want to understand the principle of Celtic mythology, we have to deprive of our own modern myths about the Celts." (Bellingham, 7) Myths represent the connection between deities and the cult. They contain oral tradition about sacred beings and about their coexistence with mortals. In particular, myths are unseperably adherent to religion. Presumably, there is no other pagan culture that would provoke such an interest or speculation like the miscellaneous cultural tradition of the Celtic people.

McCoy suggests that the Celts have left behind only very few reliques, among others glorious myths and works of art. (11)

Most of Celtic mythology can be traced back no longer than to the first notes written by classical authors who refer to Celtic beliefs and cult-practices although their interpretation may be ambiguous due to their personal approach. Furthermore, they very often noted only some isolated facts relating to, as they would desribe it, "barbarian" religion and they pretermited the overall image of mythology. There have been made many attempts to compare the deities of the Ancient Celts and Romans. „Both classical and Celtic deities may have stemmed from common Indo-European roots." (Chadwick, 143) As far as it is known, a plenty of Roman cult-practices and beliefs come from the Greeks and Etruscans. Similarly, the Celts retained ritual habits from pre-Iron Age. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identificate precisely the religious archaic tradition. Some of the common features can be found in both (Celtic and Roman) cultural worlds, for instance guidance in life or protection in war.

> A single Celtic deity may be linked in invocation in separate dedications with more than one Roman god; the name of one Roman god may be associated with more than one Celtic deity. (Chadwick, 143)

Naturally, it is not known precisely to what degree Celtic religion was influenced by Roman ideas. Vlčková presumes that the Romans evaluated and judged Celtic gods from the point of view given by their education and their religious conceptions whereas the Romans likened the Celtic deities to the Roman ones on grounds of an inaccurate comparison originating from their dismissive attitude towards any barbarian nation. (9)

One of the questions that the Romans considered as highly barbarous were human sacrifices. Although the Romans felt scandalized by them, at the time of the first Roman republic, they realized the same practices themselves. Ancient sources describe human sacrifices, their motive and facture. Most of the sources agree as for the participation of the Druids. But it is not trustworthy the grounds for the sacrifices since the Romans did not witness the actual rituals and all their knowledge came only indirectly. (Vlčková, 182) The religious practices were depicted by ancient authors as cruel and primitive. Caesar wrote in *The Gallic Wars*

The nation of all the Gauls is extremely devoted to superstitious rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe diseases, and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and employ the Druids as the performers of those sacrifices; because they think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods can not be rendered propitious, and they have sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes. (Book 6, Chapter 16)

Though classical records very often describe human sacrifices, it was probably not a day-to-day ritual by reason that there are only several archaeological findings supporting this opinion. "A sacrifice is dedication of something which is valued for the giver". (Green, 99) The more valuable offering, the more powerful act of favour. According to Chadwick, a certain increase in the number of sacrifices was common in time of war when prisoners were available as victims (151), but still, much larger amount of archaeological evidence represents inaminate objects.

What is indeed appealing, as far as the folklore is concerned, is the bondage of the natural world with its unnatural inhabitants. A plenty of controversies could be found with regard to valuation of the early islandish resources. Not only they were written in the Middle Ages and with a Christian context, but moreover their origin is determined, according to the used language. (Green, 12) All tales contain a deal of pagan and mythological, apart from the time they come from. (Green, 13)

Murray also describes that the part of Roman mythology referred to human sacrifices and similarly to the sacrifices of Ancient Celts, the sacrifices had a certain connection, either blood or emotional, to those who practised them. Each of the sacrifices was a gift to gods for their blessing or an expiation. Furthermore, the Romans believed that the sacrifices had a great signification before starting the battle. (16) Methods of the warfare were often of great cruelty, for that reason, some references to the cult of decapitation were made by classical writers.

4.1.1. The Cult of the Head

The Celts believed that the first reality of life is death, or more precisely, the first reality of death is further life. The cult of the head together with the immortality of the soul belonged to the basic principles of Celtic mythology.

In Britain, there can be found some evidence of the cult of the head which had a great significance in the Celtic world as a seat of power showing the spiritual vitality

(Clarusová, 49). "At Stanwick, in Yorkshire, for example, a skull had been pierced for suspension, and human heads were displayed over the gateway to the hill-fort on Bredon Hill in Worcestershire." (Chadwick, 158) Such foundings support the extant legends describing the habit of Celtic warriors cutting off the enemy´s head and hanging it from their horse´s neck to desplay it later at the entrance of their home. This practice, understandably, strengthen their image as violent savages and non-civilized barbarians as the Romans labeled them.

The head representing a very important aspect of Celtic belief, was not only the matter of warriors. Miranda J. Green describes a very strange ritual preserving around Kimeridge in Dorset, where old women were beheaded and their jowl was removed. Now it is often interpreted so that they could not say magic formulas from the *"other world"*. (103-104)

Although this Celtic habit may seem brutal, it should be approached without prejudice seeing that many other ancient cultures had shown similar traditions of slaughter and exhibiting of the dead.

The habit of beheading preserved mainly the warriors, however, it also included the Druids since some literary sources indicate making sacrifices the same way.

4.2. The Druids

It has been stated that Celtic society was very precisely defined system divided into distinct roles within itself and including the Druids, the pre-Christian priests as a very reputable class of the society. Chadwick believes that "despite the very considerable body of literature devoted to their study published since the Renaissance, the Druids remain obscure." (149). The main reason is that the Druids preferred oral transmission of their knowledge and keeping secret concerning their activities and teaching. Thereupon present knowledge depends on equivocal classical writings. The reason for not recording Druidic teaching could be the protection of religious secrets which should be made accessible only to those who were specially trained to do so. (Clarusová, 13)

As for the name Druid, there are several versions of the meaning. Mathews assumes that the origin of the word „Druid" (Irish *drui*, Welsh *derwydd*) can be traced

back to the old Sanscrit. In Sanscrit, *veda* means to see, to know, or it could be derived from the word *oak* which is *dervo* in Galic, *daur* in Irish, *derw* in Welsh. (Methews, 56)

The only reliable source of their teaching could be the one from archaeological evidence but only indirectly. That is why it is not known very much about the beliefs of the pre-Christian Celts. Chadwick states that in the first century BC, some of the Druidic knowledge was already familiar to the educated Greeks and Romans who considered the Druids to be engaged in law and education. Even Caesar spotted some similarities and common characteristics of Druidic teaching in Britain and in Gaul which suggested a similar unity of the whole Celtic world. The Druids possessed a great authority among which an excommunication belonged representing one of the most sever punishments. The main principle of Druidic teaching presumed that the human soul did not die, it only passed into another body. It can explain and support warrior´s little fear of death and belief in an after-life. (150)

The Druids enjoyed higher social credit than the very king. It was rather unthinkable to speak sooner than the Druid did and the more complicated legal questions were also the matter of a senior Druid as well as the decision making and final solution. (Clarusová, 38)

Also as other social classes, even the Druids could be divided into several Druidic ranks or positions. Clarusová enumarates *ollam* (the highest one), followed by *gutuator* (the father of a prayer) who had called the believers to the sacrifices. *Vates* was a name for an offering priest who was at the same time a prophet. Since the Ancient Celts did not discriminate between men and women, they could and very often served as an offering priestesses. (39) Members of both sexes mastered the knowledge in so various subjects such as astrology, cosmology, psychology, theology and many of their variations.

> Despite of this knowledge, they did not sink in any abstract philosophizing. Each part of their education had to be applicable to every-day life, for instance determination of time for reason of the spring sowig, a chance of cure of injured or the knowledge of character of some gods. (Methews, 58, my translation)

Even the Romans talked about them with respect considering their knowledge and education. Caesar wrote about the Druids that they…

> …are engaged in things sacred, conduct the public and the private sacrifices, and interpret all matters of religion. To these a large number of the young men resort

for the purpose of instruction, and they [the Druids] are in great honor among them. For they determine respecting almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has been committed, if there be any dispute about an inheritance, if any about boundaries, these same persons decide it; they decree rewards and punishments; if any one, either in a private or public capacity, has not submitted to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices… (*The Gallic Wars*, Chapter 13)

However, despite of a doubtless admiration of Druids, the Romans could recognize a certain hint of a risk and they began to act vigorously not only against the inhabitants of the British Isles, but mainly against Druids. Describing the reasons behind the repression, Vlčková mentions an aspect such as propagation of anti-Roman attitudes and mood (14) as the Romans probably perceived it. On this account, Suetonius Paulinus being conscious of the Druidic influence on the Welsh resistance in 61 AD decided to suppress and to destroy a centre of their power in Anglesey in order to reinstall the order.

4.3. Roman religion and Politics

To compare the Celtic and the Roman belief, it is necessary to make clear the basis of Roman religion. People of the early Rome behaved and thought the same way that their ancestors did, using various incantations and passwords. The things and happenings that could not be explained were attributed to the doing of the force majeure which was regarded as the solution of life´s problems. Penrose suggests that most Romans thought of mythology as a characterization of immortals with strictly defined rights. (23)

A certain similarity of both religions consisted in an embrace of other cultural and religious influences. The Romans enlarged their territory and at the same time they absorbed religion of these subjugated nations as it had happened for instance in case of Greek language and religion penetrating into the Roman religion. At that time, there was no traditional religion or Church in a sense as it is known today. Penrose adds that there was no sole God but rather a great amount of deities interfering each other. For most of the Romans, mythology mirrored a description of immortals who required conciliation. (23)

The popularity of mystery religions among the Romans demonstrated that they held no prejudice against non-Roman gods or goddesses who offered special or

extraordinary blessings. The Romans saw no reason to exclude sanctuaries of potent foreign deities from their cities. (Scuping, 212)

Throughout the publications written by authors focusing on the questions of the religion history, many common features seem to apper, especially references to the religious compatibility of the Ancient Romans. And Gibbon goes further describing the Roman religion as various and equally accepted and tolerated and "…thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord". (25-26) In a life of an Ancient Roman,

> …fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. (Gibbon, 26)

Despite of the fact that the Romans relatively tolerated religious individualism, Penrose admits that the religion extremely influenced major military decisions as in the case of the Celts. Very important actions very often postponed because of the occurrence of some unfavourable signs. Further, even the course of combat and very often its result was influenced by such a factor as an interpretation of forebodings. (23) It surely had an influence on their behaviour during the battle. A favourable sign could raise soldier´s discipline or vice versa. (25)

> …before engagement in battle or before any meeting of an assembly the 'auspices' were taken - in other words, the heavens were observed for any signs (such as the particular pattern of a flight of birds) that the gods gave or withheld their assent to the project in hand. (Momigliano, 7914)

No only some divine entities were worshipped by the Romans. As Gibbon completes, also heroes who had died "for the benefit of their country" gradually entered the field of immortality and were adored and woshipped. (26) Thereby a certain possibility of becoming an immortal would occupy a soldier´s mind.

The world of religion and politics were closely connected and interlaced and it could ensure the welfare of the state since the Romans believed that their prosperity depended on the favour of gods. As Willoughby mentions "the early Romans governed their state and administered private justice according to a mixture of religious regulations, rules sanctioned by custom, and popular conceptions of what was right" . All the offences were not taken as against the state, but rather against the gods. (220)

Penrose explains that since there was no official Church in the time when Rome became a Republic, the responsibility for rituals was in hands of the state. The highest officers formed a Council of *pontiffs* headed by *pointifex maximus* (the senior priest). *Pontiffs* usually arbitrated divine and human matters and they served as interpreters of omens and predictions, though prophecy was not strictly limited to these priests. If it was at least slightly possible, a Roman citizen would not begin any affair without making a sacrifice. (23)

To become either one of *pontiffs* or even *pointifex maximus*, it meant to get a great potential for political purposes. Orlin mentions for instance Julius Caesar who aroused public notice when he reached the position of *pontifex maximus* as one of the most important priestly offices in Rome. (7278) But Julius Caesar went even further. He presented himself as a relative or a descendant of Venus and thereby he claimed a certain divine status.

It was surely not an easy task to become a *pontiff*. It was necessary to belong to the right class. According to Gibbon, "the *pontiffs* were chosen among the most illustrious of the senators; and the office of *Supreme Pontiff* was constantly exercised by the emperors themselves". (28) As explained earlier, the world of religion and politics constructed an inseparable part of life of Ancient Romans.

> …when the titular head of Roman religion spoke, the head of the Roman Empire spoke at the same time. Ultimately, this combination of religious and political authority in the figure of the *pontifex maximus* outlived the Roman Empire in the West, as it came to be embodied in the Pope, who continues to reside in Rome. (Orlin, 7279)

Maier in his article mensions Caesar´s comparison of the Druids with their counterpart of the Roman *pontiffs*, just as he compared the Gaulish gods to those of the Roman pantheon "in order to emphasize the Gauls´ adaptability to Roman civilization and to stress their cultural superiority over the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine". (2492)

Although the importance and the function of the Druids is mentioned by classical authors very often, in most of the cases they agree as for the end of their practise. Momigliano explains that as is well known the Romans were prohibited from participating in Druid cult and under the rule of Claudius, the prohibition was extended to the cult itself, though it is not obvious what penalty for disobedience were given to

those who broke the law since there is little evidence of the Druidical ceremonies. (7921)

Although the role of the Empire concerning religious tendencies may seem to be rather subordinate, these tendencies varied throughout the Roman Empire, which Orlin comments by saying that

> the state served as the institutional authority responsible for articulating a pantheon of divinities and a system of rituals and sanctuaries that would organize the universe and the divine world in a religious system. (7275)

Since Rome was filled with newcomers, they brought their own world of superstitions. (Gibbon, 28) Some of the newcomers, of course, came from the British Isles, or more often, were imported as slaves or a war booty. On the other hand, the Romans imported their belief and conception of life to Britain. After the Roman invasions, some members of the Celtic aristocracy became Roman citizens adopting many of the Roman lifestyle habits, for instance learning Latin, dressing in Roman fashion. Especially in the South of the Isles, Roman culture began to interfuse with the one of Britons. The natives in the country still worshipped their own gods and used their mother tongue, while the Britons in the towns began to use Latin. (*The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 45-48)

Roman gods (Jupiter, Mars, Minerva; or personifications of abstract concepts, like Victory and Fortune) and the manner of their worship appeared with the arrival of Roman soldiers, merchants and administrators who built temples, altars and statues "for the granting of prayers". The army´s loyalty was shown by dedications to "the *genius* or *numen* (divine power) of the emperor", and also religious sculptures and inscriptions were found in legionary fortresses. (T. Blagg in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 45-46)

In the course of the many centuries and due to the limited information, it is difficult to determine the influence of other cults and religions affecting the Roman religion.

> There is no way to know, in other words, how much of the process was an aspect of Roman take-over and ultimately obliteration of native deities, how much it was a mutually respectful union of two divine powers, or how much it was a minimal, resistant, and token incorporation of Roman imperial paraphernalia on the part of the provincials. (Momigliano, 7919)

Windle remarks that the Roman toleration of original Celtic deities had two exceptions, namely Druidism and Christianity. (*The Romans in Britain,* 186) Christianity adopted much of Greek and Latin philosophical modes of expression and "it spread mostly (although certainly not exclusively) among the lower social strata of the Empire". (Scupin, 347).

In the first century AD, Britain was overpowered and since the second century AD, the Christianity began to spread from Galia and infiltrated even into Britain and by the fifth century AD, it had been firmly established in the islands. However, Christianity was not the only area of a diverse domain, the life of the Celts and Romans differed in the sphere of politics.

The basic function and policy of Rome was to maintain domestic peace and union. The army served as a guardian defending from the public enemy (Gibbon, 38) Gibbon summarizes

> Whatever evils either reason or declamation have imputed to extensive empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements of social life. (46)

In the first century AD, the political power was divided into the hands of the senate and the assemblies, and "directed by noble families of government through the magistracies". Unfortunately, there was of course a danger of a transformation into the tyranny. A great historian Tacitus expressed his nostalgia of old ancient liberties preceding the new establishment. (Freeman, 396) The reasons for establishing any legal organisation was with the highest probability the requirement of the state stability. Willoughby adds that once the new political system was introduced, the Romans perceived it as the will of the state. (226) But this will very often corresponded to new military expeditions and wars. As Gibbon explains, at the time of the commonwealth, the Romans understood war as a necessity of defence and as a proof of love to their country, but as the time went by, "freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into art, and degraded into a trade". (9) Although the Ancient Roman is frequently described as a war fanatic, Gibbon sess the Romans as "peaceful inhabitants" enjoying and abusing "the advantages of wealth and luxury". (1)

The Roman citizen could feel protected by the state and it was the state´s function and the main purpose to establish and to protect the Romans´ rights being

defined by the private law. (Willoughby, 216) As compared to other ancient states, Rome had probably the most sophisticated system of jurisprudence of that time.

> For the first time in history we find in the political philosophy of the Romans the state conceived as a legal organisation, as a political entity operating through organs which have been established and endowed with authority by definite laws. For the first time we find the citizen viewed as having definite rights and possessing a sphere of freedom which is not to be trespassed upon either by other citizens or by the state itself. (Willoughby, 216)

That is why Gibbons enumerates patriotism as one of the public virtues which helped to retain and to flourish free government, the public institution of all free Romans. (9) But not every action of the Romans was done in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the Empire. Naturally, there were frequently individual reasons. Shotter presumes that governors as members of the senatorial aristocracy thought of the provinces as lucrative sources for their electoral expenses. Futhermore, there was the business community supervising tax-colletion and "the management of state-property", naturally highly financially awarded. (*Roman Britain*, 6) And a very profitable province seemed to be the territory of the British Isles.

5. Roman Britain

5.1. Caesar in the British Isles

Before Caesar´s entering, a very lucrative trade already existed between the Romans and the British Isles. Britons exported mainly iron, gold and silver, wool, cattle and slaves, and in the opposite direction goods such as jewellery and glass were carried. Such a trading surely helped Britons to become much wealthier and thereby much stronger.

What were the real reasons for Caesar´s expedition? There is no question that Caesar was a quite capable politician being able to realize how important could be the capture of a new territory. Firstly, he probably hoped that the Roman Empire could be enriched by precious metals and grain of the Britons, and more over, it would bring fame and wealth to Rome. And he also thought of improving his own image of an ingenious leader. Churchill comments that one of the reasons for the expedition could be also the influence of the Druids which they had on their continental tribal relatives, the Gauls. (19-20) Secondly, Collingwood thinks that the Romans also noticed and of course disapproved Britons´ help to their friends in Gaul. (34) Caesar "discovered that in almost all the wars with the Gauls succors had been furnished to our enemy from that country." (*The Gallic Wars*, Book 4, Chapter 20) And the Romans would also welcome a fertile land and new space for settlement.

Penrose, Churchill, Tacitus and many others agree that first of all, Caesar tried to gather some useful information from various sources, especially those of the Gauls and also merchants trading with the Isles. Unfortunately for him, he did not get precise information regarding the landscape and the potential of the Britons and furthermore, Collingwood suggests "they may have known more than they were willing to tell". (35) As a self-confident commander,

> …he could not afford to explain to his readers…, he got no information whatever except about that very coast which was already well known to his informants"….To state the facts explicitly would have been to confess that his reconnaisance was a failure (Collingwood, 35)

When the situation was prepared, Caesar decided to undertake the invasion. He probably did not intend to permanently conquer the whole island. And the Romans would probably prefer building alliances with Celtic tribes, for instance the ruler-client relation which would be based on treaties and taxes. In return, the tribe could feel safe

and protected by Rome against other tribes. Penrose describes that before crossing Oceanus Britannicus (the Channel) in 55 BC, Caesar saw delegates of some British tribes and offered them accepting Rome as a new supremacy. He probably believed that they would help him to persuade other tribal chieftans to confide in Rome. (127-128). To the detriment of the Celts, a disunity of various tribes provided the opportunity for the Romans to endanger their sovereignty and Caesar probably relied on that fact in the event of a military action.

Another important aspect regarding difficulties was the absence of experience of Roman naval warfare in Atlantic waters in which the tribes inhabiting the coast were the experts. (61)

Collingwood, Churchill and Chadwick describe the further events similarly. Caesar took about hundred Gaulish sailing crafts and together with two legions he set sail for Britian. In the morning, Caesar and his soldiers saw the white cliffs of Dover which where filled by armed natives and on that ground he decided to sail further. Churchill comments the arrival of the Caesar´s army as not very favourable. The Roman soldiers were already expected by the tribes ready to defend their lands and to take advantage of the known surrouding. (27) And as for the Roman struggle with the channel, Gibbon wrote, "to the Romans the ocean remained an object of terror rather than of curiosity…..The ambition of the Romans was confined to tha land". (16)

However, the Britons watched thoroughly Caesar´s steps and they moved quickly in order to prepare for the clash. Collingwood unwinds that in the beginning, the Romans did not want to jump into water and to encounter their enemy in such unfavourable circumstances but during the battle, the Britons allowed the Roman legionaries to get onto the land and there they were ready to use their battle-formation which the Britons could not resist. (38) And since that time, their approach had changed. Caesar wrote about the defeated: "As they recovered after their flight, instantly sent embassadors to Caesar to negotiate about peace. They promised to give hostages and perform what he should command." (*The Gallic Wars*, Book 4, Chapter 27)

> Caesar, complaining, that after they had sued for peace, and had voluntarily sent embassadors into the continent for that purpose, they had made war without a reason, said that he would pardon their indiscretion, and imposed hostages, a part of whom they gave immediately; the rest they said they would give in a few days, since they were sent for from remote places. (*The Gallic Wars*, Book 4, Chapter 27)

One of the positive things that Caesar had achieved was the fact that he became one of the wealthiest people in the world "thanks to robbing and a selling of slaves". (Penrose, 99) A certainly more important result of the invasion was Caesar´s gained prestige. After crossing the channel, Caesar acquired greater popularity than Crassus and Pompeus had ever gained in Rome.Caesar became a hero and Rome filled up with twenty-days ovation. (Penrose, 127-128).

> From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, Book 34, p387)

Notwithstanding that Caesar was glorified as a winner, he did not managed to conquer the whole country. As a possible cause for the failure, Penrose indicates Caesar´s effort to discourage Britons from their solidarity towards the rebellious Gauls on the Continent and the situation became worse when the army had found out that they did not have enough sources for the newly gained land. (127-128) .

The period following the second conquest in 54 BC which had practically the same continuance is defined by Churchill as calm and tranquil, although tribes often wared against their neighbours, but they would never thought of any other attack of the Romans. The trade with the continent prospered, the relations with the Romans grew, Roman merchants domesticated and brought news about wealth and potentialities to Rome. (29)

5.2. Claudius in Britain

A few years later, Rome was dominated by a Civil War, therefore any future attempts to conquer Britain again had to be postponed. Caesar had demonstrated that the British Isles were not unassailable, hence Claudius dispatched his army to Britain again in 43 AD.

But what political climate had preceded the second irruption into Britain? It was almost a century after Caesar on the score of the unfavourable political events in Rome, in the first place the situation after Caesar´s assassination. In 41 AD, Claudius became the emperor after the assassination of his nephew Caligula. Claudius needed to strengthen his position and therefore he decided to conquer Britain. (Penrose, 171-172)

In 43 AD, the Roman Army disposing twenty thousand soldiers was ready to enter Britain. The unstability of the political situation in certain areas of the Isles also contributed to the right moment for the attack. At that time, Britain was divided into many separate kingdoms which were not in any manner politically united. It is also one of the reasons the Romans gained the Isles quite handily, for every Celtic kingdom could be attacked separately. Each tribal kingdom had its own method of warfare and they were not able to join together. (Chadwick, 64)

Events relating to reconquering the Isles passed relatively quickly and smoothly. After the death of Cunobelinus, the king controlling southeastern Britain, several tribes of the region disclaimed both his sons as new rulers and at the time when they were quarrelling among themselves, the Roman commander Plautius reached the Isles with his legions. He followed the route of Cesar. (Churchill, 30) Dio Cassius described the following events:

> ….he crossed the stream, and engaging the barbarians, who had gathered at his approach, he defeated them and captured Camulodunum, the capital of Cynobellinus. Thereupon he won over numerous tribes, in some cases by capitulation, in others by force, and was saluted as imperator several times, contrary to precedent… (*Roman History*, Book LX)

Claudius as a victorious conqueror could enter Camulodun (Colchester) which was followed by the capitulation of eleven tribes and triumphantly he returned to Rome. However, the very total subjection of Britain took much longer. According to Penrose one tribe after another were either erased or became vassals of Rome. (171-172)

It seems that the second invasion was succesful and resulted in a submission of various tribes, gaining slaves and enforcement of yearly taxes to Rome. (Penrose, 127-128). The Romans imposed heavy taxes on the inhabitants of their new province which resulted in a lot of revolts during the early years. Many of the Celtic institutions were destroyed by Roman conquest. The Romans tried to suppress the usual way of life of the Celts and they wanted the Celts to adopt their manners and customs. Even the areas of rather weaker Roman influence were, in some detail, affected for example by "a monetary economy and the acquisition of the minor products of Romanized mass-production, such as pottery, tools and trinkets." (Chadwick, 134).

Gibbon sees the cause of the Britons´ defeat as follows

> The various tribes of Britons possessed valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down, or turned them against each other with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. (3)

That is the opinion which is also supported by McCoy saying that the Celts waged wars among each other and their strives were deepened by the language differences, regional dialects, habits of particular clans and a variety of oral traditions. Such a diversity lead to the hassles and divided their society whereby their ability to defend themselves was extremely weakened. (12)

6. Life after the Subjugation of Britain

After much of the British Isles had been annexed by the Roman Empire, new principles of organization started to spread throughout the country.

In successive steps, Britons began to assimilate into the Roman society, especially those of upper-class, however, the majority of the population did not participate in social organisation in no manner. Some members of the Celtic aristocracy became Roman citizens adopting many of the Roman lifestyle habits, for instance learning Latin, dressing in Roman fashion. Especially in the South of the Isles, Roman culture began to interfuse with the one of Britons. This incorporation of Britons into Roman administration prevented natives from various resistance. As Windle made clear,

> As rulers their distinctive mark was not rigidity but elasticity, pliability, adaptability; and herein lay the chief secret of their success. When a conquest had been achieved, it was their custom to interfere with local conditions only as far as immediate necessity required. (216)

In addition to this, Hooder and Millet describe the easier incorporation of some tribes of Britain into the Empire as a result of their geographical location, the more soutwards they were, the better conditions for the Romanisation they formed. "Ultimate control passed from one authority to another under local leaders"… Southern tribes such as the Catuvellauni, Trinovantes and Cantiaci created early cantons or *civitates*, together with Iceni and Atrebates which were added as client kingdoms. Thereby, it took only a month of landing when the Romans fully controlled this area which had already been in a contact with the Romanized world in the late Iron Age. (in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, 28)

A relatively different situation related to the more northerly and western areas of Britain where the less developed centralized systems shaped much more difficult position for the newcomers. Tribes living in these areas required more authoritative approach, therefore the Romans had to place forts at strategic points to ensure the pass to civil authority. (I. Hodder and M. Millett in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, 28)

After the arrival of Roman rule, new opportunities appeared for some Britons, especially those forming the „client-kingdoms". These united several tribes within the area of conquest as in the case of the Iceni or Brigantes whose Queen Cartimandua

used Roman support to ensure her dominant position within the tribe. Nevertheless, the method of client-kingdoms did not run without casual difficulties in form of various revolts as it had happened in the event of the Iceni who revolted twice, in 47 AD and in 61 AD under Boudicca. (P. Salway in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 16)

The economic impact of the Romanisation that the Britons experienced first of all were taxation and the supply needs of a garrison. (Wild in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 32) The first visible signs of the early Roman period were in the foundation of towns and the development of villas. Being inspired with the Mediterranean city-state, Roman political system concentrated in these cities where the centres of administration and government were placed. (Millett in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 40)

As Millet explains, the importance of a new city consisted in the fact that it was a centre of each territory governed by a council combined of a local élite. The city was controlled by the governor but basically, the élite was the crucial element of the system which allowed them to increase their power and wealth. Therefore, their position reflected their interest in Roman control and enabled Rome to rule the country using only a small administration. (in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 40)

As mentioned above, the transition to Roman administrative organization was much easier in those parts of the territory where the native tribes had already appeared the oligarchic form. Consequently *civitates* spread over the province being managed by the governor, a Roman senator and former consul who supervised the *civitates* and dispensed justice. Industrial sphere and taxation were in the hands of the provincial procurator, a senior administrative officer, responsible to the emperor. Such separation of administration facilitated to monitor the Roman nobles who acted as governors and their manipulation with financial sources. (P. Salway in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland,*16)

People coming to Britain in order to either make a fortune or to come to power mirrored the picture of then society. Wild specifies that Britain as a new province invited new entrepreneurs, usually with military links, who used the opportunity for mining silver and establishing mining companies where mainly freedmen participated in

investments. As for the province labour force, slaves did not make any fundamental part, they usually appeared as domestic servants. (in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 34)

> The people of Roman Britain included citizen legionaries, native auxiliary soldiers, landowners with British ancestries and Roman names, Greek doctors and teachers, Latin-speaking traders and craftsmen and Celtic-speaking peasants. There were parts for many voices; unison was not required. (T. Blagg in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 52)

New settlers from the empire came to Britain and made a commercial middle class and a Romanized lower class in the towns and thereby, they contributed to the rapid development of the economical and political stability. (P. Salway in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 16-18)

But this economical and political stability was not meant to last for a long time. As Salway remarks, at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century AD, Rome faced barbarian invasions attacking parts of the empire and decimating Roman economy. (in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 20)

Political changes and contensts for power affecting the empire until the end of the third century had an imponderable impact on the Romano-Britons and the only variation in the organization occured at the turn of the first and the second centuries AD when the province was divided into two parts (Upper and Lower Britain) in order to reduce the size of provinces to ensure better political security. (P. Salway in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 20)

At the end of the third century AD, civil aministration was separated from military command and the two provinces were substituted by four which formed a *diocese* (group of provinces) under a *vicarius* (overall civilian governor) who replaced the old provincial procurators. (P. Salway in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 20-21)

Despite of the fact that historians identified the causes of the disorder in barbarian invasions and contests for power, Jones offers additional factors leading to the later social and economic problems. He suggests that the situation worsened owing to changes in the natural environment, including "epidemic disease and climatic

deterioration, the latter being potentially associated with the problems of harvest failure, famine, changes in settlement pattern, and migration". (Jones, 186)

However, even for the elaborate system of administration existing throughout the Roman Empire, it was sooner or later inconvinient to control all the provinces requiring continuous finance supply and therefore it represented an extreme load.

7. The Legend of Queen Boudicca

7.1. The Queen Boudicca

One of the most powerful tribes of the British Isles were the Iceni inhabiting Norfolk and Suffolk in Eastern Britain. The Iceni belonged also to one of the most prosperous tribes owing to a very flourishing trade with the Romans. In 60 AD, the tribe was governed by the King Prasutagus. After all, it was his wive who immortalized her name.

The Queen of the Iceni had been given many names, including Bunduica, Voadicia, Bonducca, Boudicca or Boadicea, however, her name stands for „*the victory*", and all the titles of her name are only the wrong transcriptions originating in medieval manuscripts. (Stewart, Matthews, 66) It is very little known about the whole life of Boudicca. What is presumed is her probable age, about fourty, since she had two adult daughters. The only more detailed descriptions are those of classical authors. Chadwick mentions the words of Dio Cassius portraiting Boudicca:

> She was huge of frame, terrifying of aspect, and with a harsh voice. A great mass of bright red hair fell to her knees: she wore a great twisted golden torc, and a tunic of many colours, over which was a thick mantle, fastened by a brooch. Now she grasped a spear, to strike fear into all who watched her. (50)

As for her position in the tribe, she surely enjoyed much more respect than Roman women. Nevertheless, according to Stewart and Matthews, she could disagree with her husband´s opinions, but in public, she had to support her husband´s politics based on apparent submission to Rome. (70)

7.2. Causes of the Revolt

Freedom was something enormously important for the Celts that it was very difficult to defer to the Roman rules. It meant paying charges for every revolt, including the loss of a land which was later given to Roman veterans. At the time when Boudicca roused to the rebellion, her main motto was "freedom" which helped to realize her purpose. (Stewart, Matthews, 53)

It is not known how old was the King Prasutagus when he died in 61 AD. Foreboding his death, he tried to secure the future of his tribe and chose the rational

method how to do it which meant that he swore allegiance to Rome. Parson wrote in more detail about the causes of the last will.

> Prasutagus had, as was the custom, willed enough of his wealth to Rome that his tribe and the succession of leadership should not have required Roman interference. The Iceni believed that enough had been paid to Rome to protect their power base and wealth…… (*Boudicca*)

After his death, a half of the Prasutagus´ property devolved to Rome. Stewart and Matthews hypothesize that his testament must have been written under some political pressure of Romans. (70) Boudicca had to feel betrayed because of the testament her husband had left. But her main duty was to protect the land and the inhabitants and to ensure her daughters´ rights. Stewarts adds that what is known is the fact that Boudicca reigned in the name of her daughters who were, according to British law, the lawful heiresses. It is quite possible that Boudicca´s daughters were still single which was not any barrier as for property ownership in contrast to the Roman law where women were not allowed to inherit. (70) On that ground, the Queen of the Iceni expected the Romans to fulfil her husband´s wish and to guard their daughters´ inheritance. Unfortunately, the situation Prasutagus expected, was completely different. The Romans did not respect the will and demanded all the king´s property. As Collingwood adds "the royal line was treated as extinct and its property confiscated." (99) Romans could hardly think of a new Boadicca´s marriage. According to Stewart and Matthews "she was no longer the suitable commodity" (71). It means that she was not young enough to give birth to a potential heir and for that reason she was not a prospective bride for some Roman ally chieftain. But this was not the case of her adolescent daughters. They presented a very dangerous potential. As young heiresses they could get married and have a plenty of offspring. All these facts provoked the Romans into an action which was later on commented even by the Roman or Greek authors, for example Tacitus in *The Annals*:

> His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the slaves pillaged his house, and his effects were seized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boudicca, was disgraced with cruel stripes, her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the positions which had been trasmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the plundereres. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. (Book XIV, Chapter 31)

Boudicca´s anger must have been enormous. The sovereignity of her tribe and the blood of high-born women was impured. The way that the Roman officers treated her surely changed her aversion into an implacable hostility. That was the moment when the Queen of the Iceni decided to set face against the intruders.

Collingwood describes:

> Furious at this breach of faith, terrified at the prospect of endless future oppression, and burning to avenge the insult to their royal house and nobility, the Iceni rose at Boudicca´s call. (99)

Identically, Tacitus adds:

> Roused by these insults and the dread of worse, reduced as they now were into the condition of a province, they flew to arms and stirred to revolt the Trinobantes and others who, not yet cowed by slavery, had agreed in secret conspiracy to reclaim their freedom. It was against the veterans that their hatred was most intense. (*The Annals*, Book XIV)

It was just afer destroying the centre of Druidic power in Anglesey when Roman general Suetonius Paulinus had to return south because of the tidings about Boudicca´s rebellion.

7.3. The Rebellion

As soon as the Iceni had decided to reluct against the Romans, another tribes joined the revolt. Among the first ones were the Trinovantes who did not want to pay high taxes to the Romans.

The first place to destroy was Camulodonum (now Colchester). Boudicca probably chose Camulodonum as one of the targets because the colony of veterans was places there. The strategical significance of this town was enormous. Parson assumes that the establishment of the town in 49 AD had two main functions.

> It released the legion there to move forward to the front line but left the veterans as rearguard. This was important as many legionaries would have been due for discharge and gave them a place to take up their citizenship and allotment of land in a Colonia. Generosity would buy the soldiers continued loyalty, the dangers of large numbers of highly trained military men abandoned to hardship could have only one result, disaffected mercenaries fighting for whoever paid the highest price. It also provided a base for government, part of Roman organisation of territory. Land taken or confiscated as result of rebellions or conflicts would be used for this purpose. (*Boudicca*)

In Camulodonum, the town of Roman veterans and supporters of the Empire, a great temple in the memory of Cladius was built. Collingwood explains that Claudius´s temple mirrored the Rome´s dominance among the Britons. (100) And as mentioned earlier, the Celts believed and observed various forebodings. In these circumstances, they were frightened of the event which had happened there. As Tacitus recorded:

> While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camulodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddesses yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstasy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. (The Annals, Book XIV, Chapter 32)

Similarly, the position and above all an open entrance to the town formed an easy destination. As for the inhabitants of the town, they were mainly men retired from the legions and their families. Thus, when Boudicca´s army entered the town, there was little chance for the salvation. "The few who had weapons fled to the temple, whose massive stone base was the only thing that could resist sword and torch". (Collingwood, 100). The whole city was burnt down, thousands and thousands of inhabitants were killed, including women and children.

Why did the Roman army not come to help the colony of Camulodonum? There was only one legion staying near the town. All important legions and auxiliaries were far away and they could hardly reach the town on time and with only one legion at the disposal, it would certainly mean a greater loss than the victory. So the main reason why Suetonius did not interfere, was the insufficient amount of soldiers he had at disposal, and according to Stew and Matthews, the other reason could be the lack of supplies as well. (85).

After destroying Camulodonum, the same was about to happen to Londinium (now London). All the sources agree that when Boudicca´s army reached the town, they acted harshly and without mercy, no prisoners were taken. Soon, the Boadicca´s army marched towards the third important city, Verulamium (now St. Albans). Stewart remarks that in contrast to Londinium and Camulodunum, Verulamium was inhabited mainly by the Britons, that is the Catavelauni, the tribe very close to the Romans. All public and religious buildings were burnt down, all inhabitants were exterminated in the same way as their Roman friends in the two previous cities. As for the number of death, their number is estimated at seventy thousand. (85) The citizens were "perished, by

sword or gibbet, on the cross or in the fire". (Collingwood, 102)

From today´s point of view, it may seem to be rather cruel to slaughter the related inhabitants but the Boudicca´s army did not probably perceive them this way. They were guilty for the silent and peaceful co-existence with the Roman intruders.

Before the final battle, Boudicca´s new army managed to destroy and burnt down the main centres of the British and Roman trade. Now, it was the time of the Roman reprisal. Suetonius, an experienced commander and strategist, and on the other side, the tribes of the Britons led by a determined woman, were about to clash.

> Suetonius had only ten thousand men to meet a triumphant and confident enemy that far outnumbered him. But he knew that their success would make them reckless, and that if he could avoid being surrounded and keep his men steady all might be well. (Collingwood, 102)

To the present it is not known exactly where was the last decisive battle but what is known is that Suetonius Paulinus had chosen the place suitable for his military tactic. According to Stewart and Matthews, there was a forest behind the Romans which provided a possibility of defence. In front of them, there was a large field preclusive to the Britons the possiblity of a hiding place. (86) As for the amount of men and women fighting in Boudicca´s army, the available sources differ but it could be from one hundred thousand up to two hundred thousand people. Supported by so many Britons, they believed that there is nothing to stop them and the battle would end in a victory. That is why Britons also took their families on the wagons. "The wagons formed a half-circle behind their army which actually closed the warriors between two walls - the Romans in the front, their own peole at the back." (Stewart, Matthews, 86).

As it is completed by the records of Tacitus, Boudicca was said to make a speech before the attack:

> A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons: with their lives they paid for their rashness; those who survived the carnage of that day, lie poorly hid behind their entrenchments, meditating nothing but how to save themselves by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and the shouts of the British army, the Romans, even now, shrink back with terror. What will be their case when the assault begins? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the proud display of warlike spirits, and consider the motives for which we draw the avenging sword. On this spot we must either conquer, or die with glory. There is no alternative. Though a woman, my resolution is fixed: the men, if they please, may survive with infamy, and live in bondage. (*The Annals*, Book XIV, Chapter 35)

Boudicca as an effective leader knew the power of determination. She could not move back because she had nothing to lose and in this sense she tried to persuade her warriors about the responsibility they had. It is not known whether her final speech was recorded without any possible alterations but more likely, her last words were adapted to the needs of the author. After all, it can offer the broad picture of the fighting mood.

And not only Boudicca´s speech was extant. Similarly, Tacitus shows Suetonius´ appeal to his soldiers.

> 'There,' he said, 'you see more women than warriors. Unwarlike, unarmed, they will give way the moment they have recognised that sword and that courage of their conquerors, which have so often routed them. Even among many legions, it is a few who really decide the battle, and it will enhance their glory that a small force should earn the renown of an entire army. Only close up the ranks, and having discharged your javelins, then with shields and swords continue the work of bloodshed and destruction, without a thought of plunder. When once the victory has been won, everything will be in your power'. (*The Annals*, Book XIV)

And then the actual battle took place. The Britons were the first to start but not having enough space for manipulating with their chariots adn wagons, the whole army went ahead jointly. That was the moment when the Roman army began their attack with the cavalry on both sides. Parson adds: "The disorganised British army was forced back onto their own wagons and rapidly the battle became a disorganised massacre." (*Boudicca*) The Britons tried to step back but they were stopped by their own chariots filled with their families. Roman strategy prevailed and "a dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain" (Tacitus, *The Annals*, Book XIV, Chapter 37)

The ancient sources do not tell about the precise amount of dead Britons but it is estimated at fourty thousand people, including women and children. Parson mentioned Tacitus who wrote about eighty thousand Britons and four hundred Romans. (*Boudicca*) The numbers differ probably for reasons of the overvaluation of the Roman credits. Such numbers surely looked more deserving than their real rate and this disproportion of the killed would show and prove the militar predominance of the Roman Empire.

In spite of a great determination of the connected tribes the battle and the whole rebellion ended in a total failure. Even today, historians argue about the end of the Queen Boudicca. Most sources indicate that she could poisoned herself, Stewart and

Matthews explain the reasons relatively clear: "She would surely be captured and would become a living symbol of conquering Britain during Suetonius´ triumphal march through Rome". (88)

7.4. The Impact of the Defeat

Although the whole rebellion took no longer than several months, its impact was long-lasting. "New police-posts were scattered over the country, and the land of the guilty and suspect tribes was ravaged with terrible thoroughness" (Collingwood, 103). Suetonius´s hatred was enormous and he woud probably continue in the punishment, if a new governor would not replace him. But still, there were more serious consequences of the rebellion. According to Collingwood, since the revolt began in the spring, there was no one to sow and soon, famine broke out. (103)

However, Britain began slowly to return to the previous political stability and pacification. (Penrose, 190)

In the opinion of P. Salway, Boudicca´s revolt revealed a weak point of the actual order. The fact that the Iceni were followed by other tribes, for instance the Trinovantes, was something the Romans did not expect or even admit. Rome considered the Trinovantes to be their loyal friends, hence their striking behaviour destroyed the mutual confidence and it showed the real aversion the tribes felt towards the Romans. (in *The Cambridge Historical Encyclopedia of Great Britain and Ireland*, 18)

8. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate and compare traceable history of the two cultures encountering on the British Isles at the beginning of the first millenium.

Before the arrival of the Romans, the Britisl Isles were almost unaffected by the political or religious influence of other cultures with the exception of the very few merchants or voyagers exploring the country. The Celtic peoples of that time occupied and ruled a large part of Europe and represented a great cultural unit which enormously contributed to the historical development of Britain.

A great deal of the information relating to the Celts had been recorded by classical authors such as Caesar and Tacitus without whom it would be impossible to discover the unique Celtic society and culture.

Legends and myths have mystified many of the Celtic habits and rituals giving the Celts mystical powers and making their lives too extraordinary to be seen as truthful. Though, the life of an Ancient Celt was governed by the number of deities that were worshipped and the world of religion affected also the life of a Celtic warrior who would carefully watch a portent and whereupon he decided to start the warfare or not. The Celtic perception of faith was based on slightly different principles than those of the Romans. Celtic worshippers did not build any temples in order to honour their gods and goddesses, they preferred more natural scene because their highly valued the land and natural assets. Despite the fact that there was no strict scheme of deities or religious regulations, a very important thing was common to all the tribes and it was the class of the Druids. They belonged to the most honoured within the society, respected and appreciated by the chieftains and kings who asked for their advice and listened to their suggestions. Their activities were forcibly interrupted by the Romans who thought of them as a dangerous opposers of the Empire and propagators of riots. But it was rather exceptional intervention relating to the Celtic religion, other religion matters were left in the hands of the Celtic tribes. The Romans as good psychologists when dealing with conquered peoples were rather tolerant of Celtic religions if their worship did not have political implications. Nonetheless, certain changes appeared as the Roman religion was oficially introduced in Britain and as it slowly began to interefere. As the Romans were exapanding their influence and new lands, they began to absorbe religion and culture of the subjugated peoples.

The Celtic society was strictly hierarchically divided and composed of several classes headed by the aristocracy of warriors, chieftains and kings who ruled over the territory of each tribe independently from each other. This mutual independence could be one of the probable disabilities that led to the later Roman subjection.

While the Celts on the Continent were decimated by the Roman influence, their western relatives retained their original culture longest. The first major attempt to conquer Britain was the one undertaken by Caesar in 55 BC. Despite the fact that he probably expected a quick military victory, he seemed to underestimate his enemy and the culture he was about to encounter. He had to face off a very difficult landscape and the resistance of the natives who were ready to defend their territories.

Claudius welcomed the situation arising from the tribal quarrels and in 43 AD, and as another Roman emperor successfully entered Britain. The period which had followed could be called "a beginning of Roman Britian". Since then, the lifestyle of the Celts had fundamentally changed

As it is shown in the example of the revolt led by the Queen Boudicca, the Celts not always accepted the sovereignty of the Empire. The Queen of the Iceni managed to unite, at least for a short time, several Celtic tribes in order to oppose the Romans and her army destroyed three key towns of the Roman administration. The overall impact of the rebellion was to some extent positive. It confirmed the long lasting aversion for the new established system and unfriendly relations and it also demonstrated that in case of need, British tribes are able to coalesce. The echo of the revolt can be traced also in the literature written by Roman historian Tacitus describing the battle in *The Annals*. Although he or his contemporaries did not approve the cruel slaughter of their own Roman citizens, they still regarded highly Boudicca´s determination and appreciated honour and courage of the Celtic warriors.

Although Roman civilisation in Britain lasted for about four hundred years, it has left many traces of its activity, particularly in towns and straight roads. After their leaving, new settlers completely destroyed a plenty of stone buildings and temples. Despite the fact that the Roman occupation destroyed much of the Celtic way of life and institutions, the administrative organization operating in larger cities had contributed to the political and social stability of the country, naturally, at the expense of the old tribal system. Cities began to prosper, the trade with the continent and the Empire flourished.

On the other hand, the Romans did not bring only a pure progress to the islands. Technological progress under the Roman Empire was very limited. The Romans possessed a plenty of slave labour hence they did not seek for any saving improvements in technology. The objects of every-day use, such as better ploughs, were not a first priority target. But as the circumstances required, new better weapons were developed. Some historians argue that the end of the Roman Empire started the period of less civilised Dark Ages.

8. Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá studiem dvou kultur, které se střetly na Britských ostrovech na počátku prvního tisíciletí. Záměrem je porovnat odlišné světy Keltů a Římanů a jejich vzájemné působení a prolínání se.

První část práce je věnována keltské kultuře, jejímu původu a příchodu na území dnešní Británie a také prvním zmínkám římských autorů popisujících své dojmy ze setkání s touto pro ně tak odlišnou kulturou. Tato díla jsou jedinými zdroji informací, které jsou k dispozici, ale vzhledem k tomu, že byla sepsána pod vlivem jiného sociálního a kulturního prostředí, které mohlo ovlivnit jejich věrohodnost, je třeba k nim přistupovat s určitou shovívavostí.

Zvláštní kapitolu první části tvoří pyramida keltské společnosti založena na systému kmenů, které tvořily základ tehdejšího uspořádání. Kmeny byly seskupením jednotlivých rodů obývajících stejné území a ochraňujících své členy. V čele kmene stál náčelník nebo král, jehož hlavním úkolem bylo zajistit bezpečnost celého kmene, a to i za cenu častých bojů mezi jednotlivými kmeny. Nebylo ovšem neobvyklé, že se některé kmeny časem spojovaly a vytvářely určitá kmenová společenství. Hlavou takového společenství byl král, který v čele s vládnoucí třídou řešil problémy týkající se ekonomického fungování království nebo otázky přestupků či zločinů mezi svými členy. Představitelem další třídy keltské společnosti byli svobodní občané a farmáři, jejichž „hodnota" byla určována majetkem a sociálním statusem. Většina dochovaných archeologických památek či literárních děl se zaměřovala na život vyšší společnosti, a proto život obyčejných lidí není příliš dobře zdokumentován. Dále je zmíněno postavení keltské ženy ve společnosti v porovnání s jejím protějškem ve starověkém Římě. Konec první části tvoří popis sociálních institucí Říma, podobně jako tomu bylo u keltské společnosti.

Samostatná druhá část je věnována třídě keltských bojovníků, kteří se řadili mezi nejprivilegovanější skupinu obyvatel, o jejichž výchovu a trénink se starali většinou příslušníci okolních kmenů, aby tak zajistili určité společenské vazby pro budoucnost. Zkoumání jejich společenského statusu je doplňováno citacemi římských autorů, kteří se s nimi střetli a většinou jimi byli označeni za barbary vzhledem k tomu, že při prvním setkání byli zaskočeni jejich excentrickým zjevem. Ačkoliv keltský bojovník byl popisován jako nemilosrdný a bojechtivý, přesto jim ani historik Tacitus, ani později

Caear, nemohli upřít odhodlání k boji a touhu po vítězství. Vzhledem k tomu, že keltská společnosti byla velmi ovlivněna náboženstvím, i toto se promítalo do válečného ducha keltského bojovníka, který před bitvou i v jejím průběhu sledoval různá znamení, jež mohla ovlivnit jeho odhodlání i samotný průběh boje. Také co se týče válečného umění Keltové nerozlišovali mezi ženami a muži, v případě napadení kmene se chápaly zbraní i ženy, které si co do bojovnosti a ovládání zbraní nezadaly s muži.

Většina bojů a válek, které byly sváděny na území dnešní Británie, byla vedena z nejrůznějších důvodů, ať již to byly války vedené vůči nepřátelům snažícím se o obsazení jejich území nebo spory sousedním kmenů. Právě tyto nepokoje a neschopnost keltských kmenů a království se sjednotit byly jednou z příčin pozdější zdrcující porážky místního obyvatelstva Římem.

Důležitým srovnávacím pojítkem je popis římské armády, která byla tvořena výhradně profesionálními vojáky, a to obyvateli Římského impéria nebo vojsky podrobených národů. Stát se vojákem této armády představovalo dobrou perspektivu stálé obživy, příležitostných kořistí a také možnost získání společenské prestiže. Vzhledem k tomu, že válečná strategie armády byla založena na tvrdém výcviku a především přísné disciplíně, tímto se do značné míry lišila od keltského pojetí, kteří na rozdíl od Římanů neměli za sebou letité zkušnosti s dobýváním cizích uzemí.

Třetí část práce je soustředěna na zobrazení keltského náboženství, které tvořilo neoddělitelnou součást života Keltů na Britských ostrovech a do značné míry ovlivňovalo jejich veškeré konání. Co se týče dochovaných pramenů popisujících keltské rituály a mytologii, jedná se opět především o díla římských a řeckých historiků či spisovatelů, která jsou do značné míry ovlivněna pohledem svých autorů a jejich snahou porovnat svět keltského náboženství s jejich vlastním. Dalším zdrojem pro čerpání údajů týkajících se keltských ceremoniálů je archeologie, která může poskytnout přehled o některých zvycích a rituálech jako byl například kultu hlavy nebo lidské oběti. Mytologie také nabízí určitou představu o životě Keltů, ačkoliv mnoho keltských mýtů a legend bylo ovlivněno a pozměněno v době nástupu křesťanské víry na Britské ostrovy.

Vzhledem k tomu, že k nejdůležitějším představitelům keltské společnosti patřili tzv. Druidové, je těmto věnována samostatná část, ve které je popsáno jejich rozdělení a pole působnosti, jakým byla medicína, náboženství, právo i politika. Svým významem

se i tato vrstva společnosti zapsala do děl římských autorů, kdy například Caesar nacházel jistou podobnost s Druidy působícími v Galii a stejně tak jako jeho vrstevníci v nich spatřoval jedny z hlavních propagátorů antipatií vůči Římu a šiřitele nepokojů.

Na konci této části je zmíněno římské náboženství a politika, které se obě svým založením do značné míry lišili od keltského světa. Římané před příchodem křesťanství uctívali stejně tak jako Keltové množství rozličných božstev a nikdy se nebránili přijímání odlišných náboženských ceremoniálů, pokud nebyly v rozporu s jejich vírou. Nespornou výhodou při podrobování si ostatních národů a kultur byl způsob, jakým Římané přistupovali k náboženství původních obyvatel. Téměř nikdy se nesnažili o jejich násilnou přeměnu, ale spíše upřednostňovali prolínání a postupnou asimilaci, jejíž potřeba se objevila spolu s novými příchozími do centra římského impéria. Podobně jako tomu bylo u Keltů, i Římané byli ovlivňováni nejrůznějšími dobrými či špatnými znameními.

Ve čtvrté části je zobrazen příchod Římanů na ostrovy, počínaje Caesarovým vyloděním v roce 55 př. Kr., jehož původním záměrem bylo pouze dobytí, nikoliv trvalé obsazení Británie. Jedním z hlavním důvodů této expedice bylo také proslavení se a získání moci v rámci Římského impéria. Ačkoliv se samotnému Caesarovi zdálo, že s výsledkem expedice může být spokojen, neboť se mu podařilo dobýt značné území a získat významnou válečnou kořist, z pohledu historiků se tento jeho pokus nezdařil. Hlavní přičiny jeho nezdaru jsou spatřovány v nedostečné připravenosti na tak závažnou expedici, neznalost okolního terénu, jakož i podcenění nepřátelských sil. Následovníkem, který šel v jeho stopách, byl Claudius, téměř o století později, když se roku 43 rozhodl znovu dobýt území Británie. Začátek tohoto dobývání vypadal stejně jako v případě Caesara, ale jeho následky pro domorodé kmeny byly více devastující. Byla nastolena vláda Římského impéria.

Pátá část práce se zaměřuje na život obyvatel po podrobení Britských ostrovů, kdy došlo ve značné míře k převzetí římského způsobu života včetně ekonomických, sociálních i politických schémat. Do velkých měst se soustředila administrativa říše, která byla z větší části vedena římskými obyvateli, ale na nichž se také podílela určitá část vyšší keltské společnosti, jež postupně začala přebírat způsoby a zvyky římských obyvatel. Toto začlenění místních do systému fungování administrativy mělo ze

strategického hlediska velký význam, neboť tak nenásilnou formou docházelo k postupnému začlenění do římského způsobu života.

Poslední část celé práce je analýzou střetu římské a keltské kultury v legendě o královně Boudicce, která se dostala do čele svého kmene po smrti manžela v roce 61. Ten ještě před svou smrtí, ve snaze se vyhnout možným nepokojům, odkázal polovinu svého majetku manželce a dcerách a druhou polovinu Římu, a to v naději, že takto uspokojí požadavky Římanů. Tito se ale rozhodli zabrat majetek celý a ve snaze umlčet jakékoli nároky vznesené královnou celý její rod zhanobili. Akt takové zvůle vyvolal nenávistné tendence vůči okupantům a za účelem nastolení dřívějších poměrů se sjednotily některé kmeny jižní a jihovýchodní Británie. Vedeni královnou Boudiccou se vydali směrem ke Camulodomu (Colchester), který vyplenili, vypálili a veškeré obyvatelstvo pobili. Podobný osud čekal další dvě důležitá centra římské administrativy, a to Londinium (Londým) a Verulamium (St. Albans). Římané zjevně zaskočeni náhlým odporem místních obyvatel nebyli schopni včas zareagovat a zabránit zničení svých držav. I přes nesporné odhodlání byla však armáda královny poražena a úplně zdecimována mnohem početnější armádou Říma. Co se týče dopadu porážky na pozdější události v zemi, po počátečním pokusu potrestat přívržence vzpoury byl nastolen opětovný původní pořádek a obnovena ekonomická a politická stabilita, alespoň do odchodu Římanů, kteří i přes své občasné kruté zacházení s domorodými kmeny a snahou o jejich podrobení přispěli významným způsobem k dočasné sociální a politické rovnováze a zanechali nesmazatelné stopy v dějinách Britských ostrojů, ať již se jedná o vzkvétající obchod, zakládání nových měst, budování cest či založení systematického řízení jednotlivých oblastí pomocí administrativních středisek.

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