

Brendan Mac Congail

Kingdoms of the Forgotten

*The Celtic Expansion in south-eastern Europe
and Asia-Minor – 4th - 3rd centuries B.C.*

*Hic mortui vivunt, hic muti loquuntur. Felix qui
quod amat, defendere fortiter audit.*

*Do Boriána, le buíochas agus grá.
Ní neart go cur le chéile.*

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1. Introduction

The Illyrian Ardiaoi tribe lived in the area of Kosovo-Metohija – the eastern part of today's Montenegro and this territory received the name Ardia - ἡ Ἀρδια after them.¹ We learn little of this tribe during this period except for the fact that on the sixth day of the week they were prone to feast excessively.² What we do learn is that the Celtic tribes who lived to the north of them were familiar with this custom and made good use of the knowledge. In 368-367 BC these Celts managed to introduce into the Illyrian camp poisoned food and drink which was consumed by the Ardiaoi. The subsequent attack and defeat of this tribe³ heralded the presence of a new geo-political and ethnic force on the Balkan peninsula and set in action a sequence of events which was to change the fundamental cultural history of the region.

The first Celtic mercenary activity in the Hellenistic world is recorded around the same time as the above events. In 367 BC Dionysios I of Syracuse took a band of them into his service and sent them to the aid of the Macedonians against Thebes.⁴ From this point on groups of Celtic warriors become an intricate part of the military conflicts in Greece and Macedonia.⁵ The abundance of coins of Philip II of Macedonia discovered among the Celts of the Danube make it certain

1. *Pajakovski, 2000, 259*

2. *Ath. X, 443b*

3. *Theompomp., frag. 41; Athen.,X,60; Domaradski, 1984, P. 172*

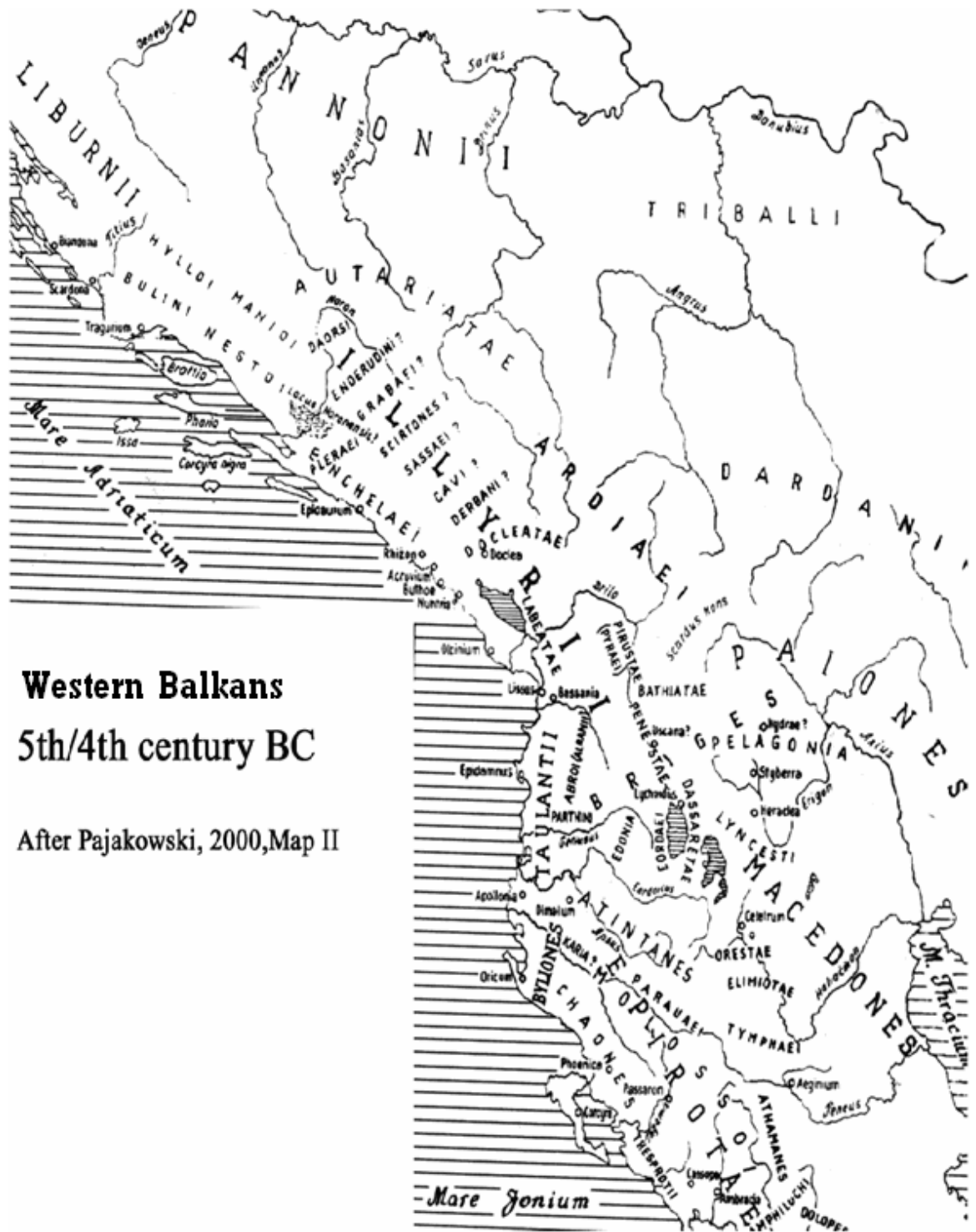
4. *Justin. XX, 5 6* - Grata legatio Dionysio fuit. Ita pacta societate et auxiliis Gallorum auctus bellum velut ex integro restaurat.: According to Diodorus these had been recruited in Italy (*Diod.,xv, 70, 1*) - From Sicily, Celts and Iberians to the number of two thousand sailed to Corinth, for they had been sent by the tyrant Dionysius to fight in alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and had received pay for five months; *For the performance of these Celts and Iberians - Xen. Hell. 7.1.20-22.*

5. *See Domaradski, 1984, p. 172*

that Celtic mercenaries came into his political schemes. Indeed the first Celtic coins are imitations of Philip's gold staters. The precious metals for this coinage probably came from the mines in the Pangaion mountains.⁶ While the dating of these so-called Philippou staters poses problems,⁷ the staters have been commonly found among Celtic tribes and indigenous Celtic coinage based on them has been dated from finds associated with Celtic burials.⁸ In 335 BC, we are informed, Celts from the Adriatic coast also attended the armistice and alliance negotiations between the Triballi King, Syrmos, and Alexander the Great in the well-known incident where the Macedonian emperor was informed by them that they feared only that, *'the sky would fall on their heads'*.⁹

Half a century after the attack on the Ardiaoi tribe, (i.e. in 310-309 BC), a further large scale movement of Celts into the Balkan region caused widespread panic and forced another Illyrian tribe - the Autariatae - to flee en masse. The main research problem concerning the history and territory occupied by the Autariatae tribe appears to be the reference in the Periplus of Scylax¹⁰ to the 'Great Lake'. It had earlier been accepted by academics that the Mostarsko Blato or Hutovo

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6. *Didor.*, 16, 8, 5-7; *Herod.*, 7,1129,75; *Strabo* 7, 33,34,36, *Plin. Natural history* 7, 197; Also: *Le Rider G.*, in *'The coinage of Philip and the Pangaton mines, In M.B. Hatzopoulos, L.D. Loukopoulos (Eds.) 'Philip of Macedon', Athens 1980,pp. 48-49;* *Keller D.*, *Gedanken zur datierung und Verwendung der statere Philipps II und der Keltischen Imitationen, Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, 1996, 75, 101-120*
 7. *For detailed discussion on this problem see: Le Rider G., Le Monneyage d'Argent et d'Or de Philippe II Frappé en Macedoine de 359 á 295, Paris, 1977; Price 1991, 637 pp.*
 8. *For archaeological dating of Celtic coins found in burials see: Polenz H., Münzen in Latènzeitlichen Grabern Mitteleuropas aus der Zeit Zwischen 300 und 50 v. Chr., Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 1982, 47, 27 – 222*
 9. *Anab.. I 4, 6-8; Strabo, VII, 3,8 – 'And Ptolemaeus, the son of Lagus, says that on this expedition the Celti who lived about the Adriatic joined Alexander for the sake of establishing friendship and hospitality, and that the king received them kindly and asked them when drinking what it was that they most feared, thinking they would say himself, but that they replied they feared no one, unless it were that Heaven might fall on them'.*
 10. *C. 24*



Western Balkans
5th/4th century BC

After Pajakowski, 2000, Map II

Fig. 1

Blato was referred to.¹¹ However, another theory was later put forward by M. Suic in which his analysis of the Periplus put the territory of the Autariatae somewhere between the upper Neretva in the north and the Scodra lake or to be more specific, where the Prilon river flows into it.¹² More recently F. Papazoglu has come up with a different conception, putting their territory on the Tara, Lim and Morava rivers, neighboring the Pannonians in the north, the Dardanii in the south-west and the Ardaioi in the south¹³, a thesis based on the identification of them with the Glasinac culture, put forward by academics as a classical example of the Illyrian material culture. The most recent work on the territorial settlement of the Autariatae has suggested that they were settled not just on the Tara, Lim and Morava, but stretched also to possibly the middle and certainly the upper Neretva.¹⁴

This Celtic invasion, led by a chieftain called Molistomos, caused such panic that it was described in classical sources as a natural disaster; there was talk of plagues, of lands ravaged by invasive mice etc.¹⁵ The Macedonian general, Cassander, rushed to the help of the Pannonian king Audoleon and subsequently settled 20,000 of the Autariatae in the region of Orbelos as military settlers.¹⁶ The final destruction of the Autariatae was later completed by the Celtic Scordisci who for a period also ruled over the Pannonians.¹⁷ In his description of the province of Dalmatia Pliny also speaks of the 'ancient land of the Autariatae (*Autariaten antique regio*) i.e. as something in the distant past.¹⁸

11. Radimsky M., *Der Narenta-See des Scylax, Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina* 4, 1896, S. 129 ff.; Patsch C., *Pseudo-Skilakovo Jezero. Prinos povijesti donijeg poriječja Neretve, Glasnik Zemaljskog Museja* 7, 1906, P. 367 ff.

12. Suic M., *Gdje se nalazilo jezero iz Pogl., Pseudo-Skilakova Periplu, Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu* 8, 1953, P. 111, 123, 124, 128

13. Papazoglu, 1969, Pp, 79, 85

14. See Pajakovski, 2000, 76

15. Appian, *Illyrica*, 4

16. *Just. XV, 2; Diod., xx, 19; see also Papazoglu F., 1969, 107*

17. Papazoglu, F., *Plemina*, P. 86-96

18. Pliny, *N.H., III, 141*

There appears to have been a period of Celtic consolidation after this, but the expansion was by no means over. Cassander came across a group of Celts at an unnamed location on the slopes of Haemus (Stara Planina) at the turn of the 4th – 3rd centuries.¹⁹ The information given suggests that this was not just a group of envoys but quite a sizeable force, raising the question of what they were doing this far inside Thrace at this early stage. This may suggest links with certain of the Thracian tribes in the Thracian interior at an early date. Shortly afterwards a second group, under a leader called Cambaules, reached Thrace. Of these we are informed - *‘Advancing as far as Thrace they lost heart and broke off the march, realizing that they were too few in number to be a match for the Greeks’*; *‘when they decided to invade foreign territory for a second time so great was the influence of Cambaules’ veterans, who had tasted the joy of plunder, that a large force of infantry and no small number of mounted men answered the muster’*.²⁰

In reality it is much more likely that this second Celtic incursion into Thrace was an advance party with the task of ‘testing the waters’ from a military perspective in preparation for the full-scale onslaught that was to follow soon after. This would logically fit into the rapidly developing situation after the death of Lysimachus as a first stage of the ‘great Celtic invasion’, preceding more or less immediately the triple incursion into Thrace, Pannonia and Macedonia from 279 BC. The subsequent massive military onslaught, led by the second Brenos, the destruction of the Macedonian army, and the assault on the sacred temple at Delphi is well documented. What has been less clear up until now is the long term geo-political and cultural effect of this Celtic expansion into the Balkan peninsula and Asia-Minor.

19. *Seneca nat. quaest. 3. 11. 3*; *Nascuntur fontis decisis plerumque silvas, quos arborum alimenta consumabant, sicut in Haemo obsidente Gallis Cassandro, cum valli gratia silvas ceccissent...* – *Pliny., N.H., XXXI, 53*

20. *Paus. 10,19,5* -*The exact date of this incursion is unsure but to appears to have occurred in 298 BC. See Hubert II, 38; Domaradski, 1984, 172.*

Section 2: Western Thrace

a. THE SCORDISCI

One of the main Celtic groups which broke away after the assault on Delphi were to become subsequently known under the umbrella term of Scordisci.²¹ These, under the leadership of a chieftain whose name has come down to us under the distorted form of Bathanattos, settled permanently between the Shar-Dagh (Mons Scordus) and the Danube. Being made up of mixed tribal origin this group took the name Scordisci from the surrounding country.²²

It is believed that the starting point for the Celts before their advance south had been Lower Pannonia and it was probably to there that the rump force of Brenos' main army retired in the aftermath of Delphi, and from this area that they again departed the following year. From here they began their slow expansion in all directions.²³ After settling in the sub-Danubian region, the Scordisci proceeded to establish a thriving cultural and political entity which was destined to have a profound effect on the cultures with which they came into contact.

Of all the Thracian tribes, those most affected by the Celtic expansion at the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC were the Triballi. This tribe had once been a powerful political force in the region. The first reference to the political and military organization of the Triballi is given by Thucydides in connection with their battle against Sitalkas in 424 BC in what is now the Sofia Plain.²⁴ They appear initially to have controlled the western part of the southern Danube plain where, along the lower and middle course of the Morava river, Herodotus localized

21. *Athen. VI, 234b: Justin XXXII,3* – “Namque Galli bello aduersus Delphos infeliciter gesto, in quo maiorem uim numinis quam hostium senserant, amisso Brenno duce pars in Asiam, pars in Thraciam extorres fugerant. Inde, per eadem uestigia qua uenerant, antiquam patriam repetiuere. Ex his manus quaedam in confluente Danuuii et Sauu consedit Scordiscosque se appellari uoluit.”

22. *See also Hubert, II, 42*

23. *Domaradski, 1984, 107*

24. *Thuc., 4, 101,5*

what he referred to as the Triballian plain.²⁵ During the first half of the the 4th century BC the Triballi had extended eastwards to the Oskios river. A group of about 30,000 of them were repulsed in 376/375 BC as they moved along the Nestos river valley to the south towards Abdera.²⁶ In 339 BC Philip II clashed with them on returning from his Scythian march across Thrace carrying enormous booty with him which he lost in the battle.²⁷ As has been pointed out, these events illustrate the statesmanship and the military skills of the Triballian royal court, on the territory of whose possessions some of the richest Thracian finds have occurred dating back to the first half of the 4th century BC and a little later.²⁸

Ironically, relations between the Triballi and their Celtic neighbours seemed to have been everything but antagonistic at the outset. The Triballi had until the middle of the 4th century BC had a stable political and economic relationship with the Celts, as illustrated, for example, by the golden torc from Gorni Tsibar, a village situated in what had been Triballi territory, close to the southern bank of the Danube in n.w. Bulgaria.²⁹ The torc dates to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC and has many parallels among La Tène B1/B2 neckrings.³⁰ It is believed that it was exchanged through diplomatic channels by the Triballi with their Celtic neighbours.³¹

25. For more on the Triballi see Fol A., *Thrace and the Balkans in the Early Hellenistic Epoch*, Nauka I Izkustvo, Sofia, 1975, P. 9-24.

26. See Jordanov, *Ancient Thrace*, 114.

27. *Just.*, 9,3,1-3

28. Jordanov, *op. Cit.*

29. See Theodossiev N., 2000, *North-Western Thrace from the 5th to 1st centuries BC*, Oxford (*British Archaeological Reports, International Series 859, 116, cat. no 84*).

30. Jacobsthal P., 1969, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford, 170 no. 46; Megaw R. and Megaw V., 2001, *Celtic Art from its Beginnings to the Book of Kells*, London, 119, ill. 168; Moscati et al. 1991 : Moscati S., Frey O.H., Kruta V., Raftery B., Szabó M., (eds.), *I Celti*, Milano, 712, no. 129

31. Jordanov, *Thracica* 7, 127; Теодосиев Н., *Трибалите: Някои проблеми на историческото им развитие*. – В: *Исторически преглед*, XLVIII ,кн. 1-2 , 1992, 73-74.

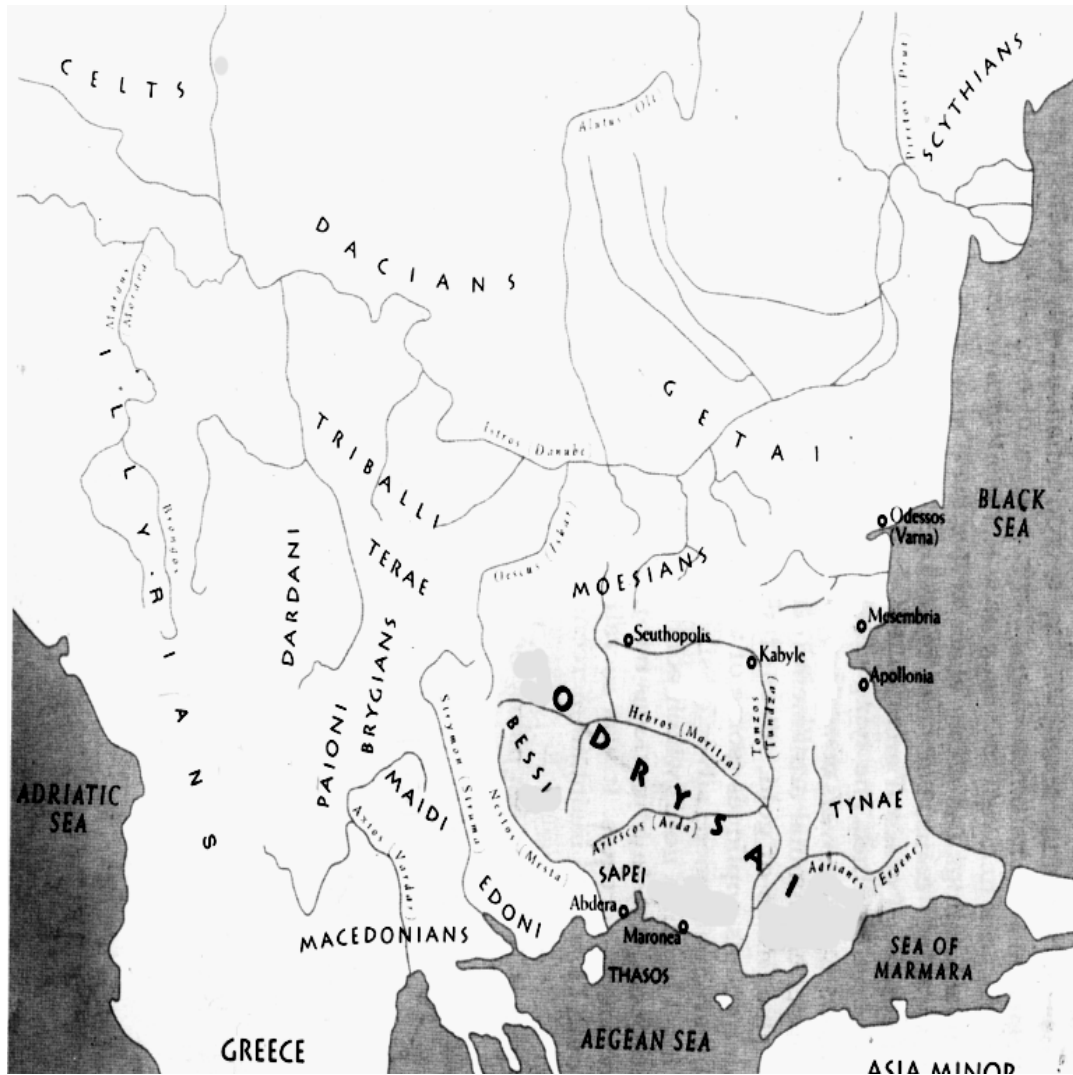


Fig .2 - Balkan Peninsula Prior to the Celtic Expansion³²

Prior to the Scordisci expansion, the Triballi had already been weakened and pushed northwards by the Auteriatæ tribe, themselves under pressure from the Celts in Illyria.³³ One reason for the Scordisci offensive against the Triballi was that the latter occupied territory rich in metal ores and had a well developed metal-working culture. The Scordisci, also renowned metalworkers, were forced to seek sources for that ore, therefore making conflict with the Triballi inevitable.³⁴

32. After Fol et. Al, 2000, 74.

33. Strabo, 7,5,11.

34. Domaradski, 1984, 154.

The Scordisci onslaught in the 70's of the 3rd century BC led to the Thracians losing large amounts of their territory and their military power appears to have been permanently broken. The eastern part of the new domain of the Scordisci was on territory previously held by the Triballi.³⁵ While we are informed that the initial battle between these two groups was so brutal that those of the Thracians who survived were forced to flee to the other side of the Danube,³⁶ this is almost certainly an exaggeration. Indeed later we find the Triballi fighting alongside the Scordisci against the Romans.³⁷

The Scordisci expansion in w. Thrace affected not only the Triballi, but also lesser tribes – *'Between these (the Autariatae, and the Dardanians) and the Ardiaei are the Dassaretii, the Hybrianes, and other insignificant tribes, which the Scordisci kept on ravaging until they had depopulated the country and made it full of trackless forests for a distance of several days' journey*'.³⁸ The same source informs us that the Scordisci were broken up into two separate groups – the Greater and Lesser Scordisci, and that the Lesser Scordisci lived on the other bank of the river Danube as neighbours of the Triballi and Moesians. He also informs us that the Scordisci held some of the Danubian islands - *'and they increased to such an extent that they advanced as far as the Illyrian, Paeonian, and Thracian mountains'*.³⁹

It would be mistaken, however, to assume that the relationship between the newly arrived Celts and the indigenous population was a purely hostile one. Besides the initial confrontation between the Triballi and the Scordisci we have no further testimony for direct conflict between the Celts and the surrounding cultures. One should also bear in mind the testimony of Strabo who informs us that - *'...to the Ister near the country of the Scordisci who are called Galatae, for these too lived intermingled with the Illyrian and the Thracian tribes.'*⁴⁰ In fact, the presence of Celtic topographical traces, testimony to a mixed Celto-

35. *App., Illyr., 3*

36. *Appian, Ill., op cit.*

37. *In 109/108 for example – Eutr. IV, 27 - A M. Iunio Silano, collega Q. Metelli, Cimbri in Gallia victi sunt, et a Minucio Rufo in Macedonia Scordisci et Triballi, et a Servilio Caepione in Hispania Lusitani subacti.*

38. *Strabo, vii, 5,12.*

39. *Strabo, op. cit.*

40. *Strabo, vii,5,2.*



Celtic Golden Torc from Gorni Tsibar, Bulgaria.

Thracian people and an integrated Scordisci/Triballi archaeological culture indicates that a Celtic ethnic presence must have existed on Triballi territory and the long term co-existence of these two groups led to a strong cultural and even ethnic mix (Celto-Thracian people).⁴¹

The testimony to a symbiotic relationship between the newly arrived Celtic tribes and the indigenous cultures on the peninsula is also supported by archaeological data. Celtic settlement in the Morava river valley is well testified to by archaeological material. Thus, for example, the investigation of the flat cemetery in the region of Pecine near Kostalac, a town situated on the lower Morava valley and close to the Danube in n.e. Serbia⁴², provides a good illustration of the ethnic changes that took place in the wake of the Celtic arrival in the region. On this site a number of Celtic cremation and inhumation graves, the earliest dating to the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC, are situated around nine earlier graves belonging to the Illyrian Autariatae tribe. The continuity observable on this burial site clearly indicates that the new Celtic settlers did not destroy the Autariataec community but assimilated with the indigenous population and mixed ethnically with it.⁴³ It is therefore possible to assume that from the end of the 4th century BC onwards, the Morava river valley and the regions to the east became a Celto-Illyro-Thracian interaction zone.⁴⁴ A similar situation appears to have existed in the region of today's s.w. Romania.⁴⁵ The quantity of

41. Domaradski, 1984, 154.

42. Jovanović 1985, 1992 – Jovanović B., *Necropola na Pechinama i starije gvozdeno doba Podunavlyu*. *Starinar n.s.* 36, 13-18; 1992 – *Celtic Settlements of the Balkans; in N. Tasić (ed.), Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region*. Belgrade, 19-32

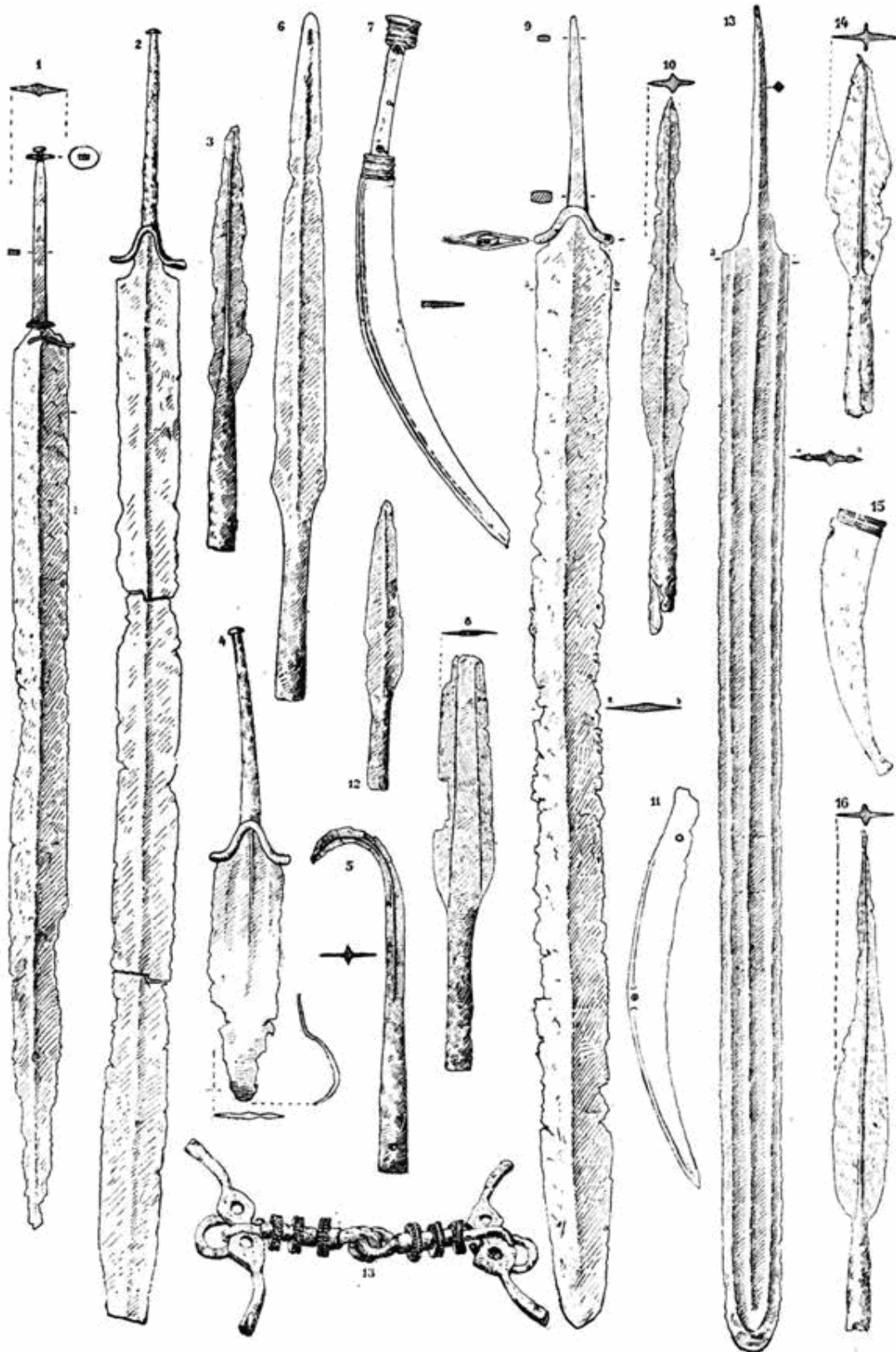
43. Jovanović op. cit.

44. Theodossiev, 2000, 98-100

45. *In this case a Celto-Dacian interaction zone – See Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, - Antiquités celtiques d'Olténie, Dacia XI-XII, (1948), p. 17-33.; see also Popescu 1963 : POPESCU (D).- Două descoperiri celtice din Oltenia, SCIV 14, 2, p. 403-412 Zirra VI.,1971 - Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Keltischen Latene in Rumanien, Dacia N. S. XV, p. 171-238;Also 1976, p. 181 - Le problème des Celtes dans l'espace du Bas-Danube. Thraco-Dacica I, p.175-182.; Sîrbu V.,1993, p. 25 - Credințe și practici funerare, religioase și magice în lumea geto dacilor, Brăila-Galați; See also Sîrbu V. Arsenescu M., *Dacian settlements and necropolises in Southwestern Romania (2nd c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.)**

La Têne artifacts uncovered, in addition to the topographical traces and historical testimony in the area of today's n-w Bulgaria during the period under discussion indicates that in this region a Scordisci-Thracian cultural zone developed.⁴⁶

46. See Domaradski, op cit.



Celtic objects found in Oltenia (after C.S. Nicolăescu - Plopşor 1945-1947).
 1 Gârla Mică; 2, 4, 5 Gogoşiţa; 3 Raznicu; 6-7 Golentî; 8 Hinova; 9 Şimian;
 10-12, 15 Şişeşti; 13 Turnu-Severin; 14, 16 Vârtopu.

F3

b. THE SCORDISCI WARS

The Scordisci later resurface in history in a prominent way in 179 BC in connection with Philip V of Macedonia's campaign against the Roman army, in which both they and the Bastarnae⁴⁷ took an active role. This testimony in antique sources to the Scordisci's close relationship with Philip V has been substantiated in recent years by numismatic and archaeological evidence in the region. Around the end of the 3rd century BC, the Scordisci started issuing their own local coinages imitating the types of Philip II of Macedon. These coinages had a limited volume of production and a restricted area of circulation, so their finds are not numerous and occur mostly in their own territory and in the neighboring territories of other Celtic or Celticized tribes. Conversely the inflow of Macedonian tetradrachmas into Scorsdisci territory is not of the same intensity during the period from the initial settlement of the Scordisci in the middle of the 3rd century BC to 168 BC. It seems that it was by far the most intensive in the 80's and 70's of the 2nd century BC as a result of the foreign policy of Philip V and probably Perseus, too.⁴⁸

From the first half of the 2nd century BC, the Scordisci became so powerful and belligerent that even the Dardanian regions situated between them and Macedonia fell under their control. Archaeological evidence reveals that they established several strongholds and settlements along the rivers on the natural route towards the southern Balkans as far south as Scupi (modern Skopje), where there previously

47. *Information on Philip V's plans for a war against Rome, his negotiations with the Bastarnae, their migration into the Balkans and stay for three years in the Dardanian lands, and their collaboration with the Scordisci, is provided by Livy 39.35, 40.5, 40.21, 40.57-58, 41.19, 41.23, 42.11, and Polybius 25.6.*

48. *On this issue see: Dubravka Ujes, Coins of the Macedonian Kingdom in the Interior of Balkans, Histoire et mesure, XVII - N° 3/4 - Monnaie et espace, mis en ligne le 17 novembre 2006, référence du 22 octobre 2007, disponible sur: <http://histoiremesure.revues.org/document880.html>*

had been a Dardanian fortress situated close to the northern frontier of Macedonia. Thus, from the second half of the 2nd century BC they could not be stopped from traversing these territories in their expeditions into the Roman province of Macedonia in the south.⁴⁹

In 168 BC Macedonia became part of the Roman empire and the first direct conflict between the Balkan Celts and Rome is recorded a little over a decade later. In 156 BC the Romans, in their fight against the Dardanii, also attacked the Scordisci.⁵⁰ It is not until after the formation of the Roman province of Macedonia in 148 BC, however, that the Scordisci conflict with the empire escalates. In 141 BC Rome, in an attempt to consolidate the northern borders of Macedonia, launched an attack into Scordisci territory in Thrace but were pushed back by the Celts. Encouraged by their success over the imperial forces, the Scordisci launched an attack on the Romans in Thrace in 135 BC but were defeated by Praetor Marcus Cosconius.⁵¹

49. Ammianus Marcellinus 27.4.4, Festus 9.1, Orosius 5.23.17-19, Iordanes *Rom.* 219, Florus 1.39 (the Scordisci mentioned as Thracians); see F. PAPAZOGLU 1978, pp. 294-303 for commentary on these sources - PAPAZOGLU, F., *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times, Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians*, Amsterdam, 1978; For the chronology of the development of the Scordiscan and other Celtic cultures in the northern Balkans and southern Pannonia see D. BOŽIĆ, 1981 - BOŽIĆ, Dragan, "Relativna kronologija mlajše železne dobe v jugoslovanskem Podonavju" {"Relative Chronologie der jüngeren Eisenzeit im jugoslawischen Donauraum"}, *Acta Archaeologica-Arheološki vestnik*, 32, Ljubljana, Slovenska Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti, 1981, pp. 315-347. J. TODORVIĆ, 1966 - "Predlog hronološke podele keltskog latena u južnoj Panoniji i severnom Balkanu", *Materijali III* /Materials [occasional publications]/, Belgrade, Association of the Archaeological Societies of republics of ex-Yugoslavia, 1965, [1966], pp. 27-52. For the characteristics of the Scordiscan culture and settlement, see B. JOVANOVIĆ, 1987, pp. 822-834 - JOVANOVIĆ, Borisav, "Keltska kultura u Jugoslaviji: Uvod", and "Istočna grupa"/ "Celtic Civilisation in Yugoslavia: Introduction", and "Eastern Celtic Group" /, in Benac Alojz and Čović Borisav, *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja 5: Gvozdeno doba {Prehistory of Yugoslav Regions, vol. 5: Iron Age}*, Sarajevo, Centre for Balkan Studies, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosna and Hercegovina, 1987, pp. 805-854.

50. Obsequens 16: Delmatae Scordisci Superati; Kazarov 1919, 75.

51. M. Cosconius praetor in Thracia cum Scordiscis prospere pugnauit – Livy, *Periocha*, LVI; See Kazarov, 1919, 75-76



Scordisci Billion Tetradrachm from
Oltenia. C. 75 BC.

(De La Tour 9883)

De La Tour H., *Atlas de Monnaies Galois*
Paris, 1892.

Towards the end of the second century BC the territory of the Scordisci came under threat from the north through an expansion of the Germanic Cimbri tribe. The Cimbri seem to have been finally repulsed near the Celtic settlement of Singidunum (today's Belgrade) and migrated further to the west.⁵² Interestingly, it seems to have been during these events that the famous *Gundestrup*

Cauldron was looted by the Cimbri and carried off. One of the finest examples of Iron Age silverwork, the latest research shows that this cauldron was manufactured by a Thracian craftsmen commissioned by the Scordisci, and fell into the hands of the Cimbri who invaded the Middle lower Danube in 120 BC.⁵³

The aforementioned setback in Thrace against Cosconius does not seem to have dampened the appetite of the Scordisci for conflict with Roman forces. Indeed, over the next century they were to become the scourge of Roman Macedonia. In 117 BC groups of Celts penetrated all the way to Thessalonika, killing Pompey, the Roman governor there, during the attack.⁵⁴ The Roman quaestor in Macedonia finally managed to stop the Scordisci advance as well as a subsequent attack in which the Celts fought in tandem with the Thracian Mairi tribe.⁵⁵ The latter attack is particularly significant because it marks the beginning of a pattern in which the Scordisci continue to play a significant role in the

52. See Rankin D., *Celts and the Classical World*, New York, 1987, p.19

53. See Bergquist, A. K., and T. F. Taylor, *The origin of the Gundestrup Cauldron*, *Antiquity*, vol. 61, 1987, pp. 10-24- Fig. 5

54. See Kazarov, 1919,76

55. Kazarov, *op. cit.*

conflict with Rome but increasingly in alliance with other Balkan tribes i.e. Thracians, Illyrians or Dacians.

At this point Rome seems to have realized the gravity of the threat from the Scordisci and their allies, and for the first time a Roman consul is sent to Macedonia – Quintus Fabius Maximus. The arrival of the consul, however, appears to have had no immediate effect. In 114 Gaius Porcius Cato led his forces into Thrace against the Scordisci. The Romans would appear to have seriously underestimated the military strength of the Celts at this point and Cato suffered a humiliating defeat in which the whole Roman force was wiped out.⁵⁶ Following the defeat of Porcius, the Scordisci poured into Macedonia and went on to defeat and kill Lucullus, the commander of the garrison at Heracleia – *‘When Lucullus was put in charge of a garrison of two cohorts at Heraclea, the cavalry of the Scordisci, by pretending to drive off the flocks of the inhabitants, provoked a sortie. Then, when Lucullus followed, they drew him into an ambush, feigning flight, and killed him together with eight hundred of his followers’.*⁵⁷

These events seem to have set in play a deadly game of cat and mouse between the Scordisci and the Roman forces in the region. In 112 BC consul Livius Drusus defeated the Scordisci⁵⁸ and three years later the Romans launched a further major offensive against them. During the latter campaign the Roman consul - Minucius Rufus - suffered a major setback when part of his mounted troop were lost when the ice on the Mariza (Hebros) river cracked and they were drowned.⁵⁹ Interestingly, during this campaign the Scordisci again are not alone against the Romans. In 109 BC we see them fighting in combination with other

56. Liv. Per., 63'a - C. Porcius cos. in Thracia male adversus Scordiscos pugnavit; See also Diod. 34.30a'1-30c'1; Flor. 1.39'1-4; DioCass. fr.88'1; Eutrop. 4.24'1; Amm. Marc. 27.4'4;

57. Front. Str. 3 10'7

58. Livius Drusus cos. adversus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam, in Thracia feliciter pugnavit - Liv]Per., 63'a; See also Flor., 1.39'5; DioCass., fr.88'1; Festus:Brev.,9'2; AmmMarc., 27.4'10;

59. Flor. 1.39.5 - Minucius toto vastavit Hebro, multis quidem amissis, dum per perfidum glacie flumen equitatur.



Fig. 4

Inscription from Delphi mentioning the victory of Minucius over the Scordisci and Bessi:
M(arcum) Minucium Q(uiti) f(iliu)m imperatorem
Galleis / Scordisteis et Besseis / [reliqueisque
Thraecibus devicte]s [ob me]rita [Apolline]i /
de[dic]avit populus Delphius

Balkan tribes – in this case the Dacians and Thracian Bessi tribe.⁶⁰ This co-operation between the Scordisci and other Balkan peoples – Dacians, Thracians and Illyrians - becomes a common trend over the century which follows. In 109, however, this ‘Balkan coalition’ proved unsuccessful against the empire. If we are to believe the information recorded by Frontin, Minucius’ victory over the more numerous ‘barbarians’ was due largely to a clever tactical ploy – *‘The general Minucius Rufus, hard pressed by the Scordiscans and Dacians, for whom he was no match in numbers, sent his brother and a small squadron of cavalry on ahead, along with a detachment of trumpeters, directing him, as soon as he should see the battle begin, to show himself suddenly from the opposite quarter and to order the trumpeters to blow their horns. Then, when the hill-tops re-echoed with the sound, the impression of a huge multitude was borne in upon the enemy, who fled in terror.’*⁶¹

60. See fig. 5 - Dittenberger 3, 348; G. Dittenberger. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. I – IV, ed. 3, Lipsiae, 1915-1924.; [Liv]:Per., 65'a; Frontin:Str., 2.4'3; Festus:Brev., 9'2; Eutrop.4.27'3; AmmMarc., 27.4'10.

61. Front. Strat. - II, 4, 3

The Minucius campaign appears to have resulted in a temporary lull in Scordisci attacks on the Romans but in 104 BC an unnamed band of ‘Thracians’ were defeated in Macedonia⁶² and three years later the Scordisci again poured into Macedonia but once more were successfully held in check by the Romans. After these important Roman victories Macedonia was spared attack for almost a decade. However, in 90 BC, stirred up by Mithridates VI, the Scordisci, together with the Thracians again invaded Macedonia⁶³ and after ravaging the province, swept into Greece. It appears likely that this campaign was not simply a military exercise. We later find Celtic settlements in Macedonia around the towns of Beroe, Pela and Edessa which probably date from this period. By 88 BC, together with the Dardanii and the Thracian Mairi tribe, the Scordisci had penetrated southwards where they captured and burnt the temple of Zeus at Dodona.⁶⁴ Three years later the Roman Consul Lucius Cornelius Sulla launched a punitive attack against the Scordisci and other tribes who were terrorizing Macedonia and was apparently successful in restraining them.⁶⁵ However, the respite for the Greeks proved to be short lived. After Sulla’s departure for Asia this ‘barbarian coalition’ again launched a massive attack on Macedonia and Greece. This time they swept southwards into Greece and penetrated all the way to Delphi. Almost two centuries after the initial Brenos invasion, the Scordisci succeeded where their forefathers had failed – taking and burning the sacred temple at Delphi.⁶⁶

In the aftermath of this campaign the Scordisci and their allies once again became the focus of Roman punitive action - *“under the leadership of Lucius [Cornelius] Scipio, made war against the Illyrians, on account of this temple robbery, as the Romans now held sway over the Greeks and the Macedonians”*.⁶⁷ However, a subsequent Roman campaign in 76 BC

62. St. Jerome, (*Hieronimus*):170 .1

63. See Kazarov, 1919, 78

64. Dio. Cass. Fr. 101.2; On Celtic settlement in Macedonia see Livy, XLV,30.

65. Licinian. 35 – Dardanos et Denselatas Scordiscosque qui Macedoniam vexabant in deditionem receipt; Eutrop. V7,1; Appian. Mith. 55; Plut. Sulla. 23.

66. Plutarch Num.9; Appian Ill. 5; The exact date of these events is not certain but it appears that they occurred during the winter of 85/84 BC – See Kazarov, 1919, 79 for discussion.

67. Appian:Ill., 5'a-b.



The Gundestrup Cauldron

Fig. 5

by the governor of Macedonia, Appius Claudius, into Scordisci territory was unsuccessful and resulted in the death of Claudius himself.⁶⁸ The campaigns of Cnaeus Scribonius Curio between 75-73 BC brought the Roman empire to the Danube for the first time, in the process defeating the Dardanii, one of the main Scordisci allies.⁶⁹

Towards the end of the first century BC we witness the last throes of Scordisci opposition to Rome. By this time Thrace was de facto controlled by the Romans, although in theory still ruled by the Thracian ‘puppet dynasty’ of the Odrysaе. The traditional allies of the Scordisci in Thrace, the Bessi, were busy resisting Roman expansion in that territory and in 19 BC the governor of Macedonia, Marcus Lollius, had been forced to march into Thrace itself in order to rescue the Odrysian ‘kings’ Rhoemtalkas and Rhaskouporis from a rebellion by their own subjects. In 15 BC a full scale rising against the Odryssae and their Roman masters had broken out in Thrace, led by the warrior priest – Vologaesus. This rising continued until 11 BC when the Bessi were finally defeated by the arrival from Pamphylia in Asia Minor of a Roman force led by Calpurnius Piso, who afterwards became governor of the Macedonian province.⁷⁰

In 16 BC the Scordisci, together with the Thracian Denteletes tribe, once more invaded and laid waste to Macedonia.⁷¹ It is perhaps noteworthy here that in this final invasion the Scordisci are accompanied by the Denteletes, a relatively minor Thracian tribe, suggesting that the other groups that had hitherto accompanied them were no longer capable of launching a full scale assault on the Roman province. The attack in 16 BC proved to be the last Scordisci threat to Roman Macedonia. One year later they were finally defeated by Tiberius and what remained of the Scordisci in the wake of their defeat were resettled in southern Pannonia.⁷²

68. *Livy epit. XCI; Flor II 39,6; Eutrop. VI 2.*

69. *Liv., Per., 92'a; Frontin:Str.,4.1'43; Flor.,1.39'6; Festus:Brev., 3'2, 7'5; Eutrop., 6.2'2*

70. *Fol et al, Ancient Thrace, 126, 228.*

71. *Dio, XIV 31,3.*

72. *Vellei II,39,3; Dio LIV 31,3; Plin. N.h. III, 148.*

Over 150 years of bitter war with Rome had taken its toll on the Scordisci both militarily, and undoubtedly demographically. At the time of their final capitulation it would appear that not their will to resist Rome had been destroyed, but their very capability to do so.⁷³ The wars with the Romans had weakened them to such an extent that from this point on they play no significant role in the geo-politics of the region. Four centuries later the Scordisci still exist, but by this stage live outside the province of Thrace.⁷⁴

73. Strabo, 7, 5,6

74. Ammian, 27,4 - *‘A part of these were inhabited by the Scordisci, who are now widely separated from those same provinces: a people formerly cruel and savage, and, as ancient history declares, accustomed to offer up their prisoners as victims to Bellona and Mars, and from their hollowed skulls greedily to drink human blood. By their savageness the Roman state was often sorely troubled...’*

Section 3: EASTERN THRACE

a Flight of the Getae

The Getae were ‘the noblest as well as the most just of all the Thracian tribes’.⁷⁵ Getae⁷⁶ was in fact the name given by the Greeks to several Thracian tribes that occupied the regions south of the Lower Danube, in what is today northern Bulgaria, and north of the Lower Danube, in the Muntenian plain (today’s southern Romania), and especially near modern Dobruja. They lived in the hinterland of Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast, bringing the Getae into economic and cultural contact with the Hellenistic world as from the 7th century BC onwards the Greeks established colonies on the western side of Pontus Euxinus, nowadays the Black Sea. Recent archaeological evidence from the Getic capital illustrates that by the end of the 4th century BC these contacts caused a process of Hellenisation among the Getae, or at least among the upper social strata.⁷⁷

The Getae are mentioned for the first time by Herodotus⁷⁸ in his narrative of the Scythian campaign of the Persian emperor Darius I in 513 BC. His testimony illustrates the fiercely independent nature of this people. Alone among the Thracians the Getae resisted the Persian imperial army, although they were hopelessly outnumbered – ‘*When the Persians, led by Darius the Great, campaigned against the Scythians, the Thracian tribes in the Balkans surrendered to Darius on his way to Scythia, and only the Getae offered resistance.*’⁷⁹ Following the death of

75. Herodotus 4.93

76. Γέται, singular Γέτης; Getae

77. See Stoyanov T. - *The Getic Capital at Sboryanovo: new excavation issues and research. In: Thracia XV, Sofia 2003, 413-424.*

78. 4.93-97

79. Herod. Op cit

Alexander the Great in 323 BC, Thrace came, at least nominally, under the control of one of his bodyguards and closest friends – Lysimachus. Again the Thracians resisted Macedonian rule and in 313 the Getae formed an alliance with Callatis, Odessos, and other western Pontic Greek colonies against Lysimachus, who held a fortress at Tirizis (modern Kaliakra). When Lysimachus tried to subdue the Getae he was defeated by them and, much to the embarrassment of the Macedonian, he himself was captured. The Getic king, Dromichaetes, had Lysimachus brought to the Getic capital, Daos-Dava, where he was given a lavish feast on golden and silver dishes before being subsequently released and forced to leave Thracian Territory.⁸⁰

The power and majesty of the Getic culture and the high level of development of Thracian culture in general at the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC is amply illustrated by the impressive Getic capital at Sboryanovo and, in particular the celebrated Ghinina tomb. Remains of a large antique city have been found along with dozens of other Thracian mound tombs including a huge royal necropolis of more than 140 mounds. The excavations there suggest an economic, military and politically flourishing culture, where resided the Getic royal court.⁸¹ Narrative sources, toponymy, onomastics, epigraphic data, monuments of cult and archaeological material represent the Getae as the prevailing part of the population in this region in the period of Roman domination, too. All of this has resulted in the widely accepted theory of a continuity in the Getic population and culture in this region till the end of Late Antiquity.⁸² In fact the truth is a lot more complex than this.

80. *Diodorus Siculus, 21, Fr. 11-12*

81. *Stoyanov 2002: Stoyanov (T.).-The Getic Capital at Sboryanovo (NE Bulgaria). In: G.R.Tsetskhladze, J.G.de Boor (eds.) Black Sea Region in the Greek, Roman and Byzantine Periods. TALANTA Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, vol. XXXII, 2000-2001, 207-221. Stoyanov 2003: Stoyanov (T.).-The Getic Capital at Sboryanovo: new excavation issues and research. In: Thracia XV, Sofia 2003, 413-424.*

82. *Scorpan C., Aspecte ale continuității și romanizării băștinașilor din Dobrogea, în lumina recentelor cercetări, Pontica III (1970) 139-180; Idem, La continuité de la population et des traditions gétes dans les conditions de la romanisation de la Scythia Minor, Pontica VI (1973), 137-151.*

From the beginning of the 3rd century BC the Getic culture suffered a catastrophe that was to end its development and decimate its population. Recent archaeological information shows that in the years that followed a massive emigration wave from S. Dobruja to the north of the Danube took place.⁸¹ This coincided with the sudden increase of the number of settlements as well as with the growth and military might of the Getic tribes in southern Romania and southern Moldova in the 2nd/1st centuries BC.⁸² The dense concentration of settlements and fortresses in that region as well as numismatic data⁸³ illustrates that from the beginning of the 3rd century BC the indigenous population of today's n.e Bulgaria fled north across the Danube en masse, leaving in their wake a virtual cultural desert. The lack of historical data on this region in the centuries before Christ is a direct result of the political turmoil during the period. We also witness an abrupt decrease in the number of Thracian settlements on the territory of Dobruja during this period.⁸⁴

The study of burial grounds from the late Iron Age in the region reveals a similar situation. Indeed it has even been pointed out that as far as the graves from the 2nd half of the 3rd – 1st century BC are concerned, the ethnical attribution of those buried is usually impossible because of the advanced stage of cultural syncretism, characteristic of the population in the Dobruja at that time.⁸⁵ This fits in with recent archaeological excavations from the Getic capital at Sboryanovo. This site, constructed in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, was largely destroyed by a powerful earthquake in the first half of the 3rd century

83. Torbatov S., *The Getae in Southern Dobrudja in the period of the Roman Domination: Archaeological aspects, actes 2e Symposium International Des Etudes Thraciennes, Komotini 1997.*, 512-51

84. Nikulitse I.T., 1987, *Severnye frakiytsy v VI-I vv. do n.e.*, Kishinev, P. 84; Conovici N., *Așezări fortificate și centre tribale geto-dacice din Mutenia (sec. IV î .e.n.) Istros IV (1985) p.81.*

85. Preda C., *Monedele geto-dacilor, București, 1973, p. 425.*

86. Torbatov, *op. cit.*, 512.

87. Irmia M., *Date noi privind necropolele din Dobrogea în a două epocă a fierului, Pontica XVI (1983) pp. 69, 91*

BC. Interesting in this context is the fact that it was never rebuilt⁸⁸ indicating that the geo-political status quo which had originally constructed the complex at the end of the 4th century BC no longer existed by the middle of the 3rd century.

While most stark south of the river, this process of intra-cultural assimilation is illustrated also north of the Danube where in today's southern Romania the analysis of the funerary vestiges from this time has generated different, sometimes even contradictory opinions, on their cultural or ethnic origin. They have been variously attributed to the Celts⁸⁹, Thracians⁹⁰, or to mixed communities of Dacians and Celts.⁹¹ The meddling of political and ideological factors in the interpretation of history for half a century certainly accounts for some of this confusion.⁹² Circa 70 settlements from the Late Iron Age have been located in the southern Dobruja region and over 200 from the period of Roman occupation. There are only 29 examples of topographic coincidence of settlements from both periods and even in these cases there is not a certainty of continuous habitation.⁹³ The rise in the number of Getic settlements in this region during the centuries directly after Christ and a boom in population during the first phase of the Roman period is to be

88. Stoyanov T., *The Getic Capital At Sboryanovo: New Excavation Issues and Research, Thracia XV*, p. 414-415

89. Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1945-1947, - *Antiquités celtiques d'Olténie, Dacia XI-XII*, (1948), p. 17-33.; see also Popescu 1963 : *POPESCU (D.)*.- Două descoperiri celtice din Oltenia, *SCIV* 14, 2, p. 403-412

90. Nikolov 1990, - Trakijski nahodniki ot Severozapadna Bălgaria, *Arheologija Sofija*, XXXII, 4, p. 14-26.

91. Zirra Vl., 1971 - Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Keltischen Latene in Rumanien, *Dacia N. S. XV*, p. 171-238; Also 1976, p. 181 - Le problème des Celtes dans l'espace du Bas-Danube. *Thraco-Dacica I*, p.175-182.; Sîrbu V., 1993, p. 25 - Credințe și practici funerare, religioase și magice în lumea geto dacilor, *Brăila-Galați*.

92. See Sîrbu V. Arsenescu M., *Dacian settlements and necropolises in Southwestern Romania (2nd c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.)*, *Proceedings of the 7 th International Colloquium of Funerary Archaeology - ET* - <http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro/publicatii/bibliotheca/acta%20V%20special%20number/915dacian.htm>.

93. Torbatov, *op cit*, 512.

explained by a process of repopulation of the region by the Roman authorities during the early period of the empire's occupation of the region. Twice during the 1st century A.D. the Roman authorities undertook mass deportations of the Transdanubian population to the south of the river - *“even in our own times, Aelius Catus transplanted from the country on the far side of the Ister into Thrace fifty thousand persons from among the Getae, a tribe with the same tongue as the Thracians”*.⁹⁴ One of these deportations took place at the end of Augustus' rule and another during the reign of Nero.⁹⁵ This influx of Transdanubian Getic population, ethnically preserved due to continuous life in a homogeneous environment, caused in the first centuries of Roman domination an unexpected revival of Getic culture in south Dobruja.⁹⁶

The collapse of the Thracian Getic culture in n.e. Bulgaria in the 3rd century BC and its partial re-establishment, albeit under Roman conditions, in the years after the birth of Christ is attested to both in historical sources and confirmed by archaeological data. We are left, however, with a number of fundamental questions. The most glaring of these are what caused the Thracian cultural collapse at the beginning of the 3rd century BC and, perhaps more importantly, what replaced this culture in the three centuries during which this region virtually vanishes from historical records?

94. *Strabo VII 3, 10*

95. *Pippidi D.M., Tiberius Plautius Aelianus și frontiera Dunării de Jos în secolul I al erei noastre, SCIV (Studii și cercetări de istorie veche) VI. 3-4 (1955) 355-380*

96. *Torbatov, op cit. 513*

b. CELTIC EXPANSION IN E. THRACE

The answer to the first of the above questions would appear to be fairly obvious. We are told in historical sources that in 279 BC a Celtic onslaught against the Balkans began. The invasion was a three pronged attack and of massive scale. The army was split up into three divisions by the chieftains, to each of whom was assigned a separate land to invade. Cerethrius was to be leader against the Thracians. The invaders of Pannonia were under the command of Brenos and Acichorius; Bolgios attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians, and engaged in a struggle with Ptolemy, king of Macedonia at that time.⁹⁷ Bolgios, whose name is probably derived from the Belgic tribes which he led,⁹⁸ moved into Illyrian territory and then Macedonia, brushing aside the Dardanii tribe and subsequently annihilating the Macedonian army. The following spring a massive central army led by the overall commander, Brenos, and another chieftain called Acichorius, launched the main offensive, conquering Macedonia and N. Greece. These events and the subsequent offensive against Delphi are well documented and have been mulled over by academics for centuries.⁹⁹

97. Paus, X, 19 – 6-7

98. As with the 'names' of the other Celtic generals, including Brenos himself, Bolgios is not a proper name but a title - See Hubert II, 66-68.

99. On the Celts in Thrace see also: Домарадски М, Келтите на балканския полуостров Sofia, 1984; Г. Кацаров, Келтите в Тракия и Македония – СпЪАН 18 (1919 кл. Ист. Фил. 10) 41- 80; Hubert H., A History of the Celtic People, Vol. II Decline of the Celts, London 1934 (Rep. 199); И. Венедиков, Келтското нашествие в нашите земи през III в. Пр. н.е. под светлината на археологическите материали – ИПр. 11 (1955, 3)77 - 95; Т. Герасимов, Келтските етнически наслоения в българските земи, In: Етногенезис и културно наследство на българския народ (Sofia, 1974); H. Danov, The Celtic Invasion and Rule in Thrace in the light of some new documents , Studia Celtica 10 /11 (1975/1976), 29 – 39; Domaradski M., L'état des Celtes en Thrace avec capitale Tylis et en Asia Mineure – Galatie – Pulpadeva 3 (1980), 25-56.

What most observers seem to have ignored is the fact that at the same time as the operations against Illyria and Macedonia a third Celtic army went east into Thrace. Led by Cerethrius,¹⁰⁰ the mission of this army was to conquer the country¹⁰¹ and presumably join up with Brenos' main force in the subsequent invasion of Greece and attack on Delphi. And here the mystery begins. There is no mention of Cerethrius' army at Delphi. This fourth army enters Thrace in 278 BC and, to all intents and purposes, simply disappears.

The scale of this eastern army can only be surmised from the statistics given to us by the sources with relation to the overall size of the Celtic armies in general. It was an unprecedented military force. The army that Brenos led is estimated by historians at 150,000 foot and 15,000 – 20,000 cavalry. On this both the Greek and Roman commentators agree.¹⁰² As Cerethrius commanded a third of the main Celtic body¹⁰³ we must assume that the force under his command, even at a conservative estimate, must have numbered at least 50,000 foot and 5,000 cavalry – a force that no Thracian tribe at that time could have been realistically expected to repulse. To put this into perspective, the Getae, north of the Danube, put into the field to oppose Alexander an army of 4000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. The Odrysian prince, Seuthes III, could assemble against Lysimachus an army of 20,000 foot and 8,000 horse.¹⁰⁴

If the initial Celtic assault on Thrace had not been enough to subdue

100. *Again not a personal name but literally meaning 'The Fourth King'*

101. *Paus., X, 19, 6-7*

102. *Paus. X, 19, 150,000 plus a further 2,000 allied forces (from the Illyrian Autariatae tribe, if one is to believe Justin) and 20,400 cavalry; Justin also tells us that Brenos had 150,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry – Just., XXIV, 6 - According to Pausinias the number of the cavalry is deceptive. He states that the real number was 61,200 because of the Trimarcisia system used by the Celts. This was a system whereby each horseman was accompanied by two mounted servants who were themselves skilled riders. When the Celtic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in that should a horse fall in battle, the servant would bring him a fresh horse to mount. If the rider was himself killed, the servant would mount the horse in his masters place.- Interestingly this same Trimarcisia cavalry system is later described as being used by the Bastarnae at the beginning of the 2nd century BC in the context of Perseus' campaign against Rome – see anon.*

103. *Paus., Op cit.*

104. *See Kazarov,1919, p. 240*

the Triballi and Getae, a second Celtic force arrived the following year and completed the task. This force consisted of a further 15,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry which proved enough to destroy both the Getae and Triballi tribes.¹⁰⁵ It also appears that at this point many of the Getic aristocracy were forced to flee their homeland and take service in foreign armies.¹⁰⁶

One should also bear in mind here that a force of 20,000 which had broken off from Brenos' main army in Dardania, under the leadership of Leonnorius and Lutarius, laid waste to the region of the Propontis and sacked the city of Lysimachia. This force (of roughly the same size as the second wave which moved into Thrace) was sufficient to subsequently terrorize Asia Minor and ultimately establish the state of Galatia in present day central Turkey.¹⁰⁷ From the perspective of their subsequent social and demographic impact in the region we may also assume that the army that moved against the Triballi and Getae in 277 BC was not purely a military force but had traveling with them their wives and children, i.e. not just a pillaging army but tribal or sub-tribal units as is the case throughout the history of the Celtic expansion in the region.¹⁰⁸

Archaeological evidence indicates that the land of the Getae, after it had been plundered by the Celtic expansion, was also settled by elements of them.¹⁰⁹ The aforementioned mass exodus of the Getae to the north of the Danube during the 3rd century BC is a direct result of these events. Historical, numismatic, archaeological, and linguistic evidence illustrates that the consequences of this was the emergence in the region of today's n.e. Bulgaria and s.e. Romania of a new culture based on the convergence of the native Thracians with the invading Celtic forces – a Celto-Thracian culture.

105. *'Quippe Galli, qui a Brenno duce, cum in Graeciam proficisceretur, ad terminos gentis tuendos relictis fuerant, ne soli desides uiderentur, peditum XV milia, equitum tria milia armauerant fugatisque Getarum Triballorumque copiis Macedoniae inminentes legatos ad regem miserunt, qui pacem ei uenalem offerrent, simul et regis castra specularentur'.*(Justin, XXV,1)

106. See Kazarov, 1919, 68

107. Livy, 38.16.1-9; See Delev, 2003, 108. Also Section 6 (Asia-Minor)

108. See Section 5-6.

109. Domaradski, 1984, 109.

Linguistic data

Prolonged contact between two cultures inevitably produces linguistic traces. The most notable result in this respect is the absorption of Celtic loan-words into the Thracian language during the period under consideration. This fact is indeed corroborated by the assimilation of words such as *πάρμη* - a Celtic word for shield - into the Thracian language.¹¹⁰ This assimilation of this term into the Thracian language speaks volumes for the psychological impact in the region of the Celts in military terms, but is perhaps not surprising in light of the nature of the expansion. The Bulgarian linguist, Detschev, further mentions the example of the Gaulish word *χουρμι* - an alcoholic drink - being borrowed into Thracian during this period.¹¹¹

Probably the most significant example of this inter cultural exchange, however, is the assimilation of the Celtic word for horse - *marca*¹¹² into the Thracian language. The horse played a particularly important role in the economic and cultural life of Thrace. As Duridanov points out, after Tomaschek¹¹³ and Holder¹¹⁴, the element contained in the Dacian and Thracian placenames *Marko-daua*, *Drasi-marka*, *Marke-rōta* etc. is actually Celtic. The element also occurs on a number of inscriptions –

110. *πάρμη* θράκιον οπλον (Hesych.), *πάρμαι-κάμποι* (Ptol.); Tomaschek II, 1, 17 – ‘die schutzwaffe der Thraces parmularii, aber kein thrakisches Wort, sondern gallischer Herkunft’; See also Georgiev, 1977, 101; Detschev, 1957, 358

111. Diosc. *De mat. Med.* 2, 88; See Detschew, 1957, 271 - It occurs in Thrace in *Κορμιληνός* (Epithet of Apollo). Detschew states that as Apollo was also the God of alcohol as other epithets show, the epithet *Κορμιληνός* comes from the Celtic word *χουρμι* which was also assimilated into Thracian.

112. See Duridanov I., *Les Rapports Linguistique...*, 5; Also Duridanov I., *Les noms du cheval dans la langue Thrace, Linguistique Balkanique*, XXXIV (1991) 3-4, 36

113. Tomaschek, 2, II, 22.

114. AC 2, 417

Zi-marcus – inscription from Aquileia, Συμ- μαρκος – from an Egyptian Papyrus,¹¹⁵ etc., and interestingly also as a Heros epithet from the Chirpan region in Thrace¹¹⁶ – Βη-μαρχος. The original Thracian term for horse - *esb-, *ezb-, is well documented.¹¹⁷ The word for horse used by the Celts who invaded the Balkans at the beginning of the 3rd century BC - ‘μάρκαν’ is recorded by Pausanias. Also in connection with this campaign we see the use by the Celts of the *Trimarcisia* in the central army led by Brenos and Achichorius. The *Trimarcisia* was a military cavalry system in which each horseman was accompanied by two mounted servants: ‘*This organization is called in their native speech trimarcisia, for I would have you know that marca is the Celtic name for a horse.*’¹¹⁸ The assimilation into Thracian of a basic and culturally elevated word like ‘horse’ is particularly significant as it would certainly suggest a much more prolonged and deep-rooted Celtic presence within the area where Thracian was spoken.

Topographical Traces

Identification of topographical traces of a mixed culture presents intrinsic problems, particularly when the cultures in question have left no written records of their own. From classical sources, however, it has been possible to identify a number of Celtic settlements from this period in the region under consideration. Indeed these traces are so numerous that the Bulgarian linguist Duridanov came to the conclusion that ‘*in Getic territory one finds a whole range of Celtic place-names which testify to a lasting Celtic presence in the area.*’¹¹⁹

In the area of the Danube delta in northern Dobruja a number of Celtic settlements have been identified. These include - NOVIODUNUM

115. Detschew, 1957, 188.

116. IGB, vol, III: no/ 1542.

117. See Duridanov I., *Les noms ...*, op. cit.

118. Paus. X 19, 9.

119. Duridanov I, *Keltische Sprachspuren in Thrakien und Mösien, Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, Band 49-50 1997, 136.*

(literally - the new fort) today's Isakcha.¹²⁰ Further - opposite Noviodunum we have the Celtic settlement of Ἀλιόβριξ.¹²¹ Also in Scythia Minor the Celtic castellum – Νισχονις was located.¹²² As well as the settlements outlined above, a further topographical evidence of their presence in Scythia minor is to be found in the river-name *Gabranus* which is also of Celtic origin.¹²³

There appears to have been two starting points for the Celts who occupied this region. As has been noted, the land of the Getae, after it had been plundered by the Celtic expansion, was settled by elements of them. They reached here from two directions – down the Danube valley but also from the north by the valleys of the Seret, probably from Transylvania. It appears clear that at least some of the settlements around the delta of the Danube (Arubium, Noviodunum, and Aliobrix) were founded by the Celtic Britogalli / Brigolati tribe.¹²⁴

To the south of the Britogalli a further Celtic tribe - the Κοραλλοι / Coralli are mentioned in a number of sources.¹²⁵ Their presence is recorded in the region of the Danube to the west of Tomi as late as the 1st century by the Roman poet Ovid during his exile in the area –

Ovid Ex Ponto IV - Book EIV.II: To Cornelius Severus:

A Fellow Poet “Who can I recite my work to here, but yellow-haired Coralli, and the other tribes of the barbarous Danube?”

120. Ptolemaios, 3,10,11 - *Noviόδουνον*; *Novioduni* –*Tab.Peut.*; *Novioduno* – *Itin. Ant.*; See Holder II, 1904:787; Duridanov, 1997, 137.

121. *Cod. X, Ptol. III, 10,5*; See Duridanov, 1997,137). In the same area we encounter Arubium (*Not. Dign.*; *Tab.Peut.*; *Itin. Ant.*: Arrubio) – today's Măcin near Galați (See Holder, I, 229; Duridanov, 1997, p. 137).

122. *Proc. ae. 4,11*; See Holder, AC 2, 749; Detschew, 1957, 332.

123. In an inscription from Histria, North Dobritch Franga, 1989,90; See also Duridanov, 1997, 137- Linked it to the Celtic placenames– *Gabro-Magus* (Carinthia), *Gabro-sentum*, *Gabrānus*. (Holder I, 1896, 1511; Dottin, 1906,90 - from-Gaulish*-*gabros*=‘goat’ (Old Gaeilge (Q Celtic) *gabor* ‘goat’. Also (P Celtic) *gafr* - *Cymraeg*, *gabr* - Breton (from IE * *kapro*)

124. *Ptol.*, 3, 10, 7; see Parvan, 1972, 106; Crisan 1982, 103; Duridanov, 1997, 137

125. *Str.*, 7,5, 12; *App. Mith*, 69

Ovid Ex Ponto IV - Book EIV.VIII: To Suillius: The Power of Poetry

*“..so I might flee these shores, too open to the Coralli,
a tribe clad in skins: escape the savage Getae, at the last..”*¹²⁶

The Coralli tribe are mentioned on the Danube as far north as Tomi but also as settled near Haemus.¹²⁷ This indicates a large territorial sphere of influence and it appears that the topographical traces to the south of the Danube can be attributed to this Celtic group. These include the settlement of *Durostorum*, today’s Silestra in n.e. Bulgaria.¹²⁸ Also Celtic is – *Tra(s)mariska / Trans - mariska*, today’s Tutrakan, located slightly to the west of Durostorum. This was a settlement of the Ὀβουλῆνσιοι tribe, probably a sub-tribe of the Coralli. This tribe also gave their name to Ὀβουλος, a valley or river between Tutrakan and Rasgrad.¹²⁹ As outlined, the Coralli tribe are attested to not only on the Lower Danube but also as settled around the Haemus (Balkan) mountains.¹³⁰ It is therefore not surprising that topographical traces of their settlements are to be found in this region. In eastern Haemus the Celtic settlements of *Ορχελίς*¹³¹ and *Γολόη*¹³² in the mountains north of Cabyle (modern Jambol) were established. Also in eastern Haemus we encounter the Rimesica area, again of Celtic origin.¹³³ It is worth noting that these topographical traces generally coincide with the area of the greatest numismatic and archaeological concentrations of Celtic material in the region.

126. *On the Coralli as a Celtic tribe see Domaradski, 1984, 111; Kazarov G., 1919, 67; Jullian C., Histoire de la Gaule I, 303, n.2*

127. *See also Appian, The Mithridatic Wars §69*

128. *Dottin 1906:334; Tomaschek, II, 2, 73, Kazarov, 1919:62; Besevliev 1970:26; Duridanov, 1997,136.*

129. *See Holder I, 431; Duridanov, 1980,26; On the Ὀβουλῆνσιοι see Detschew, 1957, 334/335.*

130. *‘Then come the peoples who live in the neighbourhood of the Haemus Mountain and those who live at its base and extend as far as the Pontus — I mean the Coralli, the Bessi, and some of the Maudi’. – Strabo VII, 5, 12.*

131. *Tomaschek, I, 91; Holder II, 868; Kazarov 1919; 67; Detschew 1957, 344; Duridanov, 1997, 139.*

132. *See Tomaschek, II, 2,88 – CIG 9764 – Γολόη μιχράς Γαλατίς*

133. *Tomaschek I, 91; Holder II, 1190; Kazarov 1919:67; Duridanov 1997:139.*

When one moves further west along the Balkan range one encounters the question of where the sphere of influence of the Coralli/Zaravetz Celtic group ends and that of the Scordisci, who controlled the territory of today's n.w. Bulgaria from the first quarter of the 3rd century BC to the period of Roman domination, begins. As there is no record of the Scordisci in the Central Haemus region it seems certain that the settlement of Βρεντοπαρα (Hisar, Karlovo district)¹³⁴ lies within the area where the eastern branch were active.

When one moves into the area around the present day Bulgarian capital of Sofia a number of Celtic settlements have been identified – *Burgaraca*¹³⁵, *Βρεγεδαβα*¹³⁶ and *Magaris*¹³⁷ which all lie to the east of Sofia. Further - in the χώρα Σχασσετάωα which corresponds approximately to today's Trăn district west of Sofia we find two Celtic placenames, *Λουχουνάντα* (literally the Valley of Lugh) and the castell – *Μαγμιιάς*.¹³⁸ In the hills to the north of today's Bulgarian capital were the Celtic settlements of *Αρχοῦνες*¹³⁹ and *Δουρίες*,¹⁴⁰ and slightly to the south of Sofia the settlement of *Κανδαράς*.¹⁴¹ It is probable the settlements to the north of Sofia were in Scordisci territory but the question remains whether the Celtic topographical traces around Serdica (Sofia) come from them or from the eastern Celtic branch. The topographical evidence surrounding the Bulgarian capital would also add weight to the claim laid by a number of academics in the region¹⁴² that Serdica was not in fact a Thracian settlement, but a Celtic one.

Celtic topographical traces on the Thracian plain, i.e. between the Balkan range and the Rhodopian mountains, are conspicuously absent. It is only in the Rhodopian mountains themselves and around the region of Philipopolis (modern Plovdiv) in particular that further evidence of Celtic settlement is to be found i.e. *Μούδεπα*¹⁴³ in the Rhodopians, as

134. *Detschew, 1957, 86*

135. *Duridanov, 1997, 138*

136. *Detschew, 1957, 85*

137. *Detschew, 1957, 279*

138. *Tomaschek II, 2, 70; Detschew 1957:277 + 279; Duridanov, 1997:135 – “sicher von Kelten geprägt”.*

139. *Detschew, 1957:25; Duridanov 1997, 134-135*

140. *Holder I, 1380; Besevliev 1968:418 + 1970:22; Duridanov 1997:135*

141. *Besevliev 1968:419 + 1970; 23,249; Duridanov 1997: 138.*

142. *Kazarov, 1910:6 + 1919:62; Gerov 1967:48 + 1968:352; Duridanov 1997:138*

143. *Holder, AC 2, 652*

well as *Ardicenus Vicus*¹⁴⁴ and *Tiutamenus Vicus*¹⁴⁵ in the Philipopolis region. It is likely, however, that these settlements indicate distinct Celtic enclaves in this area and are not linked directly to the groups on and to the north of Haemus.

Anthroponymy

Finding anthroponymical traces of the Celtic invasion in the area under discussion presents a special problem. Certainly, a number of Celtic personal names have been identified in Getian territory – e.g. the personal names *Αγίλλας*¹⁴⁶, *Sola*¹⁴⁷, *Σοια*,¹⁴⁸ *Piactu*¹⁴⁹ etc. Particularly interesting is the Celtic p.n. *Τάρβος* – a ruler on the Dacian frontier.¹⁵⁰ Of the four regional leaders during the time of the second Triumvirates we are given the name of three – *Διχόμες*¹⁵¹, *Κοτίσων*¹⁵², and *Σχορύλων* who is mentioned by Frontinus – *Scyrylo Dacorum dux*.¹⁵³ The latter is particularly significant in the present context. If we look at the complete testimony of Frontinus it presents us with a rather interesting piece of information - ‘*Scorylo, a chieftain of the Dacians, though he knew that the Romans were torn with the dissensions of the civil wars, yet did not think he ought to enter on any enterprise against them, insomuch as a foreign war might be the means of uniting the citizens in harmony. Accordingly he pitted two dogs in combat before the populace, and when*

144. Detschew 1957,23

145. See Mac Congail B., *Observations on Inscriptions from the Plovdiv/Pazarjik District Containing the Element Τιοντα*, *Annual of the Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, Volume IX/2, 2004, P. 171- 176*

146. *Inscription from Olbia*, See Duridanov, 1997, 140

147. *CIL*, 3, 787 from *Also-Ilosva* , See Detschew, 1957, 465-466

148. From *Apulum* - *CIL* 3, 1195 – *Rescuturme Soie cioux pientissima*. See Detschew, *op. cit*, 465

149. *f. pn.*, *CIL* 3, 14406a from *Heraclea Lynkestis Aurelia Piactu natus in province Dacia* (Detschew, 1957, 365 - ‘*Der pn ist keltische*’)

150. *Celtic according to Duridanov*, 1980 (1), 11 + 1997, 140

151. *Plut. Ant.* 63

152. *Suet. Oct.* 63; *Could be either Thracian or Celtic* - See -*Cotus*- *Ling app.*

153. *Front.*, I, 10,4

they became engaged in a desperate encounter, exhibited a wolf to them. The dogs straightaway abandoned their fury against each other and attacked the wolf. By this illustration Scorylo kept the barbarians from a movement which would have benefited the Romans’. The above information obviously puts the reign of Scorylo in the period of the Roman civil war and he appears to have reigned independent of Burebista, which raises the question of his relations with this Dacian leader.

In the present context an inscription from the Orashtie mountains in the southern Carpathians is of paramount interest:

DECEBALUS PER SCORILO



Fig. 6¹⁵⁴

The inscription means ‘Decebalus son of Scorilo’, and is Dacian according to Georgiev.¹⁵⁵ On the name Scorilo, Boïadjiev, who also accepts that the inscription is Dacian,¹⁵⁶ comments that the name is not only carried by the famous warrior but also among other individuals in the region, and mentions the parallels in: Scorilo Ressati libertus from Pannonia¹⁵⁷; Scoris Mucapori (Adamklissi); Σκωρις (Varna); and Ζει-σκωρις (Provadia region).¹⁵⁸ This author would appear to have

154. After Georgiev, 1977, 199

155. Georgiev, *op. cit.* 199/200

156. Boïadjiev, 2000, 148 – Boïadjiev D., *Les Relations Ethno-Linguistiques En Thrace Et En Mesie Pendant L’Epoque Romaine*, Sofia, 2000.

157. CIL III, p. 2328 + 21

158. Boïadjiev, *op cit*, 149

overlooked further examples of the name such as *Scorus* - from Britain,¹⁵⁹ and the fact that in an inscription from Alt-Ofen - Scorilo Ressati libertus, Ressatus is a Celtic name.¹⁶⁰ More importantly, none of the so-called parallels for the name *SCORILO* occur north of the Danube. (Adamklisi, south of the Danube, in Getian territory, lies in close proximity to Durostorum, a Celtic settlement). In fact all parallels for the name are from regions where Celtic presence is documented. There is every reason, in my opinion, to agree with the opinion¹⁶¹ that Scorilo, (father of Decebalus), was in fact a Celt, or at least carried a Celtic name.

However, finding anthroponymical traces of the Celts in eastern Thrace during this period (and Thrace generally) is complicated by one major factor – the existence of similar anthroponymical elements in both the Celtic group and the Thracian language. As illustrated in the linguistic appendix of this work, an uncanny number of Thracian name elements are echoed almost exactly by Celtic elements. This fact makes the differentiation of Thracian and Celtic proper names in many cases extremely difficult and indeed, in some cases, impossible.

159. See Detschew, 1957, 460

160. Detschew *op. cit.*

161. Holder, AC 2, 1405

Numismatic Data

During the 1980's excavations at the hill of Zaravetz (Veliko Tarnovo in present n.e Bulgaria) were carried out. Underneath the medieval capital of Bulgaria evidence of a civilization two thousand years older was found, i.e. Thracian settlement layers dating from the beginning of the first millennium BC were uncovered. What was unexpected about the site was the fact that in the layers dating from the 3rd century BC onwards another completely different culture appears. In this archaeological context a small horde of ancient coins was discovered in the same context as a number of Thracian and La Tène artifacts.¹⁶² Unremarkable in themselves, this small coin horde gives us the first clue to the civilization that inhabited that part of Europe in the centuries before Christ. The coins – one Alexander the Great bronze and four 'Barbarian issues' - two bronze and two lead - have hitherto gone virtually unremarked in academic circles. In fact, their existence is of the utmost significance not just for Balkan history, but for our understanding of pan-European cultural trends in the period prior to the Roman Era.

In the early 1990's a further two examples of these lead coins were published. In this article the author points out that similar examples of these lead 'barbarian' emissions have been uncovered in the Schumen region, further examples from the Veliko Tarnovo area, and others in southern Romania. The coins found at Schumen are particularly significant as they were found together with the Odessos coin on which they were modeled.¹⁶³ This enables us to date the beginning of the production of these coins to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.

162. Квинто Л., Келтски материали от III-I в. пр. н.е. в тракийското селище на Царевец – ВТУ, XI пролетен колоквиум – юбилеен сборник на възпитаница от ИФ, – т. II, 1985, с. 59

163. Лазаров Л., Две антични оловни варваризации – Нумизматика и сфрагистика, I, София, 1992, 1-2, с. 20. – *Chemical analysis illustrates coins are 98 % lead. Odessos model - Fig. 8*

Evidence of lead and bronze-working at the Zaravetz complex during the III – II centuries BC suggests the possibility that these bronze and lead emissions were produced on the hill of Zaravetz itself. These coins were produced, not by the Thracian Getae culture who had inhabited the region during the previous millennium, but by a Celto/Triballi/Getic ethnic mix¹⁶⁴ – a culture which, based on the location of the first officially documented evidence of its existence, one may refer to as the *Zaravetz Culture*.

Since the publication of these two examples of the Zaravetz lead issues in the early 90's, literally hundreds of these coins have surfaced throughout the region. Unfortunately, the vast amount of information on them comes not from archaeology but from the regions 'treasure hunters'. While these coins may be glaringly absent from the local museums, hundreds have been sold abroad and are for sale in abundance from international coin dealers.



Fig 7 - Detail of Zaravetz type lead 'Barbarian issue'

The data that one can glean from the examples published by these 'private collectors', gives us information that fits in fairly exactly with the evidence provided by other archaeological data about the geographical extent of this culture, i.e. – the western border is located somewhere to the west of Veliko Tarnovo, roughly along the course of the Jantra river; in the east it includes the entire Varna region with the

164. Lazarov, *op. cit.* 18

exception of the Greek Black Sea colonies; the northern border of this culture is difficult to fix with any degree of certainty but appears to run along the Danube from the Jantra to Silestra (Noviodunum) and stretches further along the Lower Danube into Northern Dobruja (modern Romania); in the south along the Balkan range in a fairly clear line that stretches from Kasanluk to Varna.¹⁶⁵

The true significance of these coins can only be appreciated when one considers the nature of coinage during this period. Coins had been produced in the Hellenistic world and indeed by the Thracians for many centuries prior to this juncture. These coins were struck, broadly speaking, in gold, silver or bronze, the value depending on the respective ore content of the coin. Coins therefore were not constrained by political borders as their intrinsic worth made them valuable per se. Thus, for example, Greek gold staters, minted under the reign of Philip II of Macedonia became widespread currency not just inside Macedonia but also in the surrounding region and indeed as far as central Europe.¹⁶⁶ Thus coins tended to be supra-national insofar as they could, and were, used beyond the territory of the ruler who had them minted. These 'barbarian' coins from the area of north-eastern Bulgaria differ in one fundamental aspect from all that had gone before them – they were not minted in the customary gold, silver or bronze, but in lead. They therefore had little or no intrinsic value and it follows that they could presumably only be used within the state or sphere of political influence that was controlled by the authorities which minted them. Furthermore, coinage of this nature had not been produced by the eastern Celts or Thracian tribes (including the Getae) prior to this; nor indeed in the entire Graeco-Roman world.¹⁶⁷ The lead 'Zaravetz Type' coinage minted in n.e. Bulgaria at the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd century BC therefore seems to represent the first currency coinage in Europe based in part on non-precious metals, a phenomenon which would not become common in national economies until the modern era.

165. See particularly Topalov S., *Odessos. Contribution To The Study Of The Coin Minting Of The City 4th – 1st c. B.C.*, Sofia, 1999. P. 261

166. See G. Le Rider, 'Le Monnayage d'Argent et d'Or de Philippe II Frappé en Macedoine de 359 à 294', Paris 1977 and M.Price, 'The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus', *A British Museum Catalogue (The Swiss Numismatic Society in association with the British Museum Press)*, Zürich/London 1991 (2 volumes, 637pp, 159 plates).

167. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, 18

One further important attribute of these ‘Zaravetz type’ coins must be noted. Not only is the material of which they are made unique, but the images represented on them raise fundamental questions about the direction of cultural influence in Europe during this period. The first and most ancient Celtic coins are imitations of the aforementioned Greek coins, minted under the reign of Philip II of Macedonia. The dating of these so-called Philippou staters poses problems, because even posthumous issues bear the name of Philippou.¹⁶⁸ Although the very beginning of an indigenous Celtic coinage in Central Europe can be dated from finds associated with Celtic burials, i.e. the 3rd century BC¹⁶⁹, many questions related to their introduction still remain unanswered. This is partly because early Celtic imitations of the Greek coins are rare. Only about one hundred years later, i.e. in the middle of the 2nd century BC, does the minting of Celtic coins increase considerably. These later issues differ in many respects not only from the Greek originals, but also from the earlier Celtic imitations. In the third century BC, however, early Celtic coins slavishly copied Greek models. Such was the case, for example, with the Celtic state in today’s southern Bulgaria, where the coins of its leaders were generally faithful copies of the Greek original (in this case primarily those of Alexander the Great) with the name of the Celtic *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* added.¹⁷⁰

Around the middle of the second century BC typical La Tène style art begins to become widespread on Celtic coins. This was soon to encompass all of the Celtic world – i.e. most of central/western Europe and southern Britain at that time. The question of when and where this artistic evolution from copying Greek models to the typical stylistic abstractionism of later Celtic numismatic art occurred has never been satisfactorily answered. Much earlier than the central European issues, however, i.e. somewhere during the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, the coins of the ‘Zaravetz Culture’ in n.e. Bulgaria moved away from the Greek model, a model which had dominated since the first European coins were produced. Recently a horde of ‘Zaravetz type’ lead coins was

168. For a detailed discussion see M.Price, *op cit*.

169. For archaeological dating of Celtic coins found in burials see H.Polenz, ‘Münzen in Latènezeitlichen Gräbern Mitteleuropas aus der Zeit Zwischen 300 und 50 v.Chr.Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter’ 1982, 47, 27-222.

170. See section 3 – South-eastern Thrace

uncovered in n.e. Bulgaria in the area north of Veliko Tarnovo. They are published here for the first time. The complete horde consists of 14 lead coins as well as 2 pairs of reverse die links, one of which has a common obverse.¹⁷¹



Fig. 8 - Bronze Thrace/Odessos - model for the 'Zaravetz lead' – Obverse: Head of Great God of Odessos. Reverse: Rider trotting right.¹⁷²

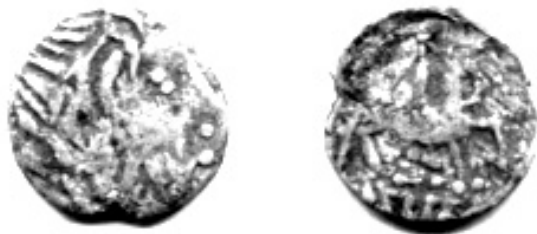


Fig. 9 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 1)*
 – *Obverse: Image of Male laureate head r. Reverse: Image of Horseman pacing right. Series of dots between horses hooves. IIII below horses hooves.*



Fig. 10 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 2)*
 – *Obverse: Heavily Stylized Image of Male laureate head r. /Reverse: Stylized image of Horseman pacing right. Series of dots below horses hooves. A between horses legs.*

171. Range in diameter 14-19 m.m. – Weight 2 - 4.8 gms.

172. See Lazarov, 1992, 19




Fig. 11 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 3) – Obverse: Corroded – series of strokes. Reverse: Stylized image of Horseman pacing right. Symbol  between horses legs .*




Fig. 12 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 4) – Obverse: Very worn. Reverse: Stylized image of Horseman pacing right. Series of dots below horses hooves.  between horses legs.*



Fig. 13 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 4) – Obverse: Heavily Stylized Image of Male laureate head r. Reverse: Stylized image of Horseman pacing right. Series of dots below horses hooves. N form between horses legs .*



Fig. 14 *Zaravetz Type Lead (Coin 4) – Obverse: Heavily stylized image of Male laureate head – heavily worn r. Reverse: Stylized image of Horseman pacing right. Series of dots below horses hooves.  symbol between horses legs .*

While other Celto-Getian/Dacian coins surface in the same region at roughly the same time i.e. – from the end of the 3rd century BC, what is particularly significant about this horde is that for the first time the evolution from naturalistic portrayal of the subject to abstractionism is to be observed. In coin 1 of the horde published above (Fig. 9) an attempt appears to have been made to represent the laureate head on the obverse and the horseman on the reverse in a naturalistic fashion. However, coin 2 (Fig. 10) and the subsequent examples cast aside any attempt at realistic portrayal of the subject on the obverse and ascend into abstractionism – a common feature of later La Tène numismatic art. A similar process is to be observed, for example, in the case of the Thraco(Geto-)/Celtic drachm issues imitating Alexander III/Philip III which have been found in the same area in recent years. (Fig. 15)



Celto-Thracian Imitative Drachm -
Alexander III/Philip III - c. 3rd-2nd c BC

Silver scyphate drachm – Obverse: Stylized head (of Hercules?). Reverse: Zeus enthroned left holding a scepter in left and eagle in outstretched hand. Fig.15¹⁷³

173. See Sear 211v., CCCBM I, 212, 213, SNG Cop. Supp. 207-208, Lukanc Pl. 7 No. 11; Gobl 591/2/5 – Examples in n.e. Bulgaria come from the Russe, Schumen and Taronvo regions – Topalov, 2001, 121-122

In the *Zavaretz* type coins and other ‘stylized/barbarianized’ issues from this area we are possibly seeing for the first time the end of a historical phase in which Celtic coins were based solely on the model of Greek issues – i.e. a rejection of the Hellenistic model. Furthermore, this would appear to indicate that this process was due not to La Tène influence coming from central Europe and being copied in the east as has been previously assumed. Rather, it seems possible that this style was born among the Celto-Getic *Zaravetz Culture* of n.e. Bulgaria in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, quickly spread up the Danube, first to the Scordisci and subsequently encompassed most of central and western Europe. It is also worth noting that in the Celtic state in s.e. Thrace (the so called Tyle state – see section 4) during the 3rd century BC this process did not develop and the coins of this state were generally based on faithful copies of Hellenistic models.¹⁷⁴ This would seem to indicate that cultural influences other than Celtic/Thracian/Hellenistic were at work in n.e. Thrace which facilitated the development of this process. The most likely source of this influence is contact with Scythian tribes in that area.

174. *On the coins of ‘Tyle’ see Manov, 1999, 29-60; Lazarov, 1996, 73-87.*

Archaeological Data

Of all the areas of Celtic settlement from the beginning of the 3rd century BC, the region of today's north-eastern Bulgaria (and Bulgaria in general) is the weakest documented in archaeological literature. However, an analysis of the La Tène finds located in the area over the last century does provide valuable data on Celtic settlement patterns in this region from the end of the 4th century BC.

In the same area of today's n.e Bulgaria where the "Zaravez type" bronze and lead coins circulated we find a heavy concentration of La Tène artifacts. The first of these begin to appear at the end of the 4th century BC (LTB). Celtic activity at the turn of the 4th/3rd centuries BC when the Macedonian general Cassander came across a group of Celts at an unnamed location on the slopes of Haemus (Stara Planina)¹⁷⁵ coincides chronologically with the first documented contact between the cultures in this area i.e. - during the same period friezes from the famous Thracian Tomb at Kazanluk depict Thracian warriors carrying Celtic shields.¹⁷⁶ It is clear that even at this early stage, aspects of La Tène culture was slowly being assimilated by the Thracians. This is supported by La Tène B artifacts found in the region which date to this period, for example from the villages of Ivanski, Malomir, and Sveshtari in n.e. Bulgaria.¹⁷⁷

It is from the second decade of the 3rd century BC, however, that dramatic changes in the cultural status quo in the region are to be observed. This period, which coincides with the demise of the Getic culture, also witnesses a vast increase in the number of La Tène archaeological finds in the area. These finds include Celtic swords, shields, helmets, daggers, chain-mail, horsebits, shields, spearheads, fibuli, bracelets etc, as well as complete warrior burials. The aforementioned La Tène artifacts are scattered widely throughout the region and have been unearthed in the villages of Branichevo, Vinograd, Dolez, Jankovo, Lescicheri, Madara, Metodievo,¹⁷⁸ Ivanski¹⁷⁹, Aitos,¹⁸⁰

175. *Seneca nat. quaest.* 3,11,3; *Pliny., N.H., XXXI, 53*

176. *Domaradski, 1984, 143*

177. *Domaradski, op. cit., 134,138*

178. *ibid, 116, 121,134, 145*

179. *Миков В., Материали от желязната епоха – ИАИ, 1957, с. 298, обр. 4*

180. *Попов Р., Халицатски и латенски фибули от разни краища на България – Сп. БАН, VI, кл. Ист. Фил. 4 (кн. VI), 1913, с. 158, обр 16*

Stara Zagora¹⁸¹, Sveschtari,¹⁸² Kamburovo,¹⁸³ Kapinovo, Kulново,¹⁸⁴ Dulgopol/Provadia,¹⁸⁵ Zahari Stoiapovo, Prisovo, Cabyle/Jambol, Ganchevo, Arkovna,¹⁸⁶ Ruen,¹⁸⁷ Nova Zagora,¹⁸⁸ Sliven, Karnobat,¹⁸⁹ Messambria/Nessebar,¹⁹⁰ as well as from Schumen, Razgrad, Veliko Tarnovo and the western Varna district. According to the latest data over 1,000 further unpublished Celtic artifacts are also stored in the Varna, Razgrad, Veliko Tarnovo, Dobritsch and Schumen museums.¹⁹¹ Recently La Têne finds have also been made along the Sucha river valley near the villages of Kragulevo and Bakalovo as well as around the town of Tervel. Excavations have also located a probable La Têne necropolis near the town of Kavarna on the Black Sea coast.¹⁹² It is worth noting once more that the highest concentration of material has been found around the Veliko Tarnovo / Schumen area,¹⁹¹ the same area

181. Lazarov, 1996, 77

182. Megaw J.V.S., *In the Footsteps of Brennos? Further Archaeological evidence for Celts in the Balkans, Internationale Archäologie Studia honoraria – Band 21, Tübingen 2004, 93-107, Pp. 98, 101-103; Domaradski, 138, 119*

183. Megaw, *op cit.* p. 103; Dom. 1984, fig. 35

184. Megaw, *op. cit.*, 103-104; Domaradski, 134,146; *At Kulново – Of some 8 graves recovered dated on the grounds of the associated Hellenistic amphorae to c. 220 – 180 BC, there were two groups of cremation burials, grave 1 being a carefully constructed mausoleum, the second group being deposited in a series of below-ground chambers. Included in a rich range of finds from grave no. 1 were two horse burials together with two La Têne swords one ritually bent in its scabbard of LTC type, an iron spear, round headed nails and a typical middle La Têne rectangular umbo from a wooden shield, two H-form horse bits, Celtic Pottery, two of several classic iron LTC brooches from the site and a pair of iron shears.*

185. Lazarov, *op. cit.*

186. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, 76

187. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, 84 n. 44

188. Draganov, 1993, 89- Драганов Д., *Монетосечене на Кабиле. София 1993*

189. Lazarov, *op. cit.*

190. Демев П., *Отделни находки от Южна България – ИАИ с. XVII, 1950, с. 334 Фиг. 268 ж.; Domaradski, op. cit., 126*

191. *For this information I am deeply grateful to Borislav Pavlov of the Pametsi na Cultura (Bulgarian Ministry of Culture).*

192. *As yet unpublished. Excavations carried out by the Dobruja Regional Museum.*

193. Domaradski, 1984; 116, 119, 121 - 123, 128, 134, 146, 153; Lazarov, 20 and 22 n. 27; Kvinto, *op. cit.* There also appears to have been a partial Celtic inscription inscribed on a limestone plate discovered at the village of Dlazhko near Schumen – see Antonova V., *Newly discovered Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions from the village of Dlazhko, INM-Kalarovgrad, III, 1965, 25-28. 1957, 222-224; Beshevliev V., Proto-Bulgarian epigraphic monuments, p. 181, Fascimile 25 (IZD. Na Otech. Sofia, 1981)*

with the heaviest circulation of the ‘Zaravetz Type’ Celto-Getic coins. A further concentration of La Tène artifacts and burials are to be found around the area of Kazanluk/Seuthopolis. The latter cover an extensive time span – i.e. from the beginning of the 3rd c. BC to the 1st century AD,¹⁹⁴ indicating a prolonged period of Celtic occupation in this region.

194. Kazanluk –Burial including Celtic sword and helmet (Л. Гетов Нови данни за въоръжението у нас през латенската епоха – Археология, IV, 1962, 3, 41 – 43, 1-3; Fibuli, Celtic swords, pottery, and other La Tene artifacts from Seuthopolis (Domaradski, 122, 124, 140,141 146; fig, 33, 40; Sahrane, Kasanluk district (Jewelry and fibuli, - Л. Гетов Тракийско погребение от латенската епоха при Севтополис – ИАИ, XXXIII, 1972, с.92-94, Обр. 3 а б.; Shield and Ritually bent Celtic sword from Tuja, Kazanluk district – Р. Попов., Новооткрити паметници от желязната епоха в България – ИБАН, V, 1928/29, с. 287-288, Обр. 152, е ж з и. = Domaradski , 132- 133, fig. 46. Mound number 1 - Sword and scabbard from Grave 3 (Late La Tene – 2nd half 2nd century BC) + shield boss – same grave. – Grave itself from 1st c. BC – Mound 3, grave 1, - Sword and scabbard – 1st c. AD - Domaradski M., About the Necropolis of the Atanastsa Tumulus near the village of Tazha, Kazanluk Region. Първи Международен Симпозиум ‘Севтополис’ ‘Надгробните Могили В Югоизточна Европа’, Казанлък. 4-8 юни. 1993 г.

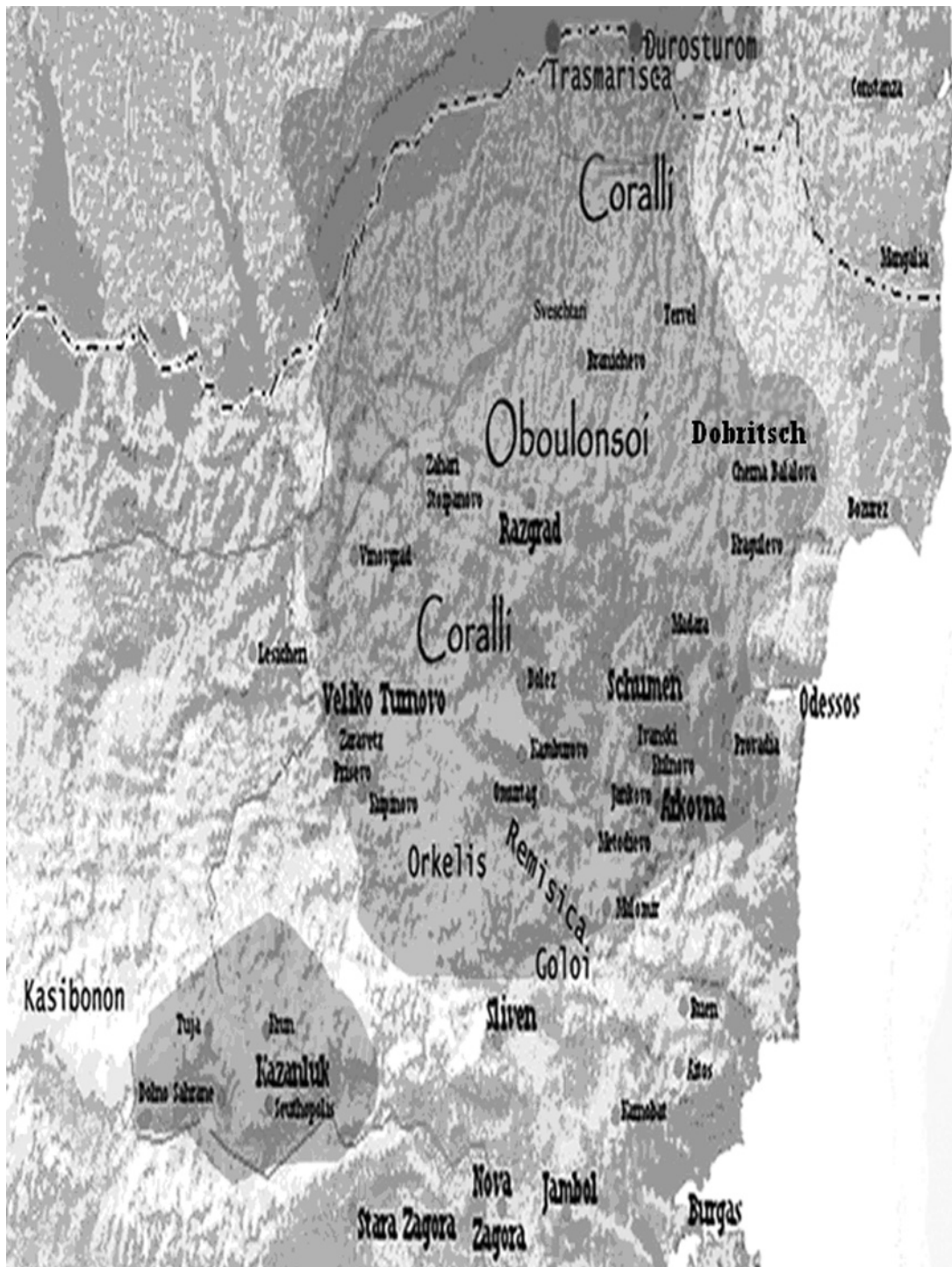


Fig 16 Concentrations of La Tène Artifacts and Celtic Topographical traces from n.e. Bulgaria.

Together with the Scordisci another Celtic (or Celto-Germanic) group appear on the political stage on the Balkans at the beginning of the 2nd century BC – the Bastarnae. Even at the time of their initial appearance it becomes clear that the Bastarnae were a powerful political and military force in the region. This is illustrated by the enthusiasm that Philip V showed at the prospect of making an alliance with them – ‘*The envoys whom he had sent to the Bastarnae to summon assistance had returned and brought back with them some young nobles, amongst them some of royal blood. One of these promised to give his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the king was quite elated at the prospect of an alliance with that nation*’.¹⁹⁵ The fact that Philip was prepared to give his son in marriage to the sister of a Bastarnae aristocrat well illustrates the respect in which they were held in the region as a political power at this point.

The Bastarnae are first situated between the Danube and Dneiper rivers and the term seems to have had a generic meaning for we are also informed that they were broken up into four distinct tribes – the Atmoni, Sidoni, Peucini and Roxalani.¹⁹⁶ Of most interest in the present context are the group which became known as the Peucini. This tribe lived at the mouth of the Danube and indeed would appear to have taken their name from their geographical situation.¹⁹⁷

The ethnic origin of the Bastarnae group has remained a mystery mainly due to the perceived confusion in antique sources as to whether they were a Celtic or Germanic people. In fact, when one looks closely at the actual testimony in combination with the chronological sequence of

195. *Livy, 40,5*

196. *Strabo, VII, 3, 17*

197. ‘Near the outlets of the Ister River is a great island called Peuce; and when the Bastarnians took possession of it they received the appellation of Peucini’. - *Strabo, VII,3,15.*

the testimony and other factors, this confusion diminishes. The evidence for the Germanic origin of the Bastarnae comes from two main sources – Tacitus and Strabo. Tacitus¹⁹⁸ comments - '**Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt.**' ('The Peucini, who are sometimes called Bastarnae, are like Germans in their language, manner of life, and mode of settlement and habitation.'). The testimony here that the Bastarnae are like the Germani, i.e. similar to the Germani from a Roman perspective, is certainly not conclusive evidence of ethnicity. The fact that Tacitus also admits that they could be Sarmatian¹⁹⁹ serves only to further confuse the issue.

The other main source who defines the Bastarnae as Germani is Strabo. He, however, also admits his lack of knowledge of this people – '*for I know neither the Bastarnae, nor the Sauromatae, nor, in a word, any of the peoples who dwell above the Pontus...*'.²⁰⁰ Interestingly, although Strabo places the Bastarnae (Peucini) on the Danube Delta, he also points out that in his time at least a part of them had become intermingled with the Scythian, Scordisci and other tribes – '*the Bastarnian tribes, are mingled with the Thracians (more indeed with those outside the Ister, but also with those inside). And mingled with them are also the Celtic tribes — the Boii, the Scordisci, and the Taurisci*'.²⁰¹

Further evidence on the ethnicity of the Bastarnae would seem to indicate the Celtic origin of this group. The earliest source on this question, Polybius, is particularly suggestive. He classifies them as a Celtic people,²⁰² while Livy²⁰³ in his description of the plans of Philip V to invite the Bastarnae to partake in his campaign against the Romans writes: '*The way to the Adriatic and to Italy lay through the Scordisci; that was the only practicable route for an army, and the Scordisci were expected to grant a passage to the Bastarnae without any difficulty, for neither in speech nor habits were they dissimilar, and it was hoped that they would unite forces with them when they saw that they were going to*

198. *Germania*, 46,1

199. *Tacitus op. cit.*

200. *Strabo*, vii,2,4

201. *Strabo*, vii,3,2

202. *Polybius*, XXIX, 9, 13 - 'Galatians'.

203. *Livy* XL, 57

secure the plunder of a very wealthy nation.' This passage would clearly seem to suggest the Celtic origin of the Bastarnae particularly as he points out explicitly that neither in custom nor in language did the Scordisci differ from the Bastarnae. The same source also relates that in their struggle with the Dardanii the Bastarnae received practical support from the Scordisci, suggesting an underlying deeper relationship between these two groups.²⁰⁴ Plutarch also describes them as a Celtic tribe - *'He also secretly stirred up the Gauls on the Danube, who are called Bastarnae, an equestrian host and warlike'*.²⁰⁵

The main key to the ethnic origin of the Bastarnae may be found in the events of 168 BC when we are informed that a body of Celts came to offer their service to Perseus in his struggle with Rome.²⁰⁶ Livy tells us that at this stage there were 1,000 of them. Interesting in the present context is his description of their cavalry system: - *A body of 1000 cavalry came to offer their services, and with them the same number of foot soldiers. These latter used to run alongside the horses and when the trooper fell they seized the riderless horses and rode on them into the battle'*.²⁰⁷ What is described here is a variation on the classical Celtic cavalry system which had been used by Brenos' army a century earlier - *the Trimarcisia* system. This system, described in detail by Pausinias, whereby each horseman was accompanied by two mounted servants who were themselves skilled riders. When the Celtic horsemen were engaged, the servants remained behind the ranks and proved useful in that should a horse fall in battle, the servant would bring him a fresh horse to mount. If the rider was himself killed, the servant would mount the horse in his masters place. Pausinias further comments: *'I believe that the Gauls in adopting these methods copied the Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand who were called the immortals. There was however, this difference. The Persians used to wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen*

204. *'When the Dardani found that the Bastarnae were not evacuating their territory as they had hoped, but were becoming every day more aggressive and were receiving assistance from their Thracian neighbours and from the Scordisci'*. (Livy, 41,19)

205. Plutarch, Αem., 9, 6 - ὑπεκίνηει δὲ καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ὠκημένους, Βαστέρναι καλοῦνται, στρατὸν ἰππότην καὶ μάχιμον ..."

206. Livy, 44, 26

207. Livy, *op. cit.*

to their full number during the height of the action'.²⁰⁸

Philips V's schemes had included the resettlement of the Bastarnae in the territory of the Dardanii, who had been traditional Macedonian enemies, after the destruction of the latter.²⁰⁹ The death of the Macedonian king, however, seems to have resulted in chaos in the region. The Thracians first refused further co-operation with the Bastarnae and this quickly led to outright war between them and the newcomers. The Bastarnae obviously presented a formidable military power because the Thracians were routed and forced to flee to the region around Donuca (Rila mountain) from where they later mounted a counter-attack. In the wake of these events a group of 30,000 Bastarnae did indeed invade Dardanii territory while the majority retreated east until they reached the area around Apollonia.²¹⁰ It remains unclear whether they settled subsequently in this region or proceeded further northwards.

In the Mithridatic wars the Bastarnae supported Mithridates against the Romans – *'From Europe he drew of the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidae and the Iazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnae, the bravest nation of all.'*²¹¹ The Bastarnae seemed to have presented a formidable fighting force even at this stage, at Chalcedon, for example, winning a decisive victory over the Romans.²¹² Procopius²¹³ gives us a vivid description of another expedition of the Bastarnae southward. After occupying Ostia and killing its inhabitants, the enraged Romans inflicted heavy losses on them.

208. Paus, X, 19, 9-10

209. Livy 40, 57

210. Livy, 40, 58

211. Appian Mith. Wars, 69

212. Memnon, Hist., 27 – *'The navies of Rome and Pontus met in battle by the city of Chalcedon, and a battle also broke out on land between the kings army and the Romans; the generals of the two sides were Mithridates and Cotta. In the land battle the Bastarnae routed the Italians and slaughtered many of them'*.

213. V, 27

In 29/28 BC, the proconsul of Achaia, M. Licinius Crassus, marched against the Bastarnae who had again invaded Thrace. They had apparently subdued part of Moesia and defeated the Triballi tribe and the Dardanii before crossing Haemus and attacking the Dentheleti tribe. Crassus eventually delivered a decisive defeat on the Bastarnae with the help of the Getae and killed their king in single combat - *“Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and would have dedicated his armour as spolia opima to Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme command. Such was the nature of this engagement. As for the remainder of the Bastarnae, some perished by taking refuge in a grove, which was then set on fire on all sides, and others by rushing into a fort, in which they were annihilated; still others were destroyed by leaping into the Ister, or as they were scattered here and there through the country. But some survived even so and seized a strong position, where Crassus besieged them in vain for several days. Then with the aid of Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, he destroyed them”*.²¹⁴

Crassus' campaign would appear to have finally put an end to the Bastarnae as a major military force and henceforth they play no significant part in the history of the region. The last traces of the Bastarnae are probably to be found near Haemus where Prokopius mentions a Castell – Βαστέρναί - near Nikopolis; a second castell Βαστέρναί is mentioned in the Byzantion period between Stara Zagora and Lardea.²¹⁵

214. *Cassius Dio - 51,23.2; There appears to be some lack of clarity here because Justin states clearly that Oroles was defeated by the Bastarnae. It appears that there may have been a number of encounters between Oroles' forces and the Bastarnae during this period – ‘The Dacians are descendants of the Getae. This people having fought unsuccessfully, under their king Oroles, against the Bastarnae, were compelled by his order, as a punishment for their cowardice, to put their heads, when they were going to sleep, in the place of their feet, and to perform those offices for their wives which used previously to be done for themselves. Nor were these regulations altered, until they had effaced, by new exertions in the field, the disgrace which they had incurred in the previous war’.* - Justin 32,16

215. *Tomaschek, DAE, I, 111.*

Section 4: South-Eastern Thrace

a ‘Tyle’

No discussion of the Celtic presence in Eastern Thrace would be complete without reference to the southern state carved out by Brenos’ warriors in the direct aftermath of the offensive on Greece. With respect to the Celtic presence in eastern Thrace in the 3rd century BC, it is the entity which has become known as the ‘Kingdom of Tyle’, which has proved most elusive. Following the assault on Delphi a body of the Celts which had belonged to Brenos’ central army retired to the slopes of Haemos (Stara Planina) under a leader called Comantorios. It was this group which was to establish the southern Celtic political entity in Thrace which lasted, according to various theories, until between 218 and 213 BC.

The name of the Celtic ‘capital’, Tyle, is first mentioned by Polybius - ‘...after they crushed the Thracians and turned the town of Tyle into the capital of their kingdom’.²¹⁶ In late antiquity it is mentioned again as *Τουλευους*²¹⁷ and *Τύλις*.²¹⁸ The only geographical clue we are given as to its location is that it was ‘situated near to Haemus’.²¹⁹ Intensive speculation has been indulged in over the course of the past centuries about the exact geographical location of Tyle / Tyllis. An early theory surrounding the location of the Celtic capital in s.e. Thrace identified it with the modern Tulovo in the Tonzos valley, east of Kazanluk. This identification was, however, based purely on the phonetic similarity of the names and the rather vague statement that it was situated ‘somewhere near Haemus’.²²⁰

216. Poly.- iv, 45,46

217. Prok. De aedif., 9, iv, 11

218. St. Byz. 640, 20

219. - Τύλις, πόλις Θράκης του Αιμου πλησίον - St. Byz., Op cit.

220. St. Byz., *ibid.*; Jireček C., *Über die Lage des alten keltischen Tyle. – Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. D.Wiss., 1876.*

A further early theory was the identification of Tyle with the Roman castle Tuleus, placed by Procopius²²¹ somewhere between *Pizus* (Dimitrievo, Stara Zagora region), and *Arzos* (Kalugerovo, Haskovo region). As has been pointed out, however, the localization of Tylis near the modern town of Kazanluk imposes the notion of a very large territory of the southern Celtic kingdom, and that is incompatible with the evidence about the simultaneous existence of a number of other political entities in the Thracian interior throughout the third century BC.²²² Further theories on the localization of Tyle have placed it on the Black Sea coast²²³, on the Danube, or in the Dobruja region.²²⁴ As one may surmise there is hardly a part of Thrace where academics have not located the Celtic capital over the last two centuries.

One important linguistic factor has, however, been ignored by academics in their search for “Tyle”. Compare P Celtic (Welsh): *Tyla* - [tø-la] = (masculine noun) – Hill²²⁵. Compare:

221. *de Aedif.* 4, 11; See also *Delev, Thracia XV, P. 108, N. 10*

222. *Delev, op. cit., 109*

223. *Forbiger A., Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeiten. III. Leipzig 1848, Teil :II politische Geschichte, S. 1083*

224. *Н. С. Широкова. Древние кельты на рубеже старой и новой эры. Ленинград, 1989, с.106.*

225. **ETYMOLOGY:** from the same Celtic root as Irish ‘tulach’ = hillock. South-east Wales form of tyle = hill. (In south-east Wales a final -e becomes -a) - Present in a number of placenames - *Tyla-gwyn*, (“white hill”) (farm in the county of Bro Morgannwg, over the river Ewenni from the village of Pen-coed (county of Pen-y-bont ar Ogwr), *Tyla-glas*, (“green hill”), (street name in Parcwatfford (county of Caerffili), *Tyla-coch*, (“red hill”), (street name in Llanharri (county of Rhondda Cynon Taf), *Tyla-teg*, (“fair / bonny hill”) (street name in Pant mawr (county of Caerdydd). Also: tyle [tø-le] masculine noun PLURAL tyleau [tø-lê-e] = south-east Wales: hillside, slope; hill. (Common element in place names of south-east Wales. (*Tylegarw*, (“rough hill”) name of a road near Pont-y-clun (county of Pen-y-bont ar Ogwr) (2) *Tyle-glas*, (“green hill”) street name in Y Pil (county of Pen-y-bont ar Ogwr) (3) *Tyle-teg*, (“fair / bonny hill”) street name in Clydach (county of Abertawe) (4) *Tylemali*, (“hill (of) Mali (= Mary)”) street name in Llysyrny (county of Bro Morgannwg)

Since in most of the south-east a final -e becomes -a, the usual form is tyla, plural tylea (< tylee < tyleau). Many place names have tyla, but since the convention is to use the standard form of a word in the spelling of a place name, there are many instances of tyle where the local pronunciation is (or was) tyla.

Q Celtic (Gaeilge) –

Tulach (g. – *Tulcha, Tuilche, Tulaighe*) ‘*Hill or mound, assembly area*’

Also: Tulán ‘*Hill or mound*’

Tulchánach (-aighe) – *hilly, full of mounds or hillocks*.²²⁶

It would seem obvious therefore that the term ‘Tyle’ used by classical authors refers to the Celtic term for hill. Whether this indicates a particular hill (which would support the theory that the Celtic capital was on the Hill of Arkovna – see anon), or is used in a generic sense remains unclear. It is possible that Polybius, writing half a century after the events, is passing along a mistranslation about the capital of the Celtic southern kingdom and that Tyle is in fact not a placename but means either ‘the hill’ or possibly that it was ‘in the hills’ which would support the assertion that it was ‘somewhere near Haemus’.²²⁷ The linguistic data would also seem to rule out the possibility that ‘Tyle’, if indeed there was actually such a settlement, was situated on the coast, on the Danube, or indeed at the city of Cabyle.

It is important to note at this juncture that the Celts who founded the kingdom of ‘Tyle’ had been a part of Brenos’ main central army i.e. unconnected with the aforementioned groups who moved against the Getae and Triballi in northern Thrace. Of the first Celtic king in south-east Thrace, Comontorios, we learn little except for the fact that he was the founder of ‘Tyle’, and that his first task seems to have been to terrorize Byzantium - ‘*Still, habit making them able to endure the war with the Thracians, they maintained their original connections with the other Greeks; but when to their other misfortunes was added the attack of the Gauls under Comontorios, they were reduced to a sad state of distress indeed.*’²²⁸ In order to prevent its destruction Byzantium was forced henceforth to pay Comontorios an increasingly heavy tribute.²²⁹

226. Dinneen, 1953, 1276 – 1277; for etymological background see Mac Mathúna L., *On the Provenience of the Early Irish Topographical Lexicon – Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica, Uppsala Universitet, p. 33-53; Present in many Q Celtic (Gaeilge) placenames – Tulach na Fairgseana (Knockaulin), Tulach Te (Tara) etc. (Dinneen, ibid.)*

227. *St. Byz. Op cit.*

228. *Polybius, 4, 45.*

229. ‘*...the Byzantines always bought them off by presents amounting to three, or five, or sometimes even ten thousand gold pieces, on condition of their not devastating their territory.*’ – *Poly. Op cit.*

It is therefore clear that the Celtic sphere of influence at this early stage included not only the area of today's s.e. Bulgaria which was later controlled by Comontorios' successors, but also most of today's European Turkey thus enabling them to demand substantial tribute from Byzantium during this period. As this situation continued up to the fall of the state of Tyle towards the end of the 3rd century BC, it is to be assumed that the Celtic state in s.e. Thrace had this area within its sphere of influence until its eventual collapse, if not under its direct control.

b CAVAROS

The best documented leader of the southern Celtic kingdom in Thrace is Cavaros, on whom we have extensive information from both historical and numismatic sources. Polybius depicts this chieftain in a favorable light - *'Cavarus, king of the Thracian Gauls, being naturally kingly and high minded, afforded great security to traders selling to the Pontus and rendered great service to the Byzantines in their war with the Thracians and Bithynians'*.²³⁰ The same source also tells us that Cavaros acted successfully as arbiter between Byzantium and the king of Bythnia.²³¹ The presence of Cavaros at these negotiations is in itself noteworthy. It illustrates the fact that he (and by extension his state) was a significant geo-political factor in the region at this time.

Besides the aforementioned written testimony, the greatest body of information on Cavaros comes from numismatic data. In particular six bronze Cavaros issues have been recorded in the region from the period:

230. Poly, VIII, 22

231. - *"When Cavaros, came to Byzantium, and showed himself eager to put an end to the war, and earnestly offered his friendly intervention, both Prusias and the Byzantines consented to his proposals. And when the Rhodians were informed of the interference of Cavarus and the consent of Prusias, being very anxious to secure their own object also, they elected Aridices as ambassador to Byzantium, and sent Polemocles with him in command of three triremes, wishing, as the saying is, to send the Byzantines "spear and herald's staff at once." (Poly., iv, 52)*

1. Obverse: Head of Zeus right. Reverse: Horseman in gallop left

Inscription: BACIAEΩC KAYAPOY

Minted between 255 / 252 – 252 B.C. at Cabyle.

2. Obverse: Head of Zeus right. Reverse: Celtic shield left

Inscription: BACIAEΩC KAYAPOY

Minted between 252 – 250 B.C., probably at Arkovna. (Fig. 17; After Manov, 1999, 42)



3. Obverse: Head of Apollo right. Reverse: Celtic shield left

Inscription: BACIAEΩC KAYAPOY

Minted in the period between 252 / 250 – 246 / 245 B.C. at Arkovna or Cabyle

4. Obverse: Head of Apollo right. Reverse: Nike standing left

Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ

Minted between 245/240 – 218 B.C. at Cabyle.

5. Obverse: Head of Darsalas or Cavaros right. Reverse: Horn of plenty

Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ

Minted between 230/225 – 218 B.C. at Odessos.

6. Obverse: Head of Hermes right. Reverse: Petassos / Caduceus

Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛ ΚΑΥΑΡ

Minted between 225 – 218 B.C. at Odessos.²³²

Most notable in the first three Cavaros bronze issues is that in all of the inscriptions from them C is used in the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC instead of the more normal Σ which is used in bronze issues types 4-6 and on the Cavaros silver tetradrachmas minted at Cabyle in the 20's of the 3rd century BC (see anon). This fact has been interpreted as an indication that in earlier issues Cavaros used 'barbarian' engravers i.e. Celtic engravers, possibly from his own tribe.²³³

The most numerous Cavaros coin – Type IV - is thought to have been minted at Cabyle in the years between 245 and 240 B.C. The averse of the coin was inspired by that of the Seleucid king Antioch II Theos²³⁴ The reverse of this Cavaros coin is borrowed not from the Alexander

232. See Манов, 1999, 50 – 51; On the Cavaros Bronze coins see also Lazarov, L., *Относно Келтската Държава с Център Тиле в Тракия при Кавар*, *Нумизматични изследвания* 2, 1996, 73 – 87

233. Манов, 1999, 43

234. For the influence of the coins of Antioch II Teos on a number of cities in the region see Юркова Й., 1982, p. 6

gold saters, but from a Lysimachus bronze issue²³⁵ minted around and a little after the middle of the III century BC. They were made by Messambrian engravers who also produced the similar Cabyle bronze coins.²³⁶

In the aftermath of the victory of the most powerful Hellenistic leader, Antioch II, over the Egyptian Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and the signing of a peace treaty between them in 255 BC, Antioch embarked on a campaign deep into Thracian territory. One of the stratagems in Polyaeus describes the military activities of Antioch II Theos around Cypsela in southern Thrace.²³⁷ A war between Antioch II and Byzantium in which he was aided by Heraclea Pontica with 40 triremes is mentioned in Plotius' excerpt from the Heracleian chronicle of Memnon which is also connected with this Thracian enterprise.²³⁸ The exact date of Antioch II's Thracian campaign is disputed but appears to have taken place in circa 254/252 BC.²³⁹ It is also presumed that his campaign in the Thracian interior was in some way connected with the growth of Celtic power and probably some of the Hellenistic colonies on the Black Sea coast coming under Celtic influence to some extent.

Evidence for Celtic pressure on the aforementioned Black Sea colonies is given in an inscription from Apollonia²⁴⁰, where one of Antioch II's military commanders is called on for help against the 'barbarians'.²⁴¹ It is also worth noting that around this period the city of Messambria began minting a particularly interesting coin with a Celtic shield depicted on the reverse.²⁴² This would appear to indicate Celtic pressure

235. See SNG, Copenhagen, Thrace 2, Nos. 901, 902, 914, 915; Юрукова Й., *Бронзовото монетосечене на Лизимахия – Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1998, 1, 16-30 p. с. 26, обр. 14

236. Manov, 1999, 52

237. Polyaeus. *Strat.*, 4, 16

238. See Delev, 114

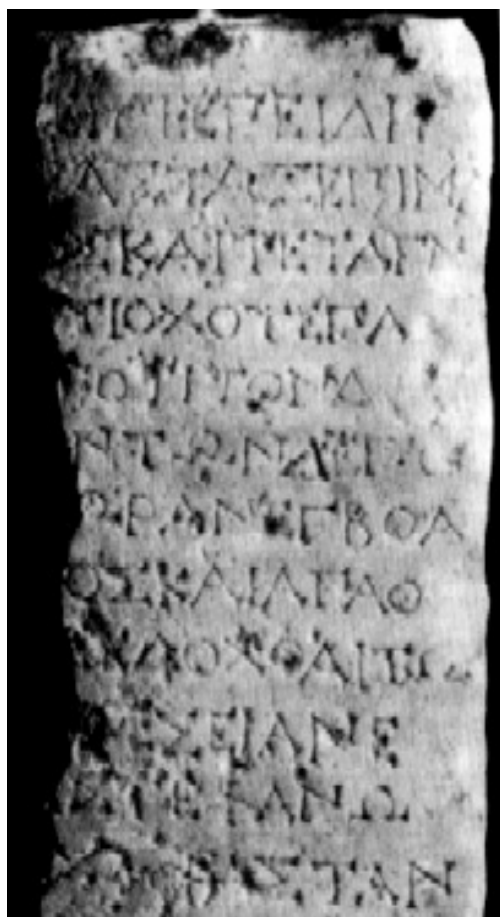
239. For detailed discussion see Manov, 15

240. IGB I(2), No. 388 – fig. 18

241. Михайлов, 1948, 63 – 66

242. И. Карайотов. *Залезът на Месамбрийското автономно монетосечене. – Нумизматика и сфрагистика*, 1995-1997, с. 52, who dates the coin between 250 and 200 B.C.; L SNG, IX, *The British Museum*, L., 1993, pl. X, No. 276 – 'Celtic shield viewed from within'; See also Manov, 1999, P. 56, n. 49.

and to some extent influence over Messambria at this time. There is no evidence, however, for direct Celtic control over the Black Sea colonies. One should also bear in mind the testimony that Cavaros provided ‘*great security to traders selling to the Pontus*’.²⁴³ Although La Tène material has been found in burials both from the Black Sea colonies and from the colonies north of the Stara Planina²⁴⁴, it does not appear in sufficient quantities to suggest Celtic occupation of the Greek colonies at any point. It seems that the Celts in the Thracian interior were content to exact tribute from the Black Sea colonies in the same manner as they did with Byzantium. Around the middle of the 3rd century BC these demands had apparently increased to such a level that the Greeks called on external forces for help.



The Apollonia Inscription (Fig. 18)

The southern Thracian coast was not controlled by the Celts at this time, disputed as it was between Egypt and Syria,²⁴⁵ and it appears that the Thracian tribes who dwelt close to the Egyptian controlled area in southern Thrace managed to remain at least semi-independent. This was true, for example, in the case of the Odryssae tribe. A decree from Apollonia Pontica found in Burgas and dated to the middle of the 3rd century BC mentions a Thracian king by the name of Cotys and his son Rescuporis. This inscription has been associated with a bronze coin bearing the names of Cotys and Rescuporis, both accompanied by

243. Polyb., VIII, 22

244. Domaradski, 1984, 126-127

245. Kazarov, 1919, 68

the royal title.²⁴⁶ However, the sparsity of these Thracian issues (and Thracian coinage in general during the 3rd/2nd centuries BC) as well as the lack of testimony in other sources, suggests that Thracian influence and power in this period was severely limited both politically and territorily. Later the entire Thracian coast came under the control of Ptolemy III (246/5 BC) who appears to have maintained friendly relations with the Thracian Celts and hired many of them as mercenaries.²⁴⁷

The route taken by Antioch II in Thrace in the mid 50's of the 3rd century BC started from the Thracian Chersonese, as illustrated by the fact that the mint in Lysimachia issued silver tetradrachmas in his name²⁴⁸, through Cypsela, on to the lower course of the Mariza and Tundja, reached Cabyle, and from there probably through the Messambrian hinterland south to Apollonia. At this time the whole region around the Chersonese, the lower Hebros, and probably the coast to the west as far as the mouth of the Nestos and the cities Maronea and Abdera were not any longer under the control of Gonatos, against whom Antioch would not have fought, being married to his sister Phila and his ally against Ptolemy Philadelphus in the second Syrian war.²⁴⁹

We are also informed that two Thracian nobles were in Antioch's company during the campaign - Teres and Dromichaetes.²⁵⁰ Teres was probably the son of Seuthes III, who is mentioned in the Seuthopolis inscription,²⁵¹ and Dromichaetes appears to have been a Getian.²⁵² The presence of these two Thracian aristocrats in Antioch's army is particularly interesting and supports the supposition that the campaign was chiefly aimed at destroying the growing power of the Celts in the Thracian interior. It appears likely that these Thracian aristocrats had become dispossessed by the Celtic expansion and hoped that the Syrian would help them regain their former political status in Thrace.

246. Delev, *Thracica XV*, 111

247. See Kazarov, 1919, 68

248. Newell E.T., *The Coinage of the western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, New York, 1977, P. 337

249. See Delev, *op. cit.*, 114

250. Polyæn., *strat*, iv, 16

251. Юркува, in *Археология* 24, 1982, 2, 5

252. Delev, *op. cit.*, 113, n. 34

The presence of Dromichaetes in Antioch's army is perhaps understandable in view of the fact that the Getae had lost their influence south of the Danube in the wake of the Celtic expansion. The fact that the son of the Odrysian king, Seuthes III, accompanied the Syrian army is, however, particularly significant as it suggests that a large part of their former lands (including Seuthopolis itself) were at this point under Celtic control.²⁵³ The ensuing destruction of the city of Seuthopolis in 252 BC can have two possible explanations – either it was besieged and destroyed by Antiochus' army or, much more likely from a military and political perspective, the Celts themselves destroyed Seuthopolis and withdrew to more defensible positions as the Syrian and his Thracian allies advanced on the city. It also seems likely that the city of Cabyle did not fall to Antioch's forces but that it and its environs were abandoned by Cavaros' forces as the Syrian approached (possibly moving into the mountains north of Cabyle around the Celtic settlements of *Ορχελίς* and *Γολόη* or more likely north-east to Cavaros' stronghold at the Hill of Arkovna), and control over it subsequently re-established when Antioch had withdrawn. It has even been suggested that a peace treaty was signed between Antioch and Cavaros, part of which may be preserved on an inscription from Kabyle in which the Celts (Gauls) are mentioned. (Fig. 19)



*Fig. 19 - The Cabyle Inscription*²⁵⁴

253. See Tatscheva M., *Seuthes III, Seuthopolis ünd Kybele (341-252 BC) nach den epigraphischen und unumismatischen Angaben. Sofia, 2000*

254. After Манов, 1999, 47 – 48; See also В. Велков, 1985. *Към историята и икономината на тракийския град Кабиле – В Юбилеен сборник в чест на акад. Косев. С., с. 23-28*

What is certain is that if Antioch's intent had been to destroy the Celts and put his Thracian allies back in their former positions of power, it was singularly unsuccessful. Three decades later Cavaros was still in power in south-eastern Thrace as numismatic evidence illustrates. Around 220 BC the city of Cabyle started minting, alongside the city coins, Alexander type silver tetradrachms bearing the name of Cavaros. Price dates the Cavaros tetradrachma emissions from Cabyle between 225-215 BC.(Fig. 20)²⁵⁵



Fig. 20 - Cavaros Silver Tetradrachma Minted in Cabyle - ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΥΑΡΟΥ - O - Head of Hercules : R - Zeus seated

As illustrated, the centre of the Celtic state was situated at “Tyle”, a Celtic term meaning ‘hill’ or possibly ‘the hill’. Over the past century Cavaros coins have been uncovered in over twenty ancient settlements and forts in and around the area of Dulgopol and Provadia in north eastern Bulgaria. To this one may add the Aitos-Karnobat area which connects this part of e. Bulgaria with the Sliven-Cabyle-Nova Zagora region that has also produced a number of similar finds.²⁵⁶ Particularly around the region of the Hill of Arkovna, circa twenty percent of the

255. Price M., The Coinage in the name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus. Vol. 1, Zurich-London, 1991, p. 175; Gerassimov to before 218 BC. - Gerassimov Th., The Alexandrine tetradrachms of Cabyle in Thrace – Cent. Publ. of the ANS, New York, 1958, p. 273-277

256. Lazarov, 1996, 76.

coins from the 3rd Century BC have been those which bear the name of the last king of the 'Tyle State' – Cavaros.²⁵⁷ One may say with a degree of certainty that the fort at Arkovna Hill at the very least played a major role at the time of Cavaros. Numismatic and archaeological evidence found there give reason to believe that it was the residence of that leader (or indeed his main residence). Based on this information, the area of influence of the southern Celtic state in the 3rd century BC included the region of which the line Sliven - Nova Zagora – Jambol – Karnobat – Aitos – Dulgopol - Provadia formed the centre.²⁵⁸ As has been pointed out, the number of Cavaros coins discovered in the area of Arkovna Hill in combination with other Celtic archaeological material from the area makes it extremely likely that Arkovna was Cavaros' main seat of power.²⁵⁹

c THE FALL OF "TYLE"

The most detailed historical testimony concerning the collapse of the Tyle political entity at the end of the 3rd c. BC comes again from Polybius. He states that the Gauls of Comontorios, after crushing the Thracians, forced Byzantium to pay an annual tribute to prevent them pillaging their land - *"... until the time of Cavarus, in whose reign their kingdom came to an end; and their whole tribe, being in their turn conquered by the Thracians, were entirely annihilated"*.²⁶⁰ What this source does not tell us, unfortunately, are any details of the destruction of this state, nor by which Thracians it was destroyed. It is also not clear if the source here deliberately means a Celtic 'tribe' – i.e. singular, or if the term is used as a generic term and refers to all Celts within the area

257. Lazarov L., *Относно келтската държава с център тиле в Тракия При Кавар, Нумизматични изследвания 2, 80, София 1996*

258. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, 97

259. Lazarov, *op. cit.*, 98

260. Poly. *iv*, 45; *iv*, 46

of Thrace controlled by the Tyle entity. What is also puzzling about this evidence is how a kingdom which 60 years earlier had ‘crushed’ the Thracians and three decades before had expanded to such an extent that it threatened the Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast could, in such a short space of time, become so weak as to be ‘annihilated’.

As to the question of which Thracians were involved in the fall of the Southern Celtic State, one possibility is suggested by the Messambria ‘Sadalas inscription’ which attests to the existence of independent Thracian principalities contemporary to the kingdom of ‘Tyle’.²⁶¹ The date of the inscription remains debated as well as the tribal origin of Sadalas. While some authors hold Sadalas for a king of the Odrysae, others believe he was a king of the Astii, which would place his territory in the Stranja area around Byzie. The list of predecessors (προγόνοι) of this Thracian leader – Mopsuestios, Tarutinos, Medistas and Cotys (..τωμ προγόνων Μοψουηστιος και Ταρουτινου και Μηδιστα και Κοτυος) constitute a whole local dynasty. As has been pointed out, the fact that the treaty between Sadalas and Messambria discussed the right of wrecked shiploads, and the Messambrian decree gave him the right ‘to sail in and out’, makes his domain a coastal one, situated either to the south (in this case most probably on the Stranja littoral), or to the north of Messambria, possibly in the easternmost ridges of Haemus as far as cape Emine.²⁶²

Taking into account the above information one must also consider the theory postulated by Kazarov²⁶³ who on the basis of the evidence of independent Thracian rulers in the third century BC suggested a renaissance of the Odrysian kingdom which had at least intervals of independence of authority from the Celts of ‘Tyle’. Danov again advanced the theory that the third century saw the birth of the kingdom of the Astii which would evolve two centuries later into the last big Thracian state, inheriting with Roman support most of the territories of the ‘great’ Odrysian kingdom of the 5th century BC.²⁶⁴ It is among these

261. *IGBulg 12, No. 307*

262. *See Delev, Thracica XV, 112*

263. *Кацаров Г., Келтите в Тракия и Македония – СпЪАН 18 (1919 кл. Ист. Фил. 10, 69)*

264. *Данов Х.М., Към историята на Тракия и Западното Черноморие от втората половина на III в. до средата на I в. преди н.е. – ГСУ ФИФ 47 (1951 – 1952), 110-140*

Thracians that one must therefore seek the conquerors of 'Tyle'. One must also bear in mind the words of Polybius who informs us that Cavaros had, '*rendered great service to the Byzantines in their war with the Thracians and Bithynians*'.²⁶⁵ The Thracians in this area would therefore have had no great love for Cavaros and his state.

There are, however, indications that the fall of the Tyle State in Thrace was brought about, not solely by the growing strength of belligerent Thracian tribes in the region during this period, but also by a process of internal political strife within the Celtic state itself. The use of the Hellenic title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ by Cavaros is interesting in itself as he is the first non-Hellenistic leader to have done so. What is even more interesting is the appearance of two further Celtic leaders in the region in the second half of the 3rd century BC - *Orsoaltii* and *Kersebaul*. Both of these mint silver tetradrachmas very similar to those of Cavaros and both use the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on their coins:

Tetradrachma - ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΣΟΑΛΤΙΟΥ - O - Head of Hercules : R - Zeus seated.



Fig. 21

265. Poly, VIII, 22

*Tetradrachma – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΕΡΣΙΒΑΥΛΟΥ – O – Head of Hercules : R
– Zeus seated – Celtic Shield in fore left.* ²⁶⁶



Fig. 22

Here one may also mention the rarely quoted fragment of Polybius' Book VIII which after eulogizing on the positive aspects of Cavaros' character also comments that - '*This Cavaros, so excellent in other respects, was corrupted by the flatterer Sostratus a native of Chalcedon...*'.²⁶⁷ This information would suggest that Cavaros' in later years was not still the 'naturally kingly and high-minded' leader that he had once been. One should also bear in mind that by 218 BC Cavaros had been in power for circa forty years, an unusual length of time for this period, and would have been physically weakening. It may have been just these factors which led to the disillusionment of elements within his state and challenges to his leadership. It seems possible that the issuing of coins by *Orsoaltii* and *Kersebaul* indicate just such challenges. It would appear, however, that these challenges to his kingship were unsuccessful as the limited number of coins issued by these two leaders and the testimony that Cavaros was still in power when 'Tyle' fell, indicates.

266. See Мушмов Н. Монетите на тракийските царе, сб. В. Дякович, 1925, 195-249 – pp. 230 -231; 233-235; Topalov, 2001, 319-320, Cat. 81/82; See also Kazarov, 1919, 69-70).

267. Poly., VIII, 22, 3

The actual date of the fall of 'Tyle' is disputed, but generally put at between 218 – 212 BC. The fact that Cavaros was still in power in 220 BC is proved by the fact that during this period the city of Cabyle minted, alongside the city Alexander type silver tetradrachmas, coins bearing Cavaros' name. It appears to be fairly certain that Tyle fell to the Thracians some years after the conflict between Byzantium and Rhodes in which the Celts probably remained neutral but favoured Byzantium,²⁶⁸ and in the resolution of which Cavaros had played a central role. The resettlement of the Celtic Ægosagi tribe in 218 BC into Asia Minor with the help of Atallos II of Pergamon, who afterwards tried to get rid of them, may have had a direct connection with the fall of the Tyle entity.²⁶⁹ Of them we are informed that at the time Achaëus was engaged in an expedition against Selge. He, together with the Ægosagi, visited the cities of Aeolis and on its borders. We subsequently learn that - *'laying waste the plain of Apia he crossed Mt. Pelecas and encamped near the river Megistus. When he was there, an eclipse of the moon took place, and the Gauls who had all along been aggrieved by the hardships of the march – since they made the campaign accompanied by their wives and children who followed them in wagons – considering this a bad omen, refused to go any further.'*²⁷⁰ This eclipse of the moon referred to provides us with valuable information in pinpointing the exact date of these events as it occurred precisely on September 1st 218 BC.²⁷¹

268. See Данов Хр., *Западният бряг на Черно море в древността*, София, 1947, с. 58

269. See Hubert, II, 49-50

270. Poly, *Hist.*, V, 77,9 / 78, 1-2

271. Taking Bucak , Turkey as the approximate location of ancient Selge at:

Latitude F 37 n 28 = + 37.47°

Latitude L 30 e 36 = + 30.60 °

From NASA's catalogue of Lunar Eclipses -0299 – 0200. For Sept 1, 218 B.C. P – 0127 Sept 01 16:26 T+63-0.1972.559 1.533 109m 47m 22.422.43 -10.2 Time of greatest eclipse t 16.26 = 16.43 Greenwich Sidereal time at 00.00 UT GSTO 22.4 Right ascension of the moon rs. 22.43 Declination of the moon d -10.2

Attalus subsequently feared the Celts would defect to Achaëus and would join the attack on himself so he escorted them all back safely to the Hellespont where they first landed. He gave them lands to live on and promised that if at any time later they needed his help he would be ready to aid them.²⁷² The subsequent fate of this group called into Asia Minor is also known. When they besieged the city of Ilium, an army of 4000 was sent against them under the leadership of a general called Themistas. We are informed that – *“he expelled them from all the territories of Troas. He kept all the provisions from them and attacked them everywhere. When the Gauls could no longer stay there, they went and took over the city of Arisba and the territories of Abidus. They used that as a base to take over the rest of the surrounding country. Thereupon Prusias, king of Bithynia, went out and attacked them. After he had defeated them, he attacked their camp and slaughtered their wives and children and all the rest of them. He gave their spoil to the soldiers for their reward”*.²⁷³

One must view the Ægosagi exodus in 218 BC as a further blow to an already weakening Cavaros. It appears that the ‘Ægosagi migration’ was not caused by the defeat of Cavaros and any subsequent downfall of the Tyle entity, but that conversely the mass migration of this group was, in itself, one of the main causes of the fall of the Celtic state of Tyle.²⁷⁴ An internal dispute between the Ægosagi and the other Celtic elements / tribes which made up the kingdom, and their subsequent migration would logically have led to the weakening of Cavaros’ military might which was probably already weakened by the seepage of mercenaries into the armies of the regions other rulers (see section 5) and internal strife. It seems that the Thracians saw this as an opportunity to unyoke themselves from the Celts and thus attacked and destroyed Tyle, taking for themselves the ensuing influence which Cavaros’ state had hitherto enjoyed.

Of the fate of Cavaros himself we learn nothing in written sources. It appears likely, however, that the graves discovered at Kulnovo and the burial there of a Celtic aristocrat was directly connected to the violent end of the ‘Southern Celtic Kingdom’ at the end of the 3rd century BC.

272. *Polyb., V, 78, 5-6*

273. *Polyb., V, 111, 2-7*

274. *Domaradski , 1984 , 86*

The proximity of this site to Arkovna where, as has been illustrated, Cavaros himself probably resided, certainly links the Kulnovo burial to Celtic settlement in this area.²⁷⁵ It has been suggested that this burial is that of a chieftain of the Coralli tribe. However, there is no testimony to Coralli activity this far south and it appears more likely that the Kulnovo burial is that of an aristocrat from the 'Tyle' state and possibly even that of Cavaros himself.

275. Domaradski, op. cit., 146

Section 5: *Mercenaries*

a Initial dispersion

Celtic mercenary activity in the Hellenistic world had been a fact since the 4th century BC (See Section 1). It was not until after the Brenos invasion, however, that it took on significant geo-political importance in the region. The Celtic army after Delphi had retired more or less in good order. One section of it, remaining in the neighborhood of Byzantion, attacked the city of Lysimachia at the foot of the Gallopoli peninsula.²⁷⁶ In the meantime, Antipater Etesias, the nephew of Cassander, had come forward for the second time, and was accepted as king by a portion, at any rate, of the Macedonians. One of Antipater's first tasks was to facilitate the movement of the Celts who were in the area over the Hellespont.²⁷⁷ But a new pretender soon appeared upon the scene. Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had maintained himself since that monarch's captivity as an independent prince in Central or Southern Greece, claimed the throne that his father had held, defeated Antipater and took control of Macedonia.

His hold on the throne, however, was all but secure. Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus, had succeeded to the throne of Syria and disputing Gonatas' claim to the throne was attacked by Gonatas who crossed into Asia and united his forces with those of Nicomedes, the Bithynian king, whom Antiochus was at war with. In the face of this alliance Antiochus was forced to yield and giving up his claims, gave his sister, Phila, in marriage to Antigonus, and recognized him as king of Macedonia.²⁷⁸ The treaty which put an end to the war in Asia between Antigonus and Antiochos I Sotor left the southern Thracian coast in the the hands of Antigonus but while his victory was a huge step in the consolidation of his throne, it was far from secure.

276. *Livy, XXXVIII, 16 - 'after capturing Lysimachia by treachery and making themselves masters of the whole of the Chersonese, they moved down to the Hellespont.'*

277. *-'They were all the more eager to make the passage when they saw that there was only a narrow strait which separated them, and they sent to Antipater, the governor of the coastal district, asking him to arrange for their transport'.(Livy, op. cit.)*

278. *See Rawlinson, 1899. Part III.*

Gonatos had, during his struggles with Antipater, already taken some Celtic mercenaries into his service. In fact quite a substantial number of them under a commander called Cidêrios were employed by him. The subsequent relationship between him and his mercenaries also provides valuable information into the balance of power between Macedonia and the Celts at this time. We are informed that having entered into negotiations with them Antigonus not only promised to pay each of them with Macedonian gold, but gave aristocratic hostages as security.²⁷⁹ After his victory over Antipater, however, the ensuing saga over payment illustrates Antigonus' relationship with them. He duly offered to pay each who had 'carried a shield'. They refused, demanding payment for all 'Gauls', the women and children included. The Celts withdrew and threatened to kill the hostages. Antigonus, we are informed, became afraid and agreed to the terms. When the Celts sent high ranking leaders to collect the payment they were in turn taken hostage by the Macedonian. The stand-off was eventually solved by the mutual exchange of hostages and he paying his Celtic mercenaries in full.²⁸⁰ It should also be noted that here the description is of a tribal unit, not simply mercenaries in a conventional sense but whole tribes or at least sub-tribes including women and children, a reoccurring theme among the Celtic mercenaries not only in the Balkans but even moreso in Galatia where they fought in tribal, rather than mixed military units.

From the absolute chronology we can establish that as these events were unfolding and Gonatos had already made an alliance with Celtic forces, a second group of Celts moved south. This group, fifteen thousand foot and 3,000 horse strong, after defeating the Thracian Getae and Triballi tribes, prepared again to invade Macedonia. These are expressly mentioned as having being left behind by Brennos²⁸¹ while the first group had split from the Celtic force in Dardania. This second Celtic force were subsequently invited by the Macedonian king to a banquet where he tried to impress them with his wealth, presumably with the intent of bringing this group too into his service. This attempt to impress them apparently backfired, however, and the Celtic ambassadors exaggerated the wealth to their leaders who subsequently

279. *Polyaen., Strat., IV, 6,17*

280. *Polyaen., op. cit.*

281. *Just., XXV,1, 2*

decided to attack the Macedonian.²⁸²

b THE PHANTOM BATTLE

The events which follow are among the most bizarre and contradictory in the history of Celtic presence in the region. According to the version which seems to have been accepted unconditionally by academics, Gonatos subsequently won a decisive victory over the Celts at the 'Battle of Lysimachia' in 277 BC which halted the Celtic expansion in the region.²⁸³ However, a closer investigation establishes that this assumption is based almost solely on the testimony of one source which under closer scrutiny presents more questions than answers. We are asked to believe that this Celtic force (which had shortly before destroyed both the powerful Triballi and Getae tribes), after looting Gonatos' camp, made their way to the coast where they were subsequently '*cut down by sailors and a part of the army who had fled hither with their wives and children*'.²⁸⁴ Besides the unlikely fact that an army which had shortly before destroyed two Thracian tribes were now defeated by some sailors and a part of the army accompanied by their wives and children, there are a number of other questions which remain unanswered here. Gonatos himself is not mentioned at the battle nor is there any mention of the Celtic mercenaries which the Macedonian had already taken into his service and who, as illustrated, he had difficulty in controlling.

The veracity of this source becomes even more doubtful when one considers his account of events at the beginning of the following Book.²⁸⁵ Here we are treated to an account of Gonatos' subsequent 'victory' over

282. *Justin, 25,1*

283. *Fol et al, 226; Delev, 113; Kazarov, 60*

284. -'*At last, leaving the defences entire and untouched, and more like men come to explore than to plunder they took possession of the camp; and then, carrying off what they found, they made their way to the coast and were when plundering the ships there were cut down by 'sailors' and part of the army who had fled hither with their wives and children*' - *Justin,25,2*

285.*Justin, Book 26,2*

the Celts, in this case an army coming from Galatia – a phenomenon which defies logic from a chronological, geographical and historical perspective and is mentioned (as is the case with the first ‘Battle of Lysimachia’) by no other source. Here his account of this second battle: *‘In the meantime Antigonos, being harassed with wars, of different aspect, from the Spartans and king Ptolemy; and perceiving that a new enemy, an army from Gallogracia, was coming upon him, left a few troops as a semblance of a camp, to amuse his other assailants, and proceeded with all the rest of his forces against the Gauls; who becoming aware of his approach, as they were preparing for battle, sacrificed victims to make presages for the event; and as from the entrails, great slaughter of them was portended, they were moved, not to fear, but to fury, and thinking that the anger of the gods might be appeased by the slaughter of their kindred, butchered their wives and children, commencing hostilities with the murder of their own people; for such rage had possessed their savage breasts, that they did not spare even that tender age which an enemy would have spared, but made deadly war on their own children and their children’s mothers, in defence of whom wars are wont to be undertaken. As if, therefore, they had purchased life and victory by their barbarity, they rushed, stained as they were by the fresh blood of their relatives, into the field of battle, but with success no better than their auspices: for, as they were fighting, the furies, the avengers of murder, overwhelmed them sooner than the enemy, and the ghosts of the slain rising up before their eyes they were all cut off with utter destruction. Such was the havoc among them, that the gods seemed to have conspired with men to annihilate an army of murderers’.*²⁸⁶

This entertaining account of the Celts murdering their wives and children and subsequently being defeated by *‘furies and the ghosts of the dead’* has as much historical credibility and logic as his account of the ‘Battle of Lysimachia’. It also displays a complete lack of understanding of Celtic social and religious practices and the source also seems to have been unaware of the fact that the new Macedonian king had come to power prior to the ‘Battle of Lysimachia’, relying on Celtic mercenaries and subsequently held power largely through their support.²⁸⁷

286. *Just.*, 26,2

287. *See below; In his first battle with Pyrrhus, for example, they are described as ‘a numerous body’ who ‘made a sturdy resistance’- Plut., Pyrr.*, 26, 3

Also worth noting in this respect is the fact that other sources (Memnon, Pausinias, Livy etc.) who otherwise give us ample information on the history of the region during this period make no mention of the 'Battle of Lysimachia'. The version of history hitherto accepted by scholars appears to be based on an imaginative account written for a Roman popular readership and suitably peopled by demons and ghouls. This testimony is not credible from a scientific perspective. It appears likely that the Celtic force at Lysimachia (if there was indeed a battle there) was at best a rump force or a small group which had broken away from the main army. The hitherto accepted version of a 'Great Battle' at Lysimachia in 277 BC, it would appear, has little foundation in fact.

c The Macedonian Succession

Enforcing his authority temporarily over the northern Aegean coast, it by no means follows that the might of the Macedonian state had been renewed under Gonatos. He took control of a weakened Macedonia and was forced to rely on Celtic troops to hold this position. At Megara (i.e. 10 years later) we still find a body of Celtic mercenaries with him who, being ill paid, rebelled against him.²⁸⁸ The power-struggle in the region was far from over. Pyrrhus, having been defeated by the Carthaginians in a sea-fight off the coast of Sicily, had sent ambassadors to Gonatos, to ask for a supply of troops, saying that, unless he sent him some, he should be obliged to return to Macedonia, and to seek that enlargement of his dominions there, which he had wished to gain from the Romans. The ambassadors bringing word that Antigonus had refused his request, Pyrrhus pretended to be suddenly obliged to depart, but concealed his reasons for doing so. Meanwhile he directed his allies to prepare for war, and committed the citadel of Tarentum to the guardianship of his son Helenus and his friend Milo. In BC 274 Pyrrhus eventually left Italy, having failed in all his political schemes, but having

288. *Trog. Pomp., Prol., xxvi.*

made for himself a great reputation nonetheless. He landed in Epirus with a relatively small force - eight thousand foot and five hundred horse - and since he had no money he sought a war by which he could maintain his army.²⁸⁹ Pyrrhus found the condition of Macedonia and of Greece particularly favorable to his ambition. Antigonus had no hold on the affections of his subjects, whose recollections of his father, Demetrius, were displeasing. The Greek cities were, some of them, under tyrants, others occupied against their will by Macedonian garrisons. Above all, Greece and Macedonia were full of military adventurers, ready to flock to any standard which offered them a fair prospect of plunder.

On arriving in the region Pyrrhus immediately hired Celtic mercenaries and invaded Macedonia. Perhaps 'hired' here is the wrong term. Plutarch²⁹⁰ informs us that '*some Gauls joined him*' and as he has already stated that Pyrrhus had 'no money' we may assume that they joined him for the promise of plunder.²⁹¹ He marched into Macedonia and a number of cities as well as some Macedonian soldiers joined him. Antigonus met him with an army, but was defeated in battle and put to flight. We are told that he met Antigonus in a narrow pass (the Aoüs Gorge) and threw his whole army into confusion. The decisive clash between Pyrrhus and Antigonus here is worthy of further consideration in detail. In the battle we are told that '*the Gauls formed Antigonus' rearguard*' and that they were '*a numerous body*' who '*made a sturdy resistance*'.²⁹² When his Celtic forces had been defeated Antiochus' army quickly fell apart – '*Then Pyrrhus, thus greatly strengthened, and consulting his good fortune rather than his judgement, advanced upon the phalanx of the Macedonians, which was filled with confusion and fear because of their previous defeat. For this reason they refrained from engagement or battle with him, whereupon Pyrrhus stretching out his right hand and calling on the generals and captains brought over to him all the infantry of Antigonus in a body*'.²⁹³

Interesting here from a psychological perspective is Pyrrhus' reaction

289. Plut., Pyrr., 26, 1

290. Plut., *op. cit*

291. This is supported by the source's statement that Pyrrhus' aim was to '*strip and plunder the country*'. – *ibid*

292. Plut., Pyrr., 26, 3

293. Plut., Pyrr., 26, 4

to his victory over the Macedonian. He glorified not, as would be expected, in his defeat of Antigonus himself, but moreso in the fact that he had defeated Celtic forces – *‘Pyrrhus, thinking that amid so many successes his achievements against the Gauls conduced most to his glory, dedicated the most beautiful and splendid of his spoils in the temple of Athena Itonis, with the following elegiac inscription:*

‘These shields,
now suspended here as a gift to Athena Itonis,
Pyrrhus the Molossian took from valiant Gauls,
After defeating the entire army of Antigonus;
Which is no great wonder;
For now, as well as in olden time,
The Aeacidae are brave spearmen’.²⁹⁴

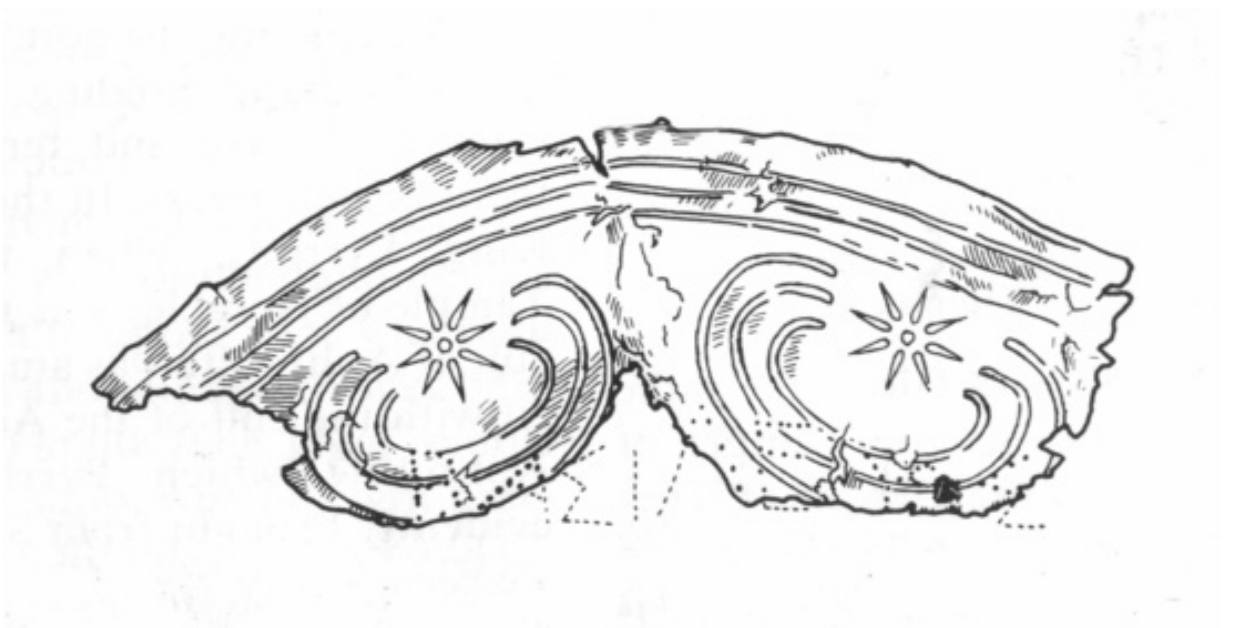
It seems that Pyrrhus had allowed the Macedonians to surrender on terms and – *‘Antigonus, divesting himself at once of all the marks of royalty, repaired with a few horsemen, that attended him in his flight, to Thessalonica, there to watch what would follow on the loss of his throne, and to renew the war with a hired army of Gauls’.*²⁹⁵ From this evidence it appears that Antigonus relied almost entirely at this juncture on Celtic mercenaries.

Having won the battle against the Macedonian and sending his rival to flight, Pyrrhus began to occupy the cities. Securing Aegae, he proceeded to garrison it with his Celtic forces. No matter how much he had glorified in the defeat of Antigonus’ Celtic warriors, he obviously relied heavily on them himself. At Aegae this is clearly illustrated. The Celts who formed the garrison - *‘set themselves to digging up the tombs*

294. *Plut., Pyrr., 26, 5; (Paus., I, 13, 2-3), gives us a slightly different but substantially similar text :*

Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields
taken from the bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian
Athena, when he had destroyed all the host
of Antigonus. Tis no marvel. The
Aeadicidae are warriors now even as they were
of old.

295. *Just., XXV,3*



Part of a Bronze shield, spoils from Pyrrus' victory over Antigonos and his Celtic forces in 274 BC, found in the Bouleuterion at Dodona. (Ioannina Archaeological Museum, inv. No. 1951) Fig 23

of the kings who had been buried there; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds'.²⁹⁶ The fact that they were able to carry out this desecration of the tombs of the ancient Macedonian kings with impunity even though, '*on this account he was censured by the Macedonians*', illustrates two important facts. The first and most obvious is that these Celtic mercenaries, although in the service of Pyrrhus, were not completely under his control; secondly, Pyrrhus was reliant on them at this point from a military perspective - and they appeared to be aware of this fact.

From then on, however, Pyrrhus' fortunes took a downward turn. He appears to have been much better at conquering kingdoms than he was at subsequently consolidating his hold over them.²⁹⁷ The victories of Pyrrhus and his son Ptolemy placed the Macedonian crown upon the brow of the former, who might not improbably have become the founder of a great power, if he could have turned his attention to consolidation, instead of looking out for fresh conquests. But peace seems to have held had no charm for the new king of Macedonia. Hardly was he settled in his seat, when, upon the invitation of Cleonymus of Sparta, he led an expedition into the Peloponnese, and attempted the conquest of that rough and difficult region. It is possible here that his decision to begin a new campaign so quickly was partly because of the large number of Celtic mercenaries in his army. As pointed out, they had joined him on the promise of plunder and therefore a peaceful consolidation of his conquest would possibly have led to repeats of incidents like that which had happened at Aegae. The dynamics of an army paid with the promise of plunder may not have allowed any other choice. At this stage Pyrrhus had a force of twenty-five thousand foot in addition to two thousand horse and twenty four battle elephants. As Plutarch rightly points out - '*the magnitude of his preparations made it clear at once that he was not aiming to acquire*

296. Plut., Pyrr., 26,6

297. '*Igitur Pyrrhus in tanto fastigio regni conlocatus iam nec eo, ad quod uotis perueniendum fuerat, contentus Graeciae Asiaeque regna meditatur. Neque illi maior ex imperio quam ex bello uoluptas erat, nec quisquam Pyrrhum, qua tulisset imperium, sustinere ualuit. Sed ut ad deuincenda regna inuictus habebatur, ita deuictis adquisitisque celeriter carebat. Tanto melius studebat acquirere imperia quam retinere*'. (Just., XXV, 4,1-3)

Sparta for Cleonymus, but the Peloponnesus for himself.²⁹⁸

The city of Sparta was a difficult objective for Pyrrhus' forces. The citizens were prepared for a siege and Sparta, even before this in the war with Demetrius, had fortified with deep trenches and long stakes and at the most vulnerable point with buildings as well.²⁹⁹ In the subsequent battle with the Spartans Pyrrhus' initial frontal assault was rebuffed. At this point his Celtic troops played once more a vital role. They (2,000 of them we are told), under the command of Pyrrhus' son, Ptolemy, went around the defensive trench and tried to force a way in where the wagons were. The wagons, however, were so rooted in the earth and were so close together that while the Celts *'pulled the wheels up and were dragging the wagons down into the river'*,³⁰⁰ the element of surprise had been lost. Subsequently a Spartan called Acrotatus saw the danger, and running through the city with 300 men got round behind Ptolemy without being seen by him, owing to some depressions in the ground, and at last fell upon his rear ranks and forced him to turn around and fight with him, whereupon the Celts crowded one another into the trench and fell among the wagons. Finally after great slaughter they were successfully driven back.³⁰¹ At this point the task of storming Sparta became even more difficult. Reinforcements arrived from Antigonus led by the Phocian Aménias and also Areus, the Spartan king from Crete. Pyrrhus, deciding the task was hopeless, *'went away and fell to ravaging the country, proposing to spend the winter there'*.³⁰²

For Pyrrhus, however, no sooner had one door closed than another opened. At Argos a feud was under way between Aristeas and Aristippus and as the latter enjoyed the support of Antigonus Pyrrhus allied himself with the former. The march to Argos proved to be costly for Pyrrhus both from a military and a personal perspective - *'Areus, by setting frequent ambushes and occupying the most difficult points on the march, kept cutting off the Gauls and Molossians who made*

298. *Plut., Pyrr., 26,9*

299. *Paus., I,13,6*

300. *Plut., op. cit. 28, 2*

301. *Plut., op cit.*

302. *Plut., Pyrr., 30,1*

up the rear for Pyrrhus'.³⁰³ At this point, in the heat of a skirmish between the Spartans and Pyrrhus' troops, Ptolemy, son of Pyrrhus, is said to have been slain.³⁰⁴

Although Justin tells us that Pyrrhus' goal at Argos had been to capture Antigonos who was shut up in the city,³⁰⁵ Plutarch's account is more detailed and credible. According to this source, Antigonos was posted on the heights overlooking the plain near Nauplia. Pyrrhos challenged him to battle but Antigonos refused. To both kings came ambassadors from the city asking them to allow the city to remain neutral and subsequently, although both kings agreed, only Antigonos gave his pledge.³⁰⁶

The ensuing events at Argos remain shrouded in misery. What we can establish is that at night Aristeas had the gate opened for Pyrrhus' forces to enter. At this point Celtic warriors under Pyrrhus' command entered and took control of the centre of the city. Plutarch informs that there was a delay in getting the rest of Pyrrhos' forces to follow his Celts because - *'the gate would not admit his elephants, and therefore the towers had to be taken off their backs and put on again when the animals were inside*'.³⁰⁷ This delay allowed a relief force to come from Antigonos, under the command of his son.³⁰⁸ An assault was launched on the Celts inside which threw them into confusion. When Pyrrhus himself finally entered the city - *'the Gauls did not answer his men with any vigour or courage*' and their response was that of men *'confounded and in distress*'.³⁰⁹ This vague account of events here is noteworthy. There is no

303. *Plut., Pyrr., 30,2*

304. *Plut., Pyrr., 30,4; Justin, however, claims that Ptolemy was killed during the events at Sparta - Porro Ptolomeum filiam eius adeo strennum et manu fortem fuisse tradunt ut urbem Coreyram cum sexagesimo ceperit, idem proelio nauali quinquere mem ex scapha cum septimo insiluerit captamque tenuerit, in oppugnatione quoque Spartanorum usque in mediam urbem equo procucurrerit ibique concursu multitudinis interfectus sit. Cuius corpus ut relatam patri est, dixisse Pyrrhum ferunt, aliquanto tardius eum, quam timuerit ipse uel temeritas eius meruerit, occisum esse. - Justin, XXV, 8-10*

305. *XXV, 5*

306. *Plut., Pyrr., 31,2*

307. *Plut., op. cit., 32,1*

308. *According to Plutarch also 1,000 Cretans and Spartans - Plut., Pyrr, 32,2*

309. *Plut., Pyrr., Op. cit.*

mention of Pyrrhus' Celtic forces fighting Antigonus' relief force after this. Also interesting is that they were not defeated but we are told '*confounded and in distress*'. With the arrival of Antigonus' relief force they literally disappear from the accounts. As previously outlined, Antigonus' force was to a great extent also made up of Celtic mercenaries. This leaves us with two possibilities - either they lost heart when faced with an assault from their countrymen, or perhaps a deal had even previously been done to betray Pyrrhus. Whatever the truth, as morning came the centre of the city was in the hands of his enemy and Pyrrhus desperately attempted a retreat. He sent for his son Helenus to tear down part of the wall so he could escape. Helenus, however, misinterpreting the orders marched through the gates to help his father. Pyrrhus became crushed between the two groups - '*For the largest of the elephants had fallen athwart the gateway and lay there roaring in the way of those who would have turned back*'.³¹⁰

Of Pyrrhus' fate in the subsequent chaos we are informed that he was struck with a stone from the walls, and killed. His head was carried to Antigonus, who, using his victory with moderation, sent back his son Helenus, who surrendered to him with several Epirots, into his own country, and gave him the bones of his father, not having yet received the rites of burial, to carry home with him.³¹¹ On the death of Pyrrhus the Macedonian throne was recovered by Antigonus, who commenced his second reign by establishing his influence over most of the Peloponnese, after which he was engaged in a long war with the Athenians (BC 268 to 263), who were supported by Sparta and by Egypt. These allies rendered, however, but little help; and Athens would have soon succumbed, had not Antigonus been called away to Macedonia by the invasion of Alexander, son of Pyrrhus. This enterprising prince carried, at first, all before him, and was even acknowledged as Macedonian king; but before long, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, having defeated Alexander, re-established his father's dominion over Macedonia, and, invading Epirus, succeeded in driving the Epirotic monarch out of his paternal kingdom. The Epirots soon restored him; but from this time he remained at peace with Antigonus,

310. *Plut., Pyrr., 33,4*

311. *Just., xxv, 5; Plutarch, Pyrr.,34, 1-2 - informs us that he was killed by a rooftile thrown by the mother of a soldier he was fighting.*

who was able once more to devote his undivided attention to the subjugation of the Greeks.

Antogonus had come to the Macedonian throne initially with the help of Celtic forces. They had helped him hold it, defeating Antipater and Pyrrhus who himself had solicited their support. All through his subsequent campaigns Antigonus was strengthened by Celtic mercenaries. At Megara in 265 BC we find them still with him and being ill-paid, they mutinied.³¹² Ironically, the very people who had shortly before destroyed Macedonia militarily were those who were subsequently relied on to rebuilt it.

d Dogs of War

In relation to mercenary activity particularly interesting is the testimony of Polybius for mixed Thraco /Celtic military units which we are told that Ptolemy took into his service under the leadership of a Thracian called Dionysius. Although we are not informed where these troops were recruited from, it was in all probability in Thrace where Thracians lived together with Celts from the state of Tyle as well as in other parts of Thrace.³¹³ In 217 BC, for example, this force was present at the battle between Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III at Raphia in Egypt –*‘On the right wing was Echrates of Thessaly, with his division of cavalry, on his left were stationed Gauls and Thracians; next them Phoxidas and the Greek mercenaries, extending to the Egyptian phalanx’.*³¹⁴

However, it would be a mistake to put all Celtic mercenary activity in the region down to descendants of the forces which had come with Brenos’ army. One incident illustrates this fact quite clearly. Shortly after the death of the Illyrian king Agron, son of Pleuratos (II ?) in 230 BC, his kingdom passed for a brief period to his wife Teuta.³¹⁵ She set

312. *Trog. Pomp., Prol., XXVI*

313. *See Domaradski , 1984 , 90.*

314. *Poly., Hist., V,5,82*

315. *See Pajakowski, 2000, 290*

out on an expedition and began by making a descent on Elis and Messenia, lands which the Illyrians had always been in the habit of pillaging, -*'because owing to the extent of their seaboard and owing to the principle cities being in the interior, help against these raids was distant and slow in coming'*.³¹⁶ Afterwards Teuta's forces put in at the city of Phoenice in Epirus. Polybius informs us that at the time the city was defended by Celtic warriors, 800 in number, in the employ of the Epirots. Teutas approached the Gauls with the purpose of the betrayal of the city and receiving their consent the Illyrians - *'landed and captured the town and all its inhabitants by assault with the help from within of the Gauls'*.³¹⁷

These Celtic mercenaries seem to have been a particularly unscrupulous band. They had already been expelled by their own people and 3,000 of them had taken service with the Carthaginians, first as garrison in the town of Agrigentum - which they proceeded to pillage. When they were dispatched on the same service to Eryx, then besieged by the Romans, they again attempted to betray the city and - *'those who were suffering siege in their company'*.³¹⁸ They subsequently deserted to the Romans and were entrusted by them with the guardianship of the temple of Venus Erycina - which they promptly desecrated and robbed. When the conflict with Carthage had finished, the Romans took the first opportunity of disarming them, putting them on board ship and banishing them from the whole of Italy.³¹⁹ These then were the Celtic mercenaries hired by the Epirots to guard their city.

During this troubled period it may be assumed that other fresh waves of Celts were brought into the region in just such a mercenary capacity and therefore one must not link all Celtic mercenary activity in the region to those Celts already settled there. What is certain is that the recruitment and use of Celtic mercenaries in the Hellenic armies continued up until at least the Third Macedonian War (171 – 168 BC).³²⁰

316. Poly., II, 5,3

317. Poly., *op. cit.*, 5,4

318. Poly., *op. cit.*, 7,7-8

319. Poly., *op. cit.*, 7, 10

320. We find them, for example, at Dyme during Philip V's conflict with the Aetolian leagues - *'The Eleans also overran the territory of Dyme and easily defeated the cavalry who came to oppose them by decoying them into an ambush, killing not a few of the Gauls and taking Polymed of Aegium and Agesipolis and Diocles of Dyme prisoners'*. - Poly., *Hist.*, V, 17,3; See also Hubert, II, 41.

Fig 25

Regions of Celtic Settlement In S.E.
Europe and Asia-Minor

1. Scordisci - from 278 BC
2. Scordisci - 1st Century BC
3. Coralli/Zaravetz Culture - From 278 BC
4. 'Tyle' Kingdom - 278 BC - 217/212 BC
5. Macedonia - from 90 BC
6. Galatia - from 277 BC



Section 6: Asia-Minor

a The Crossing

A group which had broken away from Brenos' main Celtic force, 20,000 of them, - *'fighting with those who opposed their progress and exacting tribute from those who asked for peace, reached Byzantium'*.³²¹ Here they remained for some time in occupation of the coast of the Propontis, all the cities in that region being tributary to them. By the time they reached Byzantium they had ransacked most of its territory. The Byzantines, worn down by war, were forced to ask their allies to come to their aid.³²² For a whole year this Celtic force pillaged the Propontis, eventually taking and sacking the coastal capital at Lysimachia.³²³

During the following year elements of the Celtic army first began to cross over into Asia-Minor.³²⁴ At this stage, we are informed, they were led by *'17 eminent leaders of whom the most important were Leonnorius and Lutarius'*.³²⁵ The actual crossing appears to have taken longer than they expected, and a fresh quarrel broke out between the chiefs. Leonorius, with the greater part of the force, returned to Byzantium; Lutarius took two decked ships and three light barques from some Macedonians who had been sent by Antipater, ostensibly as negotiators, but really as spies, and in these vessels he transported one detachment after another, night and day, until he had carried his whole force across.³²⁶

321. Livy, 38, 16

322. *All the allies provided such help as they could, and the Heracleians gave four thousand gold pieces (this is what the envoys asked for).* - Memnon, 11, 1

323. Polyb. 4. 46; Trog. Prol. 25

324. *'The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their destruction, took place when Anaxicrates was archon at Athens, in the second year of the hundred and twenty fifth Olympiad when Ludas of Aegium was victor in the footrace. In the following year, when Democles was archon at Athens, the Celts crossed back again to Asia'* - Paus., X, 23, 14

325. Memnon, 11, 3; Leonnorius is generally reported to have been the chief leader of their expedition across to Asia, See also Strabo, VII, 5, 1

326. Livy, xxxviii, 16.

Another version of this initial crossing into Asia is given by Memnon who testifies that they had tried to cross over many times before, but had *'always failed because the Byzantines would not allow it'*.³²⁷ Now, however, they had made a pact with Nicomedes of Bythnia who had arranged for them to cross over to Asia. In Bithynia itself King Zipoetas had ruled for 48 years, and when he died at the age of 76 was survived by four children. The eldest of them, Nicomedes, succeeded the old king apparently by the systematic murder of his rivals for power – his brothers. We are informed that he subsequently *'strengthened the kingdom of Bithynia by arranging for the Gauls to cross over to Asia'*.³²⁸ The terms of the agreement that they made with Nicomedes in return for his aid in crossing over to Asia-Minor were as follows - the 'barbarians' should always support Nicomedes and his children and should not enter into alliance with any other state which requested it without the permission of Nicomedes; they should be allies of his allies, and enemies of his enemies; they should serve as allies of the Byzantines, if necessary and of the inhabitants of Tius and Heracleia and Calchedon and Cierus and of some other rulers.³²⁹

Mainly due to his new Celtic allies Nicomedes succeeded finally in defeating his brother Ziboetas and bringing Bythnia under his sole control. The initial Celtic arrival in Asia-Minor seems to have caused some problems and consternation among the inhabitants but, *'in the end it inclined to their (the local inhabitants) benefit. The kings tried to put an end to the democracies in the cities, but the Gauls strengthened them, by repelling the cities' oppressors.'*³³⁰ In return for their help in this internal Bythnian conflict the Galatians (for as such we must refer to them from now on) were given a stretch of land which was later to become the bridgehead for the state of Galatia.³³¹

On arriving in Asia-Minor they initially attempted to occupy Illium

327. Memnon, 11, 2

328. Memnon, 12, 5-6

329. Memnon, 11, 2

330. Memnon, 11, 4

331. *'Hence, being called by the king of Bithynia to his aid, and having gained him the victory over his enemies, they shared his kingdom with him, and called their part of it Gallograecia'. (Just. XXV, 2) They would appear to have been permitted to choose the stretch of territory for themselves - See Memnon, 11, 6*

but reconsidered when they realized that its fortifications were weak.³³² From Bithynia they went further into Asia-Minor. The main force was made up of three tribes - the Tolostobogi (-boii), the Trocmi and the Tectosagi, each tribe retaining its own tributary cities. The coast of the Hellespont was given to the Trocmi, the Tolostoboi took Aeolis and Ionia, and the Tectosagi received the inland districts. They levied tribute on the whole of Asia west of the Taurus, but fixed their own settlement on both sides of the Halys river.³³³ Livy informs us that - *'Such was the terror of their name and the growth of their numbers that at last even the kings of Syria did not dare to refuse the payment of tribute'*.³³⁴

This historical testimony that they levied tribute on the main cities in the area has been recently supported by numismatic evidence. Price's corpus of Alexander Type coins include three silver Alexander tetradrachmas from the mint at Kyzikos in Phrygia.³³⁵ Interesting in the present context is that the author has specifically connected the minting of these coins to the Celtic expansion into Asia-Minor in 277 – 275/4 BC.³³⁶ The massively increased production of heavy Alexander type silver coins is evident during this turbulent period in at least 14 cities in north-west Asia-Minor during the 70's of the 3rd century BC has been explained by the need of the local Greek population in connection with the Celtic invasion. These coins appear to have been minted to pay exactly the 'protection money' alluded to by Livy, paid by the population of these cities in order to stave off the plundering of their towns.³³⁷

332. *Strabo, XIII, 27*

333. *Memnon, 11, 6*

334. *Livy, 38,16; Pausinias (I, 4,5) also testifies to their initial behavior in Asia-Minor – 'The greater number of the Gauls crossed over to Asia by ship and plundered its coasts'*.

335. *Price, M. J. The Coinage of in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidæus. A British Museum Catalogue. Two volumes. Zurich and London: The Swiss Numismatic Society in association with the British Museum Press, 1991. 637 pages, 159 plates., P. 207, Nos. 1339 – 1341 , pl 51*

336. *Price, op. cit. 207*

337. *Price, op cit., pp. 210, 221, 222, 234, 244, 246,261-262, 264, 276, 277, 292, 293, 299; Interesting in this respect is the recent find of an analogous coin from Thrace among the Pistiros hoard near the village of Vetren, Septemvri district – See Pyceva Б., Нова александровка от кизик, Нумизматика и Сфагистика, VII, 2000, 2 , P. 8 – 15 – suggesting links between the Galatians and the Celts in Thrace.*

Direct evidence of the kind of role the Celts in Asia-Minor played at this early point comes with the death of Nicomedes, the king who had facilitated their initial introduction into Asia-Minor. As Nicomedes was dieing he named the sons of his second wife, Etazeta, as his heirs and because they were still of a young age he appointed Ptolemaeus, Antigonus and the peoples of Byzantium, Heracleia, and Cius to be their guardians.³⁰⁰ Zeilas, Nicomedes' son by his first marriage, had been denied power by the scheming of Etazeta and was in exile with the king of the Armenians. He subsequently returned to claim his kingdom *'with a force that was boosted by the Tolistobogian Gauls'*.³⁰¹ This fact is significant as we see from an early stage the Galatians playing a similar role to that played by the Celtic forces on the other side of the Hellespont – i.e. the role of kingmakers fighting not only on their own account but also in support of the various pretenders to power in the region.

The Bithynians apparently wanted to preserve the kingdom for the younger children (perhaps because they were more easily controlled) and arranged for the brother of Nicomedes to marry the childrens mother. An army was gathered and Zeila's forces, including his Galatian allies, were rebuffed. Among those who had rallied against Zeila was the city of Heracleia. Frustrated in their attempt to gain power through Zeila, the Celts now took revenge on the Heracleians, - *'Therefore the Gauls, regarding Heracleia as an enemy, ravaged its territory as far as the river Calles, and returned home with a great quantity of booty'*.³⁰² The city of Heracleia was again the target of the Galatians a short period afterwards. Mithridates, son of Ariobarzenes, had inherited a conflict with the Galatians from his father. In the resulting conflict the Heracleians sent aid, in the shape of food, and thus became themselves a target of the Celtic aggression. They entered Heracleian territory and laid it waste. In the end the Heracleians were forced to pay the Celts a massive sum of gold in order to persuade them to withdraw.³⁰³

300. *Mem.*, 14, 1

301. *Mem.*, 14, 2

302. *Mem.*, 14, 3

303. *Mem.*, 16, 3

b

GALATIA

When they had started their migration into Asia-Minor there were two main bodies and seventeen leaders of bands.³⁰⁴ They later re-divided, probably on tribal grounds, and took the form of a military aristocracy of three main tribal units:

The Tectosages - Controlled the central part with Ancyra (Ankara) as their capital.³⁰⁵

The Tolistoboi(-bogi) - in the west - chief town – Pessinius.³⁰⁶

The Trocmi – in the east – chief town – Tavium.³⁰⁷

Each tribe was apparently subdivided into four groups, the twelve sub-divisions being sub-tribes similar to the pagi in Gaul.³⁰⁸ They had an organized and highly developed political and legal system. Each tribe was divided up into four administrative portions called tetrarchies, each tetrarchy having its own ruling tetrarch. Each of these units also had its own judge and a military commander, both subject to the tetrarch, and, in addition, two subordinate commanders. A council consisting of three

304. Memnon, 11, 3; Strabo, VII, 5, 1

305. Strabo, X, 5, 2; Pausinias also informs us – ‘Now this people (the Gauls) occupied the country on the farther side of the river Sangarius capturing Ancyra, a city of the Phrygians, which Midas son of Gordius had founded in former time’. (Paus., I,4,5)

306. Pliny, V, 42

307. Strabo further informs us that they had three walled garrisons – 1. Tavium ‘the emporium of the people in that part of the country where are the colossal statue of Zeus in bronze and his sacred precinct, a place of refuge; 2. Mithridatium ‘which Pompey gave to Bogodiatarus, having separated it from the kingdom of Pontus’ and; 3. Danala -Strabo XII, 5, 2

308. See Hubert II, 48

hundred men, assembled at Drynemeton which passed judgment upon murder cases, but the tetrarch and the judges had jurisdiction over all other crimes.³⁰⁹ The Galatians apparently lived, on the whole, peacefully with the old population. At least there is little to suggest the contrary.

Pliny the elder gives a fairly detailed account of the geographic dispersion of the tribes within Galatia - *'On this occasion it seems that we ought to speak of Galatia, which lies above Phrygia and includes the greater part of the territory taken from that province, as also its former capital Gordium. The Gauls who are settled in these parts are called the Tolistobogi, the Voturi and the Ambitouti; those who dwell in Maeonia and Paphlagonia are called the Trocni. Cappadocia stretches along to the north-west of Galatia, its most fertile parts being possessed by the Tectosages and the Teutobodiaci. These are the nations by which these parts are occupied; and they are divided into peoples and tetrarchies, 195 in number. Its towns are, among the Tectosages, Ancyra, among the Trocni, Tavium and among the Tolistobogi, Pessinus.'*³¹⁰ The mass of the Galatian population lived in villages³¹¹ and intermarried with the 'indigenous' population.³¹²

Undoubtedly, considering the longevity of the state/political entity we must surmise that with the passage of time this Celtic culture and language not only influenced but was influenced by the surrounding cultures - Phrygian, Hellenistic etc. They adopted their religion in some cases – Plutarch, for example, tells us that the Celt Camma was a priestess of the Phrygian Artemis.³¹³ However, they seem to have kept older traditions also. Recent archaeological evidence from Galatian settlements provides evidence for rituals also practiced by European Celts: headhunting, caching of mixed human and animal bone, and sacrifice by hanging or garroting.³¹⁴

309. Strabo, VII, 5, 1

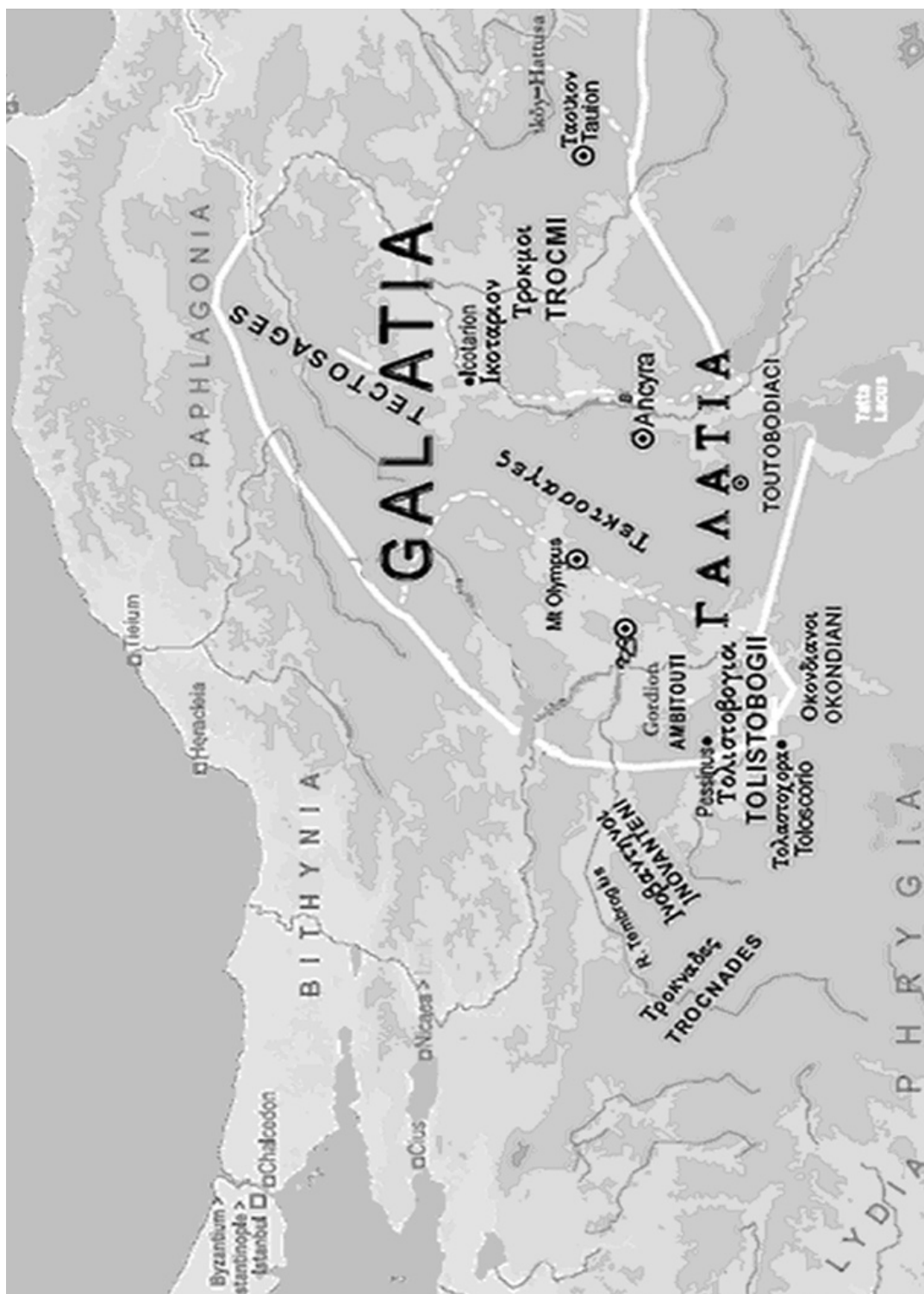
310. Pliny V, 42; Memnon gives much the same information while adding significantly that the towns were founded by the Celts, - 'They split this land into three parts, for the tribe of the Trocni, Tolostobogi, and Tectosages. They each founded cities, the Trocni at Ancyra, the Tolistobogi at Tabia, and the Tectosages at Pessinus'. - Memnon, 11, 7

311. Livy, xxxviii, 18

312. Livy xxxviii, 17, 9; Strabo, 13, 4, 3

313. Polyæn., Strat., viii, 39

314. See Voight, Celts at Gordion, 17



In the first century the Galatians received St. Paul as an angel from heaven³¹⁵ but the message of Christianity that he brought appears to have met with mixed results. Acts³¹⁶ gives sufficient indications of the old traditions which had survived among the Celts in South Galatia. To take but one instance: at Lystra the Galatians could scarcely be restrained from sacrificing to St. Paul; shortly afterwards they stoned him and left him for dead.

Until the Roman period, however, the Galatians appear to have preserved their governmental, religious institutions and traditions, identical with those of the Celts of central and western Europe. They represented therefore a closed society, living in symbiosis with the local population who were at least partly controlled by them, a similar situation that one witnesses with the Scordisci and the Zaravetz culture in the Balkans. The Galatians remained a society specialized in war, which enabled them to conquer and hold the territory.³¹⁷

Direct evidence of the use of Greek by the Galatians, at least as a written medium, is found in connection with Galatian mercenary activity in Egypt.³¹⁸ Towards the end of his reign Ptolemy II enrolled Galatian mercenaries. He was at war with his brother Magas and defeated him although a mutiny of a corps of 4,000 Celts prevented him following up his victory. Pausinias' assertion that they were engaged in a conspiracy to take possession of Egypt³¹⁹ is certainly overstated and more credible the evidence of the scholiast of Callimachos who talks of an attempt to plunder the treasures of Ptolemy.³²⁰ This episode however, does not seem to have discouraged the Egyptians and Ptolemy III also

315. *Galatians* 4:14

316. *xiii-xiv*

317. See Domaradski , 1984 , 85

318. Paus. – I, 7,2 - 'Ptolemy fortified the entrance into Egypt and awaited the attack of the Cyrenians. But while on the march Magas was informed that the Marmaridae, a tribe of Libyan nomads, had revolted and thereupon fell back upon Cyrene. Ptolemy resolved to pursue, but was checked owing to the following circumstances. When he was preparing to meet the attack of Magas, he engaged mercenaries including some 4,000 Gauls. Discovering that they were plotting to sieze Egypt, he led them through the river to a deserted island. There they perished at one another's hand or by famine'.

319. Paus. I,7,2

320. Callim., *Hymn to Delos*, 185-8

employed Galatians. Under Ptolemy IV we find them settled in Egypt.³²¹ There was also a body of Galatians in the Lagid army which besieged Abydos in 186-185 during the suppression of the revolt in Upper Egypt. An inscription left by them on the walls of the temple of Seti I, in the chapel at Horus, relates some valuable information:

Τών Γαλατών

Θόας Καλλίστρατος

Ἀκάννων

Ἀπολλώνιος

ἦλθομεν

καί αλώπεκα

έλάβομεν ὧδε

*Of the Galatians, we, Thoas, Callistratos, Acannon, Apollonios, came, and a fox caught we here.*³²²

It is of course not surprising that the soldiers could speak some form of Greek: armies cannot function without a lingua franca, and the linguistic behaviour of mercenaries in a Hellenistic army does not give us much insight into what was going on in central Anatolia. That the soldiers could write Greek is, however, noteworthy. Their acquisition of the ‘epigraphic habit’ is an indicator of the military *Sprachbund* that they were a part of, whereby patterns of linguistic behaviour crossed the language boundaries of the Hellenistic world. The inscription illustrates two important facts. On the linguistic side the fact that the inscription is in Greek and not Celtic shows that the written language of the Galatians at an early stage was not Galatian. The names of these ‘Galatians’ are in fact Greek which again speaks in favour of the assumption that Hellenistic culture had a major impact on that of the Galatians inside a relatively short period. That the Celts of Asia-Minor continued to use

321. Poly., V, 65

322. See Reinach A. J., *Cultes, mythes et relegions*, Paris 1910, P. 55



Fig. 24

*Celtic Tableware from the Galatian settlement at Gordion*³²³

their own language is, however, testified to in a number of sources - such as Lucian in the second century AD³²⁴ who speaks of a sorcerer from Paphlagonia who could give answers in Celtic when asked, or indeed that of St. Jerome who states that they not only spoke 'Gaulish' in his time, but compares their language to that of the Gallo-Belgic Treviri tribe.³²⁵ The use of Latin or Greek as a written language in various areas of Europe in which the vernacular remained Celtic is well attested to. What the above inscription does illustrate is something that is even more interesting because of its absence in other Celtic regions, i.e. - the use by these mercenaries of the word Γαλατών to identify themselves. This in itself has an intrinsic relevance in the political sphere. The fact that these mercenaries identify themselves as Galatian and not in tribal terms indicates a deeper sense of ethnic awareness and identity than one observes as a rule in the Celtic world.

323. After Voight M., *Celts at Gordion – The Late Hellenistic Settlement*; E.T. – www.museum.upenn.edu/publications, p.17

324. Lucian, *Alexander*, 37

325. *Galatas, excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene hebere quam Treviros, nec refere si aliqua exinde corruperint*. - *Comm. On Galatians*, ii,3

c *Galatians and the Bythnian Succession*

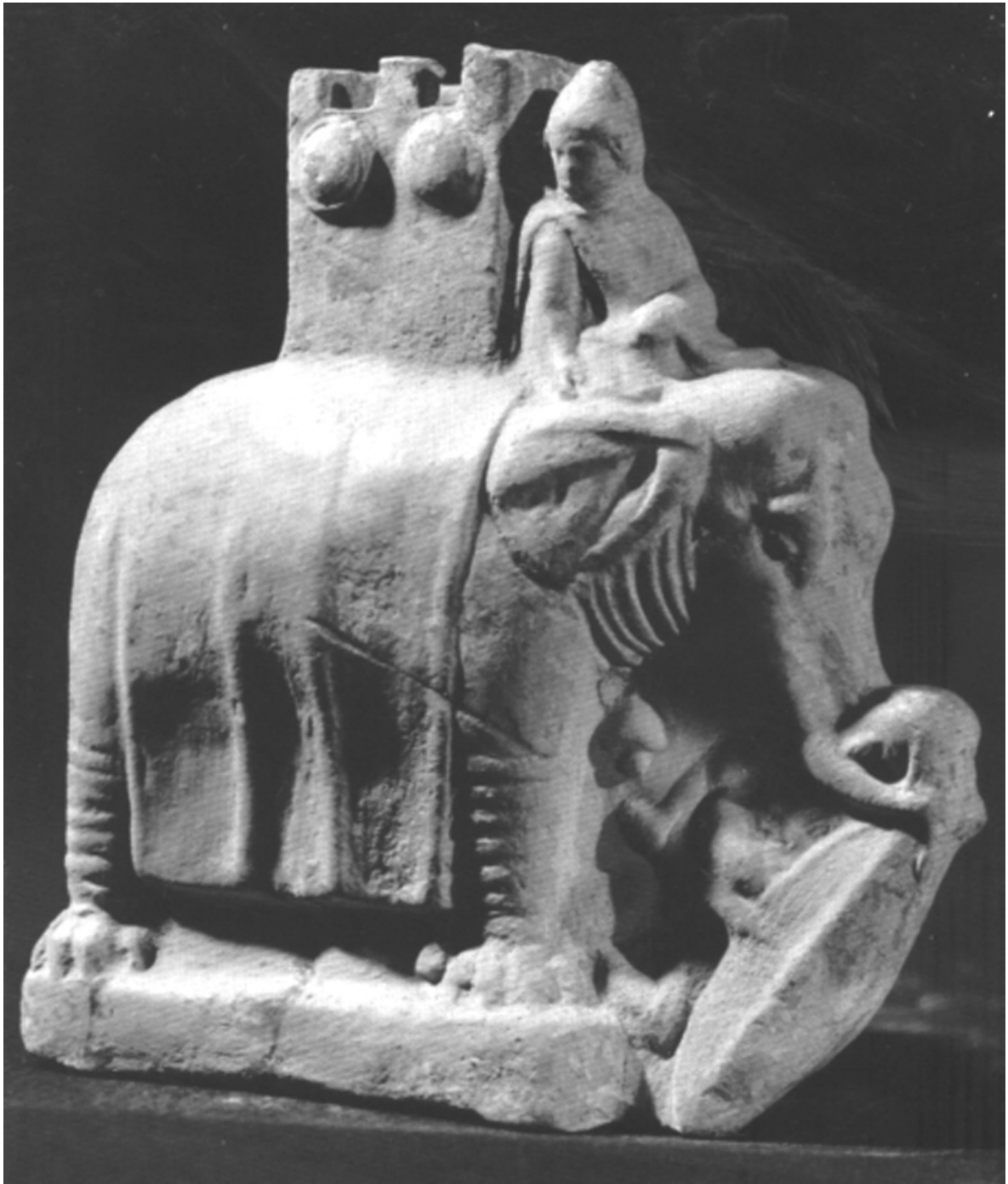
However prolific they may have been,³²⁶ these 20,000 Celts were, a few years after the invasion, only a very small army and could not hold a territory that size. They suffered problems when they overextended themselves. The Galatians subsequently fought with varying success against Antiochus, King of Syria, who gained the name Soter (saviour) for his saving the country from them after defeating the Galatians at the famous ‘Battle of the Elephants’ in 275 BC. Following his victory over them, it was probably Antiochus who established the Galatians astride the Halys and on the Phrygian plateau, the poorest and most sparsely populated part of Asia-Minor – and the least desirable. They made the best of what they got rather than chose this territory themselves.³²⁷

From this time the Galatians continued to play a major part in the politics of Asian-Minor, most notably in the saga of the Bythnian succession. On the death of Antiochus Soter, his son Seleucus embroiled himself, through the murder of his little brother and step-mother, Bernice, in a state of war with his uncle Ptolemy, (king of Egypt and Bernice’s brother). The Galatians became caught up in the conflict, fighting for the 14 year old pretender Antiochus Hierax against Seleucus II Callinicos.³²⁸ From the very first years of his reign Seleucus II had

326. *Quamquam Gallorum ea tempestate tantae fecunditatis iuventus fuit ut Asiam omnem uelut examine aliquo inplerent.* - Just., 25, 2,8; See also Livy 38;16

327. See Kilburn K., Lucian, Harvard, 1959, Pp. 165-167

328. *-Interea Ptolomeus cum Antiochum in auxilium Seleuco uenire cognouisset, ne cum duobus uno tempore dimicaret, in annos X cum Seleuco pacem facit; sed pax ab hoste data interpellatur a fratre, qui conducto Gallorum mercenario exercitu pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem imploratus exhibuit. In eo proelio uirtute Gallorum uictor quidem Antiochus fuit, sed Galli arbitantes Seleucum in proelio cecidisse in ipsum Antiochum arma uertere, liberius depopulaturi Asiam si omnem stirpem regiam extinxissent. Quod ubi sensit Antiochus, uelut a praedonibus auro se redemit societatemque cum mercennariis suis iunxit.* (Just., xxvii , 2)



Hellenistic terracotta statuette from Myrina (Turkey)

A battle elephant prepares to step on a Galatian warrior. Representation of the 'Battle of the Elephants' when Antiochus I defeated the Galatians.

3rd – 2nd century BC. – Paris, Musée du Louvre

suffered territorial losses, losing all the Thracian acquisitions of his father together with most of the coastal areas of Asia-Minor.³²⁹ Eumenes, king of Bithynia, subsequently attacked both Antiochus and his Galatian allies, and had no difficulty in defeating them, weakened as they were by the previous conflict. We learn that while the brothers continued their war for sovereignty, their uncle Ptolemy, under pretext of avenging his murdered sister, also joined the fray. At this juncture Eumenes and the Galatians busied themselves with grabbing as much territory as possible.³³⁰ It was at this point that the Celts, using the conflict and resulting political instability, effectively consolidated their position in the region.

By the time Antiochus was overthrown, Eumenes had possessed himself of the greater part of the country. Indeed the war between the two brothers, together with the difficult situation in the east where the uprising of the Parthians severed the routes to Bactria and Sogdiana worked also in favour of Ptolemy allowing him to bring the sea empire of the Ptolemies to its zenith. The whole Aegean littoral of Thrace from Abdera through Maronea and Aenus to Lysimachia and the Thracian Chersonese at this time fell under the king of Egypt.³³¹ A decree from Samothrace from this period honours the Lacedaemonian Hypomedon, son of Agesilaus, who was a *strategus* placed by king Ptolemy over the Hellespontus and the Thracian littoral'.³³² Another inscription mentions *Epinicos* posted by Ptolemy as governor of Maronea.³³³

The two brothers, even though the war between them had become increasingly self-destructive, continued their feud. Antiochus, again defeated, fled first to the palace of Artamenes, King of Cappadocia, his father in law. A few days afterwards he threw himself on the mercy of his uncle Ptolemy, but again fearing treachery took flight once more. He

329. Will E., *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique, 323 -30 av. J.- C. 1* (Nancy, 1966), 231 ff.

330. *Just.* xxvii,3

331. *Polyb.*, 5.34,7-8

332. *I.G. 12.8* (Berlin, 1909) 156: 'Ἰππομέδων Ἀγησιλάου Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπων; Bengston H., *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, 3, München, 1952; 178 ff.; See also Delev, *Thracia XV*, 115

333. *Τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπὶ Μαρωνείας; See Delev, op. cit.*

was finally killed by ‘robbers’ and his brother Seleucus also died around the same time in equally mysterious circumstances.³³⁴

The tradition of the Galatians for exacting tribute subsequently brought them into direct conflict with Attalus I (Soter), King of Pergamun - *‘Attalus, the son of Attalus and Antiochis, daughter of Achaeus, succeeded to the throne and was the first to be proclaimed king, after conquering the Galatians in a great battle’*.³³⁵ Apparently his refusal to pay them led to the Galatians setting out to attack Pergamun itself. Attalus met them in battle at the sources of the Caicus river and won a decisive victory. An interesting piece in Pausinias’ account informs us that it had been foretold that the Celtic army would cross from Europe to Asia and that they would destroy the cities there was prophesied by Phaennis in her oracles a generation before the invasion occurred:

‘Then verily, having crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont,

The devastating host of the Gauls shall pipe; and lawlessly

They shall ravage Asia; and much worse shall god do

To those who dwell by the shores of the sea

For a short while. For right soon the son of Cronos

Shall raise them a helper, the dear son of a bull reared by Zeus

*Who on all Gauls shall bring a day of destruction.’*³³⁶

Despite this setback, the psychological effect of the Celtic forces in the region at this time was considerable. In fact, they became an intricate factor in any armed conflict not only on their own behalf, but

334. *Just.*, xxvii, 3; *Trog. Prol.*, XXVII tells us that Antiochus was killed by the ‘Gauls’.

335. *Strabo*, 13,4 ,2; See also *Livy* 38:16

336. *Paus.*, X, 15, 2-3; *Pausinias* specifically states that by the son of a bull she meant Attalus, king of Pergamun, who was also styled bull-horned by an oracle.



Suicide of a Galatian Chieftain after killing his wife. Together with 'The dying Gaul' this work formed part of a monument erected in 227 BC at Pergamon by Attalus I to commemorate his victory over the Galatians.

Roman copy in marble – 1st century. Rome – Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

for anyone who had aspirations to political power in the region.³³⁷ This is confirmed by subsequent events. Seleucus III, son of Seleucus II (Callinicus) and surnamed ironically Ceraunus (the thunderbolt) undertook, assisted by his cousin Achaeus, a great expedition against Attalus³³⁸ whose dominions now reached to the Taurus. Seleucus' army also included Celtic mercenaries and indeed they were in leadership positions.³³⁹ During the march a dispute seems to have arisen between the young king and his Celtic troops. Seleucus was subsequently murdered and the Galatians returned home.³⁴⁰ On the death of Seleucus, Achaeus, although offered the diadem, rejected it in favour of the younger brother, Antiochus. Antiochus III (the Great) subsequently appointed Achaeus to direct the war in Asia-Minor.

Encouraged by the death of Seleucus and the perceived weakness of Antiochus, two brothers, Molon and Alexander who were satraps in Babylon and Persis, quickly declared independence. Consequently Antiochus was forced to march east to deal with them. The subsequent battle between Antiochus and Molon after the king had crossed the Tigris perfectly illustrates the aforementioned testimony to the importance of Celtic mercenaries during the power struggle in the region; Antiochus had them in his army during the battle at Babylon,³⁴¹ but facing him the rebellious Molon likewise had Celtic forces in his pay.³⁴²

337. *'Quamquam Gallorum ea tempestate tantae fecunditatis iuventus fuit ut Asiam omnem uelut examine aliquo inplerent. Denique neque reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, neque pulsus regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerunt. Tantus terror Gallici nominis et armorum inuicta felicitas erat, ut aliter neque maiestatem suam tutam neque amissam recuperare se posse sine Gallica uirtute arbitrarentur'.*(Just., 25, 2).

338. Poly., IV, 48, 6 - *'When on the death of Seleucus, father of this Antiochus his eldest son Seuleucus succeeded him, Achaeus in his quality of a kinsman accompanied the king on his expedition across the Taurus'.*

339. Poly., *op cit.*

340. Poly., IV, 48, 8

341. *'On his right wing he posted first his lancers under the command of Ardys, an officer of proud ability in the field, next to them the Cretan allies and next them the Gallic Rhigosages' – Poly., V, 53, 2-3*

342. *'...he divided his cavalry between his two wings, taking into consideration the enemy's disposition, and between the two bodies of cavalry he placed the Scutati, the Gauls and in general all his heavy armed troops' – Poly., V, 53, 8*

d

MAGNESIA

In 196 BC Antiochus the Great invaded and occupied most of the southern and western coasts of Asia-Minor, crossed into Europe and took the cities of the Chersonese which had been evacuated by the Macedonian garrisons. He also started to rebuild the city of Lysimachia and, in order to consolidate his position in this newly acquired coastal area, invaded the lands of the neighboring Thracian tribes in the interior, ravaged them,³⁴³ and informed the Roman delegation which arrived at Lysimachia that as a descendant of Seleucus Nicator he considered himself the rightful heir to the European territories of Lysimachus.³⁴⁴ In 195 BC Antiochus, continuing his advance, captured new territory and ‘liberated’ the Greek cities from the Thracians. The extent of this advance to the west along the northern Aegean coast remains unclear but we do know for certain that his garrisons were established in Aenus and Maronea³⁴⁵ and to the east his sphere of influence reached Byzantium – according to Appian - gaining the gratitude of the citizens of the city with his great favours.³⁴⁶

Antiochus’ rule in southern Thrace, however, was to be of short duration. After suffering defeats by the Romans on land (Thermopylae, April, 191) and on sea (Coricos, September, 191 and Mionesos, 190) he withdrew to Asia, frightened that the Roman fleet would block his retreat through the straits. He was subsequently followed by the Romans who passed unimpeded through southern Thrace led by the consul Lucius Cornelius Scipio and his elder brother, Publius Cornelius Scipio. They were escorted by the Macedonian king, Philip, who remained loyal to the Romans during the conflict, and passed into Asia-Minor.³⁴⁷

343. *Livy*, 33, 38, 8-14; *Diod.* 28, 12,15; *App. Syr.* 3-4

344. *Polyb.* 18, 51, 3-8; *App.Syr.* 10-13; *Livy*, 33, 40, 1-6; 34, 58, 4-6

345. *Livy* 37, 60, 7

346. *App. Syr.*, 21-22

347. *See Delev, op. cit.* 118

The Romans were thus drawn into Asia as allies of Pergamum and against the armies of Antiochus and his allies - the Galatian Celts. Antiochus appears to have enlisted the support of the Galatians through a mixture of threats and promises.³⁴⁸ Throughout the course of the war Antiochus made extensive use of Celtic troops,³⁴⁹ and at the battle of Magnesia itself, in 190 BC, he relied heavily on the Galatians, especially their cavalry.³⁵⁰ The Celtic alliance with Antiochus was to prove disastrous for them. Despite their support Rome subsequently won a resounding victory in the key battle at Magnesia, and thus the war.

In the aftermath of this victory, the new Roman commander, Gnaeus Manlius Vulso, seems to have held a form of vendetta against the Galatians combined with a thirst for plunder. He insisted on pursuing them despite having no mandate for this campaign, actions for which he would later be called to task for by his enemies in Rome before the senate. Here a section of the testimony of L. Furius Purpurio and L. Aemilius Paulus against him - *'When he found that the king's subjects remained perfectly quiet and that there was nothing to justify hostilities, he led his troops round against the Gallograeci, a nation against whom no declaration of war had been made either by the authority of the senate or the order of the people. Who else would have ever dared to do such a thing?'*³⁵¹ Vulso, however, seems to have been determined that the Galatians should be 'dealt with'. A few days later the consul advanced with his army from Ephesus to hunt down and destroy the Galatians.³⁵²

348. *App., syr., II , 6 - 'Then by gifts and fear of his warlike preparations he brought the Galatians into his alliance, because he considered them formidable by reason of their bodily size'.*

349. *See Livy, 37,38; 38; 18*

350. *On the right of the phalanx Antiochus stationed 1,500 Galatian infantry and 300 cavalry 'clad in mail armour and known as 'cataphracti'. (Livy 37, 40) 'On the left phalanx were a further 1,500 Galatian foot and behind the scythe chariots 2,500 'Gallograeci cavalry'. Livy op. cit.; App. Syr., 6, 32 - 'His horse was stationed on either wing consisting of the mail-clad Galatians and the Macedonian corps called the Agena, so called because they were picked horsemen' 'On the left were the Galatian bands of the Tectosagi, the Trocmi, the Tolistoboi, and certain Cappadocians furnished by king Agriarthes, and a mingling of other tribes'.*

351. *Livy, 38, 46*

352. *Livy, 38, 12*

After holding a review of the army Vulso addressed the soldiers. He began by eulogising their valor in bringing the war with Antiochus to a close in a single battle, and went on to encourage the army to begin a fresh war against the Galatians. This nation, he reminded them, had gone to the assistance of Antiochus, and so intractable was their temper (that of the Celts) that the removal of Antiochus beyond the Taurus would be useless unless the power of the Celts was broken.³⁵³ This eulogy by Vulso is a valuable insight into the Roman psyche towards the Celts in general and the Galatians in particular. It would appear to go beyond the usual rhetoric and (especially in light of what subsequently occurred) deliver a racial justification for the genocidal policy which was about to be carried out - *'M. Manlius flung down single-handed the Gauls who were climbing the Capitol. And, besides, those ancestors of ours had to deal with genuine Gauls bred in their own land; these are degenerates, a mongrel race, truly what they are called - Gallograeci. Just as in the case of fruits and cattle, the seed is not so effective in keeping up the strain as the nature of the soil and climate in which they are reared are in changing it'*.³⁵⁴

Vulso's speech here illustrates two important factors. Firstly, throughout this speech the 'Gauls' are equated with animals and beasts reflecting the inner psychology of the 'civilized' Romans towards these 'barbarians'. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly both Vulso himself and subsequently L. Furius Purpurio and L. Aemilius Paulus before the senate are at pains to portray the Celts of Galatia as less than Celts, less than Gauls. Vulso's intent seems to have been to portray these Galatians as somehow less fierce and formidable than the 'Gauls', and thereby lessen the psychological impact the name had on his troops. This philosophy seems to have run deep in the Roman psyche at this time for even his opponents, L. Furius Purpurio and L. Aemilius Paulus, express the same idea later before the senate - *"Do not suppose, senators, that it is only in their name that the Gallograeci are a mixed race; it is much more their bodies and minds that have become mixed and corrupted"*.³⁵⁵

353. Livy, *op.cit.*

354. Livy, 38,17; See also Flor (XXVII)

355. Livy, 38,46

Vulso was aided in the subsequent campaign against the Galatians by a leader called Eposognatus, the only Celtic chief who had remained loyal to Eumenes and refused assistance to Antiochus. On his march into their territory he extracted tribute from the various cities along the way. Livy describes the barren and inhospitable land that was the home of these Galatians at the time - *'Then the army entered a tract of country called Axylon. It derives its name from the character of the soil; not only does it bear nothing in the shape of timber, but not even brambles or thorn bushes grow here, or anything which can serve for fuel. The inhabitants use cow-dung instead of wood'*.³⁵⁶ The Romans first met resistance when their camp at Cuballum was attacked by Galatian cavalry.³⁵⁷ This would appear to have been part of a delaying tactic on behalf of the Celts rather than a full scale attack. Meanwhile, despite Eposognatus' attempts to convince the tribes to succumb to the Romans, the Galatians were abandoning their villages and farms in the open country, and together with their wives and children were carrying their portable property and driving their flocks and herds before them towards Olympus. Here they intended to defend themselves.³⁵⁸

356. Livy, 38, 18

357. Livy *op. cit.*

358. Polyb., *Hist.*, 37, 8 - *'While Manlius was near the small town of Gordium envoys from Eposognatus reached him informing him that he had gone in person to speak with the Galatian leaders, but that they simply refused to make any advances; they had collected on Mt. Olympus their women and children and all their possessions, and were prepared to give battle'*; See also Livy, 38,17

OLYMPUS

According to Livy, the Romans attacked the Tolistobogi and the Troceni tribes at Mt. Olympus. Appian, on the other hand, informs us that only the Tolistoboi (-bogi) were present at Olympus.³⁵⁹ Livy's account of the battle, which in truth one may better label a massacre, is the most detailed. If we are to believe the Roman accounts, Vulso proved himself a clever tactician in the ensuing encounter. As the consul had anticipated that the fighting would not be at close quarters but would involve an attack upon positions from a distance, he accumulated a large quantity of javelins, light infantry spears, arrows and leaden balls and small stones suitable for hurling from slings. Provided with these missile weapons, he marched towards Olympus and encamped about four miles' distance from the mountain. This preparation of missiles was to prove decisive for the Romans. He sent a commander with 500 cavalry to test the ground and the situation of the Celtic camp. While thus engaged a body of Galatian cavalry, twice as large as the Roman force, sallied from their camp and put him to flight; killing and wounding several of the Romans. The next day the consul went out with the whole of his cavalry to explore, and as none of the enemy appeared outside their lines he made a circuit of the mountain. Strangely the Galatian cavalry that the Romans had encountered on this first day play no part in the subsequent events .³⁶⁰

Of the composition of the Roman forces who advanced on Olympus we learn that in front of the legions went the velites, the Cretan archers and slingers as well as the Tralli and Thracians. The heavy infantry advanced slowly as the ground was steep and they held their shields in front of them, not because they expected a hand-to-hand contest, but simply to avoid the missiles. With the discharge of missiles the battle began, and at first it was fought on even terms as the Galatians had the

359. App. Syr. VII, 42

360. Livy, 38, 20

advantage of their position, the Romans that of the variety and abundance of their missile weapons. As the struggle went on, however, it became anything but equal; the shields of the Celts, though long, were not broad enough to cover their bodies, and being flat also afforded poor protection.³⁶¹ Moreover, they had no weapons but their swords, and as they could not come to close quarters these were useless. They tried to make use of stones, but as they had not got any ready, they had to use what each man in his hurry and confusion could lay hands on, and unaccustomed as they were to these weapons, they could not make them more effective by either skill or strength.³⁶²

What had begun as a battle now turned into an exercise in wholesale slaughter, the reckless and poorly armed Celts no match for the more organized and disciplined Roman force – *‘On all sides they were being hit by the arrows and leaden bullets and javelins which they were powerless to ward off; blinded by rage and fear they did not see what they were to do, and they found themselves engaged in the kind of fighting for which they were least fitted. In close fighting where they can receive and inflict wounds in turn, their fury stimulates their courage; so when they are being wounded by missiles flung from a distance by an unseen foe and there is no one against whom they can make a blind rush, they dash recklessly against their own comrades like wild beasts that have been speared.’*³⁶³ Appian’s version of events differs slightly. He informs us that Vulso ascended the mountain and pursued the enemy as they fled until - *‘he had killed so large a number that it was impossible to count them’*.³⁶⁴ The Roman cavalry which had up till now taken no part in the main battle charged as the Celts tried to flee - *‘Then they rode, wherever their horses could travel, after the Gauls dispersed round the mountain, and either killed or took them prisoners.’*³⁶⁵

Of the overall casualty toll at Olympus we are informed that the slaughter was so great that even the Romans were unsure how many

361. Livy, 38, 23

362. Livy, *op. cit.*

363. *ibid.*

364. Appian, *Syr.*, VII, 42

365. Livy, 38, 23

they had killed - *'It was not easy to get at the number of those killed, for the flight and the carnage extended over all the spurs and ravines of the mountain, and a great many losing their way had fallen into the deep recesses below; many, too, were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who states that there were two battles on Olympus, puts the number of killed at 40,000; Valerius Antias, who is usually more given to exaggeration, says that there were not more than 10,000.'*³⁶⁶

All the information that we have on the above events comes naturally from Roman sources and they would appear to agree generally on the fundamental outcome of events – the complete destruction of the Celts in this region. However, research carried out at the nearby Galatian settlement at Gordion by the University of Pennsylvania since 1988 has delivered scientific evidence which throws the accuracy of these Roman accounts into doubt. Chronological data at the site seems to challenge the hitherto accepted picture of a 3rd century occupation terminating abruptly in 189 BC. There is also evidence of structural rebuilding which belies the theory that the site was abandoned between 189 BC and Roman resettlement in the late 1st century BC.³⁶⁷ It would appear that after Vulso's withdrawal the Galatian settlement was reoccupied which would appear to suggest that the consul's campaign in this area may not have been as effective as the Roman commentators suggest.

In the wake of his victory over the Tolistobogi, Vulso next set his sights on the Tectosagi and Trocemi tribes. After a three day march to Ancyra the Roman set up camp there, the Celtic tribes being ten miles distant. Against the remaining Galatians, however, Vulso was to find the campaign less straightforward than it had been previously.

366. *ibid*; If we are to take the casualty figures at face value this certainly seems to support the contention that, - 'The nation of the Gauls, however, was at that time so prolific, that they filled all Asia as with one swarm' - (Justin, XXV, 2); If we are to believe that here 40,000 of the Tolistobogi and Trocemi were taken prisoner in one blow (not to mention those killed at Olympus and Ancyra which the lowest estimates put at circa 20,000) we must bear in mind that upon their crossing into Asia there had been of the Celts only 20,000 in all'. - Livy, 38, 16; If Livy and Appian's figures are not grossly exaggerated the contention that they were indeed prolific is thereby proved. Here both main sources agree on the number of prisoners taken (40,000). (App. Syr., VII,42; Livy op. cit.)

367. Voight, *The Celts at Gordion*, P. 16

While the Roman was in camp at Ancyra he was visited by envoys from the Tectosagi tribe, who implored him not to advance any further until he had had a conference with their kings, assuring him that there were no terms of peace which they would not prefer to war. The next day was fixed for a meeting between the sides; the spot selected being one halfway between Ancyra and the Galatian camp.³⁶⁸ Vulso went to the meeting at the appointed time with an escort of 500 cavalry, but as not a single Celt was in sight he returned to camp. The envoys later reappeared and excused the absence of their chieftains on religious grounds, promising that some of their principal men would come, as matters could be equally well transacted with them. At the subsequent meeting Vulso sent Attalus to represent him with an escort of 300 cavalry. The terms of peace were discussed, but no final result could be reached in the absence of the Celtic leaders; so it was arranged that the consul should meet the chieftains on the following day.

It would appear that these negotiations and the planned ‘conference’ between the Romans and Galatians indeed had a dual purpose for the Celts. These negotiations seem to have been a ruse, the main goal of which was to win time in order to facilitate the Celtic withdrawal which was meanwhile proceeding over the Halys river. Secondly a plan had been conceived among the Galatians to ambush and presumably kill Vulso himself.³⁶⁹

On receiving assurances that the Celtic chieftains would come and that the negotiations could be completed, Vulso set off from his camp with an escort of 500 cavalry. He had ridden nearly five miles and was not far from the appointed place when he suddenly saw the Galatians charging towards him. The Romans met the first charge but the force of numbers eventually told. Vulso and his men broke and fled. Thus scattered they were hunted down by the Galatians, and a large number of them slaughtered. Although Livy informs us that the Romans then

368. The Tectosages had obviously withdrawn from Ancyra – ‘To the Tectosages belonged the fortress Ancyra, which bore the same name as the Phrygian town situated towards Lydia in the neighborhood of Blandus’. - Strabo, XII, 5, 2

369. Indeed, Livy makes their intentions clear - ‘The Gauls had a double object in delaying negotiations; first, to gain time, so that they might transport their property, which might, they feared, expose them to danger, across the Halys, together with their wives and children; secondly, because they were hatching a plot against the consul, who was not taking any precautions against treachery at the conference’. (Livy, 38, 25)

counter-attacked,³⁷⁰ one may assume that a blow had been dealt to Vulso' complacency. It would also appear that the delaying tactics had been effective. The subsequent delay of three days between this ambush and the battle which followed, during which time the Galatians were continuing to cross the Halys, is significant.

After this ambush the consul spent two days in making a close inspection of the natural features of the terrain that he might be familiar with every detail. The next day, after taking the auspices and offering the sacrifices, he led his army into battle. The Roman force was formed into four divisions: two of these the Roman intended to take up the middle of the mountain, the two others were to ascend the sides and attack the Celts in both flanks. Opposing them the Tectosagi and the Troceni, who formed the main strength, numbering 50,000 men, held the centre; the cavalry, 10,000 strong, were dismounted as horses were useless on that broken ground, and formed the right wing; their allies - the Cappadocians under Ariarathes³⁷¹ and the Morzian auxiliaries, in all about 4000, were posted on the left. The consul placed his light infantry in the first line as he had done in the battle on Olympus, and took care that they should have an equally ample supply of weapons at hand. The ensuing battle appears simply to have been a rerun of Olympus, the Roman missile barrage proving decisive.³⁷²

370. Livy, 38,25 – ‘... the 600 who were posted to protect the foragers met them in their flight. They had heard the shouts of alarm amongst their comrades, and hurriedly getting their weapons and horses ready they came fresh into the fight when it was almost over. This turned the fortunes of the day’.

371. ‘After the flight of the Galatians beyond the Halys, Ariarathes sent entreaties and 200 talents in money to Manlius, by which means he kept the Romans out of his territory’. - Appian., Syr., VII, 42

372. Livy, 38.27 - ‘The Gauls, unnerved by the memory of the defeat of the Tolostobogii, exhausted by their long standing and their wounds, with the javelins sticking in their bodies, did not wait for the first charge and battle-shout of the Romans. They fled towards their camp, but few gained the shelter of their entrenchments; the greater number rushed past them right or left, where-ever their eagerness to escape carried them. The victors pursued them up to their camp, slaying them from behind, but once at the camp they stopped in their eagerness for plunder; no one continued the pursuit. The Gauls held their ground somewhat longer on the wings, as it took longer to reach them; they did not, however, wait for the first discharge of missiles. As the consul could not keep his men from looting the camp, he sent the other two divisions in instant pursuit’.

Appian delivers a slightly different account of events here. In the aftermath of the ambush at Ancyra the Roman forces found the camp of the Tectosagi, those that had not as yet fled across the river, packed together in a great crowd in a camp. Vulso enclosed them with his light armed troops and *'rode around ordering his men to shoot them at a distance, but not to come into contact with them. The crowd was so dense that no dart missed its mark'*.³⁷³ Both main sources agree that 8,000 more Galatians were killed in the final flight, the remainder crossing the river. Significant is that while both agree that 40,000 prisoners had been taken at Olympus, there is no mention of Galatian prisoners being taken by the Romans among the Tectosagi and Trocmi tribes, either at Ancyra or afterwards. It would appear that, in contrast to the Tolistoboi, the Trocmi and Tectosagi managed to escape the worst of the Roman advance and to escape relatively intact across the Halys. This, if we accept the testimony of Polybius, had been the strategy in the first place. He informs us that the objects of the Galatians *'in making these postponements and practising these stratagems against the Romans was partly to gain time to transport certain of their relatives across the River Halys; but chiefly to capture the Roman consul, or at any rate to kill him'*.³⁷⁴ The latter scheme may have failed, but the first part of the plan seems to have been generally successful.

373. Appian, *op. cit*

374. Polyb., *Hist.*, 39, 9; Compare Livy, 38, 25

f THE ROMAN PERIOD

For his loyalty during the conflict with Antiochus the dominions of Eumenes were enlarged by the addition of the European Chersonesus and Lysimachia, the forts, villages and territory within the limits of Antiochus' rule; in Asia the two Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, the other called "Greater Phrygia"; Mysia which Prusias had taken from him was restored, as well as Lycaonia, Milyas and Lydia, and the cities of Tralles, Ephesus and Telmessus.³⁷⁵

The events at Olympus and its aftermath, however, do not seem to have tamed the Galatians for long. Two Galatian chieftains, Cassignatus and Gaezatorix, took the side of Pharnaces against Eumenes,³⁷⁶ and in 167 BC we find them again threatening to overrun Eumenes' kingdom.³⁷⁷ The Roman victory over the Galatians and the role that Eumenes had played in their defeat were apparently not quickly forgotten by the Celts of Asia-Minor. Shortly after the fall of Macedonia his kingdom was again threatened by them. Just as he assumed that the end of Perseus had eliminated the last major threat to his security Eumenes again came under attack from Celtic forces.³⁷⁸ This conflict with the Galatians under their leader, Solovetius, proved to be so intractable that Rome again was called on for support. A winter truce was arranged; the Celts had gone home and Eumenes retired into winter quarters at Pergamon, where he had been seriously ill. The beginning of spring drew the Celts from their homes again and they had advanced as far as Synnada, while Eumenes had assembled at Sardis an

375. *Livy* 38,39

376. *Polybius*, 24:14

377. *Livy*, 45, 34

378. *'He imagined that his own kingdom was safe and that he might look forward to a time of ease, now that the whole kingdom of Macedonia was utterly destroyed; yet it was then that he was confronted with the greatest dangers, by the Gauls in Asia seizing the opportunity for an unexpected rising...'* – *Poly.*, *Hist.*, 29,22

army drawn from every quarter of his kingdom. When the Romans had ascertained the location of the Galatians they decided to send a delagation and interview Solovetius. According to Livy, however, the previous experiences of the Galatians against the Romans appear to have done little to instill fear in them of Roman intervention - '*P. Licinius had a conversation with their leader and brought back word that all attempts to persuade him only made him more defiant, he expresses his astonishment that whilst the representations of the Roman commissioners succeeded in allying the strife between such powerful monarchs as Antiochus and Ptolemy they had no weight whatever with the Gauls*'.³⁷⁹ It would be untrue, however, to say that the Galatians had not learned from their experiences at the hands of the Romans in the previous decades. In a display of *realpolitik* a short time later (165 BC) Galatian envoys were sent to Rome and the autonomy of Galatia was granted by the senate on the condition that they remained on their own settlements and did not cross the frontier in arms.³⁸⁰

When Galatian resistance to Rome eventually ended it did so not through a decision of the Celts themselves, but as a result of geo-political factors. During the Mithridatic wars the Galatians (as was the case with the Scordsci and Bastarnae in Thrace) at first appear to have been inclined to support Mithridates against Rome. This, however, quickly changed. In 86 BC Mithridates' general, Archelaus, suffered a resounding defeat at the hands of Sulla at the battle of Chaeronea. When Mithridates heard of this great disaster he was astonished and terror stricken. Nonetheless he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that some would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat he decided to take preventative action. '*He arrested all suspects before the war could become sharper. First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects – all except three who escaped*'.³⁸¹ Most of the Celtic chieftains were murdered at a banquet to which Archelaus had

379. Livy *op. cit.*

380. Poly., *Hist.*, XXX, 28

381. App., *Mith.*, 7, 46

invited them. Subsequently he confiscated their property, established garrisons in the Galatian towns, and appointed a trustee called Eunachus as satrap of Galatia.

Mithridates' paranoia and the murder of his allies was to backfire dramatically and the three Galatian leaders who had escaped were to prove a fatal flaw in his scheme. They quickly raised an army from among the Celts of Asia-Minor and attacked Mithridates. In the end the Pontic leader paid dearly for his treachery. His forces were routed and driven out of Galatia completely, as well as suffering further defeats at the hands of the Celts in other parts of Asia-Minor.³⁸² It was not just in Galatia itself that Mithridates faced Galatian wrath. Indeed their contribution to the Roman cause during this conflict seems to have been considerable in terms of manpower. Lucullus' campaign in Bithynia and Galatia after the siege of Cyzicus was aided by a force of 30,000 Galatians,³⁸³ and when he subsequently fought Tigranes at the Taurus river he also had Celtic cavalry.³⁸⁴

382. *'...raised an army from the country people forthwith, expelled him and his garrisons and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he siezed' - App., op. cit.; See also App., Mith., 11, 7,5*

383. *'Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he lacked the nessecary supplies, so that 30,000 Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain over his shoulders' - Plut., Luc., 14,1*

384. *Interestingly here the Galatian and Thracian cavalry seem to have fought together for Lucullus - 'he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank.'* - Plut., Luc. 28,2

G

DEIOTARUS

From a strategic perspective, Galatian support for Rome during the aforementioned conflict proved very successful. In the short term it ensured that Celtic territory in Asia-Minor was substantially expanded. As a reward for their services the Galatian chief Tetrarch, Deiotarus I, received the title of King and had his dominions greatly extended, his territory henceforth also including Armenia Minor, - *'Armenia Minor he conferred upon Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, because he had acted as his ally in the Mithridatic war'*.³⁸⁵ Galatia was henceforth effectively divided by Pompey among the principal tetrarchs of the country, notably two who struck coins - the aforementioned Deiotarus I of the Tolistoboi (-bogi) and Brogitarus, ruler of the Trocmi. The Galatians at this stage were not strong enough militarily to represent a threat to Rome itself and played the role of 'supporting actor' to the main political forces in the region. This fact is specifically outlined by Cicero -



Deiotarus Bronze AE

AV: Head of Zeus. RV: Celtic Shield; Monogram

SNG BN 2332, SNG vAul 6101

Fig. 25

385. *Eutr.*, IV, 14

*‘King Deiotarus never had any forces with which he could have made war on the Roman people, but only just sufficient to protect his own territories from the incursion of enemies, and to send reinforcements to our generals’.*³⁸⁶

Pompey effectively reorganized Galatia into three principalities, one of which reached to the sea and included Trapezus. This was that of Deiotarus. He kept two main fortresses, one at Blucium which was his royal residence, and one at Peium which was used as his treasury.³⁸⁷ Deiotarus, from all accounts, had over the years proved himself to be a loyal ally of the Romans.³⁸⁸ Indeed, he seems to have been not just a loyal Roman ally, but had served in the Roman army himself. He had also personally fought in the Mithridatic Wars and proved himself a very effective military commander. During the conflict Eumachus, one of Mithridates’ generals, had overrun Phrygia and killed a great many Romans, with their wives and children, subjugated the Pisidians and the Isaurians and also Cilicia. Finally Deiotarus intervened, driving out the invader and slaying a great number of them.³⁸⁹

The Galatian chieftain also took advantage of the Roman civil war to intrigue between Caesar and Pompey. Thus the Celts of Asia-Minor became embroiled in the conflict that followed. His involvement on the side of Pompey seems to have been a substantial military contribution. Appian tells us that at Durrachium Pompey had among his forces – *‘auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Thracian slingers and pontic javelin throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from eastern*

386. Cicero, *Deiot.*, 23

387. Strabo, *XII*, 5, 1

388. *‘For what fortune, or what accident, or what injury can happen to Deiotarus of such severity as to efface the decrees of all our generals respecting him? For he has been complimented and distinguished ever since he was of an age to serve in their camps, by all those men who have had the conduct of our wars in Asia, and in Cappadocia, and in Pontus, and in Cilicia, and in Syria. And what length of time will ever efface, what forgetfulness will ever obliterate those numerous and honorable resolutions of the senate respecting him, which have been recorded in the public writings and memorials of the Roman people?’.* - Cicero, *Deio.*, 37

389. App., *Mith.*, 11, 7,5; Deiotarus, *Gallograeciae tetrarchs, praefectos Mithridatis bellum in phrygia mouentes cecidit* - Liv., *Per.*, 94 a

Galatia'.³⁹⁰ He also supported Pompey against Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly (6, June, 48 BC). This time Deiotarus sent not only reinforcements to Pompey but even his own son.³⁹¹

The Galatian king was subsequently called to defend his behavior and supposed treachery before Caesar himself. During Cicero's pro-consulship in Cilicia he had formed a friendship with Deiotarus, who had been of great assistance to him in his campaign against Pacorus and the Parthians. Having been an adherent of Pompey, Deiotarus had already been deprived of a considerable part of his dominions by Caesar, and he was now accused by his grandson, who was aware of Caesar's inveterate dislike to him, of having formed a design against Caesar's life four years before, when he entertained him in his palace on his return from Egypt. It is probable that Caesar was aware of the groundlessness of the charge, but countenanced it, and allowed it to be brought before him, in the hopes of finding a pretext for stripping the Galatian king of all the rest of his dominions. The defence delivered by Cicero on Deiotarus' behalf was based on his previous service to Rome, his friendship with Caesar, and also his alleged ignorance of the general political situation.³⁹² The defence proved so eloquent that he eventually returned to Galatia as king. He was, however, king by permission of Rome and from the above information we can gather that he always had been.³⁹³

When the last Galatian King, Amyntas, was put in place by Mark Antony in 39 BC, his sphere of influence eventually also included parts of Lysonia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Phrygia, containing the towns of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. In 31 BC, Amyntas, in support of Mark Antony, went to Actium. However, he changed sides at the critical moment and Augustus subsequently confirmed him in his kingdom. Following the sudden death of Amyntas in an ambush in 25 BC, Augustus made the territory into the Roman province of Galatia. By this juncture the Galatians, it would seem, were already completely at

390. *App., Civ. Wars, 2,49*

391. *Cicero, Deiot. 8-10; Appian informs us that Deiotarus himself was at the battle – 'Kings and princes were there leading their own troops; Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia'. – App., Civil wars, 2, 71*

392. *See Cicero, Deiot., 11-12*

393. *cf - Festus, Breviorum, XI - 'Afterwards, Deiotarus the Tetrarch controlled Galatia with our permission'.*

the whim of the empire.³⁹⁴ Appian quite well sums up the final years of Galatia as a (semi-) independent state – ‘*Pompey put the various nations that had belonged to the Seleucidae under kings or chiefs of their own. In like manner he confirmed the four chiefs of the Galatians in Asia who had co-operated with him in the Midhridatic war, in their territories. Not long afterwards they all came gradually under the Roman rule, mostly in the time of Augustus*’.³⁹⁵



Amyntas Bronze AE

AV: Head of bearded Hercules. RV: Lion walking right.

SNG Cop 96

394. ‘*On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust his kingdom to the sons of the deceased, but made it a part of the subject territory. Thus Galatia together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own district.*’ - Dio. Cass., 53, 26

395. App. Syr., Viii, 50; Strabo further comments - ‘*Such then was the organization of Galatia long ago, but in my time the power has passed to three rulers, then to two, then to one, Deiotarus, and then to Amyntas, who succeeded him. But at the present time the Romans possess both this country and the whole of the country that became subject to Amyntas, having united them into one province.*’ – Strabo, XII, 5,I

Conclusion

At the end of the 4th / beginning of the 3rd century BC south-eastern Europe and Asia-Minor underwent a period of political readjustment during the power struggle for control of Alexander's empire. This disarray in the status quo in the region provided perfect conditions for the mass Celtic invasion in 279 BC. This invasion itself was of unprecedented magnitude, its immediate effect being to throw the geo-political situation in the region into further chaos. However, the major significance of the 'Brenos invasion' lies in the fact that it was not simply an invasion in the military sense, but represented the expansion of a new culture into the region.

It has been a fundamental error of logic to dismiss this expansion as an invasion of 'barbarians' in search of plunder. Statistically speaking, the arrival of an army consisting of a almost quarter of a million warriors, in addition to their dependants, signifies a doubling of the population of Thrace practically overnight, even taking into account the small number (20,000) who later crossed over into Asia-Minor or took service with the armies of neighboring countries. To marginalize such an occurrence to a footnote in the region's history is therefore folly.

The four main Celtic political entities established in s.e. Europe and Asia-Minor in the wake of the Brenos expansion - the Scordisci Federation in w. Thrace, the Zaravetz Culture in n.e. Thrace, the short lived 'Tyle' state in s.e. Thrace, and the state of Galatia in Asia-Minor - were in some ways similar although each unique per se. The Scordisci federation established a thriving economic, political and social entity in western Thrace which had a fundamental cultural influence on the indigenous peoples with which they came into contact - i.e. Thracians and Illyrians. However, their major contribution to the history of the Balkans was in their role of resistance to the Roman empire. From the middle of the 2nd century BC until the end of the 1st century BC they formed the backbone of the 'barbarian' struggle on the peninsula against Rome which in the long term resulted in their almost complete

annihilation. With the destruction of the Scordisci the Balkans came, de facto, under the complete control of the Roman empire.

In n.e. Thrace a unique culture was born in the aftermath of the Celtic expansion. The Zaravetz culture (after the initial incursion) appears to have been the result of assimilation rather than occupation in the traditional sense, the end product of which was, as in the case of the Scordisci, but to a greater extent - a Thraco-Celtic people. This assimilation of the newly arrived Celts with the Getae/Dacians and Scythians created a unique culture in this region. The ease with which this process occurred suggests (as illustrated in Appendix 1) that these cultures were not that alien from each other from the outset.

The 'Tyle' state in today's s.e. Bulgaria and European Turkey is the most prominent and frequently discussed among academics. In fact, the 'Tyle' state is the least significant of all the Celtic political entities established. The fact that it is so often dragged out by academics in the region is probably because it is well documented in Greek and Roman sources and therefore accessible from a neo-classical standpoint. The fact that the state was destroyed by 'Thracians' also fitted in perfectly with the process which existed (especially in Bulgaria) of marginalization of the Celtic expansion and the official position that, despite scientific data to the contrary, Thracian culture remained 'pure' even after the Brenos invasion. In the short term the 'Tyle' state was an important player in the region, especially under the reign of Cavaros from the middle of the 3rd century BC. Ironically, of all the Celtic states in the region the Cavaros state, which had adopted Greek culture to the greatest extent and become an intrinsic part of the politics of the region, was the one which was destroyed with the most ease.

The establishment of the state of Galatia in Asia-Minor perhaps best illustrates the real nature of the Brenos expansion. Through a process of aggression, opportunism and expediency the comparatively small group which settled in this area managed to establish a Celtic state modeled in its ideal form. The structures of this state - religious, social and political - had been drawn from Gaul but were given a unique Galatian edge. How this would have further developed is a moot question as history, and especially the arrival of the Romans, intervened. However, the political expediency of the later Galatian chieftains during the Roman period meant that the Celts of Asia-Minor largely avoided the genocidal policies that had been implemented against them by Rome in the 2nd century BC or the Scordisci in western Thrace, and in the long term allowed them to fulfill their natural destiny - peaceful assimilation into

the surrounding population – as was the case with the Zaravetz culture in n.e. Thrace and the Balkan region, those who settled in Macedonia in the 1st century BC, and other Celtic enclaves in the Balkans during this period.

The Celtic expansion caused a fundamental rupture in the fabric of Balkan civilization, disturbing an age old cultural status quo. Many have endeavored to place this expansion in convenient boxes in terms of political or military impact. For such a human expansion there can be no boxes. With the arrival of Brenos' armies in 279 BC south-eastern Europe and Asia-Minor entered a new phase in its cultural and political existence.

Appendix 1

*THRACIAN AND CELTIC
ANTHROPONYMY*

- A COMPARATIVE STUDY

In the 19th century the fundamental work of the Viennese linguist, Wilhelm Tomaschek, was the first to define Thracian as an Indo-European language (Indo-German according to the terminology of the time).¹ In relation to the present topic, however, he contented himself generally with identifying some linguistic traces of the Celtic expansion of the 4th / 3rd century BC rather than a deeper analysis of these links. The work of Holder² and Dottin³ at the end of the 19th century / beginning of the 20th, contributed greatly in giving a Celtic basis of comparison and in the 20th century the Bulgarian academic, Detshev, began to look deeper into these links, beginning in 1922 with his article, 'Le thrace et le celtique',⁴ and continuing until his expansive work, 'Die thrakischen Sprachreste' (1957).⁵ More recently the topic has been taken up by researchers such as Neroznak,⁶ Orel,⁷ Ködderitzsch⁸ and in particular in the work of Ivan Duridanov, with whom I had the honor of working on this theme for a number of years.⁹

With reference to the linguistic legacy of the Celtic expansion into the Balkans at the end of the 4th / beginning of the 3rd century BC, Duridanov concluded that - "die Kontakte der kelten nach ihrer Invasion in die lander südlich der unteren Donau im 3 J.H. vor Chr. Mit der einheimischen thrakischen und mösischen Bevölkerung spuren in der Toponomie und Anthronymie hinterlassen haben, und zwar mehr in Moesia Superior und Scythia Minor und weniger in Thrakien".¹⁰

One aspect of this intercultural relationship, however, which has been relatively neglected by academics is the question of exactly what links these cultures (i.e. Celtic/Thracian) enjoyed prior to this invasion. While it is outside the scope of this study to provide a comprehensive analysis of this relationship, the parallels outlined below furnishes a valuable insight into this question. Anthroponomy is probably the most valuable body of evidence which we possess in terms of information on cultures which left virtually no written records. Thracian personal names are recorded in Greek and Roman sources as well as in a small number of Thracian inscriptions. They give us an important insight into the origin and inter-cultural connections of this ancient culture. As outlined below, the comparative analysis of the Thracian name elements with those of the Celtic group provide surprising data on the scope of the relationship between these two cultures prior to the Celtic expansion of the 3rd century BC.

More than a century ago a stele was found in the Bulgarian village of Rupkite near Carasura (Mutatio Carasura is located approximately 30 km. south-west of Augusta Traiana and approximately 15 km. north-west of Pizus). The text on the stele runs as follows :

Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
 Συνποσιασταὶ
 θεοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 Γερμανος Γερμανου
 5 Ἐπτητραλις Μουκα(- - ?)
 Κοτυς Δοληος
 Μουκατραλις Ἐπτη(- - ?)
 Ταρσας Σκεληνος
 Πιστους Σκελου
 10 Δολης Δειζεζενε(ος)
 Μουκαβορι(ς) Αὐλου(- - ?)
 Μουκαπορις Βρι(- - ?)
 Μουκαπορις Μουκα(- - ?)
 Μουκατ(ρ)αλις Δια(- - ?)
 15 Δολης Βει(θ)υος

This stele represents one of the most comprehensive Thracian anthroponymical records produced by the Thracians themselves¹² i.e. uncorrupted and not passed down through Greek/Roman sources. A closer examination of the anthroponymical data recorded here exhibits uncanny parallels with Celtic data, both continental and insular; a phenomenon which has hitherto been overlooked by academics.



Fig A – The Rupkite Inscription

Element 1 –

The name element *Βει(θ)υος* which appears in line 15 of the Rupkite inscription is one of the most common Thracian anthroponymical elements, of which there are over 300 recorded examples.¹³ The Thracian element has long been linked to the element *bitu(s)*- which occurs as a first and second element in Celtic pns such as Bitu-rix, Bitu-daga, Dago-bitus etc.¹⁴ The Celtic element appears also as the first element in the name of Bituitus, a King of the Averni tribe who fought against C. Fabius Maximus in Gaul.¹⁵ The same name is to be found in the Balkan context in 78-76 BC where a Scordisci officer also carried the name *Bituitus*.¹⁶ In tribal names, the Bituriges tribe who came to prominence during the invasions of northern Italy in the 4th century BC, also carry the element in their name. The Bituriges occupied the diocese of Bourge which included the departments of the Cher and Indre and the north-western part of the department of the Allier.¹⁷

Parallels to the Thracian element are to be found not only in the aforementioned continental Celtic but also in the insular Celtic sphere in both P and Q Celtic inscriptions: Compare:

BIVITI

*Q Celtic = GOIDELIC / OGHAM*¹⁸

CORBAGNI ||| MAQI ||| BIVITI

Expansion:

CORBAGNI MAQI BIVITI ¹⁹

Goidelic / male - BIVITI (Latinized = Bitheus)²⁰

Further:

BIVADI²¹

BIVATIGIRNUS²²

BIVAIDONAS²³(Fig. B)

BIVAI[DO]NASMAQIMUCOI ||| CUNAVA[--]

Expansion:

BIVAI[DO]NAS MAQI MUCOI CUNAVA[--]

Translation:

*(The stone) of Bivaidu (PN), son of the tribe
Cunava[li] - (Connell).*²⁴

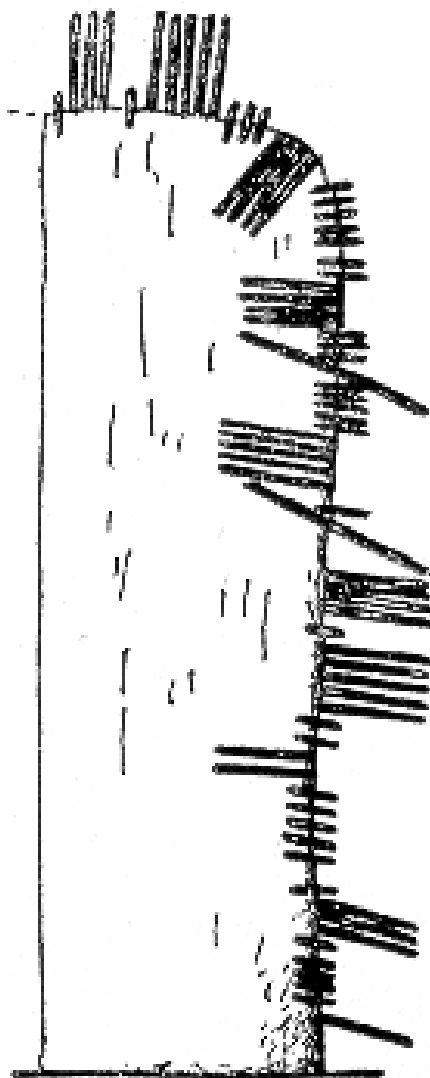


Fig. B

Despite claims that all of the names containing this element in Thrace are of Celtic origin,²⁵ and the fact that the element is indeed recorded in Thrace only from the beginning of the 3rd century BC (i.e. exactly the period following the Celtic invasion and their subsequent settlement in the area), one must agree with the objections of Bulgarian linguists²⁶ - because of the sheer volume in which this element is represented in Thrace, it seems probable that the majority (although certainly not all) of the names in this region containing this element are indeed Thracian.

In this context it is worth noting the presence of the same anthroponymical element in Linear B. Cf. :

From Knossos –

*pe-te-u = Beitheus*²⁷

The second element of the aforementioned PN - *Bitu-centus* - is even more indicative of the problem which is faced by scholars in separating Thracian from Celtic PN's particularly from the 3rd century BC onwards. The aforementioned *Centhus/Kenthas* element and the element –πoρoς (see element 5) are particularly significant in the Thracian anthroponymical system, characteristic as they are for the Thracian language as the second element in two component names, and which one encounters particularly often.²⁸

The Thracian element occurs generally as a second component in names such as *Bithi-centus* but also as the first element in double component names.²⁹ This element appears almost 100 times in Thrace and, while some of these names are undoubtedly of Celtic origin,³⁰ it is again fairly certain that the majority are of Thracian origin. The Thracian element has been linked to the Celtic in PN's such as *Cintu-gnatus*, *Cintu-genus*, *Cintus* etc.³¹ Indeed, over the last century the Old Gaelge - cēt = first, and the middle Gaelge - cinim = 'I descend, spring from', have been linked by a number of academics to the abovementioned Thracian element.³² The element also appears in Dacian.³³

The Celtic element, apart from the aforementioned PN's, is also recorded in the Gallo-Etruscan inscription:

Tanotaliknoi Kuitos (Gallo-Etruscan)
Normalized = Dannotalignoi Quintos
Nominative = *Quintos (m), Dannotalos (m)*³⁴

In the insular Celtic sphere the element - *Cenn* = 'head'³⁵ also appears in a number of PN's:

Cf. - *QUNELOCI*³⁶

Also:

QENILOCGNI Fig. C37

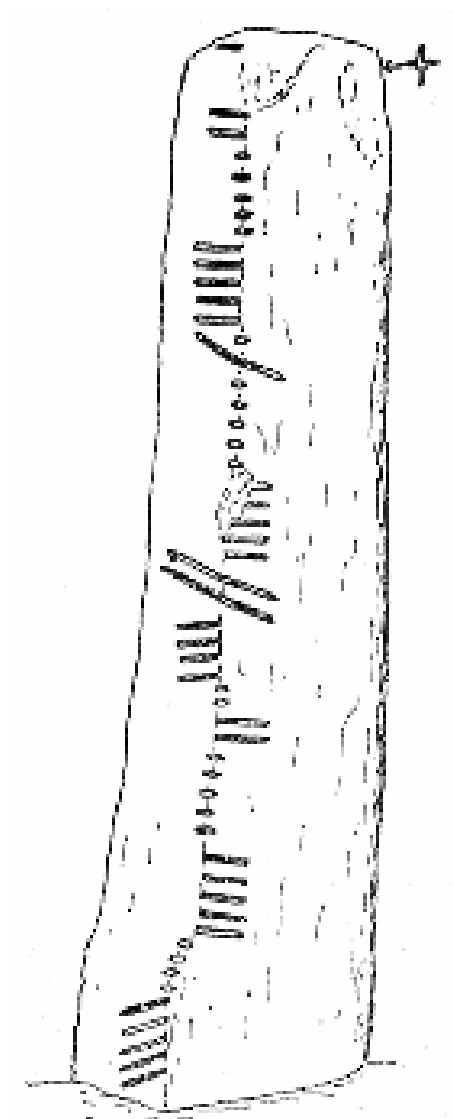


Fig. C

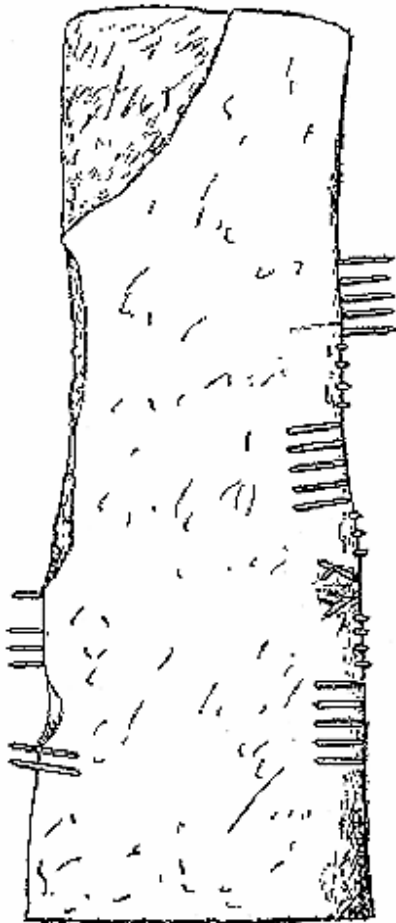


FIG. D

In Gaeilge the element occurs in *Cinnire* – a leader, a guide, protector; *Cinnireacht* – leadership and in the verb – *Cinim* – I lead.³⁹ The Cymraeg (P-Celtic, Welsh) *pen(nau)* = head, chief, supreme - was also used as a title. In the first of the four branches of the Mabinogi, for example, we are told how Pywll, Prince of Dyfed, gained the right to be called ‘*Pen Annwn*’ – the head/ruler of Hades.⁴⁰ It is therefore probable that the Thracian element in PN’s is also used in the general sense of leader/chieftain. This presumption is supported by the presence of the element in an epithet of Apollo – *Κενδρεισος/Cendissenus* and in the name *Κενδρεισεια* on coins from Philippopolis.⁴¹

Again the element is also present in Linear B - Cf. :

From Knossos -

Ka-sa-to = Xanthos

From Pilos -

Ka-sa-to = Xanthos

From Mycenae -

*Ka-sa-to = Xanthos*⁴²

Element 2 -

The proper name Κότυς (with variations - Κοτος, Cotus, Κοτις, Κοτις etc.), which is present in line 6 of the Rupkite inscription, appears over 80 times in proper names, mostly in Thrace but also on the northern Aegean islands (Samothraki, Imbros, Tenos), north-western Asia-Minor, and northern Greece.⁴³

The same element is to be encountered in many continental Celtic PN.'s. Cf. :

- Gallo-Etruscan PN – *Esanekoti*⁴⁴

Normalized = Essandecotti

Nominative = Essandecottus (m)

In Gaul, present as the first element in the name of *Catumandus* who laid siege to Marseilles in circa 400 BC,⁴⁵ and the second element in *Ambicatus*, King of the Bituriges tribe. Livy informs us of Ambicatus. The Celticum at that time formed a sort of federation of which Ambicatus was the head. The population exceeded the normal size of agricultural tribes attached to the land. Ambicatus resolved to send out two colonies under the command of his nephews on the distaff side, his

heirs, Sigovesus and Bellovesus – one into Germania and the other to Italy.⁴⁶

*The element Catu we may link to the Gaulish : *catu - ‘battle’*

Old Gaelge: - cath - ‘battle, fight’ (noun)

Often used in composition with nouns, adj. and in verbs to mean martial, warlike etc.

From the verb – Cathaigid = fights, battles

Gaeilge :

cath, caith - ‘warlike, battle (in compounds)

catha - ‘battle, conflict’

*From: cathuighim - ‘I fight, battle’.*⁴⁷

Cf: P Celtic - Middle Cymraeg - Kadeu, Cymraeg - Cadau – battles. Cymraeg - cad ‘battle, army’.

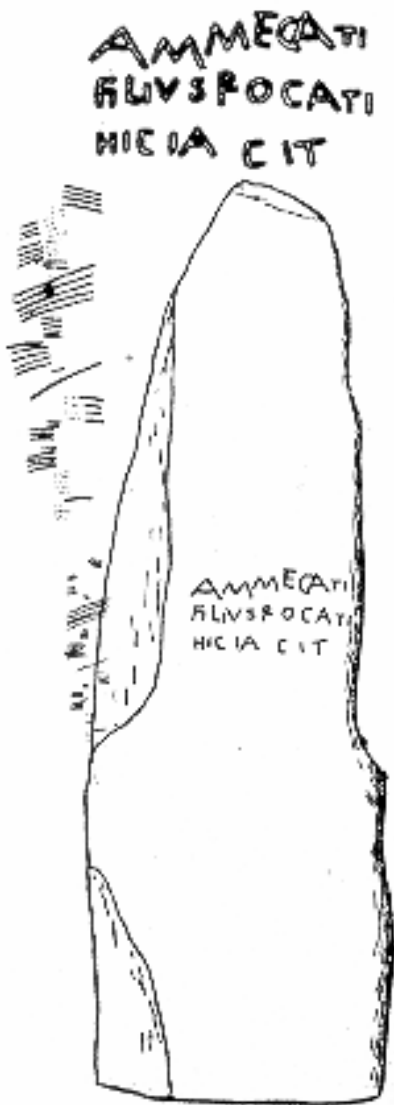
In Insular Celtic Inscriptions:



CATTABBOTT⁴⁸

Fig. E

Also: **AMBICATOS**⁴⁹



This name is particularly interesting in view of the aforementioned parallel form in *Ambicatus*, King of the Bituriges, in the continental sphere.

Fig. F

If the reading of Jackson/1953⁵⁰, of *Ambicatos* is correct, he argues it suggests British influence on the name in vocalism of the first syllable (AM for IM - **Imbicatos* being the Primitive Irish form). This influence has not extended to the *-mb-* which had become *-mm-* in British.

TEBICATOS⁵¹



Fig. G

*Compare also: CATTINI*⁵²
*CATTUBUTTAS*⁵³
*CATUVIR*⁵⁴ etc.

In the Balkan context, the PN. *Katomaros* from a Greek inscription near Kyzikos is a Celtic name.⁵⁵ Holder⁵⁶ first identified it as identical with the Celtic name *Catumaros* and also mentions the Celtic propernames, *Cotus*, *Cottus* etc. The second element – the Gaulish

element - **Marus* is contained in a number of Celtic PN's. Detschev comments that this personal name is particularly significant as it illustrates that, '*seine Bestandteile den Keltischen und Thrakischen gemeinsam sind*'.⁵⁷

Cf. Linear B –

From Knossos –

Ko-te-u, Ko-ti, Ko-to = Koteus, Kotis, Kotas

From Pilos –

*Ko-ty – [ro] = Kotys, Kotis*⁵⁸

Element 3 –

Δουλις - The Thracian element **Δαλα-** (Variations – **Δαλαι-**, **Δαλη-**, **Δαλε-**, **Δαλο-**, **Δουλις**, **Dulus** etc.) that occurs on the Rupkite inscription (Lines 6/10/15) is present in a large number of Thracian single and compound personal names – **Δαλαιτραλις**, **Δαλας**, **Δουλις** etc.⁵⁹ The element has been linked to the Celtic personal names **Dalos**, **Dalus**,⁶⁰ and been explained as coming from the i.e. - **dhal* = to flower, become green.⁶¹

Compare the Insular Celtic personal names: -

Dalach⁶²

Further:

*Dalagni(1)*⁶³(Fig. F)



Fig. F

*Dalagni (2)*⁶⁴

*Dallus*⁶⁵

*DALO*⁶⁶ (Fig. G)

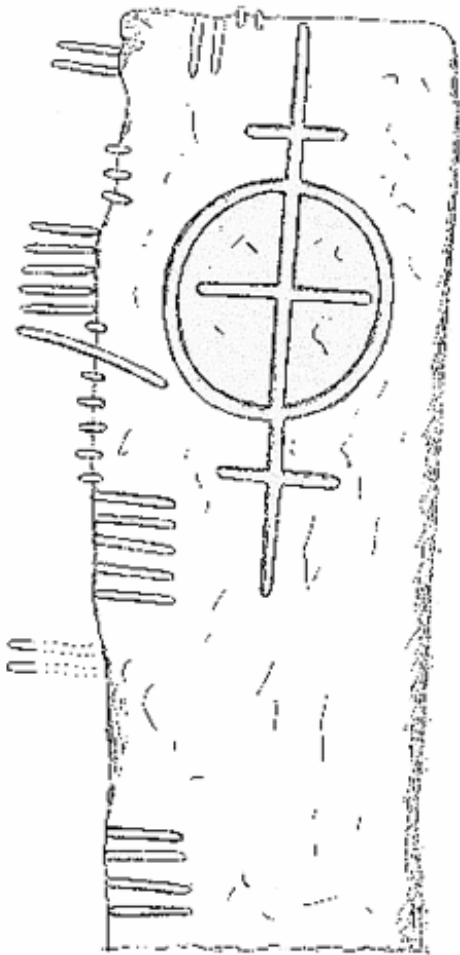


FIG. G

*Doligenn*⁶⁷ (Fig. H)

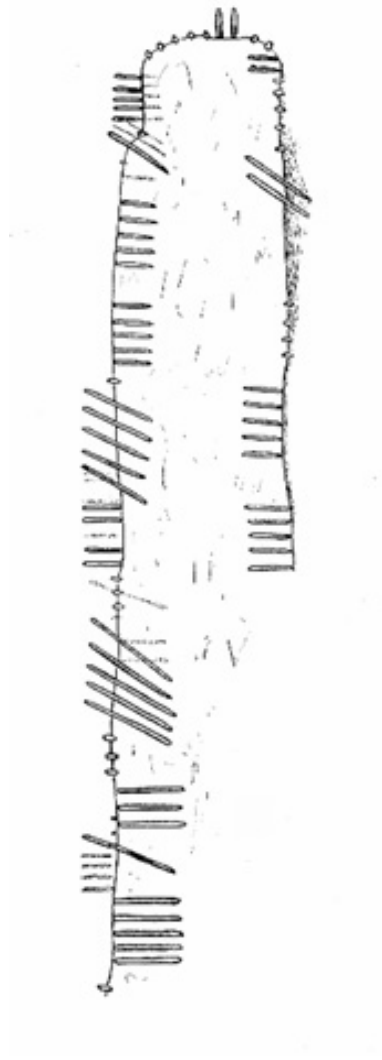


Fig. H

Element 4 -

The element *Mouka-* which occurs seven times on the Rupkite inscription (lines 5,7,1,12,13 (twice) and 14), is one of the most common Thracian anthroponomical elements. *Mouka* (and its variants) is present over 400 times and in all areas of Thrace in both single element and double element PN's.⁶⁸ It has long been pointed out that the same element occurs in continental Celtic PN's such as – *Moccus, Mocca,*

Mocius, Mocio etc.⁶⁹ The Bulgarian linguist, Detshev, has also pointed out that, ‘das kelt. Grundelement in Clannamen vorkommt’.⁷⁰

In the insular Celtic sphere the element is a common one. Compare:



Fig I

MAQICAIRATINIAVIINEQAGLAS

Expansion:

MAQI-CAIRATINI AVI INEQAGLAS

Translation:

[The stone] of Mac Cairthinn (PN), grandson [or descendant] of Enechglass.⁷¹ (Fig I)

MAQIQICI₇₂ (Fig. J)

SAFAQQUC || I | MAQIQICI

Expansion:
SAFAQQUCI MAQI QICI

Translation:
[The stone] of Safaqqucus (PN), son of Qicus (PN).⁷³

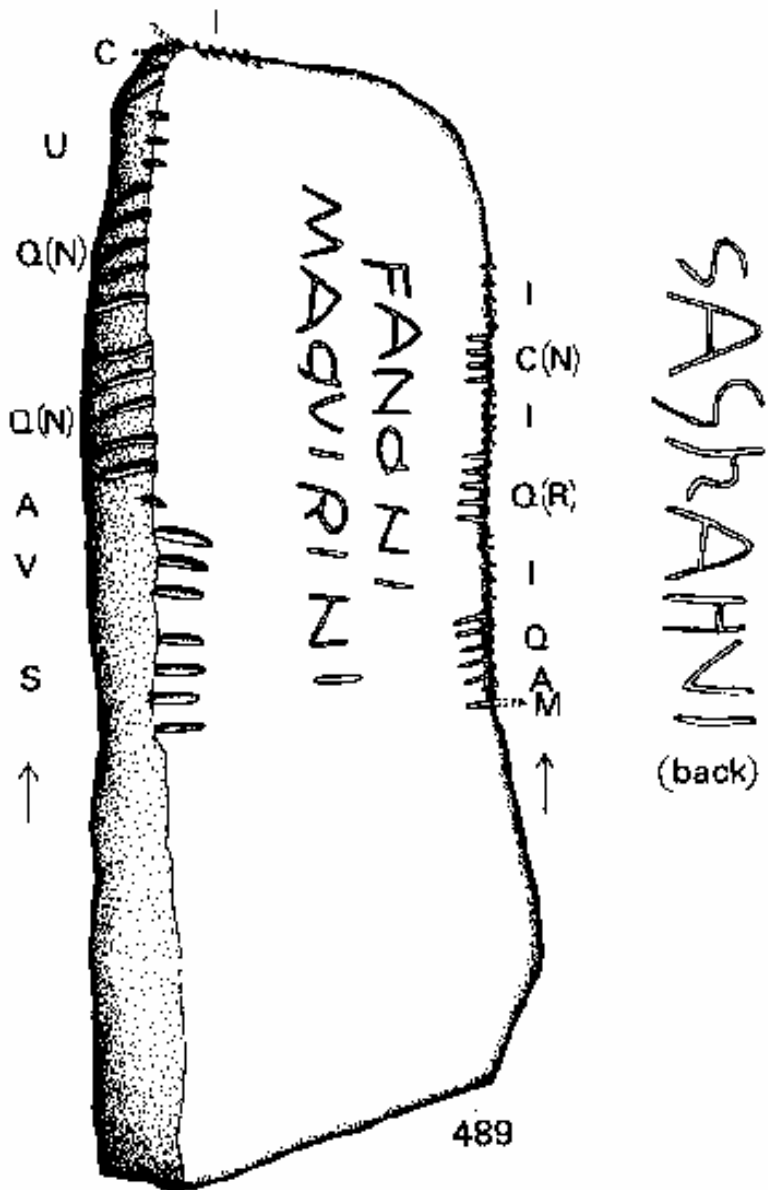


Fig. J

Further:

Maqi-ddecceda⁷⁴ (Fig. K)

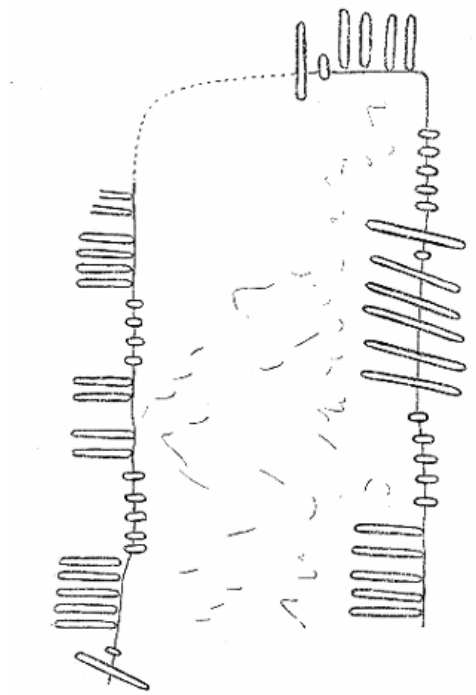


Fig. K

Mucci⁷⁵(Fig. L)

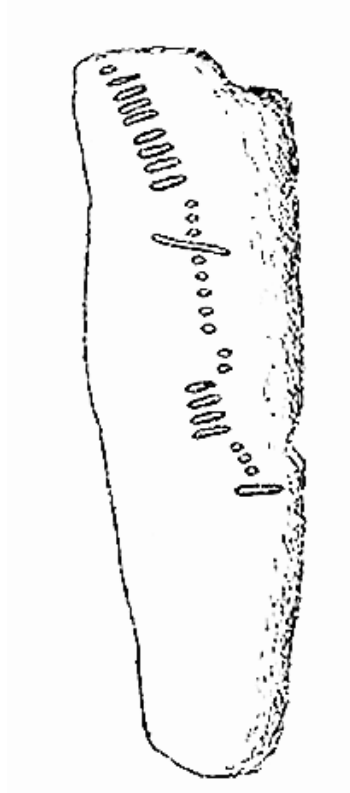


Fig. L

Compare also the Phrygian - *Μοχας* which occurs in personal names and the Illyrian PN's – *Muca*, *Mucat(i)us*.⁷⁶

Element 5 –

The element *–poris* which occurs twice on the Rupkite inscription (lines 12/13) is present a large number of Thracian personal names, generally as the second element in two component names.⁷⁷

This element in Thracian name giving survived well into the Roman period. Inscriptions south of the Danube were numerous but it is those from Dacia which are most interesting. There are four names in particular contained on inscriptions from Roman Dacia which may be taken to be Dacio-Moesian.⁷⁸ Two of these are of interest in the present context:

1. Nato Porus
2. Pie Porus

Both are present on a celebrated inscription from Rome⁷⁹ -

DM
ZIAI
TIATI.FIL
DACAE.VXORI
PIEPORI.REGIS
COISSTOBOCENSIS
NATOPORVS.ET
DRILGISA.AVIAE
CARISS.B.M.FECER

Tomaschek remarks on the background to the inscription, ‘In die Zeit des Kaisers Pius oder auch des M. Aurelius fällt wohl jener PIEPORUS REX COISSTOBOCENSIS, dessen Enkel Natoporus und Drilgisa zu Rom ihrer Grossmutter Zians, Tochter des dakischen Magneten Tiatus, einen inschriften setzen (*Fig. M*); diese Enkel waren wohl als Geiseln nach Rom gekommen, und Pieporus war entweder ein Grenzfriede oder ein unzuverlässiger Bundesgenosse der Römer gewesen.’⁸⁰

The fact that these inscriptions are from Dacia presents a problem as in Dacian the element is supposedly represented by *Per* (Son). According to Georgiev⁸¹ this is the Daco-Moesian word. It is also found on an inscription from Dialul Gradishte in the Orushte mountains which reads:

DECEBALUS PER SCORILO

Decebalus son of Scorilo (Fig. M)



Fig. M

According to Detschew the Thracian element comes from the IE. **per-*, **por-* = to give birth.⁸²

Cf. Q Celtic (Gaeilge) –

Pór = Seed, race; *Pórain* = (v) I spring up, flourish.⁸³

Compare also the continental Celtic pn.'s **Porios*, *Porius*,⁸⁴ and the insular Celtic -

*Porius*⁸⁵ (Fig N)



Fig N

PORIVS | HICINTV/M/VLOIACIT | HOMO PLANVSFVIT

Expansion:

PORIVS HIC IN TVMVLO IACIT HOMO PLANVS FVIT

Translation:

*Porius (PN) lies here in the tomb. He was a plain man.*⁸⁶

The element is again present in Linear B. Cf. the second element in the PN. –

From Pilos –

*re-u-ko-ro-pu-ru = Reuskouporis, Reskouporis, Raiskouporis*⁸⁷

Element 6

The Thracian name element $-\zeta\epsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$, $-\zeta\epsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$, *-senus*, *-zenus*, which is present as the third element in line 3 of the Rupkite inscription, occurs over 100 times in personal names in Thrace as the second element in two component names, with a variety of first components.⁸⁸ A common I.E. element.

The most common patronymic suffix in Gaulish propernames adds the suffix $\langle (I) GN- \rangle$ to the stem of the parents name, followed by either an o-stem or a a-stem inflectional suffix to match the gender of the idionym. The suffix is a reduced form of the root $\langle Gens \rangle$ cognate. For example in:

Missukos Siluknos (Gallo-Greek)

Normalized = *Missukos Silugnos* (m)

Nominative = *Missukos* (m), *Silus* (m).⁸⁹

Aneuno Olicno

Normalized = *Aneunos Oclignos*

Nominative = *Auenos* (m), *Oclos* (m)⁹⁰

iccauos Oppianicnos

Normalized = *iccauos Oppianignos*

Nominative = *iccauos* (m), *Oppianos* (m)⁹¹

An inscription has also been discovered where this format is paralleled by a Latin formula:

Ateknati Trukikni (Celto-Etruscan)

Normalized = *Ategnatos*(m), *Drutos*(m)

= Latin – *Ategnati Druti ffilus*]

***Koisis Trutiknos* (Celto-Etruscan)**

Normalised = *Coisis Drutignos*

Nominative = *Coisis (m), Drutos (m)*

Latin = *Coisis Druti f[ilius]* ⁹²

Compare also the female form –

***Seuerim Tertionim* (f)**

= *Severa Tertionigna* ⁹³

The element is a widespread one in the insular Celtic sphere. Cf:

ASEG[NI] ⁹⁴ (Fig. O)

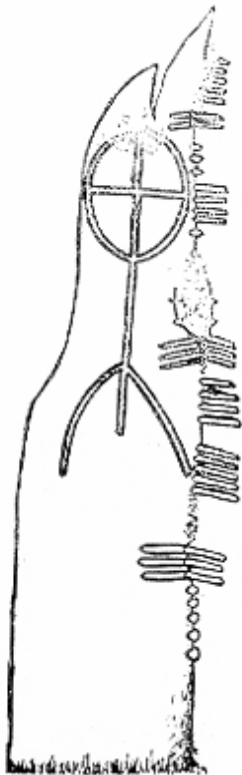


Fig. O

BRANOGENI₉₅ (Fig. P)

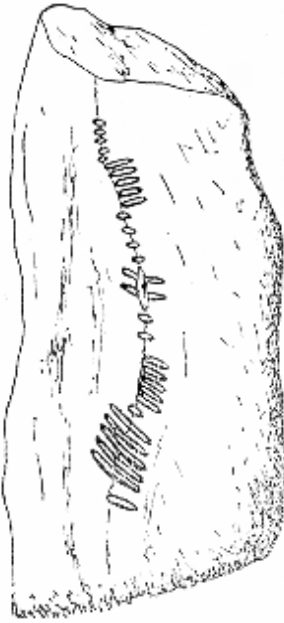


Fig. P

CORBAGNI₉₆ (Fig. Q)

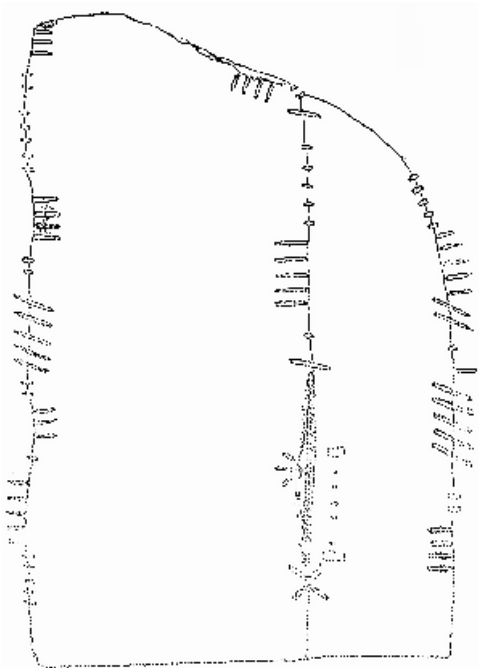


Fig. Q

MEDDOGENI⁹⁷ (Fig R)

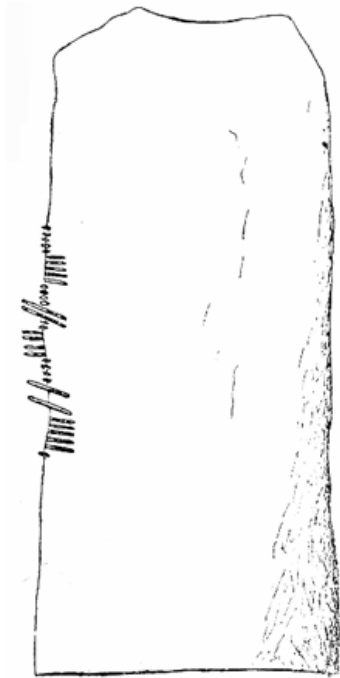


Fig. R

Element 7 -

The Thracian element *Dia-* which occurs in line 14 of the Rupkite inscription is present in a large number of Thracian personal names – *Dias-dinus, Dia-zenus, Dias-centus, Dias-cinthus, Dia-tralis, Δια-ζελμις, Δια-ζενις, Δια-σενης* etc.⁹⁸ The element is cognate with the Greek personal names – *Δίας, Διαιος*, and the first element of the Gaulish personal names – *Dia-blintes, Dia-rilos, Dia-sulos*.⁹⁹

Element 8 -

The element – *βορι(ς)* in line 11 of the Rupkite inscription occurs as first and second elements in Thracian PN's such as *Βουρ-κεντιος, Bur-vista, Βυρο-bostes, Duto-boris* etc.¹⁰⁰ Cognate with the first element in the Celtic pn's - *Bur(r)ius, Bur(r)ienus, Burēdius, Buricus, Buranus, Borilos*.¹⁰¹

In view of their common Indo-European roots it is inevitable that the Thracian language should display certain similarities with the Celtic group of languages. As illustrated in the main body of this work, the Brenos expansion at the beginning of the 3rd century BC also left substantial traces in the topography and anthroponymy of the region where Thracian was spoken. However, the data outlined above illustrates a depth in the relationship between the two (Thracian and Celtic) which cannot be explained purely by these two factors.

The Rupkite inscription contains the most common Thracian anthroponymical elements. Of the seven most common Thracian name elements – *Beithus*, *Centus*, *Kotus*, *Maros*, *Mouka*, *Poris* and *Zenus* – all of them have direct parallels in both Insular and Continental Celtic. Furthermore, over two-thirds of all the name elements from the Rupkite inscription have direct parallels in the Celtic group. Statistically speaking, this is not a phenomenon that one should observe in two unconnected cultures. As mentioned in the main body of this work, in many cases these parallels are of such a close nature that differentiation between Thracian and Celtic PN's becomes virtually impossible. These links were undoubtedly strengthened in the post-Brenos era, but it is the parallels which existed prior to this period which raise fundamental questions about the relationship between these languages. The presence, and apparent substantial quantity, of Thracian anthroponymical elements in Linear B which are echoed in the Celtic group is another phenomenon which requires much deeper consideration.

The high incidence of anthroponymical parallels between Thracian and Celtic illustrated above (in the case of the Rupkite inscription over 66%) cannot logically be attributed solely to common Indo-European roots but indicate a much closer relationship between these languages and cultures than has hitherto been accepted.

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10. *Duridanov, 1997, 141.*
11. *See Mihailov G., Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae, III, 2 # 1626, Serdicae, in Aedibus typographicis Academiae litterarum Bullgaricae, 1964; On this stele see also Bojadjev D., Engraving A Name, Thracia XV, Sofia 2003, 233-237 - fig. A.*
12. *A list of Asclepius' symposiasts – see Bojadjev, op. cit. 233.*
13. *For variations and discussion see Detschew, 1957, 65-68.*
14. *See Duridanov 1997, 130-131; From *bitu 'world ,life – Gaulish (Old Gaeilge bith 'world' bethu / betha 'life,existence', beatha ' life 'Also bith=prefix (everlasting,constant , perpetual - Gaeilge. Old Cornish and Breton = "bit". Breton = bed. Cymraeg - byd 'world', byth 'ever, still, always'.*
15. *On Bituitus and his campaign against the Romans see Hubert, II, 144-145.*
16. *The Scordisci had become allies of Mithradetes Eupator in his struggle against the Romans. Indeed one passage from Appian suggests his relationship with some of the Celts was a particularly close one right up to his death – 'Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, 'I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me , and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been an aristocrat so many years, and the ruler of a great kingdom, but who is now unable to die because, like a fool, he has fortified himself against the poison of others. Although I have kept watch and word against all the poison that one takes with his food, I have not provided against that domestic poison always the*

most dangerous to kings the treachery of army, children and friends.' Bituitus thus appealed to, rendered the king the service he desired'. (*App., Mith., 16, 111*)

17. *Livy V, 34; See also Hubert II, 10-11, 19-20, 122-123.*

18. *CISP = RFILD/4/1 - Kerry, Eire - Goidelic, m. (CISP = <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database/> Celtic Inscribed Stones Project - Department of History, and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London)*

19. *Macalister/1945, 241*

20. *McManus/1991, 108*

21. *CISP=LWNIO//1. Carmarthenshire (Caerfyrddin), Wales – Goidelic, male.*

22. *CISP = CBRNW/ 1. (Brittonic / male) Anglesey, Wales.*

23. *CISP = RUSHN 2/1. Ballaqueeney, Isle of Man. (Goidelic, male)*

24. *See: Kermode P.M.C., /1907 73--74, 98--99 substantial discussion*

25. *Orel V.S., 1987, Thracian and Celtic, Bulletin of the board of Celtic Studies, Cardiff, 34, 1-9.*

26. *Detschew, 1957, 65-66; Georgiev, 68; Duridanov, 1997, 131.*

27. *See Порожанов К., 1998. Общество и Държавност у Траките, Studia Thracica 6, Sofia, P. 19.*

28. *See Georgiev, 1977, 84*

29. *See Detschew, 1957, 239-240.*

30. *e.g. Κίτρος, Centetra - See Detschew, 1957, 240; Holder AC I, 989.*

31. *See Duridanov I., 1997, 131*

32. *Kretschmer P., Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, p. 239; Detschew Thr./ Celt. 36, Charakteristik.. 87 and 100, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, p. 239; Duridanov, Les Rapports Linguistiques., I, P. 10.*

33. *Georgiev, 1977, 68, See also Detschew 1957, 66.*

34. *Lambert, P.Y., 1995. La Langue Gauloise. Editions Errance, Paris. P.72*

35. *See McManus/1991, 103; Irish – ‘cinn’, g.s. of ceann (Cymraeg – Penn) – head, topmost, principal.*

36. *BLYGH 1/1 (Goidelic / m) Ballymoreereagh, Kerry - Qeniloci (Language: Goidelic; Gender: male - McManus/1991, 103: ‘QENN- (OI cenn ‘head’): ... QENILOCI (Cellach)’.*

37. *MRAME 1/1, Kerry, Eire - Goidelic, male.*

38. *CLOOM 1/1, Leitrim, Eire; Qenuven[– (Language: Goidelic; Gender: male - McManus/1991, 105: ‘?QENUVEN.. (? = 364 QVENVENDANI, ‘(hair of the) head’ + ‘fair’ + diminutive suffix)’.*

39. *Dinneen, 191*

40. *See Rhys J., Studies in the Arthurian Legends, 282, Oxford, 1901.*

41. *From 248 A.D.; See Detschew, 1957, 239*

42. *Porojanov, op. cit.*

43. *Detschew, 1957, 257.*

44. *Lambert, 72.*

45. *Justin 44,5 – ‘Catumandus, one of their petty princes, was unanimously chosen general, who, when he was besieging the enemy's city with a vast army of select*

troops, was frightened in his sleep by the vision of a stern-looking woman, who told him that she was a goddess, and of his own accord made peace with the Massilians’.

46. *Livy, V,34*

47. *Gaelge references - Dinneen, 1927, 169-170*

48. *CISP = HLAND 1/1 - , Wexford, Eire - Goidelic, m*

49. *CISP = ANDRS 1/2*

ANDREAS, Isle of Man.

50. *173, note 1*

51. *CISP = SILCH 1/1; Silchester, England - Brittonic, male*

See Fulford, M. Handley, M. and Clarke, A. (2000), 'An early date for Ogham: the Silchester Ogham Stone rehabilitated', Medieval Archaeology 44: 1--23.

52. *Twice = BLTAG/3, BLTIG/6*

53. *CISP = GRENL/1*

54. *CISP = DROMR/3*

55. *Duridanov, Les rapports linguistiques , 5; 1997, 139; Detschew 1957, 235.*

56. *Holder , AC I , 858.*

57. *Detschew, 1957, 235; See also Duridanov, 1997, 139-140.*

The element –μαρος in Thracian PN's generally occurs as a second element although one should note the single component names – Μάρων, Μαρo (See Detschew, 1957, 289).

Cf. Continental Celtic -

Doiros Segomari (m)

Nominative = Doiros (m), Segomaros (m)

Bimmos Litoumareos (Gaulo-Greek)

Normalized = Bimmos Litumarios

Nominative = Bimmos (m), Litumaros (m) (Lambert, 135)

And insular:

CISP = LFGLN/1/1

Llanfaglan Stones:1 County:Caernarvonshire (Caernarfon), Wales

Westwood, J.O. (1855):FILILOVERNII | ANATEMORI

Expansion:

FILI LOVERNII ANATEMORI

Translation:

*(The body) of the son of Lovernius(PN); Anatemorus (PN).
Westwood/1855 8 reading only*

*Anatemori (Language: Brittonic; Gender: male)
Jackson/1953, 580, sees the name ANATEMORI as intermediate in the move from
anatiomaros>eneidfawr, and that the name is British.

CISP = CSTLD/1/1

Tywardreath Stones:1 County: Cornwall (Kernow) , England

*Thomas, C. (1994):{D}RVSTA/NVSHICIACIT | CVNO{M}ORIFILIVS
Expansion:*

DRUSTANUS HIC IACIT CVNOMORI FILIVS

Translation:

Drustanus (PN) lies here, of Cunomor[as] (PN), the son.

Thomas/1994 279--280 substantial discussion

Cunomori (Language: Brittonic; Gender: male)

Cf. also – Linear B:

From Pilos –

Ma-ro, Ma-ro-ne = Maron

From Knossos –

Ma-ro, Ma-ro-ne = Maron (Porojanov, 19)

58. See Porajanov, op. cit., 19-20.

59. See Detschew, 1957, P. 113-115

*60. In Holder AC I, 1217; Detschew, 1957, 114; According to Georgiev, 177, 176 –
short form of the PN – Dula-Zenus.*

61. See Detschew, 1957, 113; Duridanov, 1980, I, 11

62. CISP = INVIC 2; Kerry, Eire– Goidelic,m

63. CISP = MONAT 2/1; Cork, Eire – Goidelic, m.

64. CISP = CLCAH 1/1; Kerry, Eire – Goidelic, m.

*65. CISP = LDEWB 1/1; Cardigan (Ceredigion), Wales - Goidelic, m., See Nash-
Williams/1950, 98.*

66. CISP = RTHDF 1/1;Goidelic, male – Kerry, Eire

67. CISP = TINAH/1/2 Kerry, Ireland - Goidelic, m.

68. See Vlahov, Studia Thracica, 101.

69. Holder AC2, 602-605

70. *Detschew, 1957, 312.*
71. *CISP = PAINT 1/1; Meath, Eire -Goidelic, m; Reading - Macalister/1945 45*
72. *CISP = FARDL 1/1; Devon, England – Goidelic, m*
73. *Reading Okasha. See Okasha, E., 1987, The non-ogham inscriptions of Pictland, Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 9: 43 – 69.*
74. *CISP = COLIN 2/1; Kildare, Eire - Goidelic, m*
75. *CISP = TMINE/1/1; Carlow, Eire - Goidelic, m*
76. *See Detschew, 1957, 312; Holder AC,I, 234; Russu, 227.*
77. *Georgiev, 1977, 86 – 87.*
78. *Boiadjiev, 2000, 148-149*
79. *# 68 CIL IV No. 1801*
80. *Tomaschek, I, 109.*
81. *Georgiev, 1977, 101.*
82. *Detschew, 1957, 358. For more on the Decabulus inscription see Section 3.*
83. *The Q Celtic element has not only survived in Gaelic, but has passed into the English vernacular in non-Gaeltacht areas of Eire with a similar meaning:*

Por = 'seed'

Have a good por in it, of a horse etc. – i.e. To be of good stock - See Macafee, 1996, 259

84. *See Holder ACS II, 1037 and Detschew, Thr. Celt., 13*
85. *CISP = TRAWS/1/1 - Merionethshire (Meirionnydd), Wales - Brittonic, m. Jackson/1953, 598, sees Porius as British giving Welsh Pyr.*
86. *See Nash-Williams/1950 174 concise discussion; Also Gresham/1985 391 substantial discussion.*
87. *Porajanov, op. cit., 20*
88. *Vlahov, Studia Thracica, 1976, 36*
89. *Lambert, 82*
90. *Lambert, 94*
91. *Lambert, 96*
92. *Lambert, 74*
93. *Koch J.T. ed. 1995, The Celtic Heroic Age, 3; Meid W. et al., 1996, Die Grosserer Altkeltischen Sprachdenkmaler, 75.*
94. *CISP = LFRN2/1/1; Penbrokshire, Wales - (Goidelic, Male)*
95. *CISP = BAROG 1/1; Ardee, Louth, Eire - Gaulish, male*
See - McManus/1991, 103: 'BRANOGENI (Brangen)'.
96. *McManus/1991, 105: 'BRANOGENI ('raven' + 'he who is born of', or 'son')*
96. *CISP = BAHAN/2/1; Cork, Eire -GOIDELIC – OGHAM, m.*
97. *CISP = BAKNK/14/1; Cork, Eire - GOIDELIC/ m.*
98. *See Detschew, 1957, 126; Нерознак, 1974, 46.*
99. *Detschew, op cit.; Holder, AC I, 1278, 1280, 1281; Neroznak, 46.*
100. *Detschew, 1957, 80.*
101. *Holder, AC I, 641, 642, 490, 941; Detschew, op. cit.*

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