

**A STUDY ON CELTIC/GALATIAN IMPACTS
ON THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN ANATOLIA
BEFORE THE ROMAN ERA**

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON CELTIC/GALATIAN IMPACTS ON THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN ANATOLIA BEFORE THE ROMAN ERA

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Anatolia has been the cradle of many different cultures throughout history. One of these was the Celts who migrated from Europe to Anatolia in the 3rd century BC and had various impacts on the settlement pattern of the region called Galatia after their arrival. Therefore in Anatolian urbanisation history we know them as Galatians.

The main statement of this thesis is that, cultural identity is not a static, inherent quality, but a dynamic and contingent aspect of the existence of people. Therefore cultural identity should be regarded as a pattern continuum. In this study, in order to predict the Galatian settlement pattern until the Roman dominance in the late 1st century BC in Anatolia, European Celtic settlement pattern has been reviewed as well as archaeological evidence and the Celtic language. The Hallstatt and the following La Tene periods in European history have been investigated since La Tene period is isochronic with Galatians in Anatolia. From the archaeological evidence in Europe, it is clear that the Celts established defended settlements, mastered the art of iron working and mining, and traded with the classical world.

In previous literature, Anatolian Celts/Galatians have been regarded as nomads who were involved mostly in warfare. However, the location of their forts and village-like settlements along the ancient trade routes implies that they were settled people who were engaged in production and trading activities as well, similar to La Tene in Europe.

Settlement types and their distribution pattern, linguistic and archaeological evidence investigated in this thesis verify that Celtic cultural identity in the history of Europe and Anatolia should be regarded as a pattern continuum.

Keywords: Celts, Galatians, Galatia, cultural identity, ethnicity, change, language, settlement pattern, archaeological theory.

ÖZ

ROMA DÖNEMİ ÖNCESİNDE ANADOLU YERLEŞİMLERİNİN DAĞILIMINDA KELT/GALAT ETKİLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Tarih boyunca Anadolu birbirinden çok farklı kültürlerin beşiği oldu. Bunlardan biri, İ.Ö. 3. yüzyılda Avrupa'dan Anadolu'ya göç eden Keltlerdir ki onların yerleştikleri bölgeye bu tarihten sonra Galatya adı verilmiştir. Anadolu yerleşme tarihinde Keltleri Galatlar olarak biliyoruz.

Bu tezde kültürel kimlik durağan bir nitelik olarak değil, bir topluluğun varlığını sürdürebilmesi için içinde bulunduğu koşullara göre değişim gösteren devingen bir durum olarak ele alındı ve zaman-mekan bağlamındaki devamlılığın üzerinde duruldu. Çalışmada ele alınan İ.Ö. 3. yüzyıl ile Anadolu'nun Roma'nın egemenliği altına girdiği İ.Ö. 1. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar geçen zaman içinde Galatya'da ortaya çıkan yerleşimlerin dağılımını anlayabilmek için Keltlerin Avrupa'da geliştirdikleri yerleşimler, kullandıkları dil ve arkeolojik kazılarda elde edilen bulgular gözden geçirildi. Avrupa'da Hallstatt ve onu izleyen La Tene dönemleri bu bağlamda incelendi ve özellikle La Tene döneminin Anadolu'daki Galatlar ile eşzamanlığı üzerinde duruldu. Bu çalışma kapsamında değerlendirilen arkeolojik ve diğer bulgular bu dönemde Avrupa'daki Keltlerin etrafı koruma duvarı ile çevrili

yerleşmeler kurduklarını, üst düzeyde metal işçiliği ve madencilik bilgilerine sahip olduklarını ve diğer topluluklarla ticaret yaptıklarını gösterdi.

Aynı dönem üzerine Anadolu'da çalışan araştırmacılar günümüze kadar Anadolu Keltlerinin, yani Galatların, göçebe bir yaşam sürdürdükleri ve çoğunlukla savaş ortamlarında yer aldıkları üzerinde durmaktaydılar. Oysa bu tezde elde edilen bulgular, La Tene döneminde Avrupa'da olduğu gibi, Anadolu'da da Galatların kalelerinin ve köy benzeri tarımsal yerleşmelerinin neredeyse tamamının yollar üzerinde bulunduğunu, Anadolu'da da Keltlerin/Galatların göçebelikten yerleşik düzene geçtiğini, üretim ve ticaretle uğraştığını, ticaret yollarını denetimleri altında tuttuklarını gösterdi.

Çalışmada sonuç olarak, ele alınan dönemde yerleşim türleri, yerleşimlerin mekansal dağılımı, kullanılan dil ve arkeolojik bulgular açısından Avrupa'dan göçle gelen Keltlerin Anadolu'da Galatlar olarak kültürel kimliklerini devam ettirdikleri konusunda bazı önemli ipuçlarına ulaşıldı.

Anahtar kelimeler: Keltler, Galatlar, Galatya, kültürel kimlik, dil, yerleşimlerin dağılımı, arkeoloji kuramı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Anatolia has been the cradle of many different cultures throughout history. Some of these cultures have been studied in detail, while others including the Galatians, have not. The aim of this thesis is to follow the footprints of ‘Celtic’ tribes, who according to the classical texts migrated from Gaul, the northern region of today’s France to Central Anatolia in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, and became established for at least until the end of the 1st century BC. Historical evidence proves that ‘Celtic’ tribes, who migrated from central Europe to Anatolia, were called Galatians, who settled around Ankara, Tavium and Pessinus, the old Phrygian area, which had collapsed at the end of the 7th century BC and was renamed Galatia after the arrival of the Celts.

In this study, the Celts in Europe have been investigated more closely in order to form a basis for understanding the origins and the cultural identity of the Galatians better and to evaluate the findings that have been recovered. From the literature, it can be seen that the definition of ‘Celts’ in European studies seems by no means uniform. The Celts are not only in a state of change with relation to time and place, but also there are regional differences even during the same period. Consequently, these time-location changes have been taken into consideration at every phase of this study.

The Galatians influenced Anatolia socially and politically during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however relatively little information has been available regarding them. The primary reason for the lack of information about the Galatians is the origin of available written literature. Since Celtic culture had basically oral literature, the main sources of information have been the Greek and Roman writers who were

generally prejudiced against the Celts in their capacity as an enemy or dependency. Therefore, Galatians have been described as barbarians in the Greek and Roman inscriptions of war times, when they were fighting against them. The other reason for the lack of information is the paucity of archeological evidence due to limited excavation and hence documentation in the area until the recent decade. Some of the findings have been confused with the late Phrygian, Hellenistic or Roman remains and the only evidence recognized as pertaining to the Galatians have been those, which were not included in these three classifications and they are very rare and not completely ascertained.

Therefore, the main theme of this thesis will be the use of the major questioned and defined characteristics of Celtic identity and culture in Europe as the mirror image and then a search for substantives of Celts/Galatians in Anatolia with an emphasis on their habitat and settlement patterns in both regions. This period has been mainly disregarded in Anatolian cultural history until the present times.

In order to achieve this goal, a further insight into the studies on ‘Celtic’ culture carried out in Europe was necessary. To this end, the author attended the College of Arts and Humanities of the University of Wales, Bangor, as a research student under the supervision of Dr. Karl Raimond, who is an authority on Celtic studies. This enabled an evaluation to be made of the different aspects of recent approaches to the subject. One of the most important aspects of Celtic evidence is that the exact time of Celtic existence in central Europe is still not known, therefore this investigation begins from the time of their appearance in the oldest classical texts dated 800 BC with Homer and Hesiod. This date coincides with the Hallstatt period in European history. Therefore, the Hallstatt and following La Tène periods are investigated in this thesis since the La Tène period is isochronic with the Galatians. It is clear that the Celts established defended settlements, mastered the art of iron working and mining, and traded with the classical world. Their language also had a major impact, particularly in the area called Gaul, during the La Tène period and in Anatolia.

Taking all these into account, archaeological evidence, and classical written resources should be combined in a cultural inventory in order to complete the missing parts of the portrait of the Celts and Galatians.

1.1 Methodology of the Study

The world system is moving into a different economic and political configuration away from the old strong central government of nations and towards a plural authority. This plural authority is multinational, supranational at one extreme, and localized at the other and this has become characteristic of globalization. With the effect of globalization, there has been an increase in cultural and demographic heterogeneity through mass migration. Multicultural societies bring with them not only new avenues for creative development but also dangers from diverse opinions. However this is not only today's problem; social mobility does not only occur through migration of groups but also early traders, military invaders, explorers, religious evangelists and traveling entertainers have carried languages and cultures around the globe. Ethnic communities have been present during every period and continent and have played important roles in all societies. However, it is obvious that the study of 'Celts' as an ethnic group needs careful definitions. First, examination of the meaning of the Celts and Celtic culture is an urgent problem because extremist opinions are being aired. On the one hand, there are an increasing number of books emphasizing the identity and importance of the Celts in history. (Powell, 1958; Cunliffe, 1997; Birkhan, 1997; Green, 1995) On the other hand, mounting criticism and even denial of the existence of such an ethnic group is forming. Historical evidence shows that Celts were identified as an ethnic group in the 18th century in the nationalist movement and through 19th century romanticism. In the late 20th century, the globalization process used the 'Celtic' identity as a common ground to form the supranational institution in Europe. Recent use of the prehistoric past of the Celtic concept helps the Europeans draw closer to a political and economic European unity, as it is not associated with any specific nation.

The social dimensions of identity and identification may be either chosen or imposed. From this aspect, the terms used to identify the Celts will be investigated initially in this thesis for a better understanding. The Celtic definition has to be clarified in order to avoid confusion. Regarding Celtic culture as an unchanging structure should be avoided but instead, this should be thought of as a patterned continuum. Celtic culture is the sum of all skills and knowledge, which shows itself

as a material culture and people speaking the 'Celtic' language changing in time and space.

In this thesis, the difficulties of understanding the Galatians, who were originally the migrating 'Celts' from Gaul to Anatolia and lived mainly in the old Phrygia throughout 278 BC to the 1st century BC will be investigated. However, all the material evidence of the Galatians are not yet discovered, some being still not excavated, while others have not yet been sufficiently studied to be properly identified as Celtic. This creates many unanswered questions and the known data need to be reviewed in order to resolve these, thus enhancing the understanding of the archaeological materials as a human expression and an appreciation of the Celtic contribution to the culture and history of Europe and Anatolia.

In this research, the cultural identity of the Celts/Galatians was analyzed through the evidence of:

- The classical texts (written documents),
- Material culture (archaeological findings),
- Language and
- Settlement characteristics. (type and distribution)

The written literature about the Celts in Gaul and Galatia and the archaeological evidence has been reviewed in order to assemble the actual data together with potential data. Within this context, the inventory of archaeological excavations is evaluated. Following this, all the data derived from a survey of the literature and archaeological evidence is classified according to regional and local settlements. After classification of the related data, the original Celtic culture in homeland Europe is investigated in order to compare this with the findings gathered from Anatolia. This will supply an accumulation of data, which will lead to the pattern continuum of the Galatians.

The term 'Celt' is derived from the classical authors who wrote in Latin or Greek classical texts, describing them as '*Keltoi*' (Greek) or *Gaul* (Latin). The main criticism of this is that the term Celtic is an outsider definition, not a self-

identification of the ‘Celts’ themselves. However, some classic authors considered themselves to be of Celtic or Gallic origin e.g. Martial, Sidonius Apollinaris and Trogus Pompeius. Caesar also wrote that the people who lived in central and southern Gaul called themselves Celts; it was not thus, just a term imposed by the civilized world on the fringe outsiders. From this aspect, the ancient Celts did exist, but the acceptance of this, is under heavy criticism and investigations. In addition, it is not known by what criteria they were defined; their language, geographical location, self-definition, or what their boundaries were.

In the broader sense, the term Celtic can be applied to the customs, material culture, and the art of these Celtic speaking communities. Celtic art clearly ranks as one of the major evidence of the Celtic culture. Some authors defined them and found the origins of their art and culture in the same lands among people speaking Celtic languages. (Renfrew, 1987; Megaw and Megaw, 1997)



Figure 1.1 An example of early 1st century BC gold torque art style from Norfolk. (James, 2005)

Celts seem to cover wide areas of Europe, but it is not possible to talk about their unity. Although in Europe there is some archaeological evidence regarding their existence in some areas, some classical texts do not clearly confirm their existence. In Anatolia on the other hand, there is abundant literary evidence and monuments confirming their existence. For example, Greek and Roman statues, one of the most famous being the monument in Pergamon, characterizing a Galatian warrior, confirm their migration and settlement in Anatolia. However, the archaeological data is very limited due to the lack of adequate excavations and documentation and researches are necessary to enable an interpretation of their settlement patterns, social structure, religion etc. to be made. There is very little evidence concerning the region in which they settled. The archaeological findings associated with this period are all assigned to Hellenistic and Roman cultures and very few are labeled as belonging to a specifically Galatian culture, which has generally been regarded as an assimilated society. In contrast, linguistic studies carried out in Galatia have recognized that the Celtic language was spoken in the region up to the 6th century AD. (Freeman, 2001: 11)

In order to understand their social organization, there is a need to deduct the hierarchy of the society concerned. The main source in archaeology to accomplish this, other than the settlement pattern, is the burial pattern. The ranking system in societies is visible in, for instance, very rich grave goods of deceased chief burials. However, the major problem is to know what is being symbolized by the grave goods. The grave goods can be interpreted in different ways and the lack of wealthy burials may not necessarily mean the lack of wealthy people. Interpretation of these grave goods should therefore be analyzed carefully in order to appreciate social and daily life characteristics of the Celtic community and regional differences as well as similarities.

As was mentioned previously, three sources of information will be examined with the intention of establishing the significance of Celticity: language, archaeological material evidence and classical texts, to examine the pattern continuum of settlement systems from Celts to Galatians.

In addition, the general concept of Celts as nomads, who chose isolated regions far from main roads of communication for settlements (Mitchell, 1974: 426) with no structured social pattern, but rather the attitude of mercenaries to looting and destroying existent states will be tested in this thesis by deriving a model of settlement pattern based on the known locations of Galatian settlements throughout the Galatian region.

A brief review of the general theory and recent studies concerning the Celts is also presented in this chapter. In the second chapter, the existing classical and contemporary literary evidence on the Celts is reviewed. The third chapter is concerned with the European Celts, their settlement patterns, locations and material culture in order to obtain a mirror image of the Celts, which will allow a better understanding of the Galatians. The fourth chapter investigates the Celts in Anatolia, together with a model to show the distribution pattern of settlements and their relation to the trade routes in Anatolian view of the evidence gathered to date.

1.2 General Theory and Recent Studies on Celts

Theory in archaeology covers a broad array of abstract discussion and debate that examines how and why the past is reconstructed as it is. Johnson summarizes theory as covering the question ‘why’, while method or methodology is concerned with the question ‘how’. (Johnson, 2005: 2) It is impossible to separate from theories in order to answer the urgent questions faced in identifying Celticity. Every interpretation of the past should be theory based. This is as important as using the right archaeological material. For this reason, every approach will define theory in a different way in order to justify itself. Theories do not develop alone; they reflect and affect what is going on in society. They are implicated in contemporary political and cultural values and are hugely affected by personal autobiography.

Archaeologists try to learn about the past, how the methods they use to study have changed, what ideas have guided the development of archaeology at different periods, how these ideas relate to broader social, cultural and intellectual trends,

whether different societies produce different kinds of archaeology and, in such cases, what the differences are.

Thus, no claim to objectivity can be made. The relationship between past and present can be explored and there is room for imagination, but there should be a difference from fiction and therefore scientific measurements and testing need to be utilized. Evidence should be used, not for collecting data in accordance with the theory but to the question being asked and try to understand independently of any preconception. In addition, the terms used should be deconstructed and stripped of incorrect contents, ideology, and politics. Why is only man described as the hunter out in the world and woman the gatherer in the home? In most past descriptions, women are not considered in any evaluation.

The author being half Welsh and half Turkish, a graduate of City Planning, a postgraduate of Regional Planning, all affect judgment, and it is not surprising that this PhD thesis is on Celts in Anatolia. Although there are problems with the definition of Celts, there are also strong feelings about proving Celtic culture. Therefore, the present interpretation of Celts will be very different from another scholar, who denies the very existence of Celts.

It is not possible to understand the past using the mentality of the past, only from the present standpoint. The material that is found does not speak for itself but is only a fragment found in the present and the past is reconstructed in the present. The agendas are set and the past is often used to justify the present. Evaluation should be made very carefully, since the past under study cannot be interpreted through the modern lifestyle. Agendas have a different past, responsibility should be shown to the culture under study, and their ways respected.

Over the past few decades, archaeologists have identified various types of approaches to archaeology. Trigger (2006) states that historical studies allow an account to be taken of changing styles of archaeological interpretation that cannot be fitted into a clearly defined chronology, but reflect waves of innovation that have transformed archaeology. This should not mean that old theories be completely

discarded. New theories do not replace others but look at different problems and ask different questions. Traditions in archaeological theory are classified as:

- Culture-history
- Processual or new Archaeology
- Post-processual or Interpretative Archaeology

Culture-history has originated from museum collections. According to this approach, cultures are real entities, which are based on material culture; the objects found were dots on the map, which equaled a cultural area. Childe (1929) defined culture as a group of people joined together by a series of artifacts and structures, which are found together on a number of sites, for example, pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites and house forms constantly recur together in a complex of associated traits, so that this can be considered a cultural group.

According to this approach, social change occurs through migration or diffusion. It has been thought that an idea is invented in one place and will then spread out from that place and different cultures develop. Movement is the movement of the object. There are no individuals, the artifacts seemingly move from one place to another on their own. Researchers examine the artifacts and identify the culture, then analyze the diffusion of the culture. Trait styles of objects directly reflect cultural continuity in archaeology, so 'culture' implies ethnicity.

During the 1960s, there was a shift from the seemingly self-satisfied cultural-historical approach to more ambitious theoretical innovations. Here, growing disagreement concerning the goals of the archaeological discipline and how these goals can be achieved, developed.

This new approach was called 'processual archaeology', which tried to withdraw from the development of archaeology. The followers were influenced by other disciplines such as anthropology and natural sciences. Their aim was to make archaeology more scientific. According to this view, without some method for evaluating ideas, only stories about the past can be generated, but the truth must be found and this is achieved through testing the ideas with data.

Generally, processual archaeologists search for general laws; use hypothetic-deductive methodology, maintaining that culture is adapted to the environment and cultural change comes from environmental change. The system theory in general is adapted to archaeology.

Social change, when it occurred, happened rapidly because people were overtaken by outside events and change was reduced to environmental adaptation. By the 1980s, processual archaeology began to be criticized. In order to overcome the limits of processual archaeology; cognitive processual archaeology sought to revitalize the historical explanation and adopt a modified form of positivism that acknowledges that theory and data mutually interact with one another, broadly defined. Cognitive archaeology still faces the problem of trying to retrain positivistic thinking and exploring the meaning of symbols. (Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 241)

Post-processual archaeology developed as a reaction to processual approaches and led to symbolic and structural archaeology that stressed the complexity of social change, the problems with general laws, and the symbolic potential of material culture. This approach was influenced by the humanities and social sciences. The idea of landscape as the way in which different people at different times engaged with the world was highlighted. In this context, history is not a pure science but a social science. The individual becomes important and no man is entirely on his own, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. (Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 124) Hence, material culture is 'made' by 'someone' and Flannery states that the aim is not to reach the individual behind the artifact but the system behind the individual and artifact. (1967, cited in Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 7) In processual archaeology, the systems are so basic that culture and individual are incapable of changing them. This shows a move towards determinism in which building a theory is equated with finding deterministic, causal relationships. (Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 7)

Cultural Marxism thus creates the link, the tensioned relationship between people placed differently in society, who have different ideas and ways of doing things. Giddens (2000) states that with structuralism, people are reacting and developing the structures of society but are at the same time influenced by those same structures. Bourdieu's (1977) 'Habitués' helps recognition of the way in which places, space,

and timing of everyday life socialize people into ways of doing things. Hodder and Preucel (2006: 3) state that different people with different perspectives will read different things into what is written, and search for different questions.

In this regard, adaptation and change cannot be applied to an environment alone. It is also the relation between material culture and human organization. Determinism is avoided, since it is recognized that in real situations, dependent situations are gradually restructured. (Giddens, 1979; Bourdieu, 1977 cited in Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 10) Culture cannot be reduced to material effects.

Causes of social change are complex and involve many different factors. Events, conditions and consequences whether planned or not, only produce social effects by the medium of human perception and their evaluation. Just as diffusion and cultural continuity are social processes, the subsequent events are also influenced by pre-existing cultural form. This is because people can only perceive and act through a cultural medium which they both create and live in. (Hodder and Hudson, 2006: 11)

Thus, there can be many interpretations for the presence of artifacts in homes, graves, or workplaces. Hodder (2003) explores what the framework is. Is the perspective of a particular artifact type found in cemeteries a part of the body, the grave, or the region? How does one decide on the boundary, which defines the context?

An object from the past does not say anything about itself. The object should be examined within its context-it is quite different according to where the object is found, but the range of the context must also be determined; within the room, house, street, settlement or village or region? Generalization from one culture to another cannot be made.

Each artifact could be examined to see how it functioned for regulating the flow of energy and resources in a system. Styles of pottery and artifacts were used to create social differences and allegiances an active role and to symbolize boundaries in the social structure in the village. However, it has been shown that stylistic similarities between objects do not necessarily mean that similarities in the stylistic structure of an object meant that the interaction between people increased. (Hodder and Hudson,

2006) It cannot be simply generalized that rich graves are a symbol of social organization, nor can it be said that similar gravestones mean that there is an egalitarian society. The ideology behind the culture may be very different and this is hidden behind material culture, which means that great care should be taken in reaching conclusions about the social hierarchy from graveyards. Another instance is 'king'; when a rich burial was found in Hallstatt, it was first described as that of the 'king', but this definition of 'king' may not have been clearly identified as the same concept. It may represent a very weak social classification. It cannot be the same definition as the feudal system's definition of 'king'.

Processual archaeology was an attempt to think systematically about the relationship between behavior and material culture. In the early studies, it was considered that behavior affected the material culture. Recent studies have shown that material culture re-bounds on society and there is a two-way relation between them.

In connection with the question of culture in this study, an attempt has been made to avoid the confusion caused by each individual discipline using specific definitions of terms such as 'culture', 'ethnic group', 'language' and social structure as 'chiefdom' and 'state' before reviewing explanations which may help identifying the Celts as a social entity.

Since the concepts of culture and ethnicity overlap each other, in this study, the definition of 'Celts' is based on the belief in a main element; culture. Diaz Andreu traced the term 'culture' back to the 15th century AD, where it generally indicated 'cultivating a plant or crop' and it is only in the 17th century that it came to mean the 'compilation of spiritual, technical and political qualities differentiating people from others' and 'culture' began to be used in the plural for the first time. (Andreu, 1996: 51)

In the 18th century, nationalism was understood as a modern phenomenon and culture appeared to be synonymous with 'nation'. With the French Revolution in 1789, it came to stand for a 'national sovereign body of individuals governed by the same law and represented by the same legislative assembly'. (Andreu, 1996: 52-53) In Germany, 'culture' was used as a unitary term defining a human group.

In the 19th century, ‘nationalism’ was based on the essential character of a particular human group (Andreu, 1996: 54), but in the 20th century, Kossinna (1911) introduced the term to archaeology. Subsequently, Childe (1929) observed that ‘certain types of remains, pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites and house forms constantly recurring together’ (Childe, 1982: 48-49) formed the content of the culture-historical approach in archaeology. The culture-historical approach brings together uniform cultural entities, drawing a parallel with particular people, ethnic groups, tribes, and/or races.

In the beginning of the 20th century, ethnic and national groups were usually regarded as ‘internally homogeneous, historically continuous entities objectively defined by their cultural, linguistic, and racial distinctiveness’. (Jones, 1997: 460) After WWII, the use of ‘culture’ referring to a group with a single political entity was abundant. (Andreu, 1996: 55) Tracing ancestral origins seemed dangerously similar to the Aryan racism of Nazi Germany and so was abandoned. (Megaw and Megaw, 1997: 86)

Later, archaeologists classified the artifacts left by earlier people into archaeological ‘culture’ with shared features such as types of tools, methods of building, rites of burial and artistic styles. However, such archaeological cultures do not often resemble an ethnic group entirely and the Celts are no exception. (James, 2005: 14)

Barth (1969) and Cohen (1978) state that the cultural similarities and differences listed by the analyst do not define ethnic groups and that this should be based on the categories of acknowledgment and identification by the groups themselves. (Barth, 1969: 10) Primordialists see nations as symbolizing the cementing effects of territory, language, race, and ethnicity all through human history. Primordialists take a long-term view, regarding ethnicity and ethnocentrism as being fundamentally significant in communities and ethnocentrism (though not racism) as nearly universal. (Megaw and Megaw, 1997: 87)

In recent decades, it has been assumed that ‘culture’ consists of common ideas or beliefs, which are preserved through regular relations inside the group. The transmission of the shared cultural standards is passed on to the next generations by

intermingling and this leads to continuous cultural tension. (Jones, 1997: 63-64) Hodder (1982) states that artifacts were not simply passive objects, but were employed to identify a person's age, gender, and ethnicity.

That is, care should be taken to realize that the sharing of certain elements does not mean that all the individuals are members of the same ethnic group or culture but may rather have been allowed to be part of a larger grouping to which they could belong. Not all of the elements could be associated with being 'Celtic', let alone the fact that these people may not have defined themselves as Celtic or as part of the larger grouping. (Fitzpatrick, 1996: 248)

Self-identification of social participants is one of the processes involved in the evolution of group boundaries and internal relationships between socio-cultural groups. Therefore, 'identity' is formed by internal factors that include upbringing, education, religion, family traditions and the practices of everyday life and also by external factors such as interactions with neighboring villages, trade relations with distant groups and influences from expanding states. Thus, through the processes of interaction between the individuals or groups and the larger social and political context of interaction within the cultural landscape, this approach allows the contributions of many different factors that create the complex phenomenon commonly called ethnic identity. (Wells, 2001: 24) Karl (2006a) adds that, as cultural traditions are transmitted by social practice, new members of any society within that culture will be influenced by the same cultural attractions and therefore behave in a similar way to their neighbors, whether they regard those people as friends or enemies. Although they are different cultures, they could be similar in terms of material culture because of their close relationship.

As a result, it can be stated that culture can be identified as the sum of skills and knowledge transmitted by social learning, including the process of transmission itself. However, care must be taken, as Fitzpatrick (1996: 238) argues that the notion of an archaeological culture being in parallel with a type of people is incorrect. It could well be that finding decorative elements and depositional grouping may indicate the religious beliefs of some small groups across a large part of Europe, but the actual meaning of this shared material would be found in the local context.

Therefore, in general, ‘culture’ is a set of learned behavior common to a given human society. During the learning process as an essential characteristic of culture, knowledge is transmitted primarily by language. Therefore, a careful investigation of language should be made as one of the main sources of information for this study.

According to linguistic evidence, the Celtic language was spoken in Leponti in northern Italy from the 6th-5th century BC and potentially from the 5th century BC in the east Alpine region. As mentioned earlier, the Celts had no written tradition of their own and the recent researches reveal that the existing knowledge on their very early history is limited. An important point to keep in mind is that classical authors rarely mention what languages the people they described spoke. During the Iron Age, even if a Celtic language rooted in the ancient Indo-European was spoken; it may not have been called or recognized as Celtic by its speakers. (Figure 1.2)

As a result, ancient classical names such may be cases of naming the barbarians by the classical world and need not imply that people spoke what in recent times has been termed a Celtic language. The classical writers may have called the barbarians Keltoi, Celt, Gallic etc, but this need not necessarily be taken to imply that a language, termed Celtic in recent times, was spoken.

Such contemporary evidence as there is for written Celtic languages of Iron Age times date largely from northern Italy, France, and central Spain (Prosdocimi and Solinas, 1991: 52) and allow only the generalized conclusion that P-Celtic may have been the most common language. Yet it seems likely that this language was spoken there, before the development of what is usually characterized as a Celtic material culture. (Pare, 1991; Pauli, 1985) As a result, the correlation between language and material culture is tenuous and the vital relation between language and ethnic groups is not established. This introduces the need to consider the relationship between material culture and ethnic identity, of which language is an integral part, even though there is no consensus about its centrality.

The 19th century representation of Celtic Europe is based on sources from around the 12th century AD, which in turn were derived from early medieval times in west European sources, for example, the book of Kells found in Trinity College, Dublin,

relating to situations over a thousand years earlier in, for example; eastern Europe. These interpretations and linguistic reconstructions are themselves being questioned.

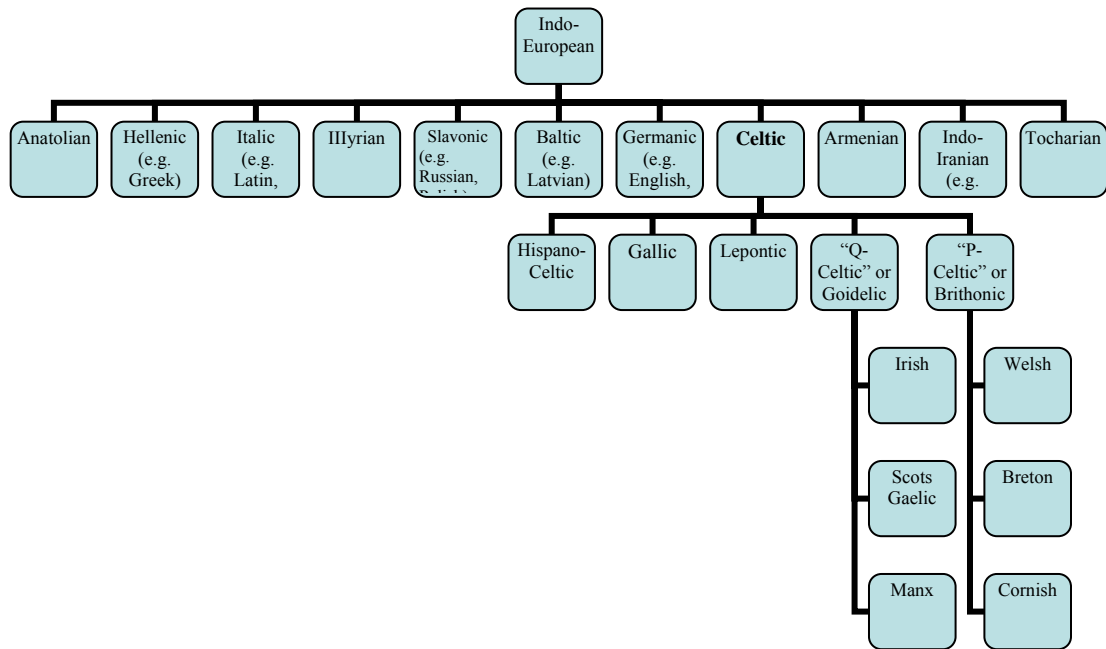


Figure 1.2 Indo-European language family groups. (James, 2005)

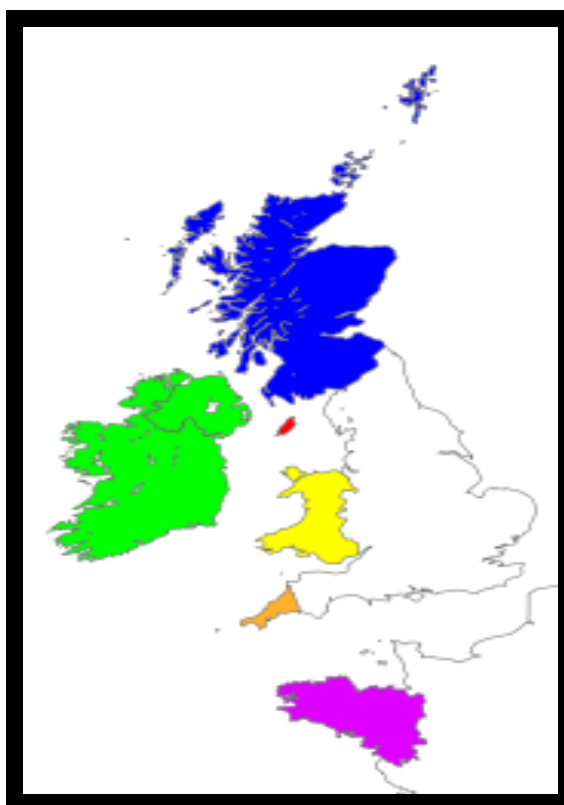
Today Celtic languages are spoken by a minority of people living in a few scattered regions on the Atlantic coasts of Europe; Armorica Brittany, Wales, certain parts of Scotland and Ireland Isle of Man and Cornwall. (Figure 1.3) Celtic languages have been kept alive by the resolve of the people who speak them to continue the essential characteristic of Celtic cultural identity, a legacy that is embedded in European history itself. (Kruta, 1991: 29) The main reason why ‘Celticity’ developed so late was the delay in realizing the connection between Gaelic and the other Celtic languages. However, the affinity between this British language and ancient Gaulish was asserted by Tacitus in the 1st century AD and the derivation of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton from a common British language was clear to Geoffrey of Wales in the 12th century.

The assumption that the typically Celtic La Tène art style and material culture was adopted by all Celts is tempting. It is, in fact, found in the majority of the areas where there is other evidence to indicate the presence of the Celtic language. In contradiction to this, however, La Tène style objects are almost nonexistent in Spain, which had very definite Celtic sections in its population. La Tène culture was also not confined to Celtic speakers alone. (James, 2005: 14) In Anatolia, on the other hand, the Celtic language is important evidence for their existence in this region.

However, such an assumption dismisses the fact that language is only one characteristic, which plays a crucial part in the culture to which religion, social organization and the economy all contribute. Language is bound to Celtic civilization but this relation could be modified with regard to either time or space. (Kruta, 1991: 32)

In order to understand a society, a description of the complexity of social organization is important. Different kinds of societies need different kinds of questions. Here, one of the problems dealt with is the changing characteristics of the evidence from one period to another, such as burials, religious sites, and settlements that appear and disappear in the archaeological records. Therefore, the trends of social display change its context.

Change is an historical process that can only be recognized within a long-term perspective. It will not occur at once but rather in several stages. Thus, social and cultural changes cannot be understood until they have actually taken place. Change in a group occurs slowly with the interaction between individuals or groups showing itself as homogeneity in material culture as a result of regular contact and interaction. Gradual change is attributed to internal change in the given cultural standards of a particular group, whereas more rapid change is explained in terms of external influences, such as diffusion resulting from culture contact or the succession of one cultural group by another as a result of migration and conquest. In contrast, breaks in the distribution of material culture are assumed to be the result of social and/or physical distance.



■ Scotland ■ Ireland ■ Man ■ Wales ■ Cornwall ■ Brittany

Figure 1.3 The Celtic nations where most Celtic speakers are now concentrated.

In this thesis, an attempt will be made to understand the change in social structure from chiefdom to early statehood. There are some definitions of these social structures and while there may not be agreement with the exact definition, other types of configurations must be borne in mind. According to Renfrew, (2001) chiefdom operated with the hierarchy in the society. There was a powerful chief, who governed the society and the population size varied from 5,000 to 20,000. He considered that one of the main characteristics of chiefdom was the focus point for the polity as the permanent ritual and ceremonial centre. Although the early states maintained many of the features of chiefdoms, Renfrew proposed that the early state had a ruler, who in addition had full authority to establish laws and rule with a standing army. Early societies generally showed a characteristic tendency to urbanize and cities played a prominent part in the system. (Renfrew, 2001: 175-176)

The concept of early state and complex chiefdom blurs the great difference between tribal form and state societies. Tribe implies small units gathered, which leads to an assumption that these small units share the same ethnic identity and self-awareness. However, it is now known that 'segmentary society' refers to relatively small and autonomous groups, generally agriculturalists who govern themselves and on some occasions they may join together in order to form a large ethnic unity. (Renfrew, 2001: 176) The development of early states in a historical process gradually weakens changes and is changed by the conditions and forms new institutions to control and take advantage of production.

The processual archaeology uses the evidence of burial sites in order to interpret the hierarchy that is a strong indicator of the social structure. In European archaeology, the Hallstatt D burials are richer than La Tène A but from this it cannot be assumed that this relates to measurements of power, but rather that there is some fundamental difference in the social and economic organization, as Collis (1994) argued. Some state that La Tène A-C are warrior burials because of the swords found in the male graves, so Nash (1984 cited in Collis, 1994: 32) called them a warrior society whereas Collis (1994: 33) interpreted them as 'burials with weapons' which resulted in a different attitude to reading social representation. On the one hand, the Celtic society is a warrior society, while on the other they are wealthy farmers, whose social position is represented by their weapons, indicating a less specified kind of society.

At this stage, a review of the literary sources, both classical and contemporary, will provide a guide for understanding the Celts and Galatians.

CHAPTER 2

TIME AND LOCATION ANALYSIS OF CELTIC EVIDENCE IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The traditional view derived from the classical texts is that the Celts were a barbarian, brutal, especially warlike, and highly religious/superstitious ethnic group. This accommodates the idea of biologically related people with a common ancestry who identify themselves as a single group. The traditionalist approach described the Celtic expansion as taking place during the 5th and 4th century BC when they invaded northern Italy, then between the 4th and 3rd century BC they invaded the Balkans and Greece, eventually arriving in Anatolia. Although the invasion of Spain and Britain is not clear, the former is dated around the early 2nd century BC, while the latter is dated as early 1st century BC. Accordingly, they were located in central Europe, used the same material culture, had unified social and political institutions, spoke the same language, and were mostly unchanging in space and time.

Recent approaches have criticized this traditional view since it is a mono-causal conception of the Celts with a mostly biological evolution of Celtic culture. The whole traditional story is seen today as nationalistic and generated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries AD. The evolution of the Celts was seen as mono-causal, that is, brought about by migration and biological evolution. Today, cultural evolution is seen differently and cultures are regarded as multi-causal and locally constituted. Furthermore, there is little evidence that they were more warlike or religious than their counterparts and they did not self-identify as a common group who shared a common culture.

The exact time of Celtic emergence in Europe is still not established. Colin Renfrew's processualist theory of archaeo-linguistics starts with the British Isles

from the late 3rd millennium BC, while Cunliffe (1999: 39) dates their emergence from 1300 BC, pointing out that the Celtic language was spoken at that time in Europe. Wahle (1940 cited in Pauli, 1980) proposed that the Celts originated in the Bronze Age during the Urnfield culture with a revival in the La Tène period. (Pauli, 1980: 14) The Celts are first mentioned in the classical texts in the 8th century BC during the Early Iron Age. According to linguistic evidence, the Celtic language was spoken in northwest Italy from the 6th-5th century BC, although some sources refer to this as Lepontic and potentially from the 5th century BC in the east Alpine region. Archaeological evidence suggests that the 8th- 7th century BC west Hallstatt region and the 7th century BC Celtiberians could be called Celtic. According to the first mention of the Celts in the classical texts, Celts occupied west central Europe and north Italy in the 6th century BC and they later appeared in the Balkans in the 5th century BC. In the 3rd century BC, they are mentioned in Celtiberia and Anatolia and eventually, in the 1st century BC, in Belgae.

However earlier events cannot be ignored and thus a look at the Late Bronze Age is necessary in order to understand the development of Iron Age societies, which in chronological order represents the Urnfield period. This period corresponds to the new Hittite Kingdom period in Anatolia. The Hallstatt period could be matched with the entrance of the Phrygians, who are also thought to have migrated from Europe to Anatolia and began to appear in the archaeological records around the 11th century BC, (Sivas, 2007: 9) and in 800 BC they established a powerful state in Anatolia but then faded away after the Cimmerian invasion. (Sevin, 2001: 194) The Celtic migration into Anatolia in 278 BC is equivalent to the La Tène B period in Europe. At the end of the 1st century BC, both Europe and Anatolia came under Roman domination. At this stage, it will be useful to review the literary evidence about the Celts, the earliest of which appear in Greek and Latin.

2.1 Celts in the Classical Sources

While studying the earliest sources of Celts and Celtic identity, the prejudices that there are in the classical texts should be kept in mind. The statements must be treated with certain skepticism because;

- The texts were written by Greeks and Romans who regarded the Celts as ‘others’.
- Most of the information is from indirect sources.
- The writers are civilized upper-class Greeks and Romans describing uncivilized barbarians and are ethnically biased. Ethnic stereotyping is quite common and characteristics are exaggerated.
- Authors often had a political or philosophical aim and being objective was not their main concern.
- The geographical details that the authors give are often inaccurate.
- Modern preconceptions should not be forced on ancient authors. It is not known how the ancient world defined a Celt and authors differ in their individual definitions.
- Perception of the Celts by the authors also changed with time.

The interest of the ancient world in the Celts lasted for more than a millennium, from around the end of the 6th century BC until they disappeared around the 5th century AD. Homer and Hesiod in the 8th century BC did not mention the Celts directly, but they were sometimes later quoted for using the word *kassiteros*, (tin) (Freeman, 1996: 12) which is assessed to be a Celtic word. (Collis, 2003: 16)

In the 6th BC, Hecataeus of Miletus (540-475 BC) (cited in Dobesch, 1991) noted very briefly that the Celts were called *Keltoi* by the Greeks (Freeman, 1996: 12) and *Galli* or *Celticae* by the Romans. (Mansuelli, 1991: 15) Although his complete work has not survived, the remaining portions, preserved mainly by Stephanus of Byzantium in the 6th century AD, recorded that they lived inland from the Liguria at Narbonne and near Marseilles, locating them in southern or central France. (Freeman, 1996: 14) The link between Celts and Marseilles should be examined, as it could be an explanatory addition from this later time. (Freeman, 1996: 14; Pauli, 1980: 17)

The 5th and 4th centuries BC include the times of invasion of northern Italy by the Celts. Records of this period are obtained from Polybius around 130 BC and Livy around 10 AD. Once more, there is a considerable interval between the events and the information given. In the 5th century BC Herodotus from Halicarnassus (490/480-424 BC) wrote that the Danube River was in the territory of the Celts. (Collis, 2003:

16; Wells, 2001: 13) He also described Celts living outside the Pillars of Hercules on the Cynesii, (Figure 2.1) (Freeman, 1996: 18) which is the Atlantic coast. (Collis, 2003: 17) He wrote that the city of Pyrene was near the source of the Danube and his directions lead to the center of western Hallstatt. (Dobesh, 1991: 35)

The 3rd century BC version by Apollonius of Rhodes preserved the Argonautica written by Pindar in the 5th century BC. In it, the Argonauts who set out from the Adriatic sailed up a river with three mouths, Po, Rhone, and Rhine and they entered the Celtic territory where there were large lakes. (Collis, 2003: 17)



Figure 2.1 Reconstruction of the Oikumene (inhabited world) Ancient Map from Herodotus circa 450 BC

Almost a millennium later, Avienus Festus wrote a poem, the Ora Maritima (Ora Maritima 4, 132-134 cited in Dobesch, 1991 and Freeman, 1996: 15-17) dating to the 4th century AD. Using ancient sources such as Hecataeus of Miletus, Scylax of Caryanda, and Herodotus, he described the coast from Gades in the southwestern

Iberian Peninsula to Massalia in Gaul. (Freeman, 1996: 15) The description of the western Mediterranean makes use of the record of a voyage by the Carthaginian Himilco in the late 6th century up the Atlantic coast to Britain and beyond. He referred to the 'Celts' somewhere on the neighboring coast, perhaps as far north as the mouth of the Rhine. Eratosthenes, Pliny, and Strabo also quoted Himilco. However, the geography is not clear and many of the people mentioned were not known elsewhere. This has been used to show the late arrival of the Celts on the Iberian and French coasts. (Rankin, 1987: 4-7)

Xenophon (428-354 BC) described how Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily, sent Celtic mercenaries to Greece to fight with the Spartans against the Thebans. (Hellenica VII.I.18) Plato (429-347 BC) in 'Laws' (Book I) briefly mentioned the Celts while discussing the drinking habits of barbarians. The lost book 'Universal History' by Ephorus of Cyme (405-330 BC) has been referred to by later authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Polyaeus, and Plutarch. Ephorus divided the barbarian world into the Celts in the west, the Scythians in the north, and the Indians in the east and the Ethiopians in the south. (Freeman, 1996: 35; Collis, 2003: 17)

Pseudo Scylax, in the 4th century BC, mentioned Celtic settlements in the Italian peninsula for the first time. (Freeman, 1996: 28) Eudoxus of Cnidos (390-340 BC) wrote of the city of the Ligurians or Celts. There was another city of the Ligurians on a Ligurian lake. (Freeman, 1996: 30) Theopompus of Chios (375-306 BC) was the first to mention the capture of Rome by the Gauls. He also described how the Celts feasted. (Freeman, 1996: 38-39) Heraclites Ponticus, another 4th century BC writer, recorded the sack of Rome by the Celts in 390 BC but he described the Gauls as the Hyperborean. (Freeman, 1996: 26) After their attack on Rome, the attitude of the writers changed when describing the Celts, who were no longer simply the others living beyond the Alps, but were regarded as dangerous enemies from that time on. Aristotle from Stageirus (384-322 BC) was among the first to start stereotyping the Celts, stressing their bravery and skill in war and describing how they dipped newborn babies in a cold stream in *Politics* Book I. Freeman also mentions Sopater, who in the late 4th century BC, reported that they sacrificed their prisoners. (Freeman, 1996: 44)

Ptolemy son of Lagos (367/6-283 BC) wrote a history of Alexander and mentioned two embassies of the Celts, the first in 335 BC of Celts from the Adriatic, who met Alexander on the Danube, the second in Babylon in 323 BC, as quoted in Strabo. Flavius Arrianus in the 2nd century, in his account of the meeting of Alexander the Great with the Celts, described them as those Celts who had settled on the shores of the Ionian Sea, who were of enormous build, and who boasted about their strength. (Pauli, 1980: 23) Their only fear was that the sky would fall on their heads. (Strabo, *Geography* 7.3.8) Ptolemy recorded many place names belonging to the lands occupied by the Celts. (Dobesh, 1991: 38) There is also a part of an inscription dated 352/1 BC, which recorded Celtic iron weapons in the votive armament kept in the temple in Athens. (Freeman, 1996: 23)

The dates recorded by the classical writers are not always exact. For instance, Cicero recorded an eclipse of the moon in 351 BC (Collis, 2003: 18) but the correct date was 354 BC, which suggests some errors in the early dates. Thus, Roman records date the capture of Rome by the Gauls to 390 BC, whereas Polybius dated it to 387 BC by relating to historical events. (Collis, 2003: 19)

The major events of the 3rd century were the attack on Greece in 279 BC and the invasion of Anatolia starting in 278 BC, which eventually led to the settlement of the Galatians around Ankara.

There are descriptions of the defense of Delphi by the poet Callimachus, a librarian at Alexandria (285-247 BC) in *Hymn IV to Delos*. (Rankin, 1997: 25; Collis, 2003: 17) Callimachus was succeeded by the geographer Eratosthenes, (275-195 BC) who followed Pytheas in locating the Celts in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula. Pausanias in *Description of Greece* (10.22.2) mentioned Brennus as the Celtic leader. Hieronymus of Cardia (270-260 BC) used the term Galatai, mentioned Brennus for the first time, and described how they made human sacrifices. Timaeus (352-256 BC) located the Celts by the ocean, which the Keltike rivers flowed into. (Collis, 2003: 18)

The Greek authors Sotion of Alexandria (200 BC) and Alexander Polyhistor (late 2nd century BC) both wrote of the Druids and Apollodorus Athenaeus (to 144 BC)

reported alliances between the Romans and the Celts of central Gaul between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. An Egyptian papyrus described wild Celts and Celtic mercenaries in the army of Macedon. Pausanias reported that Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, dedicated some Galatian shields to Athena of Iona. (Collis, 2003; 17-19)

The 2nd century BC was the time of the invasion of Spain. The writings of Fabius Pictor (254 BC) and M. Porcius Cato (243-149 BC) are lost but have been quoted by later historians. Pictor served in the Roman army in the war against the Celts from north of the Alps, but there are few reports of the Celts in the surviving fragments. Pictor named the Volcae, recording Hannibal's crossing of the Pyrenees. Pictor made the earliest mention of the Volcae in southern Gaul. Cato also located the Celts in southern France around Massalia and was the first to name the Salassi, Leponti, and Cenomani tribes of northern Italy, during the events of 225 BC. (Collis, 2003: 18)

Polybius (205-123 BC) was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia who wrote the first major surviving works on the Celts and Galatians. During his 16 years as a Roman hostage, (166-150 BC) he traveled extensively. He visited Spain, Gaul, and the Alps and later he was reported to have visited Sardis and Alexandria. In Sardis, he also spoke with Chiomara who was the wife of the Tolistobogii Ortiagon. Polybius described Ortiagon as humane and intelligent as well as having martial talent and that he, together with his wife Chiomara were examples of growing sophistication and Hellenization among the Celts. He was an important figure in reuniting the Celts and played a key role in the battles of 180's BC. (Mitchell, 1995:24) He was mistaken about the geography of the region north of the Alps, believing that the Rhone originated just north of the Adriatic. This led to difficulties during the 19th century in establishing the origins of the Gauls who had invaded northern Italy. However, he is the principle source on the Celts and the history of northern Italy, Spain, and Anatolia due to his direct knowledge of sources, the geography of the Mediterranean and some of the personalities involved in the events that he described. Polybius reported the mass migration of Celts in 280 BC into Macedonia and eventually to Asia Minor. (Collis, 2003: 19) According to Polybius, Attalus was only pronounced king after his Galatian victory and he reigned for 44 years until 197 BC, thus dating the victory to 241/0 BC. (Mitchell, 1995: 21)

Polybius recorded how, in 220 BC, Attalus also hired the tribe of Celts from across the Hellespont to act as mercenaries against Achaeus. However, an eclipse of the moon caused the Celts to refuse to fight. He also described a Galatian noble Gaezatorix attested as chieftain in 180 BC. Mitchell (1995: 23) suggested that if he was a chieftain, this might have indicated that the Galatians had authority in northern Anatolia before 189 BC, when Manlius Vulso destroyed their power. Again, Polybius wrote in 168 BC that the Galatians attacked the territory of Eumenes, who gathered a large army to meet them and requested support from Rome. However, his request was refused and Rome only commanded the Galatians to remain within their own boundaries, which was a return to the 188 BC status. This shows that the Galatians were still a threatening force at the time. Polybius and Memnon described the coalition of the Galatians and Mithridates II of Armenia in planning to take over the Black Sea, which Mithridates IV carried out when he attacked Sinope. (Mitchell, 1995)

The Celtic ethnographer Poseidonius of Apameia (135-51 BC) traveled in western Europe. His work has been lost but Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Athenaeus and even Caesar all quoted him, which enables us to re-construct:

- the display of decapitated human heads,
- the Druids' role in human sacrifice,
- the powerful Arverni and their king Luernios,
- the relation of Cimbri with Cimmerians and
- the techniques of warfare.

Poseidonius is thought to have regarded the Germani as a separate group, but probably distinguished between Celticae and Galatia on opposite banks of the Rhine. (Collis, 2003: 20)

Caesar, (100-44 BC) in 50 BC, gave information about the Celts. He also contrasted them with the Germans living east of the Rhine, while the Celts were located to the west. Caesar wrote his *De Bello Gallico*, partly to justify his intervention in the domination of the Sequani. It has been suggested that he 'invented' the concept of the Celts. Poseidonius is the obvious source for part of Caesar's description of the

Celts and even if for political reasons or personal glory, Caesar may have overstated his account, it still gives details of the conquest and of his opponents. Caesar was at a turning point in his wars in Gaul. He wanted to justify the war because it was his campaign. He emphasized the importance of the Rhine as a frontier between the Celts and Germans as he did not intend to fight east of the Rhine. Caesar stated that Gaul was divided into 3 parts; one inhabited by the Belgae, another by the Aquitani and the third by people called in their own tongue, Celticae, and in his own, (Latin) Galli. This is one of the main sources indicating self-identification by the Celts.

Although Cicero (106-43 BC) never visited Gaul, he had contacts with Galatians in Anatolia and described the wine trade. (Collis, 2003: 20) He held discussions with the druid Diviciacus in Rome, who was with an embassy from the Aedui, and a number of Allobroges were his main informants in solving the Cataline conspiracy. (Collis, 2003: 21) In addition, Cicero spoke in defense of his friend Deiotarus (the first king of the Tolistobogii) to Caesar when Castor (Deiotarus' son in law and the tetrarch of the Tectosages) accused him of planning to kill Caesar. (Cicero, 1994) Diodorus Siculus (58 BC) wrote of Celtic mercenaries being sent to help Spartans in Greece and reported that the Celts had 2,000 baggage wagons, many provisioners, and merchants. Diodorus also recorded how the Celts obtained their riches by hiring their services as mercenaries. (Rankin, 1997: 23) Diodorus described the Bards and Druids as philosophers and religious leaders. (Diodorus, *Library of History*, v.iii.31)

Phaenno of Epirus wrote verses, preserved by Zosimus the Byzantine historian about warning Nicomedes about the consequences of allowing the Celts into Anatolia. He also describes the Celtic leaders Leonnorios as a lion and Luturios as a wolf. (Mitchell, 1995: 15)

Cornelius Nepos (90-24 BC) was of Celtic origin and he attempted to study the history of Gallic tribes. He established the time of the capture of Melpum (possibly Mediolanum, Milan) as 396 BC, which was when the Romans captured Veii. (Collis, 2003: 22)

The myths became popular stories and could be found in the work of poets such as Vergil (70-19 BC), who described the 'glory of Manlius Capitolinus driving off

golden-haired Gauls from the Capitoline Hill'. (Collis, 2003: 21) The lost work of Timagenes, (80/75-c. 10 BC) who founded a school and specialized in Celtic subjects, contained some of the same stories. (Collis, 2003: 22)

Livy (64/59 BC and 17 AD) from Padua was of the Veneti and was not from a Celtic occupied area. His work is important as he listed the tribes of the Celtic Iberians in Spain, established the Gallic tribes of northern Italy, and recorded the Celts of southern France. (Collis, 2003: 19) He also provided information on the Galatians. Roman records and traditions were his primary reference, he was the chief source of many of the widespread myths of the 1st century, and other more reliable sources such as Polybius could contradict him. (Collis, 2003: 21) Livy named the two Celtic leaders Leonnorios and Luturios and stated that these leaders took two bands of Celts into Thrace, and then parted to pass into Anatolia. Leonnorios entered Byzantium, whereas Luturios crossed the Hellespont in five boats before the battle of Lysimacheia in the winter of 278/7 BC. (Mitchell, 1995: 15) Livy was the first to mention the three tribes who divided Asia between them; the Trocmii on the Hellespontine coast, the Tolistobogii in Aeolis and Ionia and the Tectosages in the surrounding area of Anatolia. (Mitchell, 1995: 16)

Livy described how they extracted a tribute from all of western Asia and that they chose their own settlement area. He may have stressed the previous Gaulish independence so that the achievement of Manlius Vulso in 189 BC would be highlighted. Livy talked about peace negotiations in 183 BC. (Mitchell, 1995: 19) His writings about Galatian history between 270 –230 BC showed them, as being engaged in military activities in Bithynia and Pontus and the great battle near Ancyra against Sileucus II. (Livy, 38.16.13)

Memnon stated that the inhabitants had resisted the migration but Nicomedes needed military support. He stated that the Celts considered money or booty more important than land, which they also wanted. (Mitchell, 1995: 16)

From this information, it is accepted that the Celts had settled in Anatolia by the end of the 260s BC. (Mitchell, 1995: 19) Livy wrote about how the Galatians extracted tributes from the people of western Anatolia and pointed out that the Syrian kings

always agreed to pay them. Livy described the peace agreement between the Galatians and the Pergamene kingdom. He also described the continuous terror the Galatians had caused, which only ended with the expedition of Manlius Vulso in 189 BC. Livy described the route that Manlius followed. He approached Abbassium on the border of the Galatian territory where he met Eposognatus, a rebel Tolistobogii chieftain. He marched to Gordium, which is the only established site for this march. Livy's account of the battle between Manlius and the Galatians is the most comprehensive report. The Gauls were defeated, with great losses and many taken as captives. Claudius Antipater quotes 40,000 and Valerius Antias 10,000, but Livy stressed the difficulty in counting casualties. Polybius was the direct source for Livy's account. Livy also mentioned four chieftains; Ortiagon of the Tolistobogii, Comboiomarus, Gaudotus and Eposognatus and Ortiagon became dominant. (late 1st century BC) (Mitchell, 2003: 23-24)

Pompeius Trogus was of Celtic origin and said that he was one of the Vocontii from southern Gaul. His own writings have been lost, but Justinus in the 2nd century AD reported in the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' 'Philippic Histories' (Book 25.1) that Belgius led a group of Celts into eastern Thrace, but Antigonus Gonatas defeated and forced them to the north, where they settled north of Byzantium on the western Black Sea coast. He also gave some information about the Galatians. Pompeius Trogus believed that Nicomedes planned to send the Celts to fight against the Seleucid kingdom of Antiochus I. (Mitchell, 1995: 14)

Parthenius in 'Love Romances' (8.30) described the story of a woman captured by the Celts and taken back to Gaul, who was followed by her husband. Antonius Thallus of Miletus also recorded a story of three girls committing suicide rather than be captured by the Celts. (Mitchell, 1995: 17)

Silius Italicus (AD 25-101) who was of Celtic origin wrote about Hannibal and recorded that the Celtic Iberians believed that, if the bodies of soldiers killed in battle were eaten by scavengers, their souls went straight to heaven. It should be noted that he used Celticae and Galli as identical terms. (Collis, 2003: 22-23)

Pomponius Mela (fl AD 40-41) from southern Spain reported that human sacrifice among the Gauls had been abandoned by his time. He considered that the Celtic belief in the immortality of the soul was illustrated by the burial of grave goods, and this belief was taught by the Druids to make the soldiers fearless in battle. (Collis, 2003: 23)

Pliny the Elder (AD 23-79) from Gaul described the Gallic migration to Italy and reported that there was a Gallic craftsman working in Rome named Helico. (Freeman, 1996: 27) He also commented on the location of the Celts, the ethnicity and religion of some tribes and mentioned Druids. (Collis, 2003: 23) Josephus (AD 37-101) also of Gallic origin, provided information of the Galatian mercenaries in the eastern Mediterranean. He reported that Cleopatra had Gallic soldiers and gave 400 to king Herod Phillip. Galatian soldiers also attended the funeral of Herod the Great in 4 BC. (Collis, 2003: 23) He made a connection between biblical and classical sources and proposed that Gomer son of Japhet was the ancestor of the Gauls. Tacitus (AD 55-120) was also from Gaul. He mainly wrote about the 1st century AD, so the Celts by that time had already faded from history although he summarized the ethnicity of some Gallic tribes, such as the Treveri and wrote of more recent events in Gaul. (Collis, 2003: 23)

The Geographica of Strabo (AD 19) is the major surviving text from the early 1st century AD. Although it is not a primary source, he quoted information from many lost sources about the geography and customs of the Roman provinces, recording the locations and their social structure. He had access to the main portion of the Pentinger Table. (Collis, 2003: 22) Strabo named Leonnorios and mentioned that Galatians spoke the same language. He is the main source of the description of the social structure as being divided into three main tribes naming, Trocmii, Tectosages and Tolistobogii. Each then divided into four tetrarchies. Each was assisted by a general, two deputy generals, and a judge. (Figure 2.2)

Pausanias (AD 173) is a major source of the events in 279 BC. His probable source of information was Hieronymos of Cardia, who wrote the *History of Alexander*. However, while traveling around Greece listing the monuments, he also recorded some events concerning the Celts and Galatians, the attack on Delphi led by Brennus

(Pausanias, 10.23.1) and the dedication of Celtic shields and the shield of Cydias. (Pausanias, 10.19.4; 10.23.5) He also reported their movement in three groups or tribes (Pausanias, 10.19.6) with huge numbers of migrating people, even as many as 300,000 at first and then 150,000 in reserve on the northern frontiers of Greece. He wrote of 152,000 infantry and 20,400 cavalry but, as two mounted grooms accompanied each horseman, this figure should be about 61,200. (Pausanias, 10.19.9)

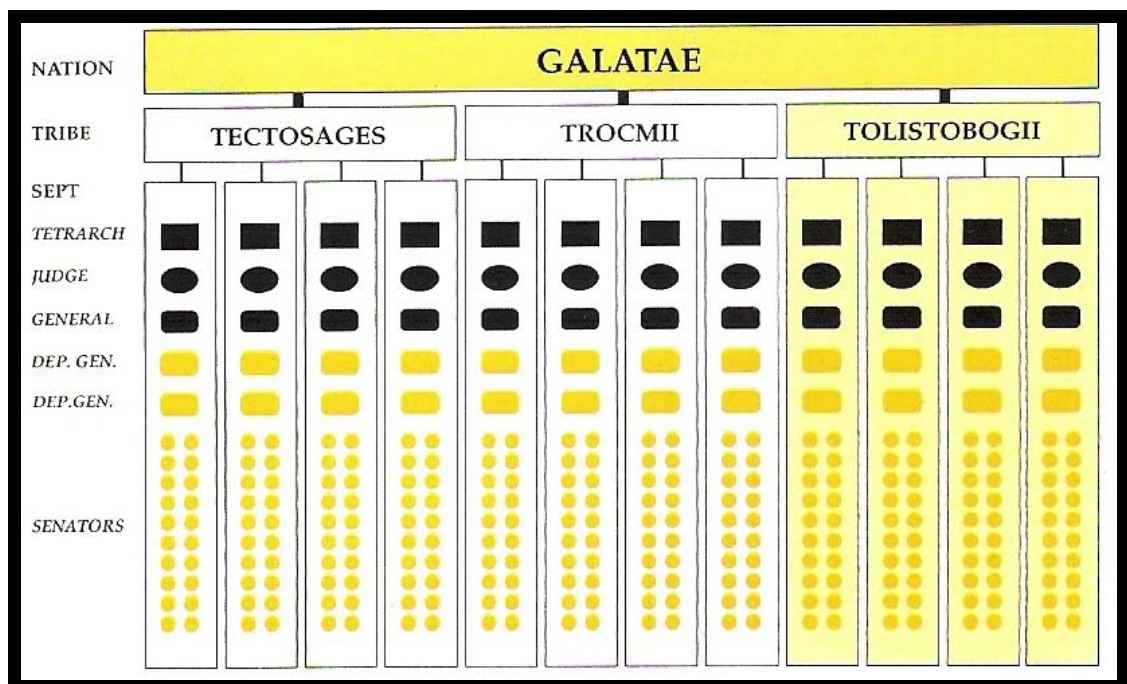


Figure 2.2 Political organization of the Galatians according to Strabo (James, 2005)

Pausanias stated that the chieftains of the Gauls united under Brennus as he persuaded them to fight the Greeks because of the silver and gold in the sanctuaries. (Pausanias, 10.19.8) This suggests that they were loosely connected, only uniting for a common advantage. Pausanias reported that the Galatians took part in two battles; one of which led to defeat near Pergamum, the other at the source of the Caicus in Mysia. (Pausanias, 1.25.2) Pausanias recorded that 278/7 BC was the year of the Celtic arrival in Asia Minor. (Pausanias, 10.23.14) Pausanias described how the gods

through a dream, saved the people of Themisonium and Apamea-Celaenae by telling them to hide in a cave. (Pausanias, 10.32.4)

Stephanus of Byzantium (AD 480-500) described how the Galatians captured the anchors of enemy ships and were rewarded with the country, which Stephanus implied that they named Ancyra after their trophies. Ancyra did not become a Galatian capital until the Roman province was created. (Mitchell, 1995: 20)

Justinus recorded that 150,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry were among the migrating tribes. (Justinus, *Epitome*, 24.4.1) He also mentioned the attack on Delphi under the leadership of Brennus. (Justinus, *Epitome*, 24.7; 24.8) Justinus, Pompeius Trogus, Phylarchus, Athenaeus, Polyaeus, and Plutarch all mentioned the war of Seleucus II in Anatolian territories. Justinus commented on how the Celts had an opportunity through the difficulties of the rival sides and they became allies not employed soldiers. (Justinus, *Epitome*, 27.2.12)

St. Jerome (AD 331-420), who had lived in both places, made a comparison of the Anatolian Galatian language with the language spoken in the region around Trier. He also repeated the claim made by Pliny the Elder that the Celts were descendents of Gomer, the son of Japhet. After this time, the word Celtic virtually disappears from the literature. (Collis, 2003: 25)

Having reviewed the classical writers, it has become clear that there are several difficulties in interpreting the classical sources. One problem is that there were few eyewitness accounts and later historians, who may have introduced their own biases into their writings, and thus given a different perspective of the events, have copied these. The classical writers gave scanty information concerning the language spoken by the Celts. There is a lack of consensus on the geographical locations of Celtic settlements. Also in the middle ages, most of the surviving texts were edited several times. Because of the common practice of running words together to form a continuous text without breaks, the texts were often difficult to understand. Another problem is that the writers were generally not concerned with the social structure of the groups they were describing, as they were far more interested in the war strategies, so that the subjects of language and geographical details were neglected.

2.2 Celtic Studies from the 16th to the late 19th century AD

It was not until the 16th century that scholars such as Joseph Scaliger began attempting to edit the texts and prepare them for wider circulation. This tradition finally standardized the edited texts, used in the 19th century. The concept of the Celts first appears with George Buchanan (1506-1582). He adapted Pliny's methodology for identifying the origin of people by studying:

- language,
- religious beliefs,
- place-names, cities and rivers. (Collis, 2003: 36-37)

Using this method, he correlated Belgice, Celtic spoken in Spain, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish languages according to the grammatical structures and gathered them under the term 'Gallic'. He proposed that the ancestors of the early Britons were the Gauls, and tried to explain this by migration waves. (James, 1999: 44; Collis, 2003: 37) Later in 1659, Aubrey also stated that the ancient language was spoken from the Orcades to Italy and Spain. (Fitzpatrick, 1996)

Paul-Yves Pezron (1639-1706) was among the first authors to assume that the Celts were a people who spoke a language called Celtic, on the wrong assumption that Breton was the last surviving form of the language, spoken by the ancient Celts of Gaul. (Collis, 2003; James, 1999) Pezron saw influences in Greek and Latin as deriving from periods when those nations were dominated by Celtic speakers. Pezron's choice of the term 'Celtic' seems to have been based on the earlier name used in Greek. (Collis, 1997) From this time onwards, the term 'Celt' for both the ancient and contemporary worlds was defined as someone speaking a Celtic language. On the other hand, Pezron and his successors applied this new definition of Celt as a Celtic speaker retrospectively to the ancient word. This creates difficulty, as it is not known what the criteria used to define Celts by ancient authors were. Some, like Tacitus, mentioned language as a primary criterion. However, most of the classical writers failed to mention the language spoken by the Celts.

Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) was the first to define the Celtic linguistic pattern. Subsequently, Lhuyd's Celtic family was refined and two distinct branches were recognized, referred to as Goidelic or Q-Celtic (Irish, Manx, Scottish) and Brythonic or P-Celtic (Pictish, Welsh, Cornish, Breton). He labeled the Welsh, Scots, and Irish as Celtic also. (James, 1999: 45-46; Collis, 2003: 49) It seems clear that Pezron and Lhuyd were the forerunners of the 18th century Celticomania. (Figure 2.3)



Figure 2.3 The 19th century 'nationalist' ship's figurehead depicting Brennos wearing a winged helmet

The interesting point that no connection was made between Irish and Welsh at this time, was probably due to the enmity between them. A comparison of middle Welsh and middle Irish, however, does bring out distinct similarities. After Lhuyd in 1707, Welsh, Gaulish, and Irish became accepted as a family of languages. Many of the

problems associated with proto-Indo-European languages, date, homeland, archaeological context, and cultural significance also apply to Celtic. Genetics is another area that seems full of contradictions, where the Celts are described as having dark hair and short stature by one author; whereas they are termed tall, fair, and long limbed in another source look this up. In parallel with the enormous strides made by German linguists in the later 19th century was a major series of publications by French historians, using classical and later linguistic evidence. The dominant view in the mid 19th century was that put forward by Thierry in 1828, which used Livy and Caesar to identify the homeland of the Celts. He placed the origin of the Gallic tribes, who invaded Italy in the 5th-4th BC century in the same locations as Caesar found them in the 1st century BC, a view recently revived by Pare (1991).

Grenier (1922) claimed that the people who spoke proto-Celtic and built the Tumulus Culture of the Bronze Age would later be called Celts. (Pauli, 1980) Kristian Jurgensen Thomsen, keeper of the National Museum of Denmark 1816, classified the archaeological collections according to three great periods; Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Around the middle of the century, the Iron Age was assigned to the Celts. The first subdivision was based on the difference between the materials found in the cemetery of Hallstatt in Austria, first published in 1868 and those of the lake site of La Tène in Switzerland, explored in 1858. In 1872, the Swedish archaeologist Hans Hildebrand drew the distinction between a first Iron Age, which he called the Hallstatt period and a second Iron Age described as the La Tène period.

In 1885, Otto Tischler in turn subdivided the La Tène period into three phases; Early I, Middle II and Late III on the basis of the different shapes of fibulae and swords. La Tène I was distinguished by free pin fibulae and relatively short swords with chapes which were usually perforated, La Tène II by fibulae with the pin attached to the bow and swords with solid chapes, and La Tène III by fibulae with perforated catchplates and much longer swords, often with rounded points and scabbards reinforced in a 'ladder like fashion' by numerous horizontal bars. (Kruta, 1991: 48-49) In Switzerland, the exploration of the Münsiger cemeteries made a further subdivision possible; the first two phases were now broken down into La Tène 'Ia, Ib, Ic' and 'IIa, IIb'. In Bavaria in contrast, the situation was different. There the existence of two perfectly distinct groups of material from Tischler's first phase -an earlier group

related to the tumuli, a later one from inhumation cemeteries of the type already found in Champagne/Switzerland and Bohemia- led Paul Reinecke to propose marking out an early phase datable from the 5th century BC (La Tène A). The subsequent phases; La Tène B, C and D more or less followed the Tischler's typological series. This dating scheme, particularly popular with German scholars, was further refined by Werner Kramer, (1964 cited in Kruta, 1991: 49) Hardmut Polen (1971 cited in Kruta, 1991: 49) and others. Local factors or the situation of individual cemeteries such as Champagne, (Roualet, 1976 in Roualet cited in Kruta, 1991: 49) Italy, (Kruta, 1980 cited in Kruta, 1991: 49) or the cemeteries of Jenišov Ujezd in Bohemia (Kruta, 1976, cited in Kruta, 1991: 49) led to the development of further detailed dating. (Kruta P., 1991: 49)

Chronological classification offers the set grid for individual archaeological events, but it limits the exploratory possibilities. In this sense, a grave is not only an individual unit but is usually a part of a whole, the cemetery that reflects the social community in a distinct period. The grave goods found in a tomb, do not just indicate the dressing and working habits of a human group, more importantly, they represent a symbolic choice, which is not known clearly. For example, the torque, which is strictly regarded as a characteristic of Celtic male dress, is not to be found in any Celtic warrior grave of the 4th to the 3rd century BC. However, a great deal of information can be gathered from burial areas as a whole; the way the cemetery is organized and used, the chronological development, the tomb typology, the burial rites, anthropological and demographic data will all help to interpret the social structure. (Kruta P., 1991: 49)

The principle division usually recognized in the Iron Age of Europe is between the Hallstatt (approximately 8th-5th centuries BC) and La Tène (5th century BC-1st century AD) periods. However, although the Iron Age is a chronological division, the idea of the Iron Age as a chronological construct is rarely considered. In general, discussions have considered the end of the Bronze Age as the adoption of Iron technology and this has been widely accepted, so the debate has been concentrated on the Bronze Age-Iron Age transition. (Sorensen and Thomas, 1989) As a result, the idea of the Iron Age seems unproblematic and not requiring discussion. However, the beginning of the Iron Age differs between the regions according to the criteria of using Iron

technology. There is almost an agreement among the historians that the Iron Age started in 1200 BC in Anatolia, after the fall of the Hittite Empire and this corresponds to the end of Urnfield culture and the beginning of early Hallstatt culture in Europe. In Europe, the Iron Age began in the 8th century BC.

Here, it is necessary to turn to the archeological theory of the 19th century. These philological reconstructions of Celtic Europe were based almost entirely on early medieval sources written in the 5th century AD, over a thousand years later. (Fitzpatrick, 1997: 242) In 1871, de Mortillet recognized the similarities between burials and grave goods in Italy and France and interpreted them, as the evidence of cultural continuity in the form of Gaulish or Celtic migrations to Italy. However, Hildebrand introduced the term La Tène culture in 1870, apparently in just a chronological sense. (Hildebrand, 1870; de Mortillet, 1871 cited in Collis, 1986 b) Therefore, from the beginning, the terms La Tène and Celtic have meant different things to different people. Although the distinction between Hallstatt and La Tène may have been mainly a chronological one, (Collis, 1986 b) this vagueness of purpose has almost by chance introduced a fundamental distinction between a certainly Celtic La Tène Europe and a possibly Celtic Hallstatt Europe. De Mortillet knew nothing of the recently excavated sites, for example in lower Austria, (Neugebauer, 1991) which would have changed his description of the core of Celtic culture, but the construction of the European Iron Age as effectively Celtic La Tène Europe would probably have been quite similar.

Dechelette (1914 cited in Collis, 1997) used archaeological data for the first time, together with historical and linguistic evidence in order to define the Celts and their origin. The 5th century '*Keltisches Kerngebiet*' on Pauli's map of the Celts was derived from the core area, defined by Hallstatt burial rites. (1980: 31) Dechelette (1914) recognized the polyethnic character of the Hallstatt civilization and divided La Tène into three; Celtic, Germanic and Insular, while recognizing the difficulties in dividing the first two precisely. Champagne-Marne, Mose-Central Rhine, and Bohemia were regarded as the birth area in his La Tène I, spreading into other areas in later La Tène I and II. This core area he termed Celtic, following d'Arbois de Jubainville's views of a homeland north of the Alps, rather than in central and western France. Based on this, in spite of exceptions, Dechelette (1910) proposed

that ethnically analytical burial rites could be distinguished. Ligurians practiced crouched inhumation; the Celts had extended inhumation and the Germans and Belgae cremated their dead. Thus, he could define a Celtic area north of the Alps in Hallstatt I, extending as far south, and west as the Massif Central with an expansion into Spain during Hallstatt II, to account for the presence of the Celts there by the 5th century BC. (Collis, 1997)

2.3. Celts in Recent Literature

During the early 20th century, under the influence of nationalistic ideology, the Celtic background of European regions, from the Atlantic to the Carpathian Mountains was recognized by scholars of archaeology. Later, the idea of an ancient Celtic contribution to European culture was accepted and the former view of Celts as barbarians was rejected. (Kruta V, 1991: 30)

In the 1940s, a distinct category of Celtic art in Europe was identified, systematically catalogued and the Celtic links with the Mediterranean were studied in detail. Public awareness of Celtic art as one of ancient Europe's leading forms of expression followed. (Kruta, 1991: 30) The 'New Archaeology' of the 1960s attempted to derive social meaning from the material remains of the prehistoric past by applying scientific techniques and the scientific concept of creating and testing theory against data.

In current literature, the term 'Celt' means different things to different people; some even argue against the existence of Celts. Chapman (1992), Champion (1988), Wells (2001), James (1999) and Collis (1994, 1996, and 2003) dismiss the generalization that Celts appear to be unified. On the other hand, some go so far as to regard them as imperialistic. (Ellis, 2001) The ways in which language, art and the literary sources are commonly used in the support of a Celtic Iron Age in Europe, are clearly not united by a rational and convincing theoretical basis. (Fitzpatrick, 1992: 52)

Wagner (1971 cited in Pauli, 1980) located the Celtic language on a map in an investigation of Indo-European languages. Linguistic study has discovered limited remains of a language that is agreed to have a connection with Celtic even though

some call it 'Leponitic', (Whatmough, 1927 cited in Pauli, 1980: 21) while others call it Celtic. (Lejeune, 1971 cited in Pauli, 1980: 21)

It has become clear that the earliest settlements of the Celts cannot have been founded in southern Germany, Switzerland, or France. Instead, as Pauli proposes, the ancestors of the Celtic and Italic speaking people including the Venetian tribes could rather be considered to have migrated from the Balkans to their historically attested territories. (Pauli, 1980: 20) He also argues that, from the evidence, people to the north of the Alps who had some Celtic characteristics, appeared only towards the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Therefore, there is no evidence to support Wilke's (1917 cited in Pauli, 1980: 18) claim that the Celts originated in the Neolithic age from the 4th millennium BC, and Cunliffe's (cited in Pauli, 1980: 18) claim that their origin dates back to the 3rd millennium and that they became a unique culture in central Europe before the 13th century BC. (Pauli, 1980: 18) (Figure 2.4)

According to Megaw and Megaw, the definition of Celts includes, those who produced early Celtic or more specifically, early La Tène art. While all material culture may be symbolic, art occupies a unique position in this context. La Tène art existed more widely in Europe, north of the Alps in the La Tène Iron Age, (from the 5th to the 1st centuries BC) than the evidence of use of Celtic language. It seems to provide evidence of the symbolic system common in many areas and usually thought of as Celtic. (Megaw and Megaw, 2001: 19) However, Chapman (1992) stated that the term Celtic was used to stress the 'other' concept and did not actually ever exist.

Collis, author of 'Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State' wrote that the Celtic society described by Powell (1958) was only a mixture of information from different times and places, without forming any distinctive pattern. However, Collis accepted that there were certain groups who had been labeled Celts in the past who had multiple identities, which could vary according to context. (Collis, 1997: 71) He claimed that archaeological data misuse and false research methodologies lead to wrong research questions and a misinterpretation of the archaeological record and can lead to the abuse of archaeology for political aims. Collis' starting point was the unjustified ethnic labeling of archaeological data, which is being promoted in several recent books on the Celts. One of the questions that Collis put forward was:

Why do the maps in these books show the origin of the Celts in an area which we have no definite evidence was ever Celtic, then their spread into areas which already seemed to be Celtic, and then on to other areas, like Britain, which were never Celtic? (Collis, 1997: 72)

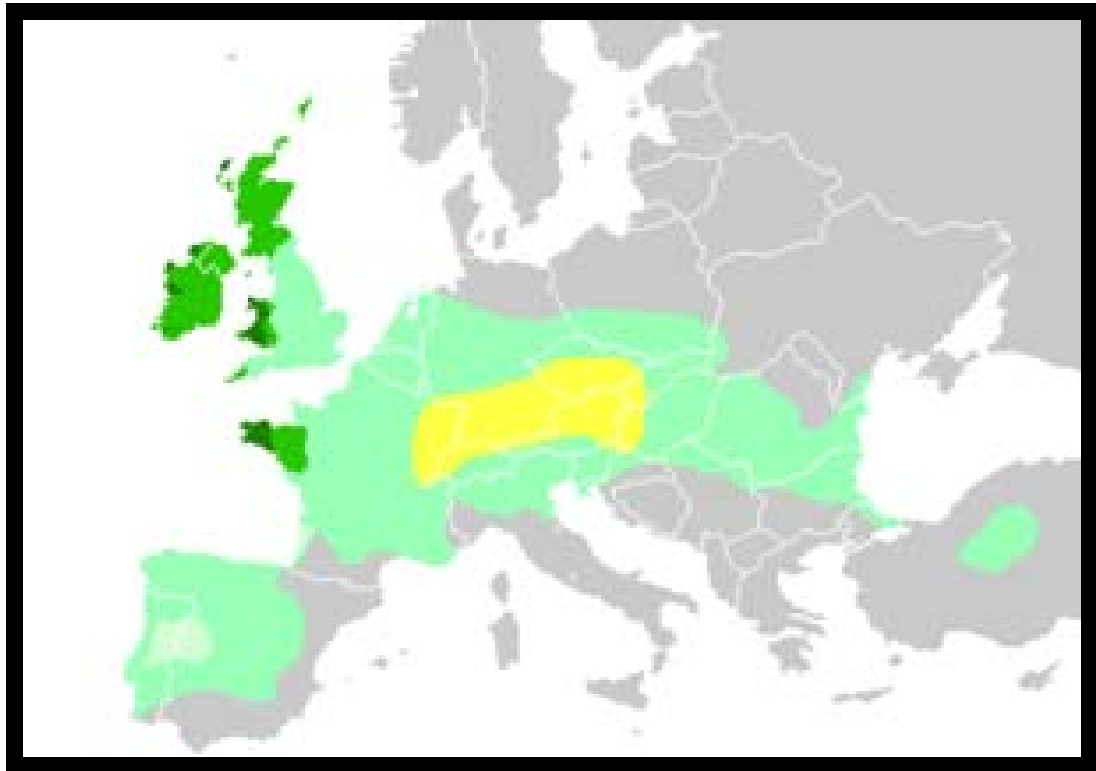


Figure 2.4 Diachronic distribution of Celtic peoples; ■ core Hallstatt territory, by the 6th century BC ■ maximal Celtic expansion, by the 3rd century BC ■ Lusitanian area of Iberia where Celtic presence is uncertain ■ the "six Celtic nations" which retained significant numbers of Celtic speakers into the Early Modern period ■ areas where Celtic languages remain widely spoken today

Fitzpatrick (1996) claimed that it is wrong to associate archaeological culture with people and especially with a language. Instead, a widespread distribution of artifacts may indicate the shared religious beliefs of many small groups in Europe, but the local context is where the primary significance of this shared material lies. (Fitzpatrick, 1996: 238) There is a danger of assessing a small group and

extrapolating the findings to a general culture, using stricter tests than those used for other groups.

There has been criticism in most of the recent studies about giving the impression of a people with a unified culture, who dressed in the same way, shared common religious beliefs, had strange ceremonies, spoke the same language and had the same material culture as characteristics of a culture labeled as Celtic. There are many ongoing debates about the Celts. The literature outlines many controversial prototypes of the Celts; war-like, yet hospitable, noble savages, wise and strange Druids. A number of scholars argue that the similarities should be concentrated on without disregarding the differences. They should not be regarded as having a unified culture; neither was there an imitative, unchanging structure intending to interpret different societies, social organizations, and settlement patterns as existing alongside one another and reacting to each other under the same label of Celts. The various contexts, in which they developed, must be clearly distinguished and change should be considered in this space and time range. Karl (2007) stressed that interactions between patterns of self, on different time and space scales, and other cultures lead to a reciprocal change in both. The patterns that emerge are called culture by outsiders and they change continually to produce a dynamic equilibrium, staying sufficiently stable to be regarded as historically distinctive patterns of behavior, language or art, which supplies enough evidence to justify the usage of the label Celtic for these societies. (Fitzpatrick, 1996; Megaw & Megaw, 1996; Karl, 2004)

The interpretation of 'Celt' depends on the definition. There are many different definitions, which cannot simply be right or wrong, but depending on which academic approach is considered, they all have advantages and disadvantages.

The post modernist approach bases the definition of an 'ethnic group' on 'self identification'. According to this approach, 'Celts' can only be defined as those who associate themselves as Celts. Unfortunately, because they were an illiterate society, any interpretation is based mainly on classical texts alone and the evidence that they called themselves 'Celts' was supplied by Caesar. Secondly, the approach is based on the archaeological remains, which do not speak for themselves, but can only be used to interpret the past. Another disadvantage is that the people's view of

themselves may be misleading because, if their neighbors are their enemies, they will identify themselves as being different even when they are quite similar.

Furthermore, people have changing feelings about their similarity to and difference from others, which forms their identity. The characteristic of relation is crucial, without an 'other', 'self' loses its meaning. Human behavior should always be evaluated according to the individual's self-perception. (Wells, 2001: 22) Chapman (1992) has criticized the modern concept of the Celts, pointing out that in the ancient world, the Celts were not a self-defined ethnic group, but people defined by outsiders, who may or not have had a group identity. Chapman's theory also means that so-called modern Celts and ancient Celts have no common identity. Champion has claimed that names such as 'Celtic', 'Gaul,' or 'Gael' were given by outsiders, but never shared by the so-called Celts themselves. (Champion, 1988: 88) Also, Collis (1994) and Wells state that the idea of Celts is just a political instrument for unifying European nations by using past identities. (Wells, 2001: 20) However, Caesar reported that the people who lived in central and southern Gaul called themselves Celts.

Another approach is based on the outsider definitions, which are based on either their contemporaries (e.g. classic writers) or present day observers. Definitions are made either according to observable evidence (archaeological remains, language) or according to archaeological theory. The contemporary outsiders could be eyewitnesses who had visited the populations; they described themselves and noted at least their observable similarities and differences. Although the majority of scholars generally accepted these textual sources, recent approaches have become more skeptical about them. Collis stated that it is wrong to identify something as a 'Celtic society' based on written sources, as it forces archaeological data into moulds that do not fit. (Collis, 1994: 31) As Wells pointed out, the ancient writers are not objective and their texts should be regarded as culturally formed prejudices. (Wells, 2001: 14)

Nowadays, every scholar can choose what s/he thinks to be relevant. Since a researcher can define a specific material culture as 'Celtic', this allows various similar or different definitions such as linguistic, archaeological, historical, and

sociological definitions to stand together. Because they are drawn from independently repeatable observations, they can be tested. The drawback of these definitions is that they can be very subjective and inconsistent, as a scholar may use a linguistic definition of 'Celts' and apply it to sociology, whether or not that specific culture speaks that language. Therefore, it can be highly confusing and there is no guarantee that the pattern observed in the evidence has any meaning to the past culture being studied. The primary criticism is that Celtic is used as a one-dimensional label to cover a very wide range of space and time. As Collis states, this range spans:

from the 1st century BC urbanized societies in Gaul to the decentralized societies of peripheral England; from the highly stratified societies symbolized in the burials of Vix and Hochdorf, to societies where it is hard to identify any prestigious material goods. (Collis, 1994: 32)

In this respect, the term Celtic does not necessarily imply a specific people or anything specific in the past. More or less, clear reminders of Celtic civilization are still to be seen in Europe; names of towns, rivers and mountains, traces of architecture, weapons, works of art and domestic items, but the distribution of these traces is uneven. Within this construct, it has been seen that the term Celtic is as much geographical as cultural, and it need not imply that these people spoke Celtic or called them Celts. In the classical texts, geographical distance also causes a change in attitude, in that the further the distance from civilization, the more barbaric a culture was regarded. (Piggott, 1975; Rowlands, 1990; Shaw, 1982-1983)

The continuing popularity of a Celtic Iron Age in Europe in both intellectual and popular works show that it is not enough to present critical reviews of modern interpretation of the Celts as has been popular recently. Instead, reviewers should propose alternative interpretations of the ancient evidence.

Much less research has been carried out in the Galatian region until recently, when several studies have been made on the subject of Anatolian Galatians. The excavation in Karalar carried out by Arik in the 1930's is important as this is the first site providing evidence that it was a Galatian settlement. The first modern writer to

study the Galatians was Broughton (1938) in *Roman Asia Minor*, an Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Magie (1950) in *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* wrote about the Galatians in the Roman era mentioning the colonies of Rome. Rankin in *Celts and the Classical World* 1987 was a valuable source on the classical writers and Freeman (2001) in *The Galatian language* shows that the Celtic language was used in Anatolian words. Lequenne's *Galatians* (1991) and Mitchell's books, 'The History and Archaeology of Galatia 1974 and *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*' (volume I-The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule, and volume II-Population and the Land in Roman Galatia) supplied records of the Galatian migration into Asia Minor in 278/277 BC, and of their settling in an area bordered by Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia and Paphlagonia. Mitchell's books also described their subsequent relations with the Hellenistic kings and the Romans from the 2nd century BC to 25 BC, when the Galatian region became a Roman province. They are of special importance as they trace the Galatians through several periods and widen the perspective on their history. Mitchell with French and Greenhalgh, recorded the inscriptions found in the region in *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II*. Strobel (*Die Galater*) gave information on general as well as specific subjects by a systematic description of the classical sources as well as modern literature, although he mainly used this information to focus on the first half of the 3rd century BC, up to the war between Galatians and Antiochos I of Seleukos. Arslan's book 'Galatlar' dealt mainly with Social development and Structure, describing the relations with Western Asia Minor and the Hellenistic kings. He also mentioned the military techniques and described the important role of agriculture and animal farming on Galatian economy and their place in the trade and city planning of the Galatians as well as the effect of religion and local cults on the Galatians. Kaya recorded historical events in Galatia together with the social and economic structure. The excavations of Sams and Voigt in Gordion are important since they give chronological evidence of the different periods of occupation. Vardar carried out surveys in the Galatian region and his findings have furnished valuable information regarding the sites.

2.4 Time-Location Analysis of Celts / Galatians as used in this Research

The time range of Celts/Galatians studied in this thesis covers from 1200-48 BC in Europe and 278-25 BC in Anatolia. The Celtic culture considered here will begin in the Hallstatt period, since this is mainly thought to span from 1200 to 450 BC. The clear archaeological differences chronologically and spatially between late Hallstatt (800-400 BC) and La Tène periods (400 BC-1st century AD), which are mostly considered as Iron Age, will be emphasized. However, the Hallstatt period, which is divided into four phases from A to D, originates from the Bronze Age. Hallstatt A and B correspond to the late Bronze Age (1200-800 BC), while C (800-600 BC) and D (600-450 BC) belong to the Iron Age.

The bronze metal working traditions continued into the Iron Age and in order to see the pattern continuum, the Urnfield period as the previous period of Hallstatt, has been briefly studied in this thesis. Late Middle Iron Age is the period of Celtic migration to Anatolia. This Celtic migration wave ended with some of the groups settling in the old Phrygian area in Anatolia and renaming the region as Galatia. (278-25 BC) Thus, the chronology of the European Celts and their Anatolian counterparts can be summarized as shown in Table 2.1.

The Hallstatt and La Tène periods will be examined in the next chapter. In order to understand the Galatians better, a brief review of the Phrygians here will be helpful. The boundaries of Phrygia are not known for certain, but it was surrounded by Lykaonia, Pisidia, Kabalis, Mpilyas, Kibyrtis in the south, Mysia, Lydia, Karia in the west, Bithynia and Paphlagonia in the north and eventually Pontus with the Halys in the east. Cappadokia with the salt lake, which Strabo states was on the border although the lake belonged to Great Phrygia. (Strabo, 568) In the 11th century BC, Gordion became a city and in the 8th century BC, it became a powerful state. It was invaded when the Cimmerians arrived in Anatolia and the area passed into the hands of the Seleucid kingdom. (Sevin, 2001: 196)

Table 2.1 Comparative Chronologies of European and Anatolian Iron Age up to the Roman Era

EUROPE			ANATOLIA		
1300-1200 BC	Urnfield/ Bronze Age D	LBA	LBA	New Hittite Kingdom	1400-1100 BC
1200-1000 BC	Hallstatt A	LBA	EIA	Neo Hittite	1100-900 BC
1000-800 BC	Hallstatt B	LBA	EIA	Early Phrygian	900-800BC
800-600 BC	Hallstatt C (East Hallstatt)	LBA/EI A	EIA	Middle Phrygian	800-550BC
600-450 BC	Hallstatt D (West Hallstatt)	EIA	EIA	Late Phrygian Style	550-300 BC
450-350 BC	La Tène A	EIA	EIA	Late Phrygian Style	550-300 BC
350-250 BC	La Tène B	MIA	MIA	Late Phrygian Style	550-300BC
250-150 /120 BC	La Tène C	LMIA	LMIA	Galatia	278-190BC
150/120-15 BC	La Tène D	LIA	LIA	Galatia	190-25BC

As a general approach, the Phrygians are believed to have migrated from Thrace. (Figure 2.5) The ancient writers such as Herodotus (I: 171: VII: 73.74.75 cited in Petrova and Macedonia, 1998: 45), Strabo (XII: 550.572; XII: 628) and Pliny (N.H.V 145 cited in Sevin, 2001: 193) stated that they were one faction of the Bryges from where their name Phrygia originates. When they moved to Anatolia around 1200 BC from eastern Thrace, their name is assumed to have changed to Phrygian. (Sevin, 2001: 193) Their language was Indo-European and the archaeological evidence shows that there are close similarities between Thracians and Phrygians. Studies suggest that this was the first wave of migration of the Bryges towards Anatolia, the second being in the period after the Trojan War. (Petrova and Macedonia, 1998: 47) However, Petrova and Macedonia (1998) also note that there is another theory that

could be derived from this, which is that the movement could have been reversed, that is, from Anatolia to the Balkans. (Petrova and Macedonia, 1998: 45)

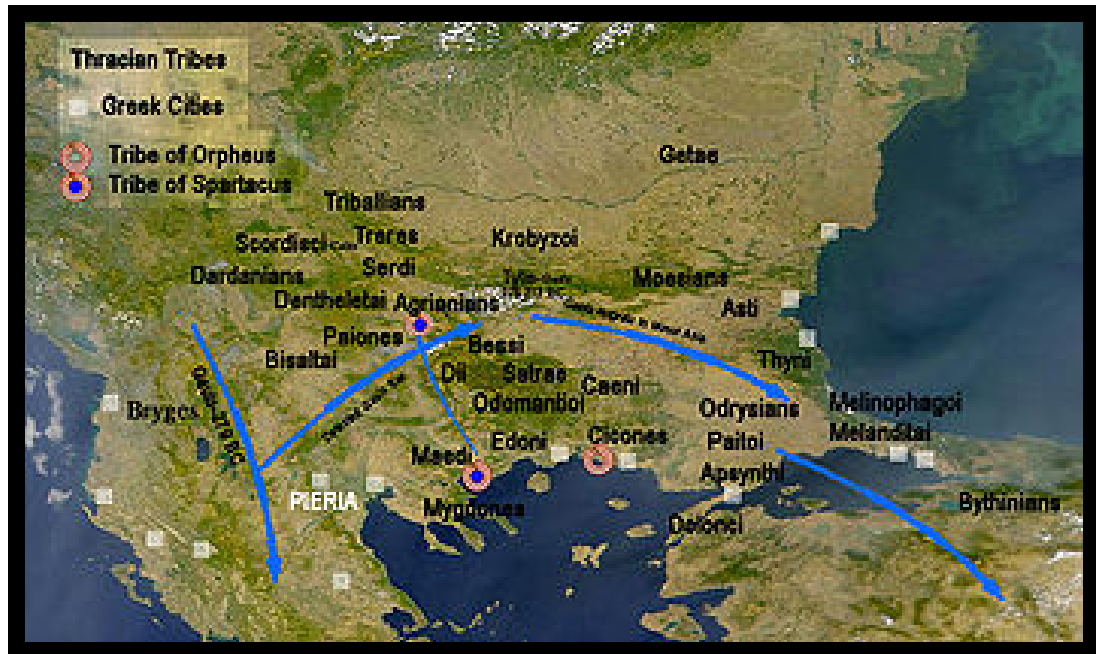


Figure 2.5 Thracian Tribes including Anatolia

In this thesis, the general approach has been accepted, although it is difficult to find a direct connection between the Bryges and Phrygians. (Petrova and Macedonia, 1998: 45) The archaeological findings show that their designs on the pottery were geometric imprints, such as horn-like projections or spiral and circle motifs. (Sevin, 2001: 193) As well as pottery, the production of metal weapons and jewellery, especially the decorated pins were essential characteristics of the Bryges occupied area. (Petrova and Macedonia, 1998: 4) There are also similarities in the burial practices and inhumation and cremation took place concurrently. (Georgieva and Bulgaria, 1998: 61) The tumuli or rock tombs and megaliths are common to both areas. (Georgieva and Bulgaria, 1998: 61) In Phrygia and Thrace, the graves were seemingly regarded as the homes of the dead. This can be seen in the tombs, as they furnish the tombs as houses with tables, chairs, fabrics, vessels, and many objects from daily life. (Georgieva and Bulgaria, 1998: 61) In Thracian tombs, the women

were dressed with their accessories such as belts and fibulae, while men were frequently buried with their armor. In the Gordion P and MM tumuli, belts and fibulae were discovered in situ. (Georgieva and Bulgaria, 1998: 62) Another common custom in the burial rites are the sacrifices for feeding the dead. These similarities also indicate the similarities of the social and political structure of Thracian and Phrygian societies. (Georgieva and Bulgaria, 1998: 63)

The main subject of this thesis, the Galatians, will be studied in detail in Chapter IV. During the discussions, Table 2.1 will be referred to in Chapters III and IV in order to derive the pattern continuum from Celts in Europe to Galatians in Anatolia.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CELTIC SETTLEMENTS IN EUROPE

During prehistoric times, the social organization and settlement structure gradually became more complex. The developments were not uniform since, while there were rapid changes in some regions and periods, in others the developments were slow or even reversed. The major periods of the Bronze and Iron Ages in central Europe and their archaeological classification is studied in this chapter.

3.1 Main Periods of Celtic Evidence in Europe

Celts are thought to have entered the arena of history at various periods; first, during the late Bronze Age, 1300-700 BC which is generally referred as the 'Urnfield culture' due to the characteristics of burial practices and the early phases of 'Hallstatt culture' A and B; second, during the Iron Age, termed the Hallstatt culture C and D (700-450 BC) and lastly during the 'La Tène culture' A, B, C and D (450 BC- 1st century AD).

An art style that was neither Roman, Saxon nor Viking was recognized by Kemble and Franks in the mid 19th century and they labeled it (late) Celtic. Since then, this terminology has been widely accepted. The origin of this art style, which was claimed to lie in northern France and southern Germany and is associated with La Tène culture, has been linked with Celtic expansion. Subsequently, archaeologists have used this so-called Celtic La Tène culture in the documentation of the Celtic expansion. (Megaw and Megaw, 1989: 13) However, material differences were recognized between the cemetery of Hallstatt (1868) and the lake site of La Tène (1858). The common features between the archaeological findings in Italy and

France led Mortillet to recognize these as evidence of cultural continuity through Celtic migration to Italy.

The Swedish archaeologist Hans Hildebrand (1872) divided the Iron Age into two cultural periods; the Hallstatt culture, followed by the La Tène culture. This was a purely chronological system and it became associated with the Celts. (Pauli, 1980: 19; James, 2005: 15)

During the Bronze Age, long-distance trade was more important than control of land and was the basis of social hierarchy. Probably chiefs controlled land through their role as judges, but had no control over the primary produce from the land since the distances were short. Secondary products had higher exchange value as they were regarded as exotic by the chiefs and their control over them could have been partial. Therefore, they did not have the necessary economic basis for expanding their territorial power permanently. (Burn, 1999: 21)

The Iron Age may be regarded as having continued for nearly two millennia up to the Industrial Revolution in Europe. The Hallstatt and La Tène periods (7th century BC-1st century AD) are mostly considered as Iron Age, but it should be noted that the Hallstatt period originated in the Bronze Age. The bronze metal working traditions continued into the Iron Age from the Urnfield culture. Therefore, the chronological and spatial differences between the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures should be emphasized and studied in detail.

3.1.1 Urnfield Period (1300 BC - 1200 BC)

The origin and development of the Urnfield culture is unclear. (Cunliffe, 1999: 43) Archaeology and place names give no indication of the origin of the Urnfield culture. Recently, the concept of small group displacements following crises affecting neighboring groups and gradually extending over whole regions has gained support. (Audouze and Büchsenschütz, 1992: 18) In Europe the uneven distribution of the raw materials tin and copper, (Figure 3.1) which were the components of bronze, necessitated long distance trading and this eventually changed the society. (Audouze and Büchsenschütz, 1992: 15) The main distinguishing feature of the Urnfield period

is the uniformity of its burial rites. These include tumulus burials in clearly recognizable cemeteries of the cremated remains in cinerary urns, (Cunliffe, 1999: 43) which were a new type of pottery - being black, glossy and having a typical riled decoration. (Audouze and Büchsenschütz, 1992: 18) The settlements were generally fortified on hilltops and most were abandoned by the end of the Bronze Age.

3.1.2 The Hallstatt Period (1200 BC- 450 BC)

The definition of the Hallstatt era, which is mainly thought to span from 1200 to 450 BC through the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, corresponds to the framework of the Hallstatt cemetery. The early phases of the Hallstatt era during the Late Bronze Age are called Hallstatt A and Hallstatt B (1200-700 BC). The second phase during the Early Iron Age is usually subdivided so that it is generally approached in terms of the early, late, and final Hallstatt culture, which has covered most of Europe, namely, Hallstatt C, (700-600 BC), Hallstatt D1 and D2-D3 (600-450 BC). Not only has the last period given its name to the era, but also the finds have provided reference of a Hallstatt culture for discussion.

Hallstatt culture can be defined by its burial rites as a tumulus inhumation culture, distinguishing its burial practices from the Urnfield culture. In the late Bronze Age, northern Europe apparently lacked any large-scale political organization with a major centre of power. The archaeological evidence suggests that, until the 8th century BC, the political organization was no more complex than chiefdoms with rich burials during this period. However, long distance exchange of copper and tin was already established. (James, 2005: 20-21) While the Hallstatt inhabitants began to use iron technology, bronze was still in use as a supplement for a long time as the transition process was slow and gave time for social changes to develop.

The Hallstatt cemetery of a salt mining community had over a thousand recorded graves containing rich burial materials. The name of the period was derived from excavations carried out by Ramsauer in upper Austria near the town of Hallstatt, in an Alpine valley the Salzbergtal above the Hallstättersee (Lake Hallstatt) during the middle of the 19th century. (Figure 3.2) Archaeological evidence shows that salt

mining was carried out in Hallstatt as early as 1000 BC. Salt was a very important substance, which drew men of the time to this place at an altitude of about a thousand meters above sea level in spite of the difficulty of access, lack of agricultural suitability and limited livestock keeping. (Frey, 1991: 75)

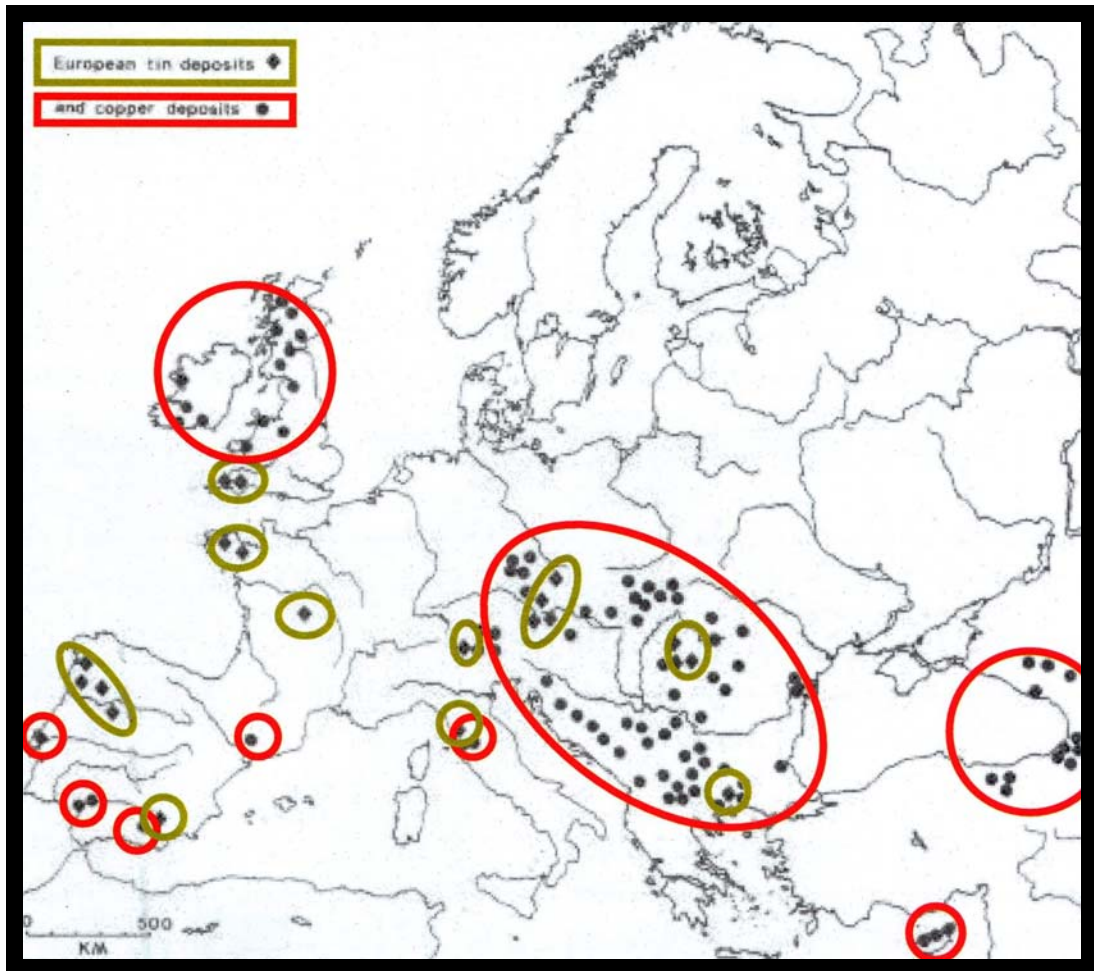


Figure 3.1 Urnfield systems; zones of tin and copper distribution in late Bronze Age Europe (Karl, 2006)

On this site, large deposits of animal bones have been discovered, indicating that food preservation was carried out. It has been proposed that this area represents the first industrial area in Europe.

The permanent settlement of the mining community must have been quite large since, apart from the actual mining, all the related activities were also carried out there. (Figure 3.3)



Figure 3.2 White Gold; the Hallstatt mining/salt community (Karl, 2006)

Wood had to be collected for props, for the tool handles, and the huge numbers of torches for illuminating the work underground and smiths were needed for making the tools. There was also the work of transporting. Therefore, outsiders must have made up a large proportion of the community, as the graves indicate. (Figure 3.4) The extracted salt had to be carried through the Alps. Therefore, protection of both the mining and transport of the salt must have been necessary. (Frey, 1991: 76)

Salt was vital for flavoring food and as a preserving agent. In addition, the leatherwork required large amounts of salt. Mining of the mineral and the inherent trading activities must have involved a highly developed organization. The economic incentive of this remote mining settlement is illustrated by the fact that all the difficulties mentioned above were overcome. (Frey, 1991: 76) Archaeologically,

there is a special advantage because objects made from organic materials are preserved by salt. (Figure 3.5)

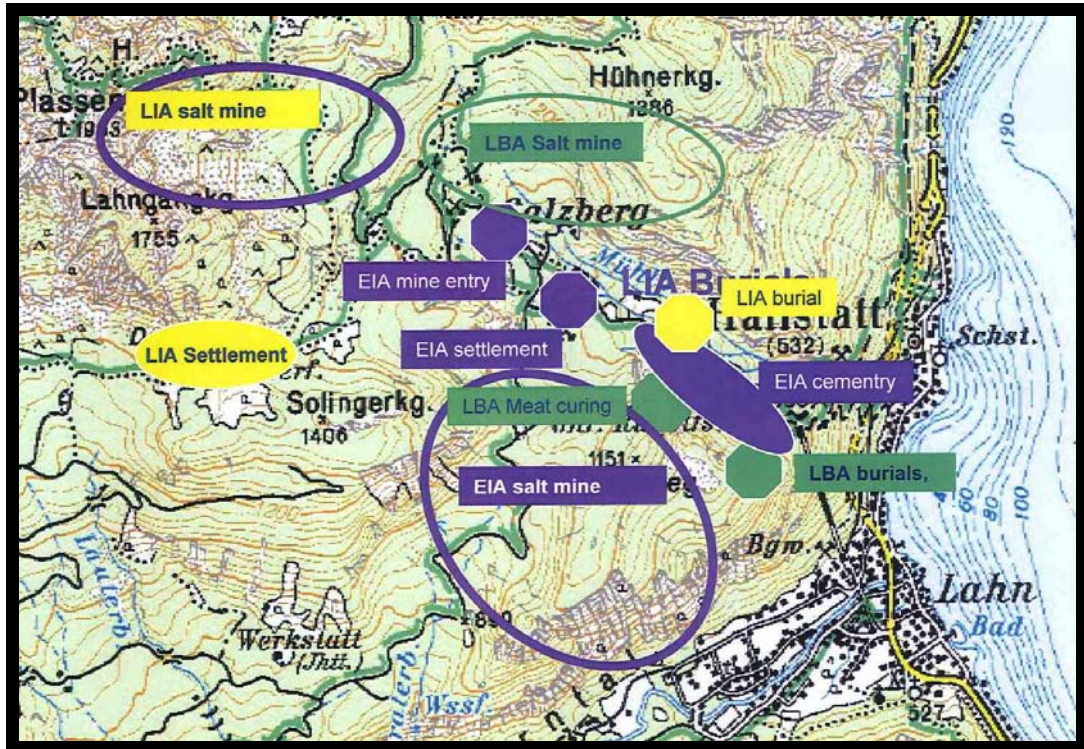


Figure 3.3 Hallstatt; upper Austria main sites and salt mines (Karl, 2006)

At present, more than a hundred fragments of clothing have been recovered, which show that weaving was highly developed and widespread during that period. (Barth, 1991: 165)

There are considerable differences in the Hallstatt culture between the eastern area in the eastern Alps and its western counterpart. (Figure 3.6) The wagon burials with gold objects and thrusting swords are typical of west Hallstatt, while the axe and dagger are symbolic of east Hallstatt. West Hallstatt was decentralized due to agricultural development, while east Hallstatt was hierarchical and centralized due to concentration on trade.

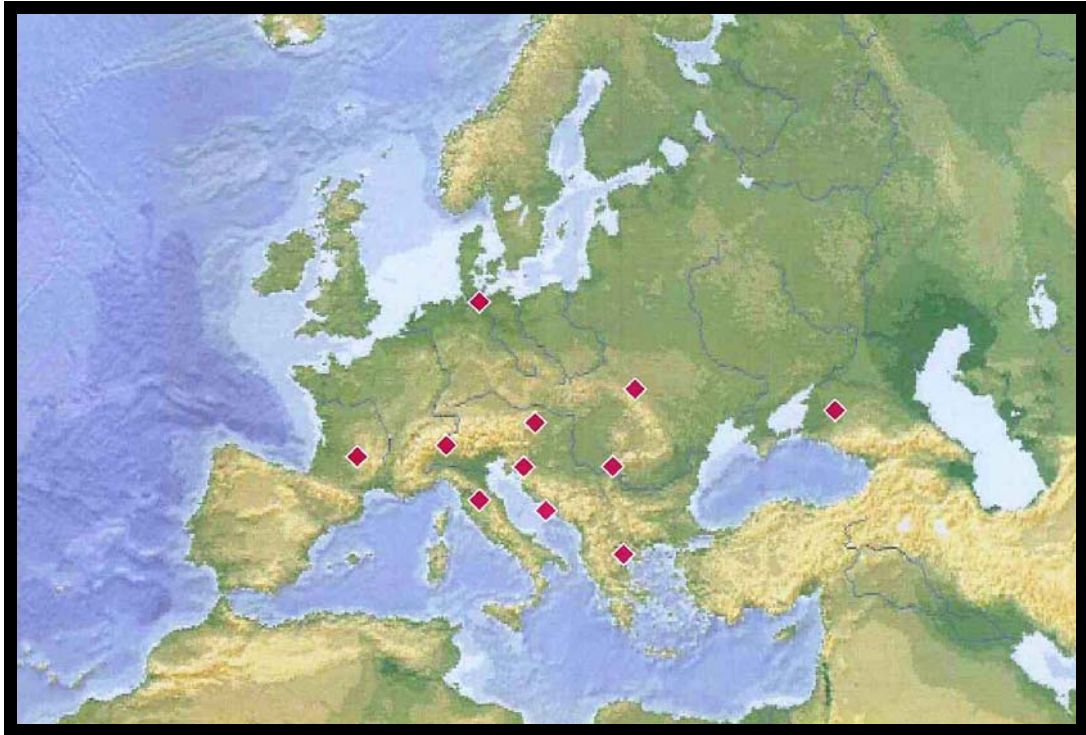


Figure 3.4 Origins of foreigners buried in Hallstatt (Karl, 2006)

In the Iron Age, there was a change in the trade network because of the decreased demand for copper, which led to upheaval in the society and resulted in decentralization with the emergence of new hillforts and warrior chiefs. This is seen in central and western Europe and showed itself in pastoral and chieftainly elite, with decentralization of the social and economic environment, reflected in a concentration on animal husbandry and the slave trade. The warrior society is characterized by the thrusting sword, which has become the symbol of Hallstatt C, and wagon burials. This dramatic change could explain the sudden appearance of rich male burials in barrow cemeteries, possibly indicating a differentiation in the social structure in western Hallstatt. Although there was a decentralized pattern during Hallstatt C (700-600 BC), both the burials with vehicles in wooden chambers under mounds in unfortified village communities and the rich burial mounds containing gold objects, classical imports and wagons in the fortified settlements on hilltops indicate important social hierarchy. Organized trade with the Mediterranean had also begun at this time. (Collis, 1999: 75; James, 2005: 21)

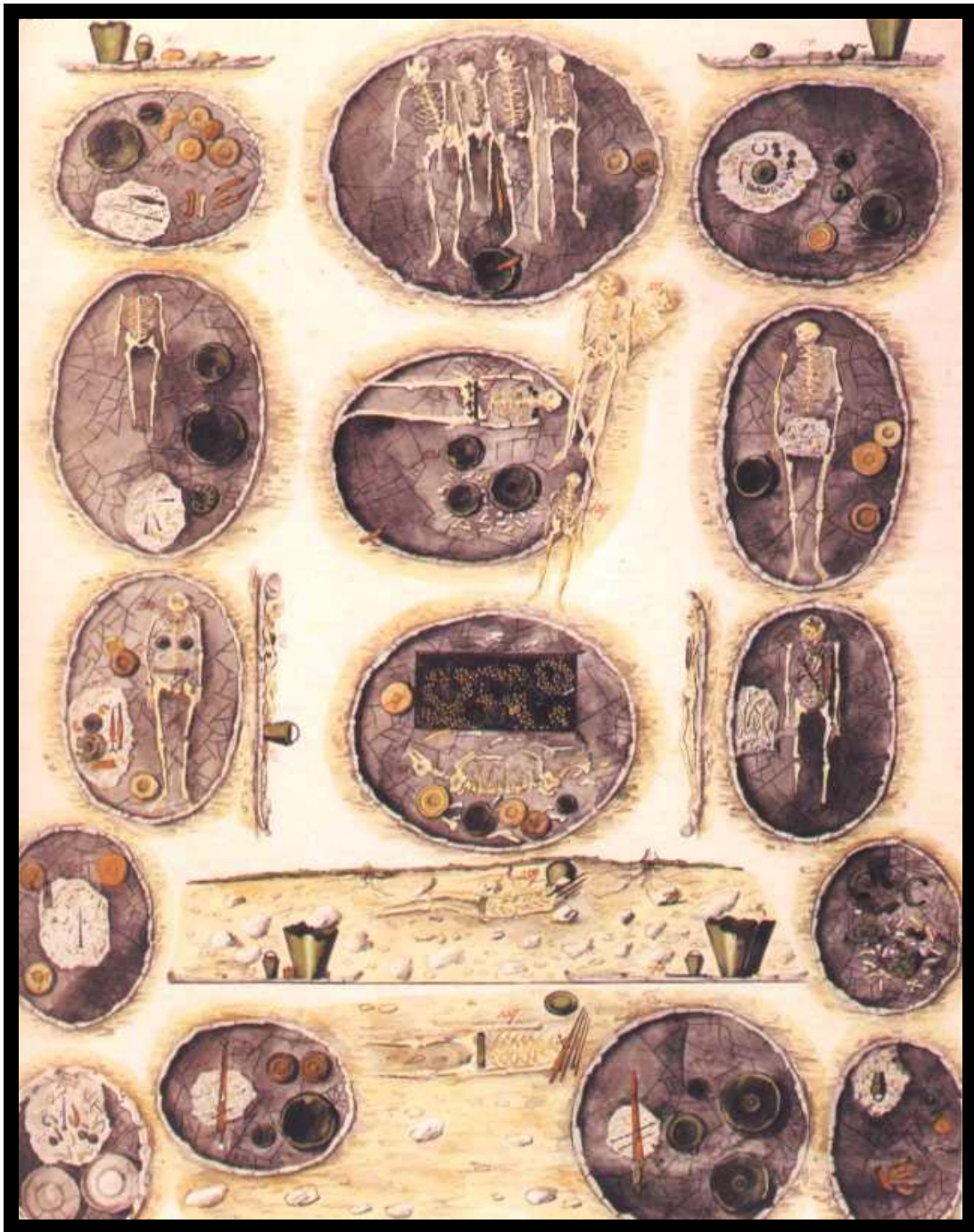


Figure 3.5 Graves from excavations at Hallstatt, Ramsauer's recording (James 2005)

In the Hallstatt D period (600-475 BC), in southwestern Germany and eastern France, there were defended hillforts with an apparent concentration of specialized production and extravagant burials under huge mounds, containing gold and imported Mediterranean products, all representing great social differentiation.

(Collis, 1999: 75) The components of drinking sets in the burials may have been produced locally, but their inspiration was clearly Italic, as confirmed by the corded vessel indicating their interaction with the Mediterranean.

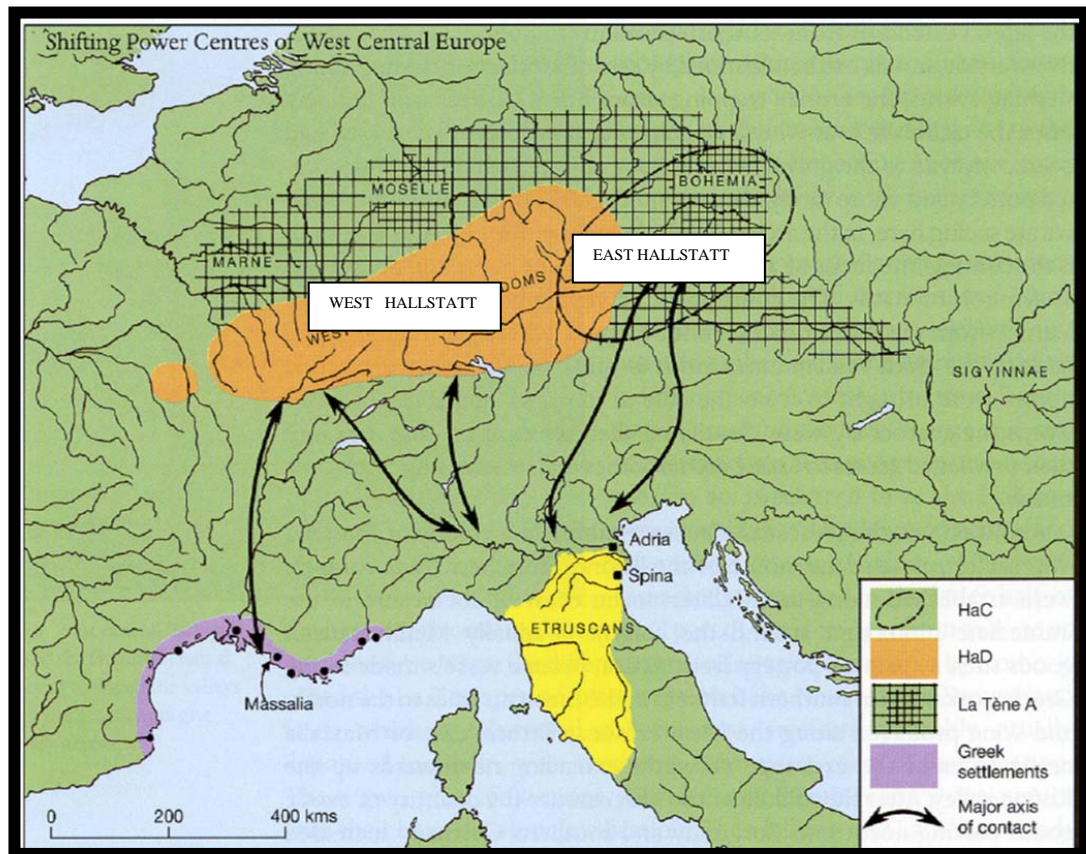


Figure 3.6 The location of east and west Hallstatt (Cunliffe, 1999 and Karl, 2006)

Traditionally, the east Hallstatt culture is defined as the area from the eastern Alps to the Danube, including Slovenia to the south. (Kristiansen, 1998: 224) There was more continuity with the previous period here and burials were mainly cremation with no wagons, being rich but not comparable to western burials. Burial remains here contain articles such as the axe and dagger as the common artifacts, spears, early figurative and scenic situla art and small scale plastic art, which symbolized this culture, but there were no gold articles.

Western Hallstatt extended from Bohemia to the Massif Central and from the Alps to the Mittelgebirge. (Figure 3.7) Within this large expanse of territory during the 6th century BC, a ‘core area’ stood out because of its great wealth, recognized by the presence of various gold objects in the graves and it probably had an extensive influence on the cultural development of the surrounding area.

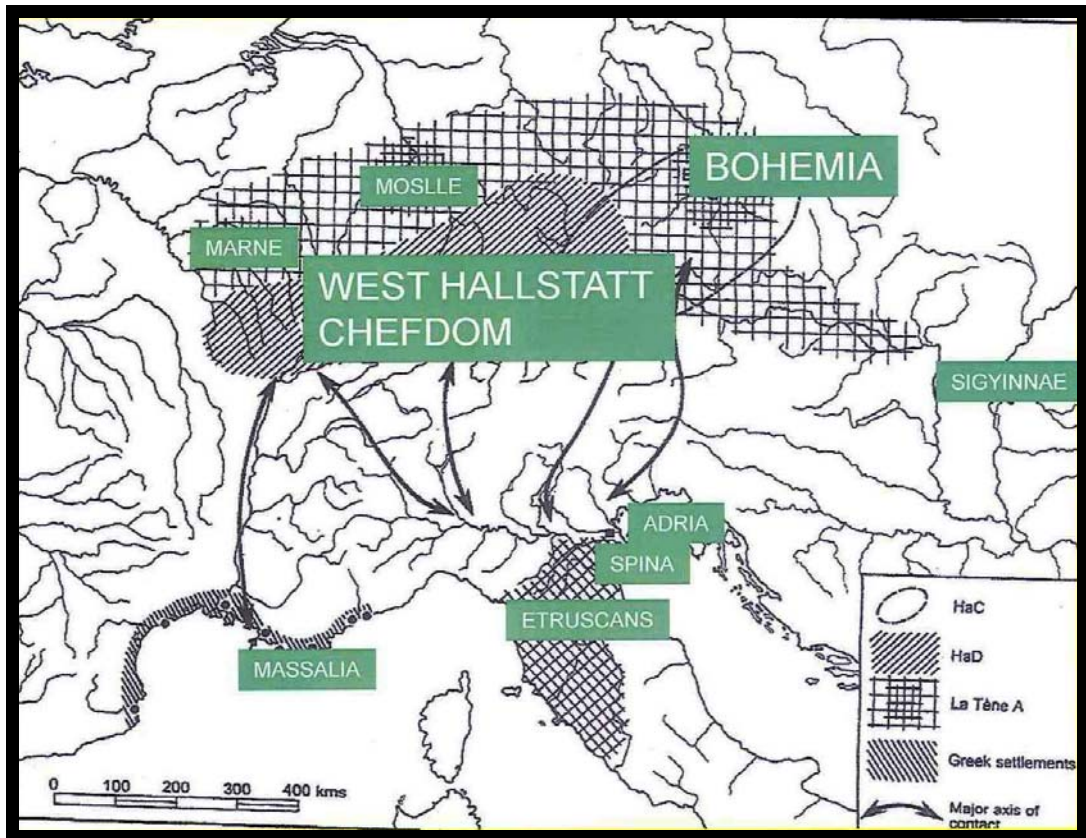


Figure 3.7 Borders of west Hallstatt and shifts of centers of power from 7th to 4th Century BC. (Cunliffe, 1997)

In Hundersingen, on the upper reaches of the Danube (Frey, 1991: 77) there was a cultural unit formed of very similar political and social structure and later the Greeks and Romans knew the people of this area as Celts. (Pauli, 1980: 22) In the 6th century BC, the increasing contact of the Celts with the Greek-Etruscan Mediterranean region led to new political structural development. The archaeological evidence suggests a social hierarchy from the burial of west Hallstatt, as both male and female

skeletons were taller than average, indicating possible differences in diet from the commoners, who were poor. (Arnold and Gibson, 1999: 8) Control over trade probably led to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a small number of families or 'aristocracies' residing in hill-forts and this was signified by richer graves, termed 'princely' burials by some researchers; however, this subject is an on-going debate. Frey stated that, in several places fortified settlements found near these graves were consequently given the name 'princely strongholds' but this is misleading. (Frey, 1991: 77)

It is debated that, in order to have such richly furnished burials; a highly organized social structure must have been necessary, which indicates a self-identified tribal community with mythical ancestors. Several such tribes may have been united through conquests and inter-marriage and by this means, the tribal community developed into a strong political force, which was clear to outsiders. (Paul, 1980: 22)

There were also some common features that could be recognized in east and west Hallstatt, such as burial rites, some common elements in pottery and sheet metal vessel type decoration. Hallstatt itself shares the traditions of both east and west with the chieftain system. (Figure 3.8)

The structure of eastern Hallstatt residences became very similar to those of western Hallstatt D, with the princely or royal Hallstatt residences only fully demonstrated at the Heuneburg. This indicates that the west Hallstatt culture replaced east Hallstatt culture with predominantly inhumation wagon burials, which were exceptionally rich. They contained articles, which represented a richer community and probably more formalized hierarchical structure and these sites have been termed 'princely' tombs and 'princely seats'. (Figure 3.9)

The widespread distributions of artifacts having local characteristics could possibly also indicate shared ideas or beliefs which allowed only certain people to make, use and own or dispose of goods decorated in certain ways. A change to leather armor also occurred, non-defensive headdresses appeared, and both swords and razors are typical symbols of high-ranking people.

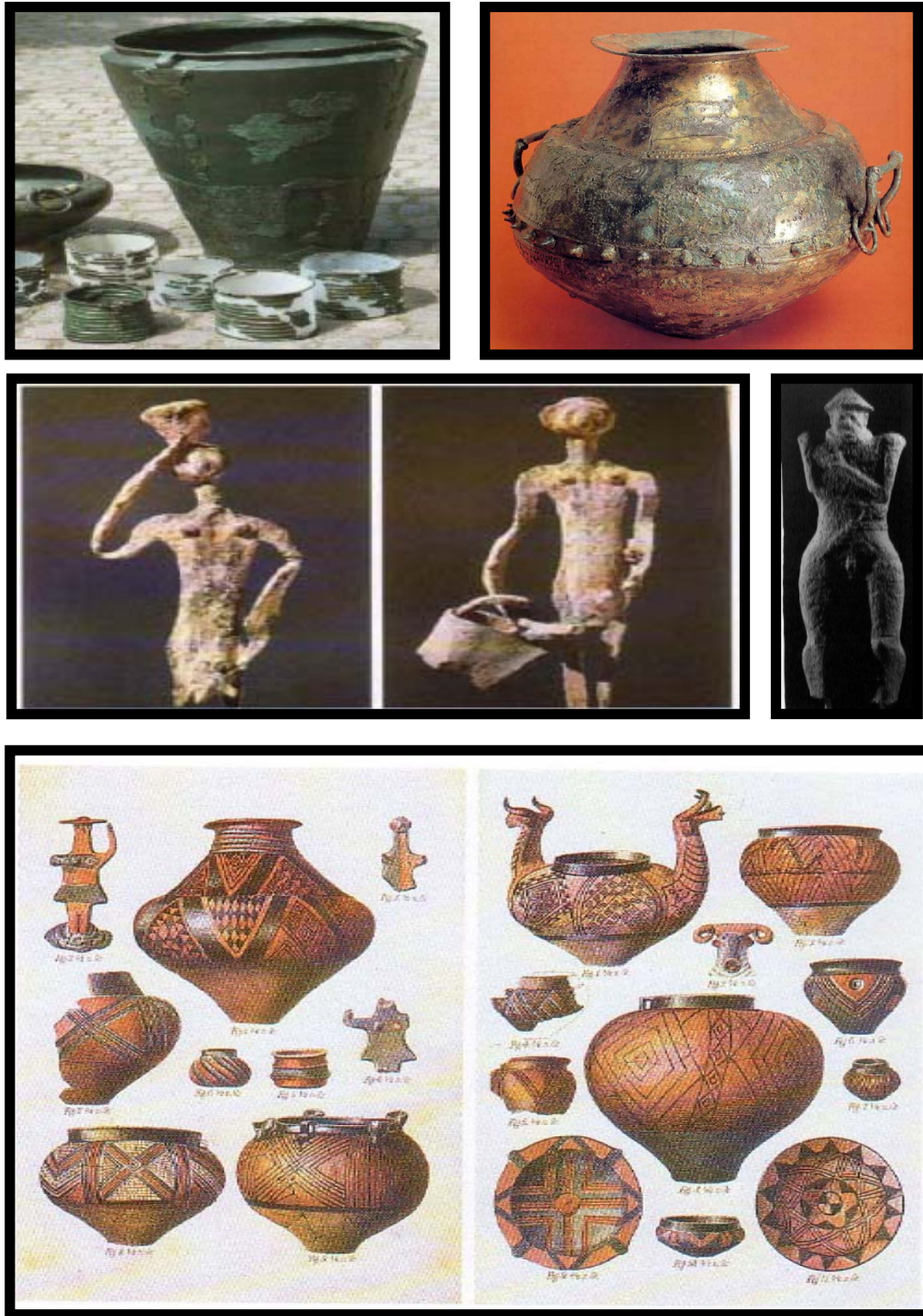


Figure 3.8 Left top; west Hallstatt burial stela, right top; east Hallstatt situla scenic and middle; pottery western Hallstatt, bottom; pottery and sheet metal vessel types/decoration from eastern Hallstatt (Karl, 2006)

Development of control by complex chiefdoms or early states is indicated by the social structure of west Hallstatt culture. In early states, the leader had great power and could appoint administrators and rule through a bureaucracy with soldiers imposing his rule on the people. (Johnson and Earle, 1987: 246, cited in Arnold and Gibson, 1999: 8) The aristocracy and commoners were widely separated. The west Hallstatt culture reveals several of the characteristics of an early state. The houses of leaders on the nucleated settlements are difficult to identify, they seem to be located outside the settlements as in Goldberg, and Heuneburg.



Figure 3.9 Reconstruction of a Wagon from burials. (National Museum of Vienna)

The term chiefdom of western Hallstatt culture neither fully portrays the richness of their hill forts nor their burials. Their settlements were located near the major rivers from the Loire to the Danube, and they should be the people whom Herodotus is referring to as Celts: (James, 2005:19)

The Danube rose among the Celts, who dwell beyond the Pillars of Hercules and were neighbors of the Cynesii who lived western most of Europe (Herodotus, Histories, 4-49, and 2-33)

By the end of the Hallstatt period, the strict control over the production and distribution of goods suggests a monopoly of iron technology. However, the control over the technology could no longer be continued during the 5th century BC, which resulted in technological decentralization, and the social economic system collapsed.

3.1.3 La Tène Period

In the 5th century BC, the Giant tumuli of late Hallstatt culture disappeared. This culture was replaced by more local traditions that varied according to space and time. The exact causes of the collapse of the Late Hallstatt hillfort economy leading to migration are not known, but there are several explanations.

The first explanation may be the failure of the trade system and the collapse of the Late Hallstatt trade networks. The Carthaginian dominance cut off Greek colonial imports along the Rhône, which were essential for Late Hallstatt economies. With this development, the prestige goods economy failed.

The chiefs were no longer able to support their dependents, which resulted in social unrest and collapse of policies with dissatisfied groups migrating to sources of prestige goods to take control of supply.

The second explanation can be regarded as the population pressure, which created unrest in societies and an internal collapse of the Late Hallstatt economies. Population accumulation in centers like Heuneburg increased the expression of social differences reflected in increasing instability between social strata, causing the resources to be increasingly, unevenly distributed. This shows itself in the archaeological evidence with a few exceptionally rich and large numbers of poor masses. The internal revolution led to the abandonment of towns, the surplus population migrated south and east, and eventually the society collapsed.

The third explanation would be a military defeat by new elites. There was a shift in the 'power centre' chronology, which is a movement of area of status expression through the Hallstatt region into the La Tène period.

A fourth explanation would be emigration and de-stratification. The dynastic politics led to emigration of groups. There was an internal power struggle between dynastic factions leading to emigration of the ‘losers’ and their supporters. The evidence for this is that new centers developed in Bohemia, Northern Italy, Hesse, the Moselle region, and Marne, while there was a de-stratification in old centers as large groups moved out of extensive parts of the region. The hierarchy vanished and eventually the society collapsed. (Figure 3.10)

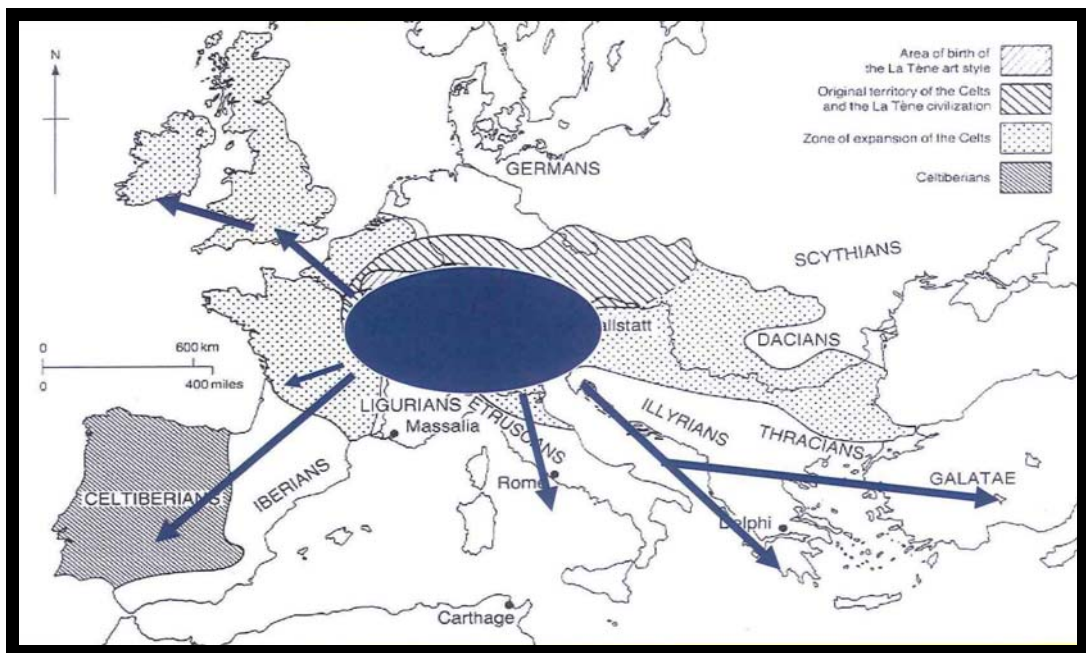


Fig 3.10 The expansion of Celts in the 4th-2nd century BC

The term La Tène, meaning ‘the shallows’, is derived from the site discovered in 1857 in a shallow lake shore site on lake Neuchatel (old river bed of the Thiele river) which gave the name to the period. (Figure 3.11) This term has been used to symbolize many things; cultural, art style, chronological and is mainly used to mean ‘Celtic’. Although there is some correlation, this is not an exact match. The material generally found is from around 475 BC up to the 1st century AD. (Collis, 1975: 2)

The La Tène site included two bridges, connected by a road to the Jolimont oppidum and there was boat trade across the lake and along the river, and the question arises as to whether this site could be considered an oppidum or a trading center.



Figure 3.11 Lake Neuchatel with lakes Biel and Murten in the background

However, finds scattered in the rivers cannot be explained by this and in general indicate the Gallic sanctuaries, most of which have been found in northwest France. There are many animal and human bones, with many intentionally bent weapons, chariot parts etc. in the rectangular ‘temple’ enclosure, which have recently been reevaluated as possible burial sites. Some continued as Gallo-Roman temples. (Karl 2006) (Figure 3.12)

The La Tène period is the time when waves of migration started, continuing up to 250 BC, during which time some of the tribes settled in Anatolia (Galatia).

Therefore, this period is typical of what should be expected in Anatolia in order to identify 'Celtic'.



Figure 3.12 Gallic sanctuaries 'rectangular temple' enclosures (Karl, 2006)

In general, the original La Tène core area has been accepted as the area from eastern France, southern German, and Austria to Switzerland. The La Tène culture has subsequently spread from this area. Again, there is no unity and the characteristics of the culture change during time and space. While in some areas burial rites changed during La Tène B, in other areas the La Tène A rites were being adopted. One area where the continuity observed from Hallstatt to La Tène is the Moselle and central Rhine in the Hünserück-Eifel. (Collis, 1975: 3)

The separate identification of Hallstatt and La Tène periods is very difficult as in some regions, as La Tène culture evolved during the 5th century BC as a part of the Hallstatt area. In this area, many Hallstatt settlements with few Hallstatt burials are found but there are many La Tène cemeteries. Pottery and metalwork styles, burial rites and settlement types define the La Tène culture. (Figure 3.13)

The La Tène period was first classified into three chronological phases by Otto Tischler in 1885 according to the different shapes of fibulae and swords. In the Early La Tène I period, round and square barrow cemeteries appeared with simple, flat inhumations. The wagon burials were replaced with chariots and there were irregular inhumations. The fibulae were of the free-pin type and swords relatively short with generally perforated chapes.

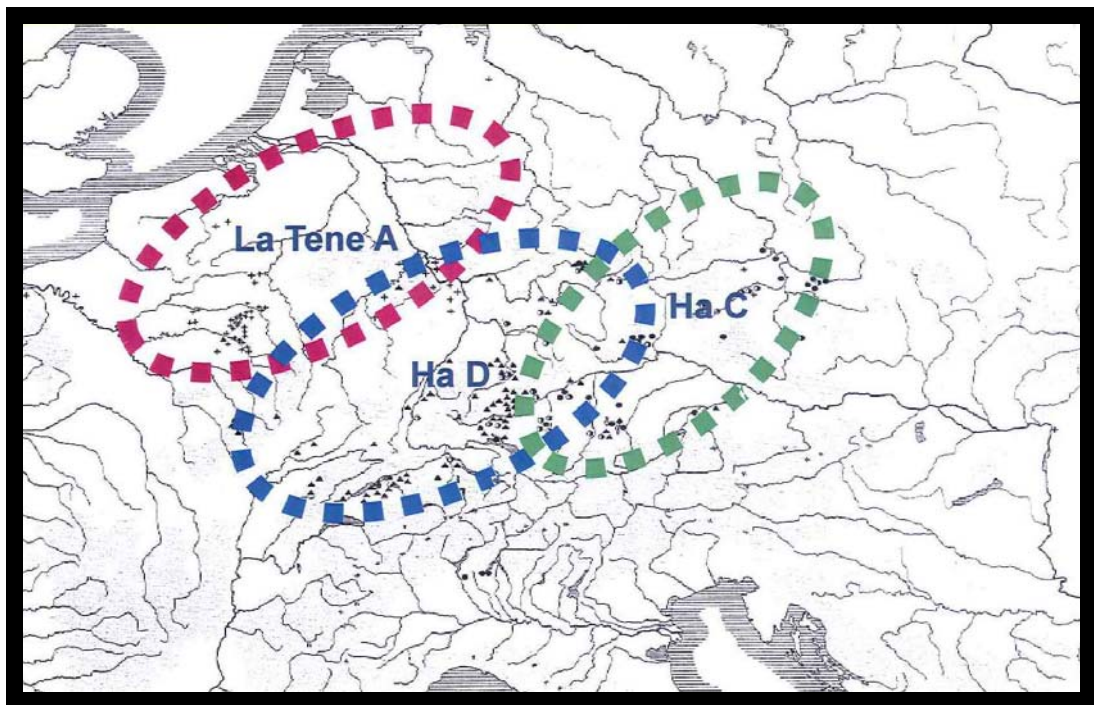


Fig 3.13 The shift of location of the elite burials in Hallstatt and La Tène (Karl, 2006)

In La Tène II the fibulae had the pin attached to the bow, swords had solid chapes and in La Tène III, the fibulae had perforated catch plates and much longer swords, frequently having rounded points and scabbards reinforced by numerous horizontal bars in a ladder like manner. (Figure 3.14) (Poppi, 1991: 48-49)

Following excavations in the Münsinger cemeteries, Switzerland La Tène I was split into Ia, Ib, Ic and La Tène II into IIa, IIb. However, the situation was different in Bavaria, where Paul Reinecke proposed marking out an early phase dateable from

the 5th century BC (La Tène A) on the basis of the two perfectly separate groups of material from La Tène I.

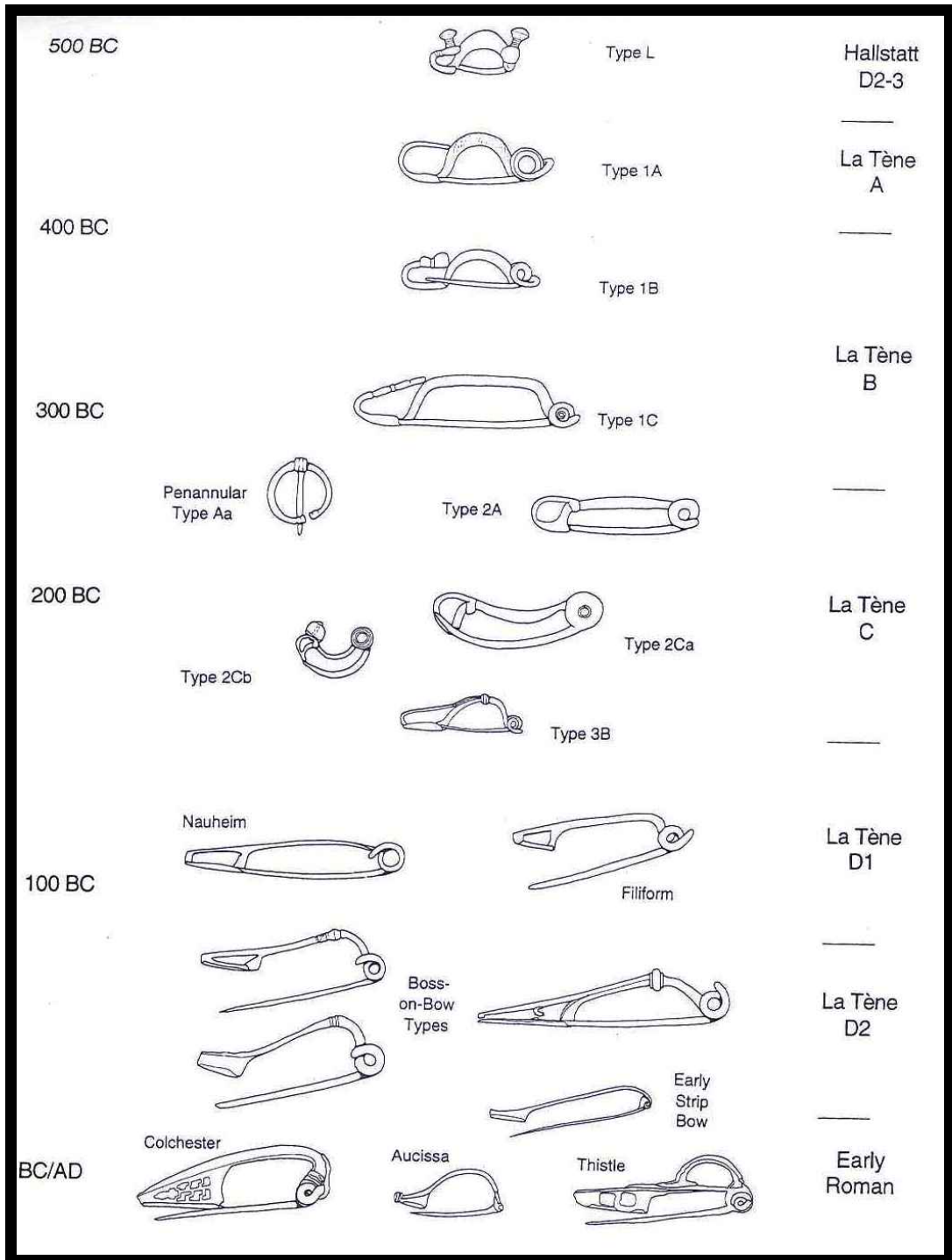


Figure 3.14 Fibulae sketches from Late Hallstatt and La Tène periods (Haselgrove 1997)

The former was related to the tumuli and the second to the inhumation cemeteries in Champagne and Bohemia. The later phases; La Tène B, C and D were about the same as Tischler's classification. (Poppi, 1991: 49) From these differences in cultural material in various regions, it may be concluded that no uniform, unchanging pattern can be imposed on the La Tène culture, but rather a pattern continuum changing locally in time and space should be considered.

During the transition period from Hallstatt D to La Tène A, evidence showed a decentralization of the settlements continuing even during La Tène B, so that in the highland regions the hillforts were apparently abandoned. (Figure 3.15)

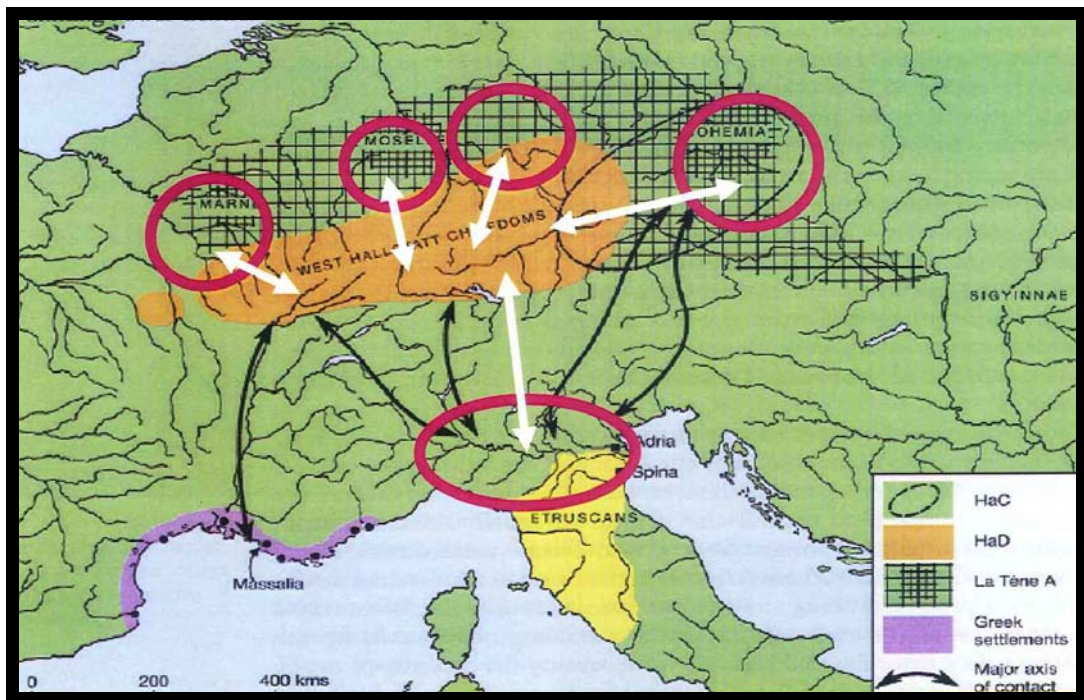


Figure 3.15 Emigration and de-stratification; Hallstatt and La Tène cultures (Karl, 2006)

The archaeological evidence from the excavations of burials showed that there was a move to central Germany and northern France during the La Tène A and B1 periods (450-350 BC). (Figure 3.16) The evidence also indicated a clear but weaker social

differentiation with decentralized settlements having no specialized production. (Collis, 1999: 75)

In the La Tène B2-C1 periods (350-150 BC), the settlements were small, unspecialized, and decentralized with no especially wealthy burials or trade with the Mediterranean. (Collis, 1999: 75)

During the second half of the 3rd century BC in the La Tène C1 period, the maximum limits of the Celtic expansion were reached. (Burn, 1999: 17) By the beginning of the La Tène C2 period, some of the settlements were already fortified. Large areas were enclosed, 80 ha at Stradonice and 50 ha at Amboise. Because their internal organization is not clearly understood, interpretation is difficult. (Burn, 1999: 17) However, it could be the early phase of oppidum development.

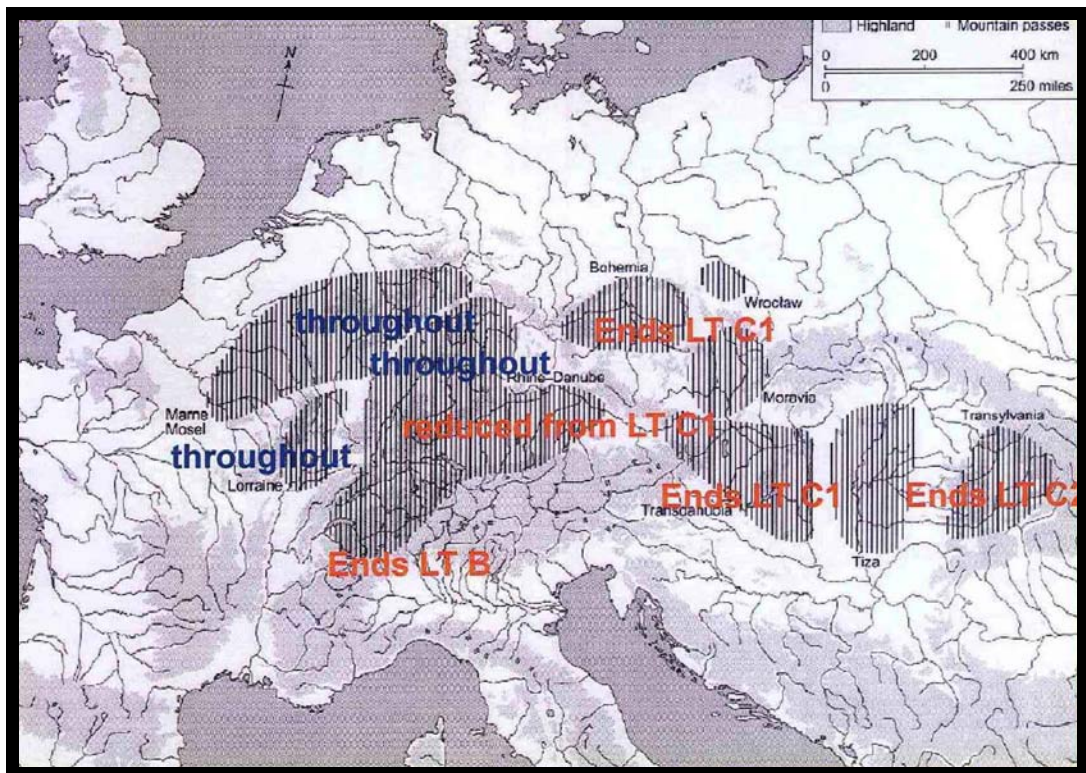


Figure 3.16 Uneven distributions of burials in the La Tène period (Karl, 2006)

The La Tène C2-D periods (150-20 BC) saw increased trade with the Mediterranean and significant concentration occurred signifying a social differentiation. This is the time where settlements centralized and *oppida* started to appear and some evidence suggests early state organization and urbanization. (Collis, 1999: 75) In the La Tène D1 period, some of the larger settlements were greater than the residential area and began to be enclosed by ramparts. There were many un-enclosed settlements also located in the lowland area, which were either fortified later or moved to a nearby-fortified hill and continued in the early La Tène D2 period. (Burn, 1999: 17)

Archaeological and literary evidence agree on the social categories of aristocratic warriors from whom the rulers or highest magistrates were chosen the druids and all the others groups to whom the craftsmen belonged. Social status for kings at least was hereditary through the male line. Probably there were also slaves in the lowest category. (Burn, 1999: 18) The princes and druids acted as political and spiritual leaders and did not take part in the daily activities. Caesar described an emergency meeting of elders in Bibracte to choose a supreme commander of the army.

The burial pattern changed during this period. The chariot, which is clear warrior symbolism, took the place of the old 4-wheeled wagon burials in mainly adult-mature male burials. The chariot (Celtic *Kaerbantom*) was used extensively in the Celtic world as well as in Etruscan areas and the Roman Empire.

Chariot burials are seen locally in Champagne, Moselle, middle Rhineland, and Bohemia but the regional practices show considerable variety, so that the Champagne region has circular ditches indicating round barrows and sanctuaries at burial sites. (Somme-Bionne) (Figure 3.17)

However, in northwest France mostly rectangular 'temple' enclosures are found which have recently been re-evaluated as possible burial sites, as mentioned above. In Belgian-Grosbous-Vichten, tombs were covered by round barrows but there were no surrounding ditches. (Figure 3.18)

The chariot was dismantled for burial and the wheels set on one side. (Karl, 2006) There were no ditches with obvious signs of a wooden burial chamber containing the deceased and chariot but no sanctuaries and relatively few goods.

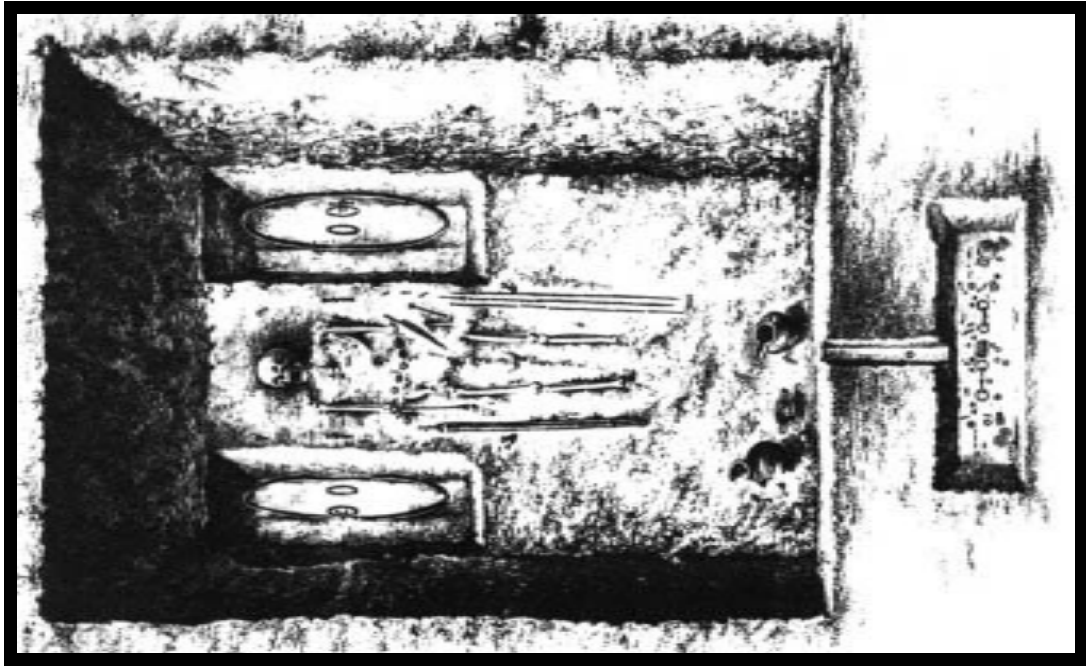


Figure 3.17 Chariot-tomb at Somme-Bionne, Marne, late 5th century BC (Stead 1991)

It is interesting that the images showing chariots are known from the La Tène period, (Figure 3.19) but most commonly from areas where no chariot burials are known. Chariots such as those found in chariot burials existed all across Europe, but are only buried in some regions during parts of the La Tène period. In fact, Barfield (1971 cited in Collis, 1975: 3) maintains that the archaeological evidence points to the probability that some non-Celtic tribes show stronger La Tène characteristics than the group called Celtic. In addition, at least twenty-five percent of the pottery in the main area is made up of Hallstatt hand made pottery according to the archaeological evidence. (Collis, 1975: 3) In fact, in some areas Hallstatt style daggers and pottery were seen up to the Roman invasion. Therefore, Collis (1975: 4) warns against imposing the Hallstatt and La Tène periods onto any cultural group to suggest unity, since other patterns, trade or settlement for example, may well cross the cultural boundaries.

In keeping with most Bronze and Iron Age territories, very few remains such as trenches filled with debris, remains of open fires and postholes can be found on the ground in Celtic settlements. Interpreting them is particularly difficult in sites that

have been continuously occupied, as the constructions will probably have been built on, rebuilt, or reoriented.

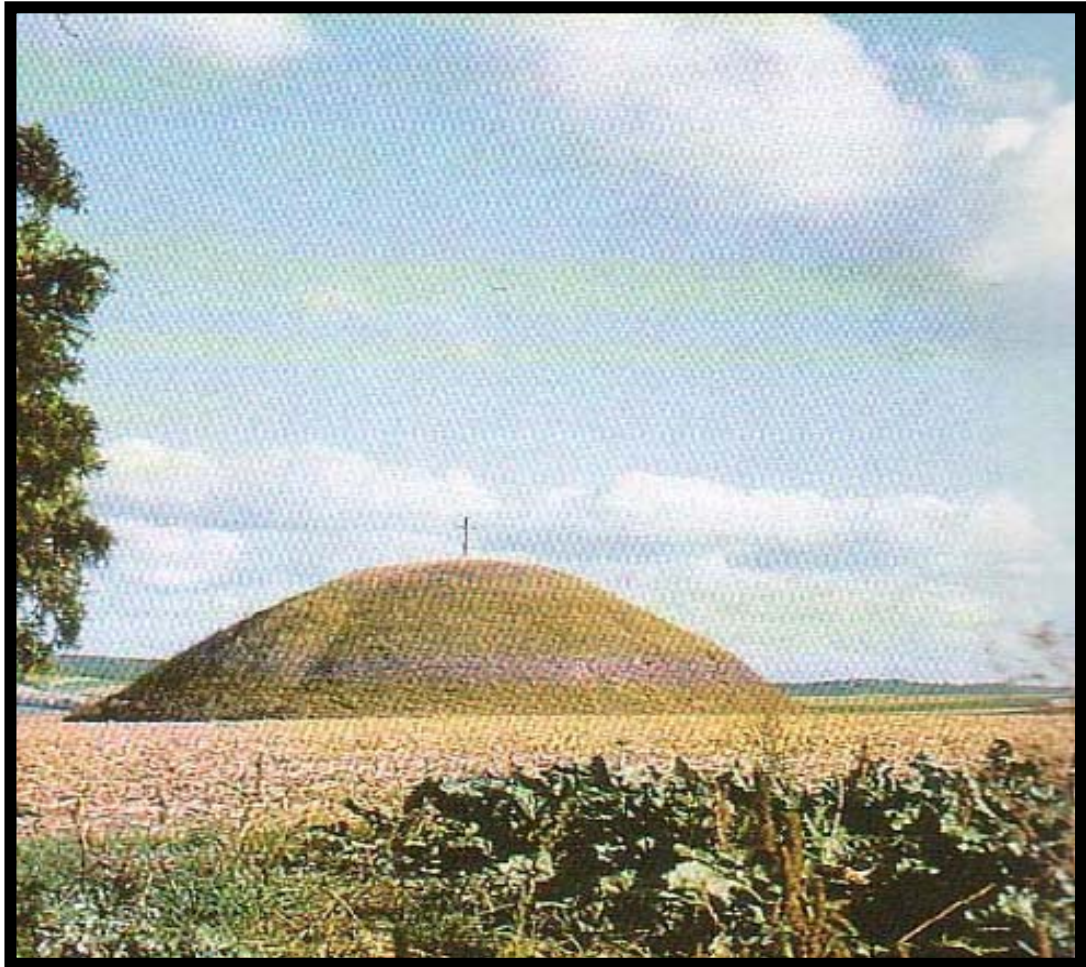


Figure 3.18 Giant tumulus; Leeberg bei-Grossmug/east (Karl, 2006)

Several interpretations can be made concerning the deposits of artifacts, so that they could be regarded as accidental loss, hoards, or votive offering. Therefore, a particular object should be interpreted in its context. For example in Bohemia, the deposition of roughly 2,500 fibulae, bracelets and rings in a thermal spring, the ‘Duchcov treasure,’ was interpreted as acts of religious offerings. In contrast, the large quantities of weapons unearthed at the La Tène site in Switzerland remain

controversial; it could be interpreted as a place of worship, a toll, or an artisan workshop. (Figure 3.20) (Poppi, 1991: 50)



Figure 3.19 Situla from Kuffarn, Austria, 5th century BC (Karl, 2006)

3.2 Settlement Patterns of Celts in Europe

The cultural area and period influence the way in which the definition of ‘town’ changes. According to Cunliffe (1999), hillforts have the status of chiefdom, while for Collis (1984) they represent the collective status of the community.

The terms 'chiefdom' and 'state' are also problematic. In what ways do 'complex chiefdoms' and 'early states' differ and how can archaeological methods distinguish between them? Chiefdoms and early states develop as a result of several factors, showing themselves both physically and psychologically, and established through institutions of leadership. The chiefs or state leaders justify their positions by mediating in the society, and are based on aristocratic ancestors and aristocrats are bound to craftsmen, freemen and dependents by various economic factors. (Arnold and Gibson, 1999: 7) There is a long transformation period from chiefdom-princely tombs to state-*oppida*, and this is recognized from the archaeological evidence on space. However, the factors that caused the change and the manner in which it was brought about cannot easily be traced.

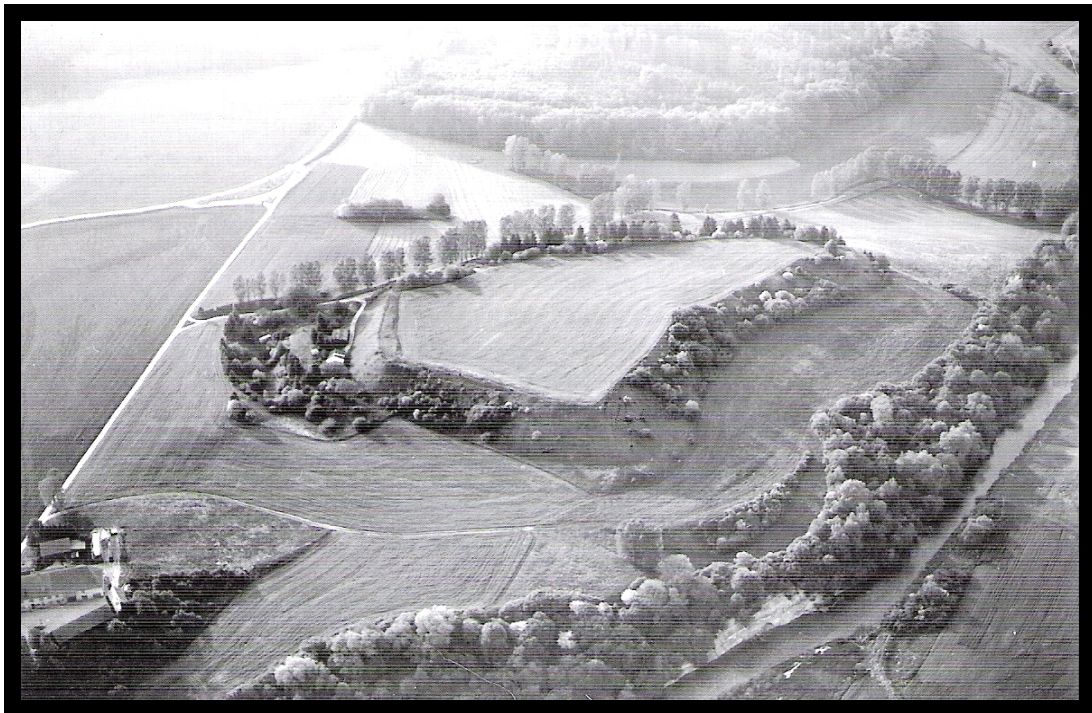


Figure 3.20 The Gundestrup cauldron found near Roevermosen. Part of the individual wearing Celtic armor and wear torches in the manner of Celtic god but in detail it derives from Thracian art from 2nd and 1st century BC (Cunliffe 1999)

Kimmig proposed a 'feudal model' of west Hallstatt, but this is actually a collection of terms and is based on the direct historical approach. (Kimmig, 1969: 108) Frankenstein and Rowlands used dependency models and put forward a 'prestige goods' economic model. In addition, they modeled the chieftains on a four level hierarchy with a paramount chieftain, vassal chiefs, sub-chiefs and village chiefs.

The paramount chieftains gained leadership of the hierarchy through acquisition of exotic objects from the south during transactions. They were then able to promote the production of prestige goods for their aristocratic subjects. (Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978)

In the European Iron Age, there are easily identifiable periods of greater centralization of the society; the Hallstatt D hillfort such as the Heuneburg or the urbanized oppida of La Tène D. (Figure 3.21)



3.21 Aerial View of the Hillfort of Heuneburg Overlooking the River Danube (Cunliffe 1999)

The complexity, range and type of settlements as well as the type of centralization also show variations. In general, towns are a concentration of population, hillforts show concentration for defense, and oppida concentrate both for defensive and production purposes. It is more difficult to understand exchange centers as they could be for local exchange or long distance trade, which could be in the hands of individuals who do not need to be resident. It should be noted that centralization need not indicate that the settlement society is more advanced. Concentration for defense purposes can lead to an imbalance between population and economic level, causing poverty and unrest. The archaeological records lack the necessary information to allow an understanding of the administrative and political organization and settlement hierarchy. (Collis, 1994: 34)

Decentralization occurred at other times and over much of central and western Europe in the La Tène B-C periods, all cemeteries and settlements look very similar, having no clear settlement hierarchy. (Collis, 1994: 34)

3.2.1 Tumuli and Hillforts of the Hallstatt Period

The Celts can be credited with many of the greatest developments of the Hallstatt period, such as the fine hillforts western Hallstatt lands. In Europe, almost all the excavations on settlements of the Hallstatt period were carried out at a much earlier time and, as in Anatolia, are not adequately documented, so that these large chamber-graves with their precious ornaments, processional chariots, and bronze services for banquets and drinking ceremonies can only be defined in relative terms. However, the amount of evidence and research in this region is far greater than in the research on the Galatians in Anatolia.

The Celtic connection with hillfort settlements seems to be one of their features. Kaus (1981 cited in Kristiansen, 1998: 223) records that even at the local level the settlement system, with its fortified sites at regular distances suitable for visible signaling of 20-30 km, was highly organized. The hillfort settlement takes advantage of the hill, which despite the natural protection of its geographical situation, has been

strengthened with a rather elaborate system of defense structures. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 116)

The pattern of Celtic settlements, in comparison to other Mediterranean ethnic groups, is original for two reasons. First, the *oppidum* was a large type of fortress where civil, military, and political functions were carried out. These were usually built on hills for defensive purposes, although locations on the banks of a river for protection were chosen in rare circumstances. The second characteristic is the round or square sanctuary, known in Latin as *fanum*. (Duval, 1991: 25)

With the Hallstatt B3/C periods, great changes took place, which may be seen as the solution chosen for solving the ever-increasing demands of the Mediterranean trade. Some chieftains became more powerful by monopolizing the trade routes and thus stabilized and strengthened communities. There was a significant change in the pattern of settlement with an increase in fortified centers, small tumulus cemeteries often located near the fortification, development of iron working more independent of trade than tin-bronze technology, economic specialization of certain sites in the exploitation of salt or pig farming and the adoption of new techniques in textiles allowing production of luxury clothing and tapestries. (Figure 3.22)

Thus communities possessed new secondary products made from more widely distributed raw materials. Since the chief controlled the local economy completely, the social order could be clearly defined. The politically independent territory was separated by small fortifications where the local aristocracy dwelt. (Burn, 1999: 15)

Some of the features of the chiefdoms of the Hallstatt culture are southern imports with elite burials, indicating the presence of an elite class of warriors or wealthy farmers. There is much 'warrior' symbolism in Hallstatt C burials and 'consumer' symbolism in Hallstatt D burials, where many of the articles are symbolic of 'prestige goods' economy. During the Hallstatt D period (600-450 BC), important changes in the social organization of west central Europe were brought about partly by contact with the Graeco-Etruscan world. (Burn, 1999: 15) Hillforts were small in size, usually 5-15 ha, only a small minority of hillforts show signs of a more complex

organization, as in Heuneburg. However, there is no evidence for massive central storage facilities for a bureaucracy, which is considered a key feature for urbanism.



Figure 3.22 Example of a cloth from Hallstatt (National Museum of Vienna)

There were many new methods introduced during this period. Specialized craft styles and objects made from imported raw materials all indicate that the ‘princes’ employed highly specialized craftsmen and artists. Large burial mounds surrounding the Heuneburg site were either isolated or in groups and sometimes built on cleared ground, to be visible from a distance. (Frey, 1991: 78) The original wall was pulled down after the fire and a new fortification system using a combination of wood, stone and earth was used that developed into the famous ‘*murus gallicus*.’ (Figure 3.23)

Greek and Roman transport urns indicate that Heuneburg had regular commercial contact with the western Mediterranean. Its status as an exchange point on a main trading route, the presence of chieftain tombs next to the fortress and evidence of extensive links with the south, indicating a privileged social group, are the most prominent features of the 'Heuneburg-type' of hillfort. (Kimmig, 1991: 115)

The Celtic hillfort of Mont Kemmel was on the southern edge of the Celtic territory and Greek wares imported from the 6th and 5th century BC were found. There were traces of terracing belonging to a complex set of defense works that were modified at various stages.

There is evidence of manufacture of locally painted pottery, decorated with geometric figures, comb patterns; finger or spatula indentations and two glass beads (one light blue, the other olive green) have been found.



Figure 3.23 Model of *murus gallicus* at the oppidum of Bibracte, France

The location of Mont Kemmel had many advantages, being situated on a hill, which commanded the plain for agriculture, the estuary of the Yser River for sea trade, and the hills for iron mining and salt production.

This made the site a thriving center and attractive to the resident Celtic aristocracy. (Doorselaer, 1991: 122) The engravings on the scabbard of the famous sword from the Hallstatt cemetery 'princely burial' are depictions of the first Celts and there were two spears, an iron helmet, and a large knife. The sword is decorated with a design unique to the early Celtic world influenced by the situla art of northern Italy and the southeast Alpine sphere. On the casing of the sword an illustration of Celtic infantrymen with spears and the typical Celtic oval shield are followed by four horsemen of the ruling class, wearing helmets and an enemy on the ground. The first horseman has a banner indicating that he is the leader. This illustration with its Celtic features is the earliest image depicting the Celtic armies. (Frey, 1991: 131) This could be regarded as evidence of a social hierarchy.

The Mont Lassois fort was also located at an economic and strategic site for forcing the traffic at the foot of the hill and thus becoming a major crossroads for trade. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 116) A square tower controlled the entrance. The enclosure and defenses were very extensive and indicated that the fort had a large number of occupants. The occupied areas included the hilltop, with the east facing the marshlands and one zone of specialized craft working in the settlement on the west has been uncovered up to the present. Many everyday objects such as fibulae, pins, jewellery, arms and many shapes and decoration styles of local pottery have been discovered. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 117)

There are several other Late Hallstatt (Hallstatt D1) sites with rich burials, such as the Magdalenenberg in Villingen. This is an impressive burial mound more than 100 meters in diameter and originally eight meters high. (Figure 3.24 and 3.25) (Frey, 1991: 82)

The corpses of a whole community were buried in the mound and the most important members were placed in the large wooden chamber. The few objects including the remains of a wagon and horse-harness show that the burial guiding to the establishment of Heuneburg in the Late Hallstatt period. The decoration on the mount on a belt includes pattern-imitating products of Greek or Etruscan origin. (Frey, 1991: 83)

The pottery found at a hillfort settlement near the mound suggests that the settlement was contemporary with the Magdalenenberg. The relationship between this fort, which has no evidence of a 'princely seat', and the largest funerary complex of the Hallstatt period for a man probably from the elite class is not clear. (Frey, 1991: 83)

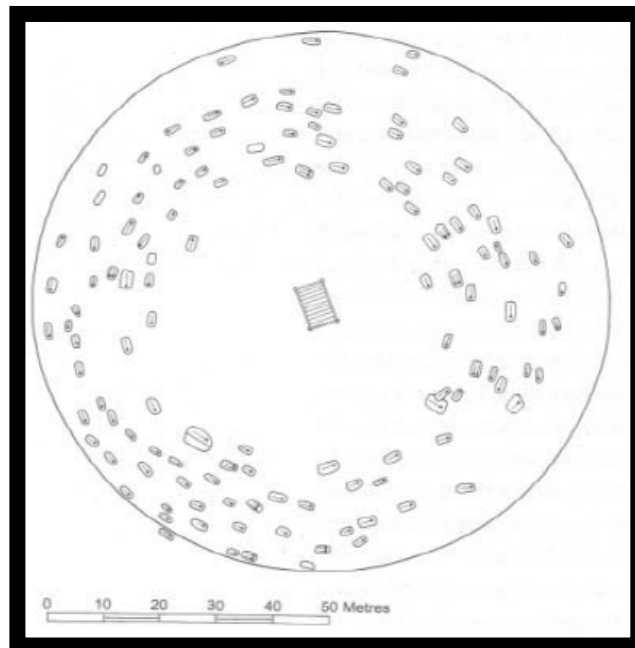


Figure 3.24 The sketch of the Largest west Hallstatt tumulus; Magdalenenberg bei Villingen (Cunliffe 1999)

The Heiligenbuck and Vilsingen burial sites are examples of the rich burial sites of the Hallstatt period. They have both been robbed and the documentations of the 19th century excavations are incomplete. The remains of each site include a bronze cauldron and a cup with a double ring of beading on the rim, similar to that in Hohmichele. The Heiligenbuck site contains the remains of a wagon, while the Vilsingen site contains the remains of a chariot and other bronze vessels, including a flagon, which is probably Etruscan. This type of central Italian flagon has been found in southwest Germany associated with two funerary assemblages typical of the period. (Frey, 1991: 84)



Figure 3.25 Giant tumulus; Magdalenenberg bei Villingen (Karl, 2006)

The custom of the wagon burial with rich banqueting services and the appearance of hillforts, often together with the foundation of new settlements, are characteristics of the earliest Hallstatt period. Contacts with Italy increased, as can be seen from the customs of the time, and Italian fashions seem to have been adopted. (Frey, 1991: 85) The Late Hallstatt period-Hallstatt D1 political and social structures only continued for a short time. Fortifications of a different type with a new town planning structure are part of the last Hallstatt phase. Other centers in southwest Germany were also being abandoned and outlying land was used as a cemetery. In a few places originating during the Final Hallstatt period-Hallstatt D2-3, power was concentrated as shown in hillforts and rich burials. (Frey, 1991: 85)

The Celtic hillfort continued for less than 200 years. During this time periodical disturbances, indicated by the archaeological evidence of fires such as in Heuneburg, were caused by the movement of the Celts.

The circles of large funerary barrows surrounding the Heuneburg fort with the wooden burial chambers, probably of the lords of the fort, are excellent proof that Heuneburg was a settlement of a group of proto-Celtic nobles. The rich burials with a large amount of gold among the grave goods (Figure 3.26) in those tombs provide

information on the proto-Celtic cult of the dead, as well as the social status of the persons in the graves. (Kimmig, 1991: 114)



Figure 3.26 Celtic pottery vessels from the Hohmichele mound on display in Stuttgart

The double tomb of Hohmichele (Figure 3.27) is part of the largest of the Heuneburg barrows and contains a woman wearing a necklace of 2,360 glass beads and potteries. She was probably the wife rather than the slave of the man lying at her side. The Celtic belief in life after death was very unlike the Greek idea. The Hochdorf chamber, for example, contained every item needed for a feast with eight other symbolic companions to ease his passage; drinking horns, bronze dishes and a bronze cauldron with a capacity of about 400 liters. The Etruscans had a similar practice. (Kimmig, 1991: 115)



Figure 3.27 The Hohmichele mound

Settlement strata dating from the end of the first Iron Age show southern influences, which point to widespread contacts with the Mediterranean imported pottery, wine amphorae and Greek pottery of exceptional quality techniques. In the production of local pottery, some of which were wheel-made, use of imported techniques has been shown by recent research. A complex social hierarchy dominated by powerful elite was formed as a result of this contact. The sweeping change in technical knowledge and economic structure indicate the development of a proto urban culture. (Delabesse S. and Troadec J., 1991: 120)

The Celtic princes have left little evidence except the rich graves. They were buried on ceremonial chariots together with ornaments and pottery, as the Celtic princes were fond of Greek luxury goods, such as the Vix krater, (Figure 3.28) which were regarded as prestige goods but also used local products, probably produced in workshops close to the princes' residences. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 117)



Figure 3.28 Mont Lassois; The Vix Krater, an imported Greek wine-mixing vessel found in the famous grave of the ‘Lady of Vix’

Some extraordinary tombs show new levels of prosperity, as in ‘Vix’ and ‘Hochdorf’. (Figure 3.29) Both have single central burials with a timber-lined chamber and offerings including gold objects, classical imports, and four-wheeled vehicles. The rich or princely tombs were concentrated in central areas in the early Iron Age. Burgundy and the Jura are good examples of this. The tumulus practice starts in the Burgundy region around 800-700 BC. The central rectangular chamber encircled by various funerary offerings was under the tumulus, which was built of rubble. The use of iron by the horseman-warriors symbolized social status and long distant trading. Iron working increased gradually throughout the period, indicating that control of iron technology had become a source of power and prestige.



Figure 3.29 The four-wheeled wagon with gold objects in the Hochdorf (Karl, 2006)

The Magny-Lambert barrow dating to the 7th century BC is that of a warrior with a large iron sword razor and bronze objects, such as a razor (Figure 3.30) and locally manufactured drinking cups and a large cylindrical-corded ware receptacle with obvious Italic influence. These are typical possessions of a person of high status. (Mohen, 1991: 103)

‘Princely’ tombs such as that in Apremont developed in eastern France around 600 BC, during the later phase of Hallstatt culture. This Apremont tomb contained a four-wheeled wagon, gold cup, cauldron, belt plates, iron razors, small gold ornaments, a thick gold leaf necklace, amber and ivory objects and a bent sword having Celtic characteristics (Mohen, 1991: 104-5)

Expansion of the ancient Celtic civilization was stimulated by longer distance trading, and Burgundy played an important role. The period was peaceful and

encouraged the cultural development of this region. There were no massive swords in the male graves of the later period, these having been replaced by more symbolic daggers like those of Hochdorf, La Garenne at Sainte-Colombe (Cote d'Or) and Klein Aspergle (Baden Württemberg) tombs. As the warrior culture weakened, the social status of princesses began to rise. (Mohen, 1991: 106)



Figure 3.30 Bronze Hallstatt culture tools, possibly an early razor, the three circular holes on the handle and the blade bodies indicate the possibility they could be used for fasteners in a spear head as well Bronze Razor from the Hallstatt culture. Musée de l'Ardenne, France. (Vassil, 2007)

In other regions such as at Altrier (Luxembourg) and Dürrnberg in Hallein, different weapons, swords, lance-heads and helmets (Dürrnberg) appeared belonging to classic Celts who continued the expansion throughout Europe. Until 500 BC, Burgundy was the centre of cultural synthesis and creation of Celtic forms and style, but this ended with expansion of the other regions. (Mohen, 1991: 107)

In Dürrnberg, there were 320 tombs containing about 700 bodies, most of them dating from between 550 and 300 BC. There were wooden burial chambers and the majority of burials were inhumation but there was rare evidence of cremation, and sometimes both can be found in the same chamber. Men were buried with their weapons, food offerings, and an iron knife. (Moosleitner, 1991: 170) Flagons or larger metal vases contained drinks. The type of drink differed according to the status of the dead. (Moosleitner, 1991: 170)

A two-wheeled war chariot was found recalling not only Etruscan workmanship but also the situla art and even work by steppe tribes. (Figure 3.31) The presence of this chariot is an indication of the emergence of early La Tène culture. In a second princely tomb, the burial had a two-wheeled war chariot and a bronze jug with a cylindrical spout with a mask-shaped mount depicting a bearded face. Most of them date from the period between 550 and 300 BC. A handsome bronze helmet, an iron sword, a bow, an arrow and three lances were found. The type of design on a bronze cup suggests the presence of a Venetic craftsman and merchants in the area. There is archaeological evidence of the existence of the Veneti, who had their own tombs distinguished from those of the Celts by their grave objects. (Moosleitner, 1991: 171)

The 'princess tomb' at Vix (Figure 3.32) represents the period around 500 BC, or Late Hallstatt. There are several other female tombs in the region, one of which is in Sainte-Colombe and another is in La Ronce. The Vix tumulus is extremely rich and contains a Greek manufactured bronze krater 1.64 m in height and 208 kg in weight. (Figure 3.33) There is also a bronze vat with a 1,100 liters capacity used for mixing wine, water, and aromatic herbs. A silver cup with gilt boss, two Greek cups in typical painted pottery, Etruscan basins, bronze and Italic coral in the fibulae are also

found. There was a bronze decorative wagon in the chamber on which the princess was laid. (Mohen, 1991:105-107; Bertheliet-Ajot, 1991: 116-117)



Figure 3.31 Reconstruction of a chariot (Karl, 2006)

The princess of Vix was probably one of the last Mont Lassois princesses. (Figure 3.34) Finds at Vix and Mont Lassois reveal the traces of trade and contact with other people that must have influenced the local cultures. (Pierre, 1991: 121) There was both local trade in products of the immediate hinterland (iron, wool, wood, dyes such as ochre) and rather more distant commerce with Tonnerois (sanguine), Morvan (granite) and more complex trade links with the Baltic and the Adriatic (amber), the Mediterranean (coral, pottery, luxury items) and the Cassiterides (tin). The type of

economy from which the princess' wealth stemmed collapsed and in the La Tène period, the type of trading changed. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 117) The princess of Vix was probably one of the last Mont Lassois princesses. (Figure 3.34) Finds at Vix and Mont Lassois reveal the traces of trade and contact with other people that must have influenced the local cultures. (Pierre, 1991: 121) There was both local trade in products of the immediate hinterland (iron, wool, wood, dyes such as ochre) and rather more distant commerce with Tonnerois (sanguigne), Morvan (granite) and more complex trade links with the Baltic and the Adriatic (amber), the Mediterranean (coral, pottery, luxury items) and the Cassiterides (tin). The type of economy from which the princess' wealth stemmed collapsed and in the La Tène period, the type of trading changed. (Berthelie-Ajot, 1991: 117)



Figure 3.32 The burial of a noblewoman beneath a stone cairn at Vix, near Mounth Lassois in France (James, 2005)

In Ditzingen-Schockinggen, the skeleton of a woman roughly 25 years old was found in a shallow grave. Alongside the skull, there were nine small gold rings, six bronze pins with sheet-gold heads, four coral pinheads, a flat bronze neck-ring, a necklace of

eight coral beads, a large coral ball composed of several small pieces, three gold bracelets with ribbed decoration, and a bronze anklet on the right ankle. (Biel, 1991: 112) In the burials in this area, all inhumations were extremely simple. The oldest, tomb I, was dug out around 550 BC, a short time before the Vix tomb, and the later burials are dated towards 450 BC and are good examples of the transition to La Tène. (Biel, 1991: 113)



Figure 3.33 Vix krater; Frieze of hoplites and four-horse chariots on the rim

The settlement of three hectares in Bragny-sur Saone is close to the joining of three rivers; the Saone, the Doubs and the Dheuneand. The probable dating of the settlement is the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th centuries BC, the late Hallstatt period. (Fluest, 1991: 118) Metalworking at Bragny was carried out over the whole site. Iron and bronze were worked in the same places, perhaps by the same craftsmen, and many Mediterranean imports were found.

Some fifty of the rich grave circles of the Fürstengraberkreis have been discovered and most are contained in barrows, while the remainders are typical ‘flat’ graves. Since they are located beside fortified settlements, they could logically be assumed to be the burial sites of the settlement lords. (Kimmig, 1991: 114) The Heuneburg settlement on the Upper Danube to the east of Sigmaringen is a good example of this type of burial ground. Located on the hilltop above the river, Heuneburg was also a busy, local commercial center. (Figure 3.35) (Kimmig, 1991: 114)

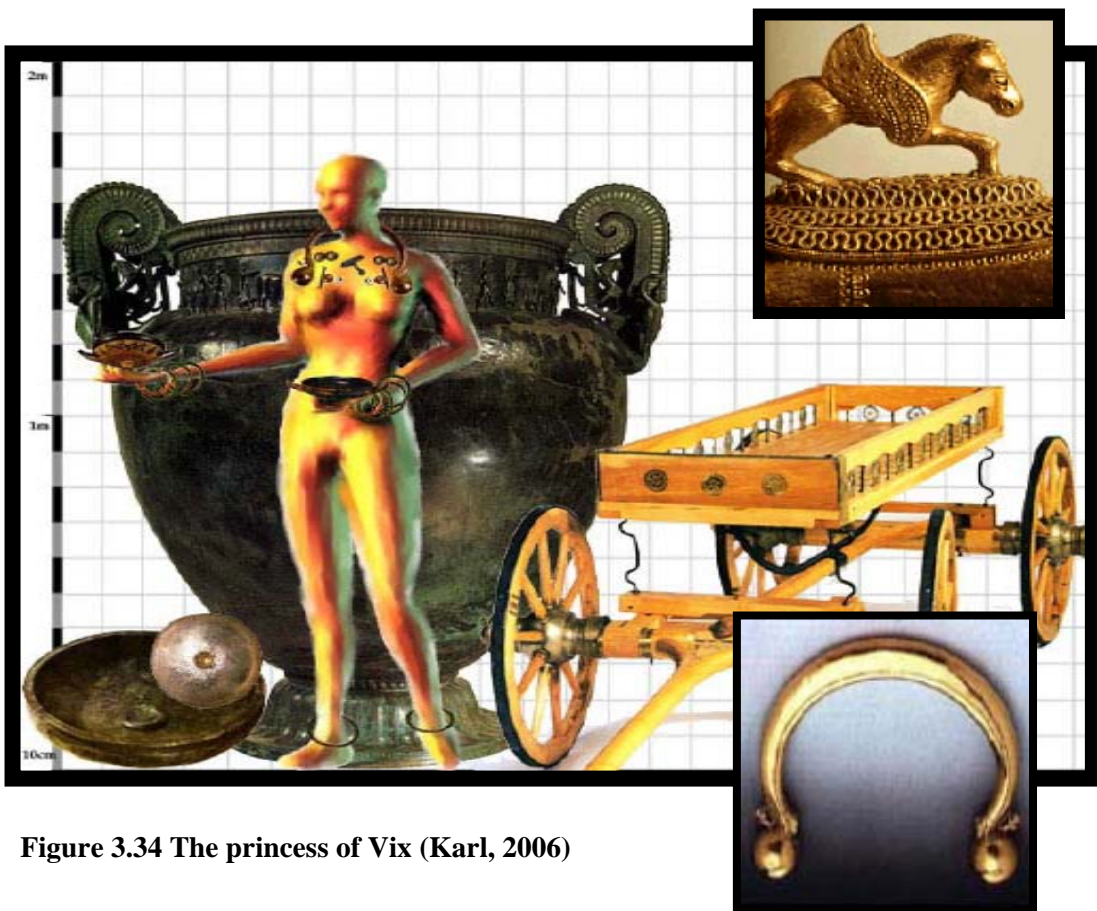


Figure 3.34 The princess of Vix (Karl, 2006)

Large, timber-built chambers were discovered in one of the barrows in Heuneburg, with later burials located close by equally rich in burial goods, as well as much simpler secondary burials. It may be assumed that complete families were buried there. These ‘princely tombs’ contained chariots, bronze cauldrons and vessels including cups with a single beaded rim. These objects were presumably imported from Italy. (Figure 3.36) (Frey, 1991: 81)

Weapons, usually a considerable number of spears and knives, were laid next to the dead men. These products were magnificently crafted and decorated, so were probably not made by the local metalworking industry and could not have been simple war weapons. In the western Hallstatt sphere, this custom was not common; the precious knives were distinctive objects of a high-ranking person. Archaeologists date these knives to the late and final phases of the Hallstatt culture. They are more common in southwest Germany during the late Hallstatt period, but only appear in 'princely burials' at later times.

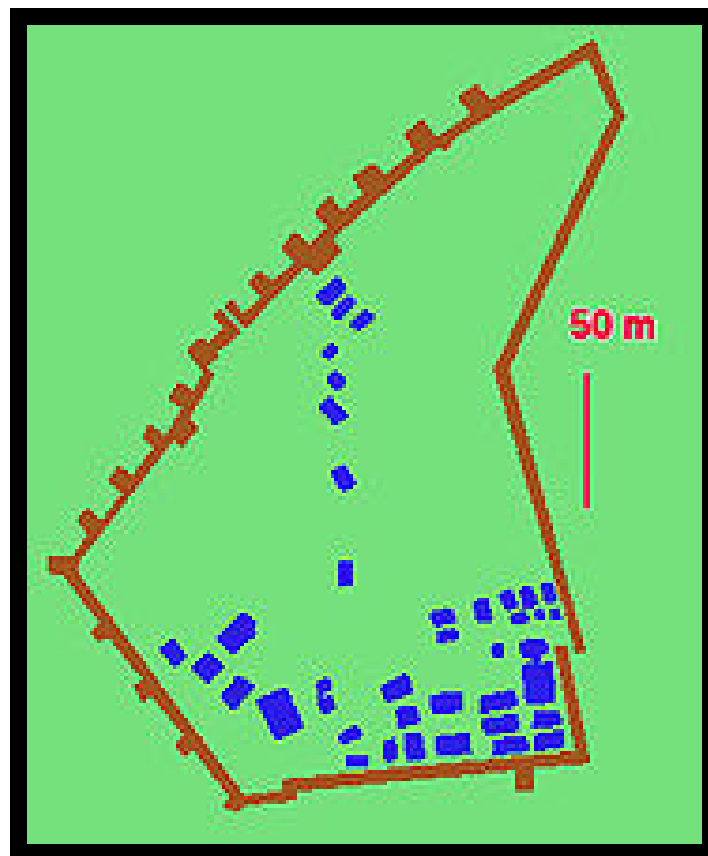
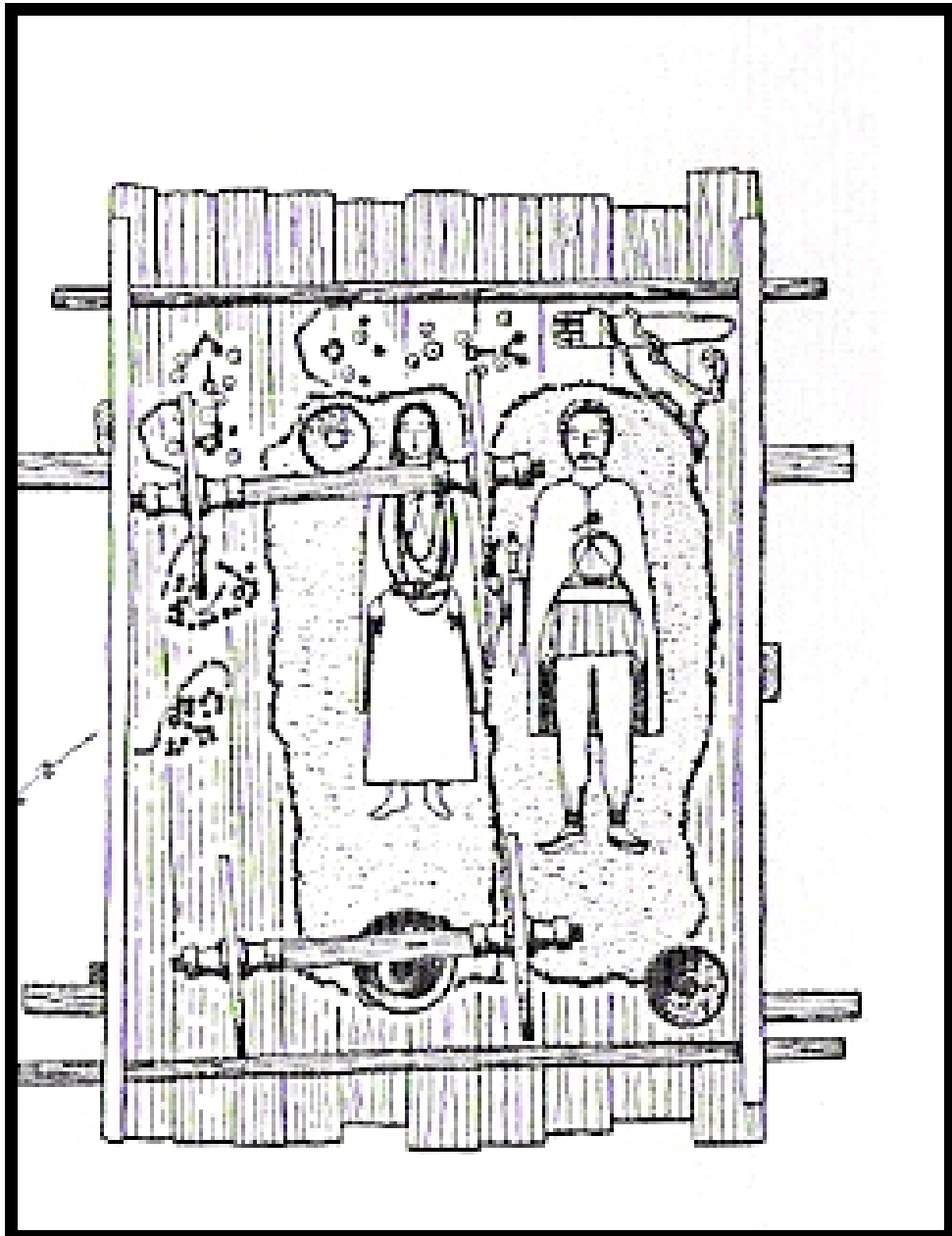


Figure 3.35 A schematic plan of the citadel, surrounded by the 600 BC mud brick wall. Internal structures (as far as known) as in circa 550 BC (Karl, 2006)

The tomb in Eberdingen–Hochdorf contains the body of a 1.83m, 40-year-old male wearing a gold neck-torque. (Figure 3.37) There was a gold plated dagger and a

leather belt with a broad gold mount and gold shoe mounts. A drinking service of nine drinking-horns was found hung on the wall of the chamber, and one was one meter long and made of iron. The service also included a 500-liter capacity bronze cauldron for mead, made with honey, which was also manufactured in a Greek workshop.



**Figure 3.36 Hohmichele barrows near the Heuneburg (Baden-Württemberg)
(Frey 1991)**

There was also a dinner-set of nine bronze plates with punched-boss decorated rims also found in other tombs, together with the three large bowls, which were stacked on the platform of the four-wheeled wagon with harnesses for two horses. The set also included an iron axe with a wooden handle for slaughtering animals, a spearhead, and two large iron knives for cutting meat. (Mohen, 1991:105)

As in the case of Heuneburg, the later tumuli of Hohenasperg tend to be closer to the settlement than the earlier ones. The settlement level to which the Grafenbühl of Hohenasperg belongs and where clothing of the deceased was woven with fine gold thread and a gold-plated iron buckle from a belt were found, is from a later date than Heuneburg. (Biel, 1991: 113)

There are also large timber-built burial chambers in Hohmichele. Two corpses of a man and woman lying side by side have been found. Their clothes were secured by a typically shaped cast bronze fibula also found in many simple graves. The woman wore no ornament but instead, she was distinguished from the others by several rows of a long chain of glass and amber beads around the neck. There was an iron ring round the man's neck and a belt with flat bronze mount decorations such as men wore in the Late Hallstatt period, but which women, whose belts were richly ornamented, wore more predominantly. The man had a large knife and a quiver full of arrows, which indicates a long bow probably used for hunting rather than warfare. (Frey, 1991: 79) A four-wheeled wagon lavishly decorated with bronze and iron mountings, characteristic accessories of the elite class, were placed above the woman's body. Horse-fittings were also found in the chamber, with several bronze vessels, a large cauldron with iron joints and ring handles, a small drinking vase and a cup with a double ring of beaded decoration in relief on the rim, similar to the cup in Heiligenbuck.

In the settlement tombs, the motifs on objects give some indication of Celtic social structure and art forms different from the Mediterranean world. Here the well-armed horsemen as portrayed in the scabbard found in Hallstatt seem very efficient and are evidently the ancestors of the notorious elite horsemen. In Germany, many mask fibulae have been found in settlements and it is quite clear that they were buried for religious purposes. The mask fibulae decorations are common in areas previously

occupied by the Hallstatt culture in southwest Germany, middle Rhineland region and further east. However, they are hardly ever found in Switzerland and France. (Frey, 1991: 131-133)

The life force was believed to be sited in the head. The example of a belt from an earlier period from the area of the Caucasus depicted the horseman with the head of an enemy hung from the reins of his horse, very similar to the horsemen from Karlich. The popular drinking horns of the Celts are also typical of The Scythians, and Thracians had drinking horns similar to those favored by the Celts.

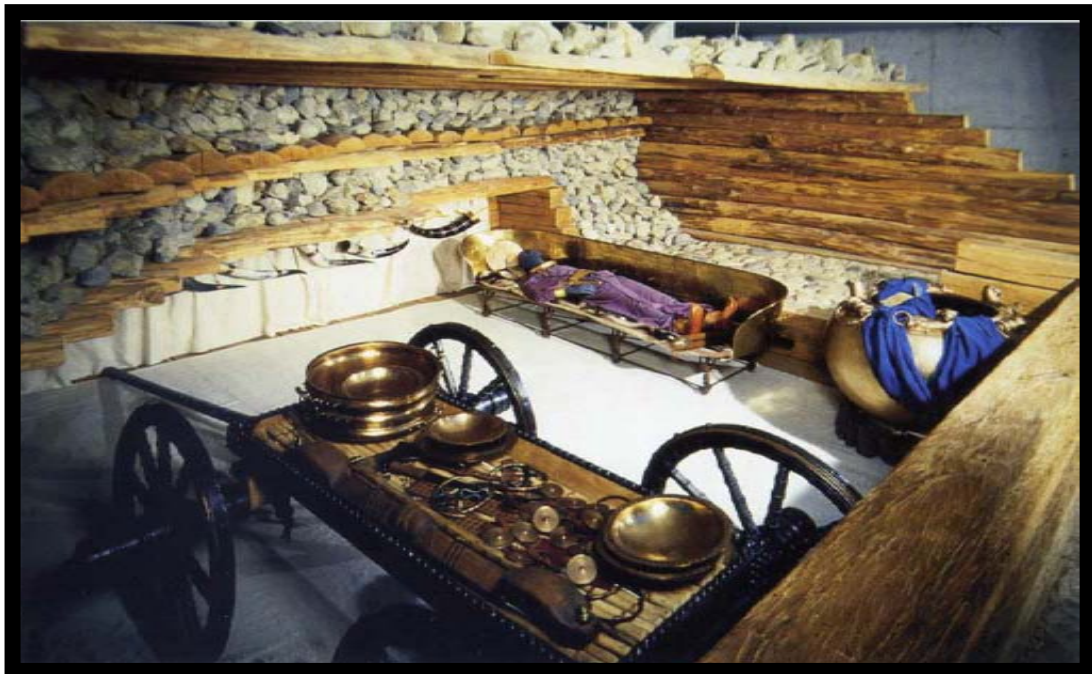


Figure 3.37 Hochdorf princely tomb (Karl, 2006)

The animal shaped heads of the decorations of Scythian Kurgans were made by Pontine Greeks, and the rich gold decoration on the drinking-horns from Kleinaspergle are typical of Celtic works, although the rams' heads are similar to Graeco-Scythian artifacts from southern Russia. This evidence suggests that the elite

group had contact with their oriental neighbors. This does not seem to be a trade relation but rather in the form of a gift economy. (Frey, 1991: 136)

Increased interaction with the Mediterranean led to the development of the west Hallstatt princely seats. However, the dependency on external contact exposed them to danger so that, when the trade routes were blocked, the economy and thus the social system collapsed. Another possible reason for the collapse of late Hallstatt polities was overpopulation and social conflict forcing emigration of the excess population. Power was thus transferred to the northwestern periphery of the former princely seats of the west Hallstatt region. (Burn, 1999: 22)

3.2.2 *Oppida* of La Tène Period

A further possible reason for the decentralization in the 4th century BC at the end of the Hallstatt culture was the inability to maintain control over the iron technology. A change in location resulted in the transfer of power, so the early La Tène style developed outside the Hallstatt residences. The hillforts, which were widespread at the end of late Hallstatt and beginning of La Tène, vanished for about 200 years. However, a few hillforts continued to develop until the 1st century BC.

Various cultural periods saw changes in settlement patterns. The location of cultures also changed, even though some settlements remained occupied and there was still some cultural activity.

New settlements of a new culture were considered to have developed during the La Tène period and single farms or smallish villages became the norm. Signs of centralization in the concentration of farms did, however, develop in some areas during this time. In the Late La Tène period, around the 2nd century BC, ‘oppidas’ started to appear as political and economic centers. Although some customs had disappeared in some places, they continued in the old areas alongside the new burial practices during this period. However, there were major changes in burial practices in the La Tène area.

The giant tumuli of late Hallstatt culture were replaced by more local traditions that varied in space and time. (Figure 3.38)

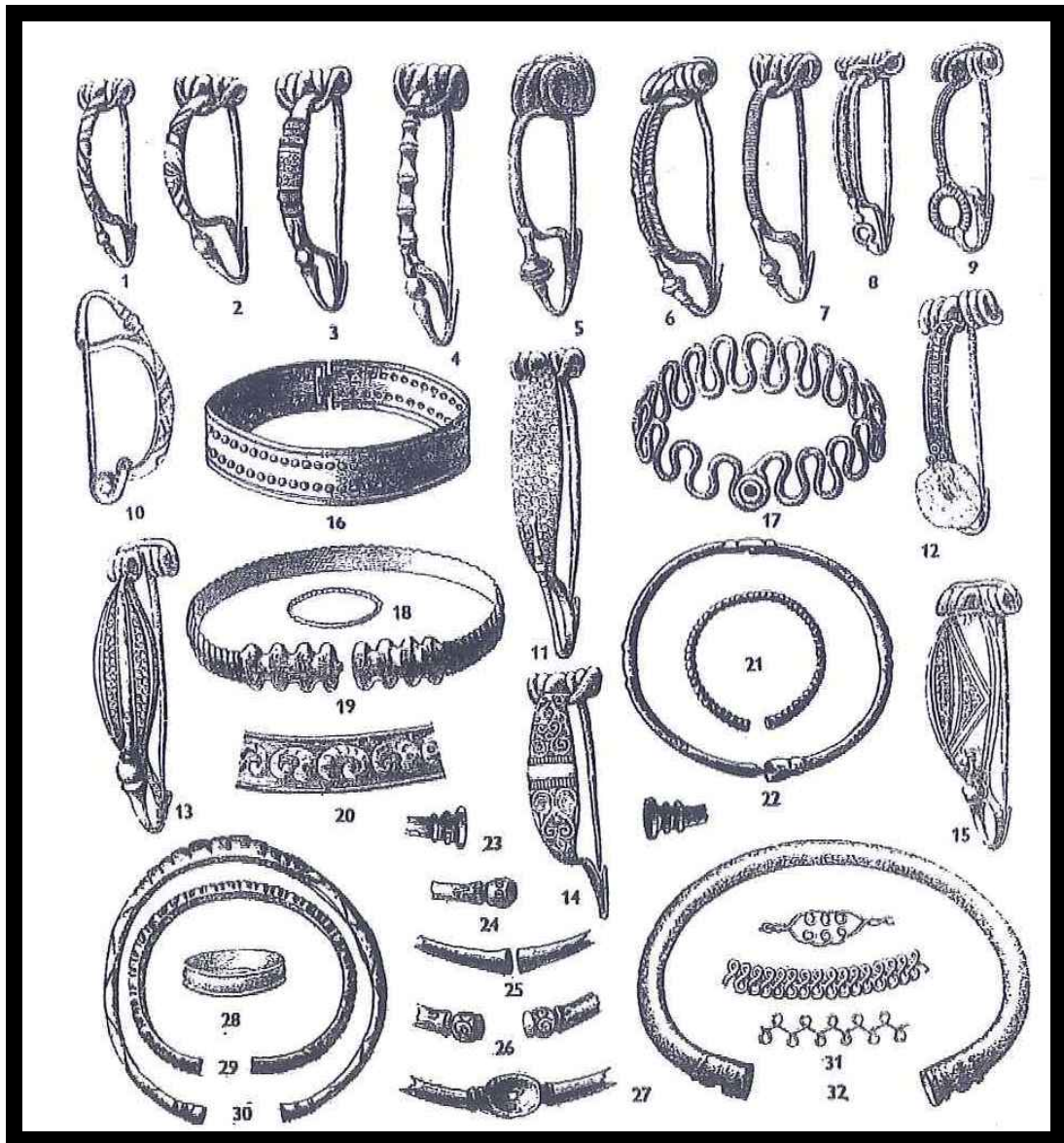


Figure 3.38 Parts of the hoard find from Dux, northern Bohemia (Filip, 1956 cited in Collis, 2003)

Practices differed between the various groups. An important turning point characterizing the new era showed itself in the material found. The simple flat

inhumation burial practices reflected the new attitude of a warrior society. Two-wheeled war chariots replaced the burial wagons of the Hallstatt period. Full offensive arms were included in male graves and, unlike the customs of the Hallstatt period, the graves no longer contained symbols of social status. On the contrary, they were well armed and the majority was adult males with only occasional female burials having lighter versions of the vehicles. (Frey, 1991: 127) These burials were rich but not as rich as those of the Hallstatt period were.

The new era was also reflected in the changing fashions. A heavy belt with characteristic hooks and clearly differentiated forms of fibulae were a part of men's clothing. The early La Tène period not only showed itself in such outward signs, but new ideas and political and social change on a wider scale were developing also. (Frey, 1991: 127)

The cultural development of central Europe was affected by the changes occurring in regions which had previously represented the core of western Hallstatt. A chronological examination of the La Tène period allows the process of change to be traced more clearly. La Tène A (450-350 BC); the second Iron Age, is named after a deposit of objects found at La Tène on Lake Neuchatel in Switzerland. (Figure 3.39)

During excavation near the river, many artifacts such as 166 swords, 269 spearheads, 382 fibulae, and 29 shields and so on were found. (Figure 3.40) In addition, in the first site, there were wooden piles in parallel rows and in the second site there were two bridges; one of which, Pont Vauga, dated to the Iron Age and was 4 meters wide. Several skeletons together with the majority of the finds were located in the 'collapse' area of the bridge. It has recently been accepted as a sanctuary. This period has given its name to the art, which is regarded as synonymous with Celtic.

The beginning of the La Tène period in southern Germany and eastern France also marks fundamental changes in the settlement, economic and social patterns. The Hallstatt settlements such as Mont Lassois, Heuneburg and many others disappeared, leaving all the classic features of 'state collapse' but with some survival on the fringe of the area. (Karl 2006)

In the early La Tène period (La Tène A), simple flat inhumation and chariot burials are typical of the period. With the collapse of the Late Hallstatt hillfort economy, the central places were abandoned. Single farms roughly 30x30-50x50 meters in size or small villages and hamlets became common. (Figure 3.41) Sometimes they were lightly fenced and there were no more than 3-4 at any single place at the same time, occasionally surrounded by a village fence. They were clearly focused on farming and herding. There is little or no evidence of craft specialization.

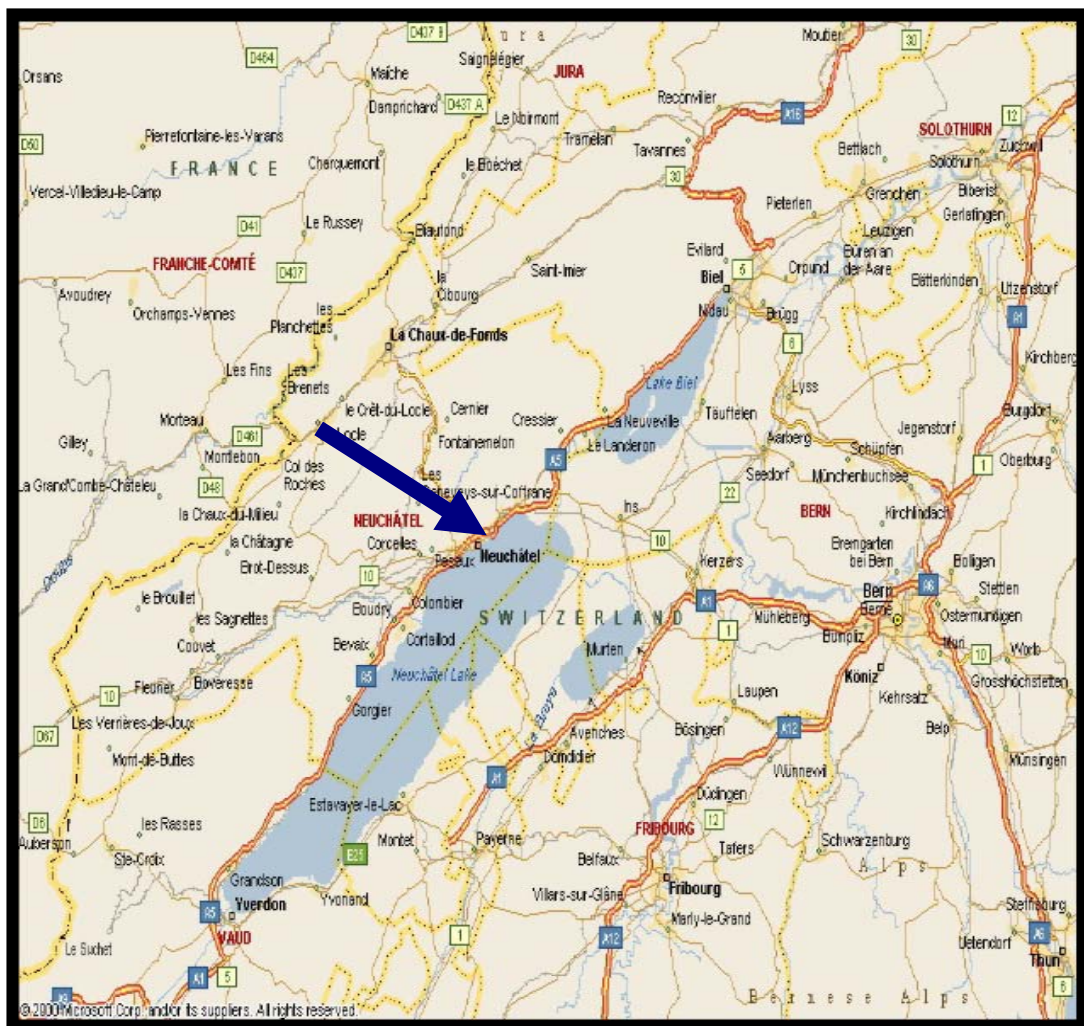


Figure 3.39 La Tène on lake Neuchatel in Switzerland (Karl, 2006)

Although the culture shows many differences from the preceding La Tène A culture in important aspects with different centers of distribution, the middle La Tène B (350-250 BC) period finds also related to characteristic styles of art, settlement, social structure and armament. (Figure 3.42)

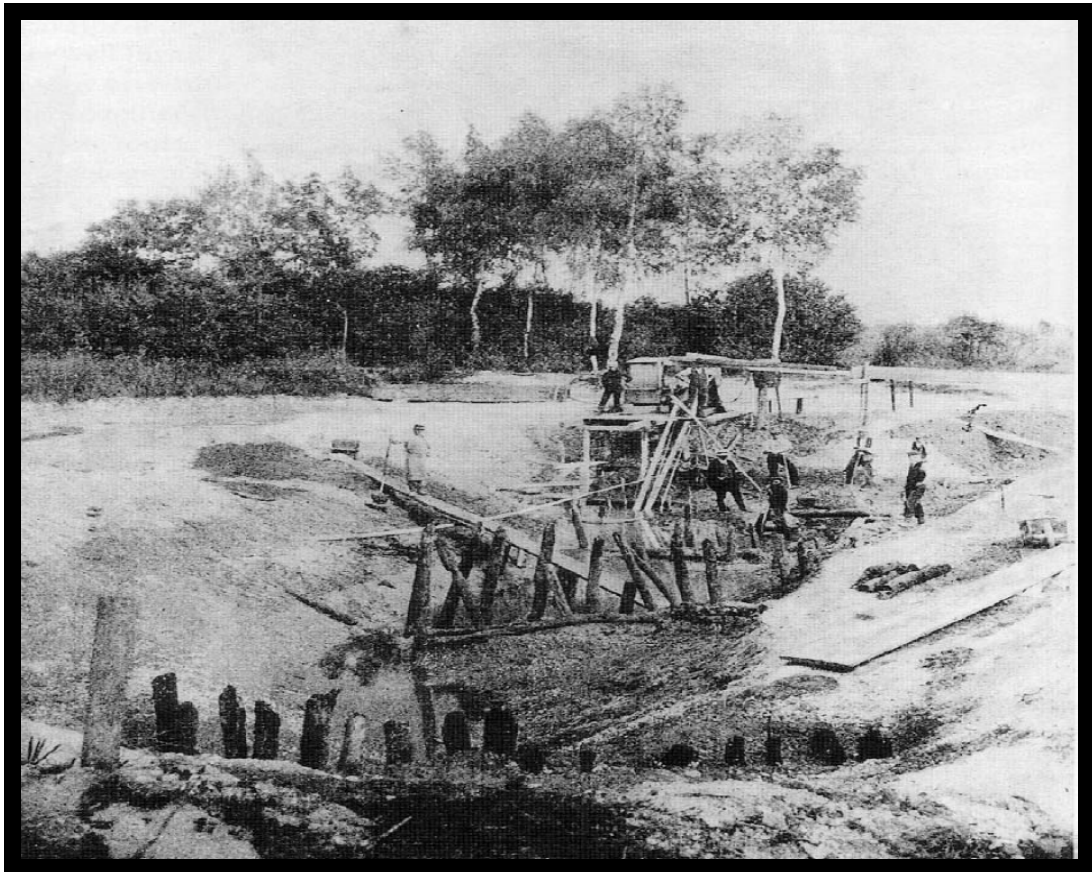


Figure 3.40 The site of La Tène in relation to the shore of Lake Neuchatel and the new river channel constructed during the 1st Jura water correction (Karl, 2006)

However, there are also some characteristics that show certain continuity between these two periods. This period is regarded as being synonymous with Celtic culture. (Pauli, 1980: 18) There was an increase in centralization, which could be interpreted as development of villages. In some areas of Europe, there was a concentration of farms with 5-10 or more in one area as well as an increase in the size of the farms. Although there was still a primary economy focused on farming, there was also some

evidence of increasing specialization, with some individual farms focusing on different crafts. This is the period and stage when the Celts migrated to Anatolia.

In the late La Tène C period (250-150 BC), the first oppida began to appear north of the Alps. These oppidum were fortifications, and the internal structure was based on local rather than on Roman practice. These oppida were economic centers, they had specialized crafts located in specialist ‘quarters’ and marketplaces existed for trade and commerce. The historical texts state that oppida were also the political centers with communal centers, a meeting place for political bodies and residences of officials.

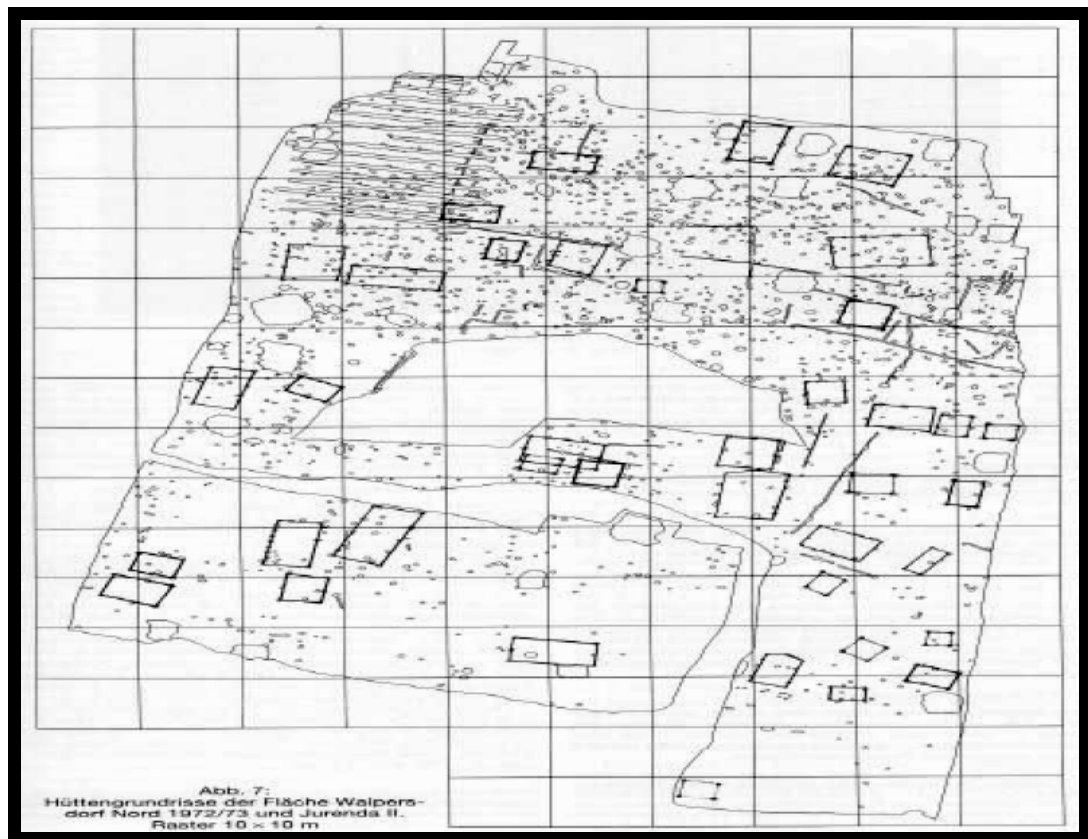


Figure 3.41 Early La Tène: simple farmers in small hamlets (Karl, 2006)

These sites were all chosen with great care and planning and widespread investigation has revealed great similarities of layout and features typical of late

Celtic civilization. The criteria used fitted in with specific traditions in building fortifications on high ground and adaptation to the topography, so the chieftain must have needed a certain degree of organization. (Maier, 1991: 417)

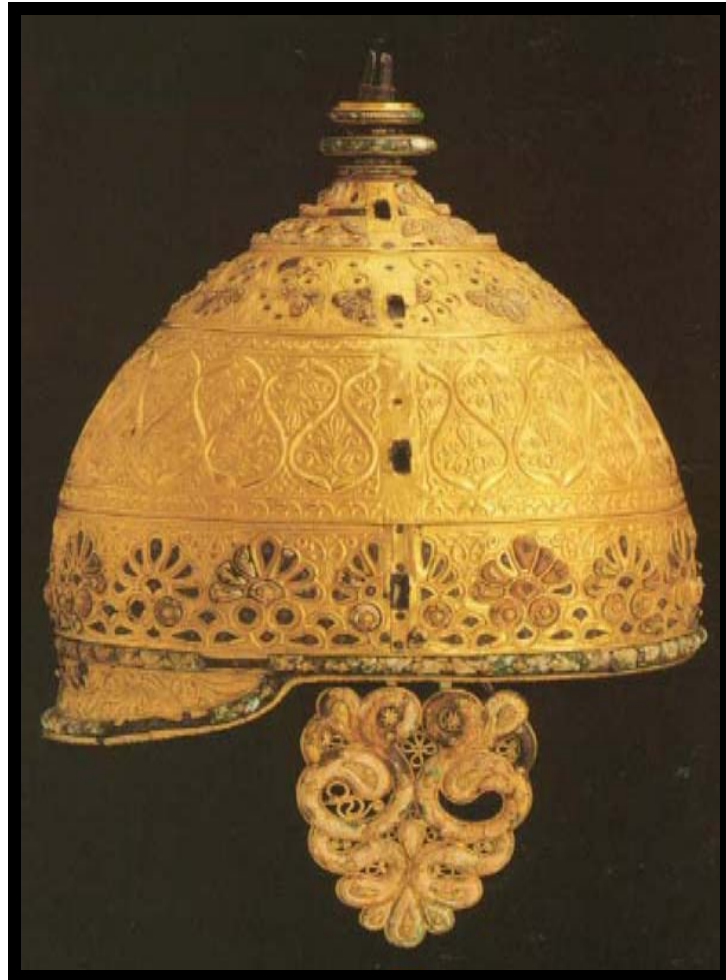


Figure 3.42 Agris helmet from western France late 4th century BC (James, 2005)

The typical characteristics are; prominent hill, (Bibracte, Donnersberg, Hradiste near Stradonice, Velem-St-Vid) isolated plateau, (Alesia, Gergovia, Mont-Lassois, Braunsberg) plateau dominating the surrounding countryside, (Murcens, Vertault-Titelberg, Heidengraben) spur between two watercourses, (Geneva-Geneva, Kelheim) double or single river-bend, (Vesontium-Besançon, Enge near Berne, Trisov-Holubov) location on a plain alongside a river or between watercourses and

swampy depressions, (Avaricum-Bourges, Manching and the oldest of this group, Mediolanum-Milan) commanding major routes, (Stre Hradisko in Moravia on the amber route, while Zavisti Bratislava and Berne control traffic along the Vitava, Danube and Rhine). (Figure 3.43) (Cunliffe, 1999: 228-229, Maier, 1991: 417-418)

Identical topographical conditions would lead to similar solutions for prehistoric fortified settlements on high ground. Therefore, there must be other features to be identified, and one of these is the size. Oppida enclose a larger area than earlier settlements, ranging from 20 to several hundred hectares. (e.g. Alesia 97 ha, Bibracte 135 ha, Heidengraben 1,500 ha and Manching 380 ha) While under siege, Avaricum gave shelter to about 40,000 people with their belongings, livestock, and provisions. The size of the Celtic oppida was much larger than later Medieval German towns. Therefore, the number of inhabitants would be in the thousands. (Maier, 1991: 417-418)



Figure 3.43 Reconstruction of the area of Mount Beuvray in the 1st century based upon excavations, showing the surprisingly lack of trees.

The most important characteristics of the oppida are the methods used to build the walls and gates, the size and the dominating position for controlling the territory. (Figure 3.44) The general definition of an oppida is a fortified settlement, which shows the earliest signs of urbanization in Celtic society. (Maier, 1991: 411)

The natural defensive features were strengthened by defense walls and gateways, of which there were several. The ends of the ramparts were turned inwards to form a corridor or courtyard and the large gates were positioned at the end of this, producing a strategic defense feature. (Cunliffe, 1999: 230) A wide, deep ditch and a ramp were prepared on the outside of the wall for additional defense. (Maier, 1991: 418) Several techniques of building walls were used but in general, they can be divided into two main categories:- a western European type called the ‘*murus gallicus*’ style, and a central European type known as the ‘*pfostenschlitzmauer*’ (*post-slot wall* in German) style. (Cunliffe, 1999: 229) Before the siege of Avaricum, Caesar described the rampart type, which has been termed the *Murus Gallicus*:

All Gallic walls are made in this fashion: timbers are laid down on the ground throughout the length of the wall and at right angles at intervals of a couple of feet. They are then fixed on the inside and covered in a large mound. The gaps, which we have mentioned, are blocked up in front with large stones. When they have been laid and joined another layer is placed on top, so that the same gaps are preserved, and the timbers do not touch one another but each is tightly wedged at the same distances as before by placing individual stones between. And so the whole structure is bound together until the right height is reached. This wall is not unattractive in appearance and variety with the alternating timbers and stones, which keep the courses in straight lines. It is extremely useful for the practical defense of cities because the stone wall protects it from fire and the timber from the battering ram, since it is combined within by continuous timbers generally forty feet long., it cannot be broken or pulled down. (Caesar De Bello Gallico, 7.23)



Figure 3.44 Walls of Bibracte surrounding the area

Archaeology confirms that this was one of the standard techniques of fortification. The oppidum of the Cadurci on the plateau of Murcens shows the clearest example of *muris gallicis*, which represents the high point of defense wall construction in prehistoric Europe. The Kelheim oppida is typical of those in the east. (Figure 3.45) (Maier, 1991: 418) The process of development is not known, but the main step was the industrial reorganization and centralization to change the method of jointing in

Late La Tène due to the threat of the Roman invasion, which comprised the motivating force for defense. Collis proposed that the development of the *muris gallicis* was completely native, being confined to Gaul. (Collis, 1975: 19)

Therefore, the definition of the term oppidum now includes fortified sites that suggest the presence of large walled settlements. The primary function of the enclosures was to provide a central refuge. Caesar divided the Gallic settlements into three classes; oppida (fortified towns), vici (villages), and aedificia privata (single farmsteads). They must therefore have also functioned as storage points for crops and

livestock centers for processing raw materials for town and countryside as marketplaces, especially once the coinage system was established in the 2nd century BC. Some terracotta dies for minting coins have been found in oppida, indicating an attempt at economic self-control. Roman trading posts in the oppida to serve Roman citizens provided a major stimulus for growth. This exchange of goods may have been the reason for the standardization of many goods in the Celtic world. Caesar further listed the oppida of twenty-nine Gallic tribes with names and a short description. There were also many unfortified settlements acting as trading posts in suitable sites. (Maier, 1991: 411-412)



Figure 3.45 Reconstructed Kelheim-style rampart at the oppidum of Burgstall (Finsterlohr), Germany.

Oppida show a concentration of workshops with adequate marketing facilities for manufactured goods. Along with the traders and manufacturers, there were many

farmers with plots of open land left for grazing, which made the difference between rural and urban spaces even less. (Burn, 1999: 18) There was a good correlation between the sizes of rural and urban areas and this was clearly indicated by Caesar and can be verified archaeologically. (Burn, 1999: 18)

The idea of a gradual process of centralization is challenged by the internal organization of these sites. The structural density was relatively low. Household units made up of individual houses with ancillary buildings such as granaries centered on a central courtyard are characteristic of all oppida. This design is quite similar to contemporary farms. (Burn, 1999: 18)

There are investigations on several oppidum sites, among which are Mont Beuvray (Bibracte), Titelberg, Mont Vully, Manching, Kelheim, Hradiste near Sradonice, Velem-St-Vid and others. A total of 170 fortified settlements classifiable as oppida are spread over a vast area, from the Germanic northern regions to the Roman area in the south, and southwest from southern England and the Channel to the middle of central Europe and beyond to the eastern Alps and the Danube.

Some examples of the wide distribution of oppida throughout Europe may be obtained from Slovakia, Hungary, Bavaria, Bourgogne, Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Alsace and Lorraine, Burgundy, the Rhine and the western central Massif.

In the Slovakian region, contact with the La Tène culture can be shown in Reinecke A, but the full culture emerges in the Dux horizon with flat inhumation and cremation cemeteries red-and-white painted wares, hand-made cups and jars with finger-tipped cordons and wheel-turned grey wares, especially bowls and pedestal dishes. (Collis, 1975: 70)

In the Hungarian region, there is a moderately dense scatter of flat inhumation and cremation across the löss areas of Hungary dating from the Dux horizon to middle La Tène. The culture is similar to that in Slovakia and Romania, characterized by painted pottery and grey wares. (Collis, 1975: 73)

An oppida in Hungary, Velem St. Vid, is located on a highland-lowland boundary and was occupied in the Hallstatt period, continuing during the La Tène period and seemed to be specialized in bronze production, but only one mould can be termed La Tène. Finds of glass with lumps of raw material indicating local production of beads and bracelets and pottery finds of painted Late La Tène and Dacian vessels are among the evidence in this site. (Collis, 1975: 74)

In Bavaria, the oppidum of Manching in the Lower Danube Valley occupies a 380 ha enclosure surrounded by a massive timber-laced rampart some 7 km long. (Figure 3.46) It is the main oppidum of the Vindelici and developed from a middle La Tène village. It is a lowland defended site having fortifications, which were part *muris gallicus* and part Kelheim. The nails used to bind the timbers are estimated to have required 60 tons of iron. (Cunliffe, 1999: 225) The enclosed area occupied three-square meters. The internal structure was varied and in parts was densely packed with longish halls.



Figure 3.46 Sketch of the location of the Manching oppidum.

There were a number of large farms with open areas for grazing. The road system was extensive, the main ones being 10 m wide and the secondary ones 6 m wide.

(Figure 3.47) There were several sanctuaries within the town walls, which were square enclosures with a round building. A gilded bronze branch was discovered here. Manching is a key site for understanding the process of urbanization, situated at the junction of two rivers and near an important land route. (Collis, 1975: 104-117)

The oppidum of Bibracte, according to Caesar, was the largest and richest oppidum of the Aedui. (Figure 3.48) Unfortunately, only parts of Iron Age structures are recoverable. It was significantly sited on a hilltop commanding an important route. The defended area covered some 135 ha and required over 5 km of ramparts. Several pre-Roman villa structures and different areas of craft specialization have been identified. Excavations have shown that occupation began in the 2nd century BC and continued until about 20 BC. (Cunliffe, 1999: 224-225)

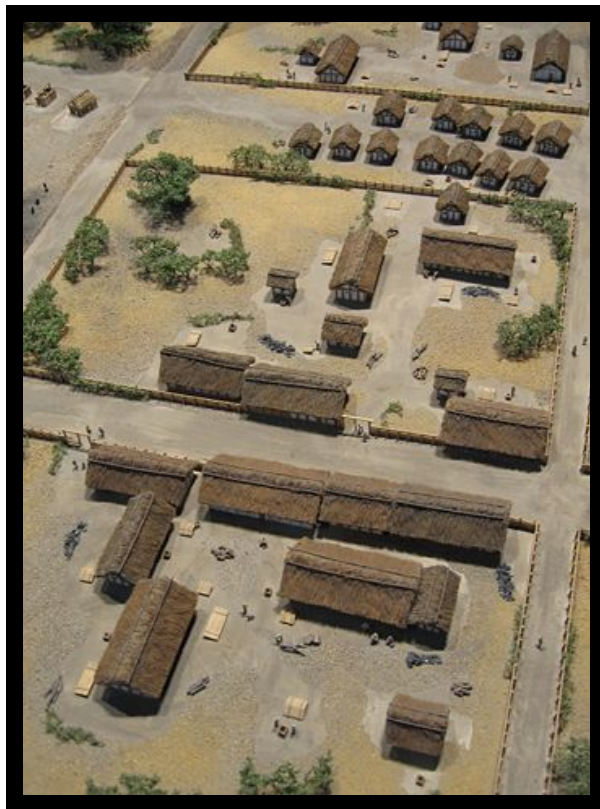


Figure 3.47 Model of the settlement's central area; Manching

The quantitative research on the scrap (nearly two tons over an area of 400 m²) confirms that the craftsman at Bragny had reached a level of production that implied trade outlets outside the region, which raises the question of the nature and intensity of their trade with large commercial centers such as Marseilles and northern Italy. (Fluest, 1991: 119)

The fact that the Bourges site was permanently settled from the beginning of the first Iron Age (its foundation dates to at least the end of the 6th century BC) proves that Avaricum was one of the oldest oppida in Gaul.

Austria was again important in the Late La Tène due to its natural resources of salt, copper and iron and for the routes which passed west-east along the Danube.

Oppida in Austria are Braunsberg, Oberleiserberg, Grundberg, and Freinberg in Moravia region on the major route between the Baltic and central Europe. The Braunsberg is found on a hill on the Danube. A defended site has a central area and a northern extension, which is older than the main enclosure. Hallstatt C occupation was followed by a break until Late La Tène. Pottery includes Graphittonkeramik (pottery made from clay containing graphite) but there is no painted ware. (Collis, 1975: 77)

The Oberleiserberg, Klement, Mistelbach should be classed with Moravian oppida in terms of function although it is small. It has a double enclosure, the inner oval defense enclosing 6.55 ha but with a southern addition reaching nearly a total 8 ha. The large number of fragments of glass bracelets implies that they were manufactured on the site, and fragments of graphite may indicate Graphittonkermik production. (Collis, 1975: 78)

The Grundberg, Linz, is on a spur with steep slopes to east west and south and is barred by two cross-dykes. There is a trial trenching and only in two areas was there occupation, with two rectangular buildings having dry-stone walls. (Collis, 1975: 78)

In the Czech region, south of Prague takes place in the valley of Vitava, Zavist differs slightly from the other sites. Here a hillfort flourishing in the 5th and 4th

century BC provided a focus for the development of a much larger oppidum with 150 ha area and 9 km perimeter. (Cunliffe, 1999: 227)

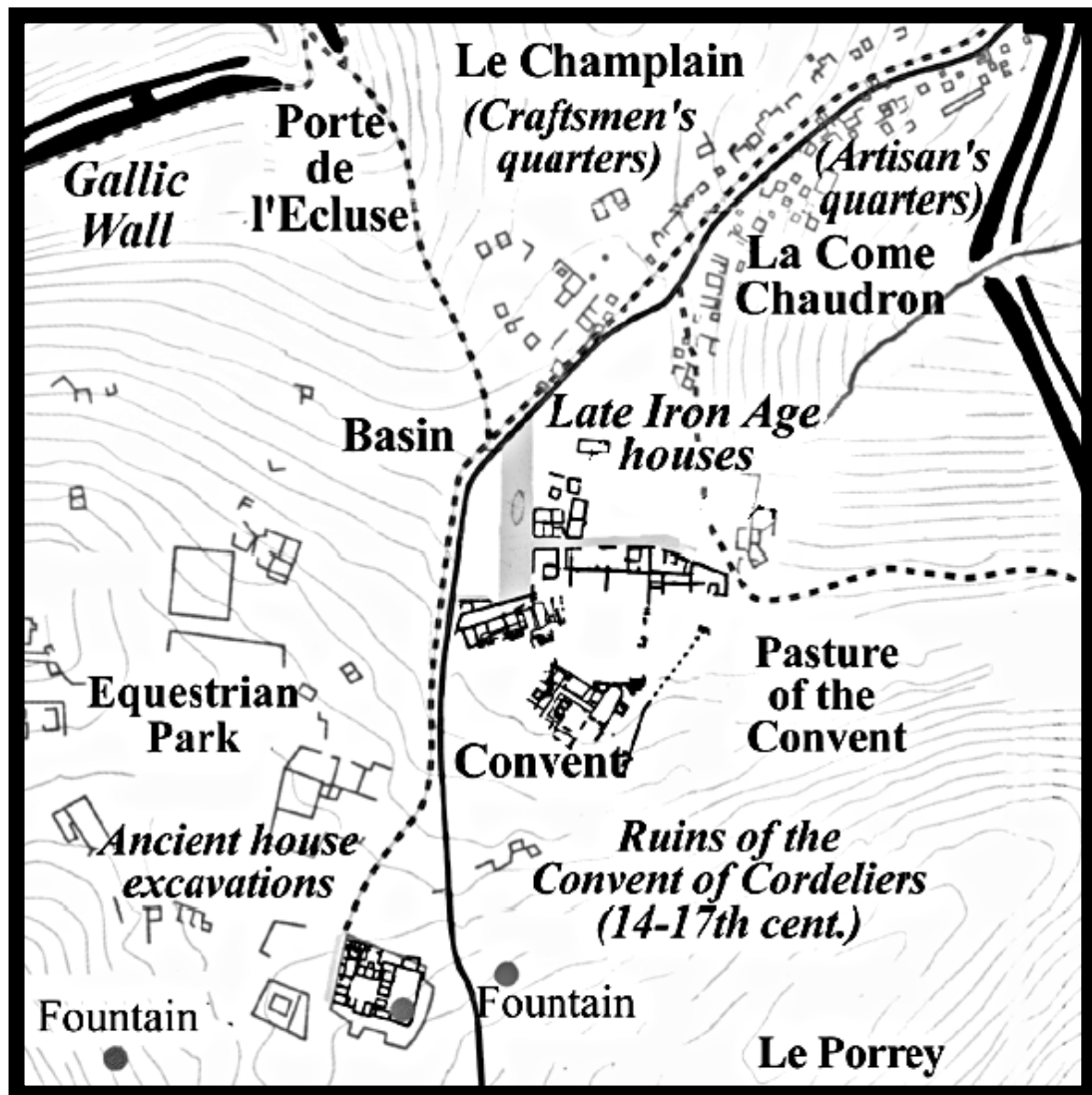


Figure 3.48 Main oppidum of the Aedui (Karl, 2006)

Moravia is on the major route between the Baltic and central Europe. Graphite is found widely in the southern areas. Here all the oppida were peripheral to agricultural areas and to the main rivers, Braunsberg being an exception. The Oppida in the region are Stare Hradiko, Hostyn and Polhanska. (Collis, 1975: 85)

The Stare Hradisko site is a typical eastern oppidum located along the Amber route. (Figure 3.49) It is on a hill overlooking the Hana plain, which was densely settled in the La Tène period. The defenses lie on a spur to north and south. Access is from the east, and from the east to the west, there is an elaborate defense. Here the central enclosure is 23.5 ha and with the western side, covers a 38 ha. The internal structure is dominated by farmsteads, which all seem to have had at least some agricultural element, some have exclusively had an agricultural function. There is evidence of industry of iron working, glass working, and coin minting. Skutil (1950 cited in Collis, 1975; 89) suggested some social differentiation and Graphittonkeramik was found. (Collis, 1975: 85-89)

Hostyn is situated on a spur site looking towards the same Hana plain with a defense enclosure about 18 ha. Again Graphittonkeramik is found, but hand made pottery is common. (Collis, 1975: 89)

The Bohemian region is divided into two; north and south. In the north, after the rich development in Hallstatt C of the Bylany Culture, the late Hallstatt phase is marked by small cremation cemeteries and the appearance of small open farming settlements, which continue in some cases into the La Tène period. In La Tène B, the burial rite suddenly changes to flat inhumation with weapons and ornaments but rarely pottery. The cemeteries and settlements both continue in La Tène C but then totally disappear. In the south, there are cremations cemeteries related and continued into La Tène A.

The distribution of cremation cemeteries overlaps with that of barrow burials, though these show a greater concentration in the south. Grave goods are rare in the area. The oppidas are generally situated on well-defended spur sites. Generally, the development of the oppida begins in the late La Tène C. Some of the oppida in the region are Stradonice, Zavist, Ceske Lhotice, Hrazany, Nevezice, and Trisov. (Collis, 1975: 90-92)

The Hesse region includes a lowland area rich for agriculture and in the northwest there are rich iron deposits and also salt deposits. This area is the most complex in Europe culturally and the richer tumuli have imported situlae. In La Tène B and La

Téne C, flat inhumation burials in the Wetterau and Braubach type-sites, the wheel-turned Braubach bowls appear. Early La Téne cremation burials in urns with incised decorations occur in Lower Hesse as secondaries in tumuli or in flat cemeteries. By La Téne D, burials were rare in the north but in Wetterau, cremation in a bowl replaced inhumation. The oppidas of the region are Heidetränk, Dunsberg, and Altenburg. (Collis, 1975: 123-124)



Figure 3.49 Stare Hradisko farmstead in the hillfort Moravia/Czech Republic (typical eastern oppidum) (Karl, 2006)

Dunsberg in this region is on a high hill overlooking the rich Giessen basin. There were three concentric defenses, the inner enclosing about 10 km and the outer 90 ha. (Collis, 1975: 127)

Having considered the settlement patterns of the Celts in Europe through a very long time span, it has become clear that the settlements went through definite periods of development. During the Hallstatt period, there were strongly defended hilltop settlements, with evidence of long distance trade and some craft production. With the collapse of the Late Hallstatt period hillfort economy, decentralization began and single farms and small hamlets appeared. There was no craft specialization during the Early La Tène period, and settlement was in the form of small farming villages with 3-4 farms. In the Middle La Tène period, increasing centralization developed, with 5-10 farms gathering to form larger villages where craft specialization began. Towards the end of the Middle La Tène period, the first towns emerged, with increasing trading facilities. By the late La Tène period, starting from the second century BC, oppida began to appear as economic trading and political centers and these were fortified. Since the collapse of the Hallstatt culture, various factors led to waves of migrations, one of which led to the entry of Celtic tribes into Anatolia. This therefore will be the next stage in the present investigation.

CHAPTER 4

CELTS IN ANATOLIA: THE GALATIANS (278-25 BC)

This chapter of the thesis attempts to trace the changes in the relation of the social structure of the Galatians who migrated from central Europe with their effects on the settlement pattern of central Anatolia. In this context, there are three stages; the first being their arrival in Anatolia up to their settlement period and their contact mostly with the Hellenistic settlements. The second stage was the settlement period, during which there was contact with the local inhabitants in the Phrygian area and the surrounding neighbors who were again mostly Hellenistic and their subsequent Hellenization, and the third; the effect of the Roman Empire starting from 189 BC until the eventual Roman domination in 25 BC. Anatolia already had very rich and varied cultural layers when the Celts arrived. During their settlement process, the Celts adapted many of the Anatolian features which were made up of these varied cultures and their interactions with one another, while preserving some of their own characteristics. Social, political, and environmental factors will be reviewed in the settlement pattern as well as in their social organization, especially in the region known as Galatia.

The area under consideration of this thesis, Galatia, has been occupied by Phrygians, Celts/Galatians, and Romans and the periods of these settlements overlap considerably. This is an excellent example of a pattern continuum. Therefore, the history of the area, which many researchers recognize as Galatia, also includes the period of the Roman occupation when the region was the province of Roman Galatia. However, the relevant period of this thesis is the time when the Galatians lived and ruled. In fact, the remains found in the Galatian region may not be from the period presently under scrutiny but from later periods, since Romans and even Byzantines were classified based on location.

4.1 Migration of the Celts to Anatolia

Migration simply means population movement and it differs from individual movements of marriage partners, mercenaries, traders etc. Archaeologically, migration is mostly recognized from the end of the process, because only signs of its effects can be detected, and furthermore tracing the route of migration is very difficult. In addition, identifying the reasons for movement of a social group is complicated, but the main possibilities are force, social conflict, overpopulation, economic pressure, and ecological conditions, change of the trade routes, and outsider influence or crisis and there is generally no single factor but rather multiple reasons, which activate one another. Similarly, the reason for the massive movement of Celts is not clear and there is very little evidence to trace the conditions leading to it. However, the 5th century BC seems to have been a crucial time for the Celtic people as the early Celtic (Hallstatt D) chieftaincy system had collapsed and there was widespread social conflict. For some reason, a dynamic force was released with Celtic warriors leading armed former farming populations and craft specialists, whose sons were then trained as warriors, with a resulting wave of migration to east central Europe. The new settlement and cemetery areas where they moved to show that there were social changes taking place under the selective pressure of migration, as discussed in Chapter 3.

These first successful migrations led to a new wave of migrations, with a chain reaction that continued during the following two centuries. It was not simply caused by the development of a heroic warrior ideology, as larger groups were drawn into the chief's 'armies' although this was an important motive, as Lequenne (1991) states, but also, and perhaps more importantly, there was a new adventurous spirit for seeking new lands in order to settle.

The new social organization, which emerged was adapted to expansionist policies giving opportunities for greater social mobility. Furthermore, a certain degree of decentralization developed which led to a more egalitarian system supporting social mobility, which was another stimulus for migration. Finally, the eventual outcome of the migrations was inevitably a permanent settlement of an agricultural society

leading to a concentration of agrarian techniques and craft production. During the 4th century BC, there was Celtic movement through adjacent regions to the east from Bohemia into the Carpathians and further. (Figure 4.1)

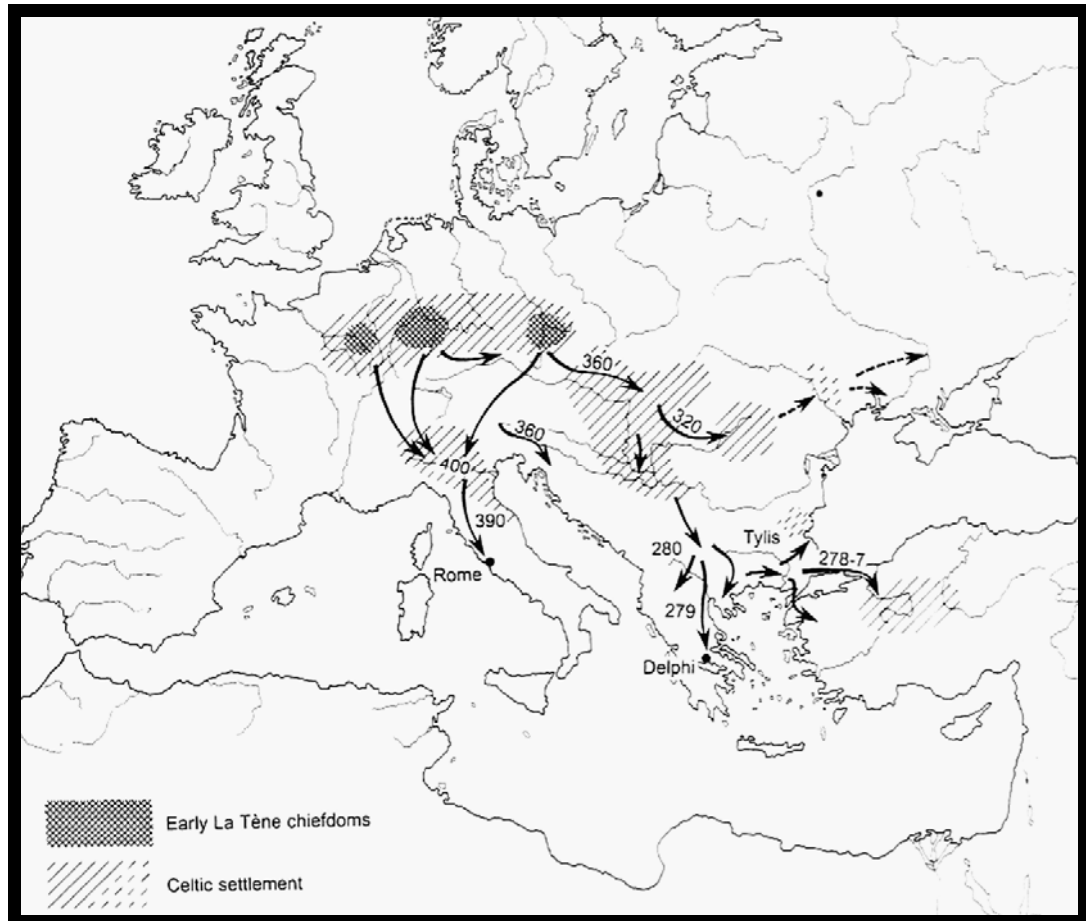


Figure 4.1 Migrations of Celts between 400-270 BC. (Cunliffe, 1999)

Around 390 or 387 BC, when the Celts attacked the Etruscan city of Clusium, Rome rose up against them, which led to the Celts marching to Rome under the leadership of Brennus. The Roman army was defeated and Rome was besieged. In order to be free of the Celts, the Romans were forced to pay them and when the treasures were weighed and the Romans objected, Brennus is reported to have thrown his sword on to the scales, declaring ‘vae vicitis’ (woe to the conquered) and the results of this event lasted over many centuries. (James, 2005: 34) In the early 3rd century, Celts

migrated into the Balkans. Celtic migrants were employed by the Hellenistic states when they were hired as mercenaries by Dionysius I of Syracuse to assist the Athenians and Spartans in 369/8 BC. They were in the Balkans in 358 BC, battling the Illyrians and, in 335 BC; Alexander received Celtic delegates after their diffusion into the lower Danube. By the end of the 4th century BC, the Celts were no longer some shadowy people described in tales, but an imminently dangerous, fearsome, and 'barbaric' enemy described as awesome in the literature of the subsequent period sometimes used to exaggerate the Greek victories. (Rankin, 1987: 48)

Survey of the cemeteries and their location should be the priority of any modern excavation site (Poppi, 1991: 49) while bearing in mind that the differences in burial practices may become obscured by a process of gradual cultural assimilation. By tracing the Celtic burials between the 5th century BC and 4th century BC, evidence of migration of the Celts to Italy and the Balkans can be established. Many Celtic artifacts dating from the end of the 4th century BC have been found from Bosnia to Hungary and in the regions of Macedonia and Thessaly, and this correlates with the first wave of Celtic migration cited by the classical writers. There were violent clashes in the southernmost area where the Hellenistic leaders-such as Cassander, King of Macedonia tried to halt the Celtic tribes in about 310 BC. (Mansuelli, 1991: 19) Eventually however, the Celtic migration continued when the region became weakened due to the battle of Corupedium between Seleucus I and Lysimachus in 281 BC.(Polybius, 1.6.4)

According to Pausanias, (10.19.4) having invaded Macedonia, the Celts split into three groups. In 280 BC, one of the Celtic groups under their skillful leader Bolgius killed the Macedonian leader and displayed his head on a Celtic spear. The Greek leader was unable to prevent the sacking of Macedonia by the invading forces, a century after the Celtic mercenaries had been hired by Dionysus I of Syracuse. (Mansuelli, 1991: 19) The group under Kerethrios attacked the Thracians and the Triballi in the east, and the third group under Brennus and Achichorius attacked Paeonia. (Mitchell, 1995: 13) They traveled north and formed a kingdom north of the city of Byzantium, from which they received 80 talents a year in tribute. (Mansuelli, 1991: 19) By the end of 279 BC, they had invaded Macedonia and Greece and sacked the Temple of Apollo at Delphi under Brennus. (Lequenne, 1991; Kaya,

2000) However, an earthquake changed the course of the battle and the Celts were heavily defeated. Traces of the Celts were lost following the event at Delphi, (Mansuelli, 1991: 19) Brennus, the leader of the Gauls who was wounded in battle at Delphi, committed suicide after seeing his troops to safety. (Lequenne, 1991: 27) Their location was indicated by the Greek inscription on a monument honoring Protogenes for saving his hometown Olbia from the 'barbaric' people including the Galatians. The chronological evidence derived from this information is more reliable than historical sources. (Mansuelli, 1991: 20) Even warrior groups from distant Celtic tribes in Gaul were included in these 3rd century BC mobile Celtic armies. On their return home, they took treasures back to their homeland near Toulouse in France and, according to tradition, threw them into the sacred lake there as a votive offering to their highest god Belenos. (Lequenne, 1991: 29) These treasures are also recognized archaeologically in Gaul, in the Marne region, which helps to explain why similar material has been found over such long distances. From the archaeological evidence, it can be accepted that the expansion was not only towards the east but also to the western edges of the Celtic world. (Mansuelli, 1991: 18)

The Celts in the Balkans took advantage of the chaos in Thracian Chersonese and arrived there where, under the leadership of Lutarios and Leonnorios, the two groups negotiated with Antipater about crossing to Anatolia. Then there was a disagreement between the two leaders and they parted. Lutarios crossed the Hellespont in five small boats, while Leonnorios made an agreement with Nicomedes I of Bithynia, who needed military support against his brother Zipoetas and crossed the Bosphorus after which the two groups rejoined. (Mitchell, 1995; Lequenne, 1991) According to Pausanias this is assumed to be in 278/7 BC. (Figure 4.2) Around 10,000 warriors, together with their families, made up the Celtic groups who crossed to Anatolia.

In the classic texts; Diodoros (xxii 9.1), Pausanias (x.19.6-9) and Justinus (xxiv.4.1-7) mentioned that the Celts were well prepared and numerous, including not just warriors but also merchants. Polyaeus recorded that they claimed to be paid not just for the warriors but also for the wives, children, and craftsmen (Mitchell, 1995: 15) and consisted of a total of around 20,000 inhabitants. (Darbyshire, Mitchell, Vardar 2000)

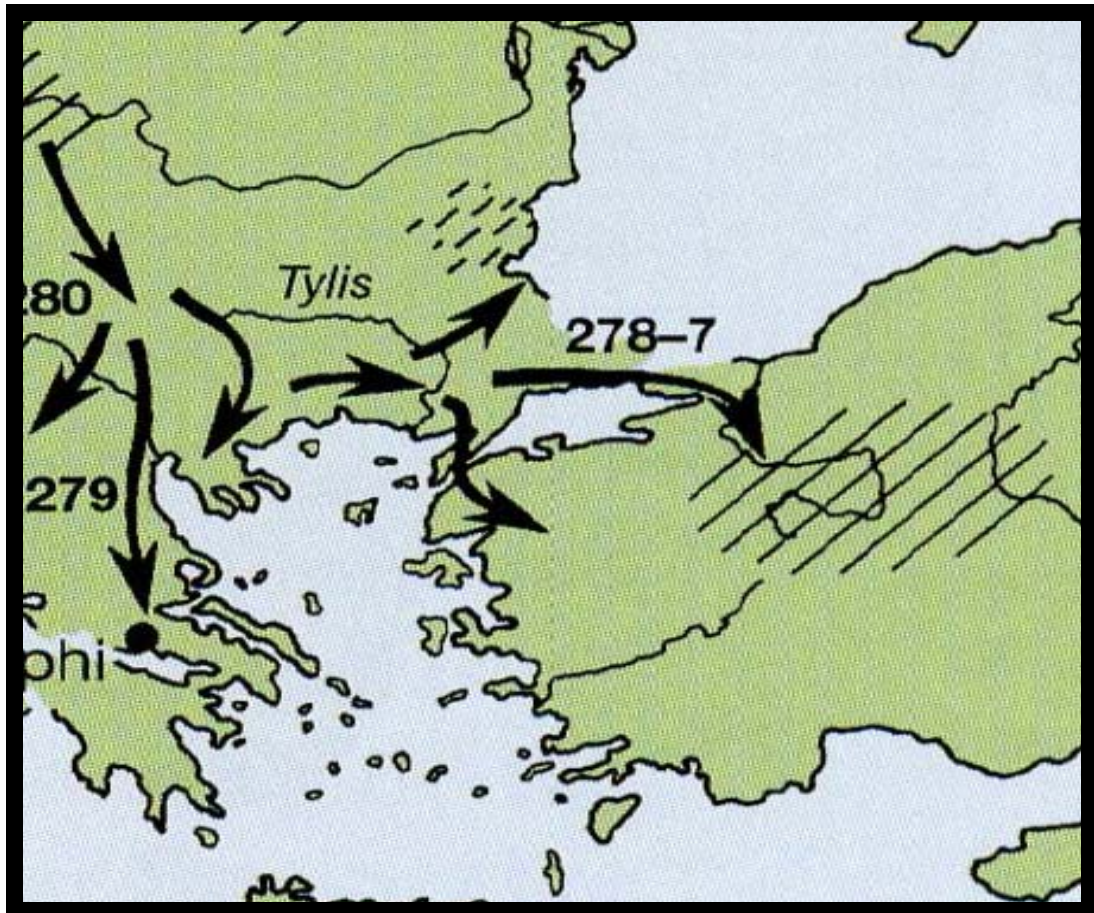


Figure 4.2 Migration Routes of Celtic Tribes to Anatolia (Cunliffe, 1999)

4.2 Main periods of Celtic Evidence in Anatolia

The Celts had an important role in Anatolia during the subsequent three hundred years. This was a different situation from that of the Celts, who invaded Greece, because in Greece they had no lasting effect other than the fear they created, which became legendary. In contrast, the Galatians made a much greater impact on history and historians. The Apostle Paul wrote a letter to the Galatian descendants of the Celtic groups who, having been summoned by King Nicomedes I of Bithynia moved into Anatolia in 278/7 BC and settled in eastern Phrygia.

According to the ancient testimony, the Celts of Galatia were divided into three groups, the Tolistobogii, the Trocmii, and the Tectosages. Strabo (xii.v.1) took his evidence from Justinus, who called the Tectosages of Pannonia the *Volcae Paludes*.

This connects them to the Volcae tribes of Bohemia whom Caesar mentioned. It is excellent corroborative material for showing the mobility of these people. (Mansuelli, 1991: 20) Birkhan (1997: 87) reported of the Tectosages that, as evident from their name, they were constantly searching for an abode, (a 'roof' Tecto-sag-; Lat. Sagio, 'following a trail', German suchen, 'to search'). This illustrates that they had not come to Anatolia simply to raid and collect treasure, but rather to settle and that they were not nomads as has been generally claimed. Celts were renamed Galatians after settling in Galatia. The root of 'Galatia' -gal- in old Irish has many meanings including war-fever, bravery, smoke, cloud, steam and the concept of 'being able'. (Darbyshire and Mitchell 1999, 165) Galatia is Celtic and was not a label attached by outsiders (Renfrew, 1996: 101-102) neither is it a name a tribal group exhibits.

4.2.1 Celts in Ionia (278 BC-260 BC)

Records through illustrations and inscriptions verify that, after moving to Anatolia, the Celts spent several years raiding the cities of the Ionian coast before settling in Galatia. Therefore, they were forced to become involved in the struggle between the Hellenistic leaders. Livy (38, 16, 11-12) mentioned that Anatolia raiding areas were divided between three tribes. The Hellespontine coast was given to the Trocmii, Aeolis and Ionia to the Tolistobogii and the hinterland of Anatolia to the Tectosages. Polices that were attacked by the Galatians were Erythrai, Didyma, Miletus, Priene, Ephesus. (Figure 4.3)

When the Tolistobogii, led by Leonnorios, attacked Erythrai they resisted the Galatians but were punished severely with taxes known as '*galatika*'. This event can be traced from two inscriptions, dating around 270 BC, honoring the commanders who defended the city against Galatians for four months and Polikritos succeeded in releasing the captured from the Galatians safe and sound. (Kaya 2000, 28) However, following this attack Erythrai faced a shortage of grain and sought help from King Seleucid, Antiochus I.

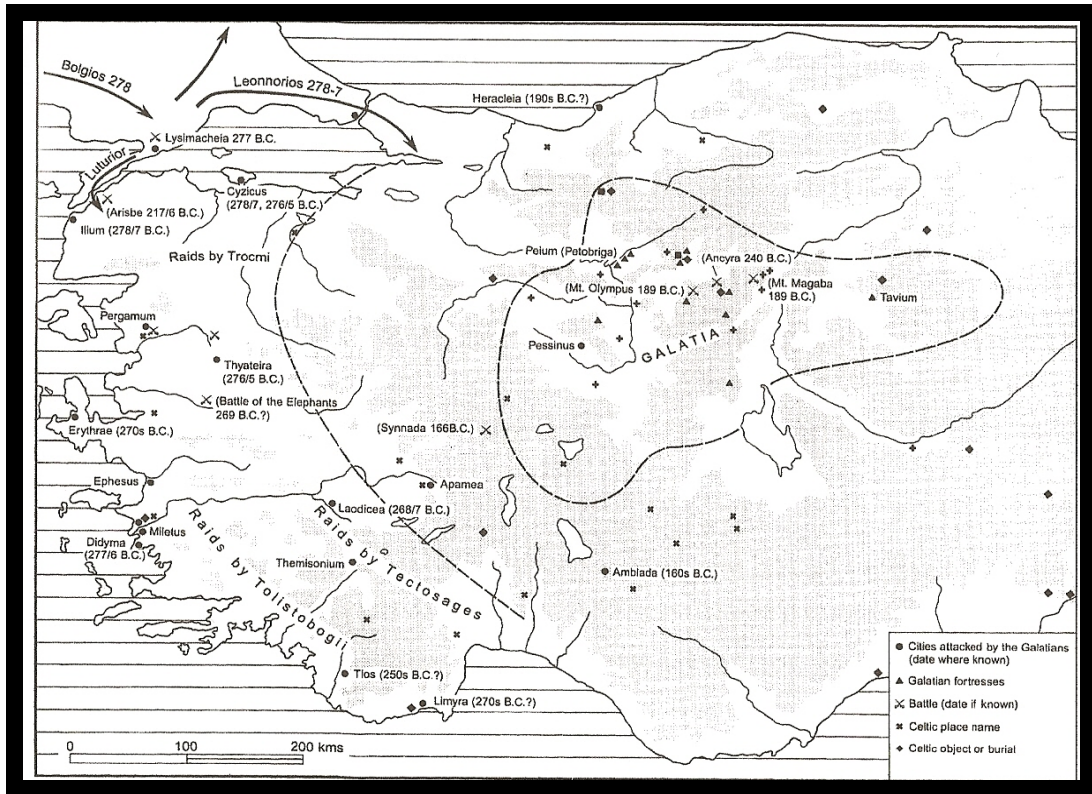


Figure 4.3 The Celts in Anatolia; principal areas of settlements and sites of the major conflicts (Cunliffe, 1999)

The cities that were raided suffered materially and morally, and there is a story told by Parthenius of three women captured by Gauls one of whom was taken to Massilia where her husband followed her. Another story is of three girls preferring to die rather than be captured by the Galatians. When they attacked Priene they raided the temples, and the city was under threat and only Sotes had the courage to defend the city and organized an army. He succeeded in rescuing Priene and was honored in 270 BC. (Kaya, 2000: 29)

The evidence for the Galatian attack on Cyzicus is given by the list of the assistance sent by Pergamon's king Philetairos. (Kaya, 2000: 27) Another record confirming the attacks is from Cyzicus, (Erdek today) where there is an illustration of a Galatian warrior with a distinctive oval shield and a short sword, which can be dated to between 278/7-276/5 because of the mention of Phoenix. (Mitchell, 1995: 16)

In order to end the attack in Ionia, the King of Seleucid, Antiochus I, won an important victory over the Galatians around 270-268 BC in the battle of the elephants and gained the title of Soter. (Kaya, 2000: 36) Although this battle was celebrated, it is known that they continued to pay taxes-*galatika* (Lequenne, 1991: 48) to the Galatians until 189 BC. A terracotta artifact found in the cemetery of Myrina demonstrated an elephant of Antiochus I trampling a Galatian warrior under its feet. (Kaya, 2000: 30; Mitchell, 1995: 18) When Antiochus I was killed by a Galatian called Kentoarates in 261 BC, his son Antiochus II became the king of Seleucid.

Nicomedes I of Bithynia and Mithriadates I of Pontus helped the Galatians to settle; they showed them a place in Anatolia in the eastern Phrygia territory, which was in the hands of Seleucus. (Arslan, 2000: 60) Around 260 BC, they settled in the old Phrygia, which had collapsed at the end of the 7th century BC and was renamed Galatia after the arrival of the Galatians. The region was surrounded by Phrygia Epictetus to the west, Bithynia to the northwest, Paphlagonia to the north, Pontus to the northeast, Lycaonia and Pisidia to the southeast and Cappadocia to the east. The region was approximately 350 km in length and 160 km in width. (Ulusoy, 2005)

4.2.2 Celts/Galatians up to Roman Interaction (260 BC- 189 BC)

In reality, it seems that Antiochus I's victory did not stop the Galatians. They continued to collect their taxes without any important resistance. Meanwhile, with their support, the king of Pergamon Eumenes I won a victory over Seleucus Antiochus at Sardis in 263 BC. (Magie, 2001: 10) After Eumenes I, Attalus I became the king in 241 BC and refused payment of taxes to the Galatians, which led to a war between Pergamon and Galatia. Attalus I won this war and was awarded the title of 'Soter'. (Magie, 2001: 13)

An Etruscan frieze from Civitalba, built in 191 BC, celebrates the Roman victories over the Gauls in 295 BC. One theory proposes that this frieze was modeled on the famous Pergamon clay frieze built around the temple by Attalus I, King of Pergamon to celebrate his victory over the Celt, which was regarded as comparable to the Athenian victories over the Persians. It is reported that Attalus dedicated his

monument at Delphi in about 200 BC although at present there is no proof of this theory. (Andrea, 1991: 62; Mitchell, 1995: 21) The frieze includes the figure of the Dying Gaul. (Figure 4.4) Another sculpture shows the defeated Celtic chieftain, who has killed his wife by cutting her throat, stabbing his sword into his heart, and committing suicide. (Figure 4.5) The Celts have been symbolized as being naked with a torque around their neck, a typical hairstyle and moustaches.

The Galatians fought as mercenaries for Mithriadates I of Pontus against Ptolemaios II, the king of Syria. The war took place in the Black Sea, where the Galatians captured the anchor from a Ptolemaic ship and brought it to Ancyra and the legend maintains that this is the origin of the name Ankara. (Mitchell, 1995: 20) However, it is debated whether they had settled there during the Phrygian time and if it was called Ancyra at that time. (Aslan, 2000: 61) Around 250 BC, after the death of Mithriadates, his successor was Ariobarzanes and the alliance seems to have ended during this period. After his death in 255 BC, his son Mithriadates II who was only a child, succeeded. The Galatians used the weakness of the kingdom to attack and raid as far as Amisos (Samsun). (Arslan, 2000: 75)

When Antiochus king of Seleucid died in 246 BC, Seleucus II became king and war broke out with Ptolemaios III, the Syrian king. During this struggle, Seleucus II gave the control of Anatolia to his brother Antiochus (Hierax). In 241 BC, the war ended but Antiochus (Hierax) claimed the kingship of Anatolia and this started a civil war known as “the two brothers’ war”.

The Galatians sided with Antiochus (Hierax) together with Mithriadates II and the battle took place around Ankara, resulting in victory for Antiochus (Hierax). However, the Galatians then broke up with Antiochus (Hierax), who allied with the king of Syria and they fought the Galatians near Ephesus. Antiochus (Hierax) won and an alliance was signed, which is the first treaty in their history on a state level. (Kaya, 2000: 47-48)

It is interesting that in 220 BC, Attalus King of Pergamon, who defeated the Galatians and became ‘Soter’, planned a campaign against Pisidia and Pamphylia.

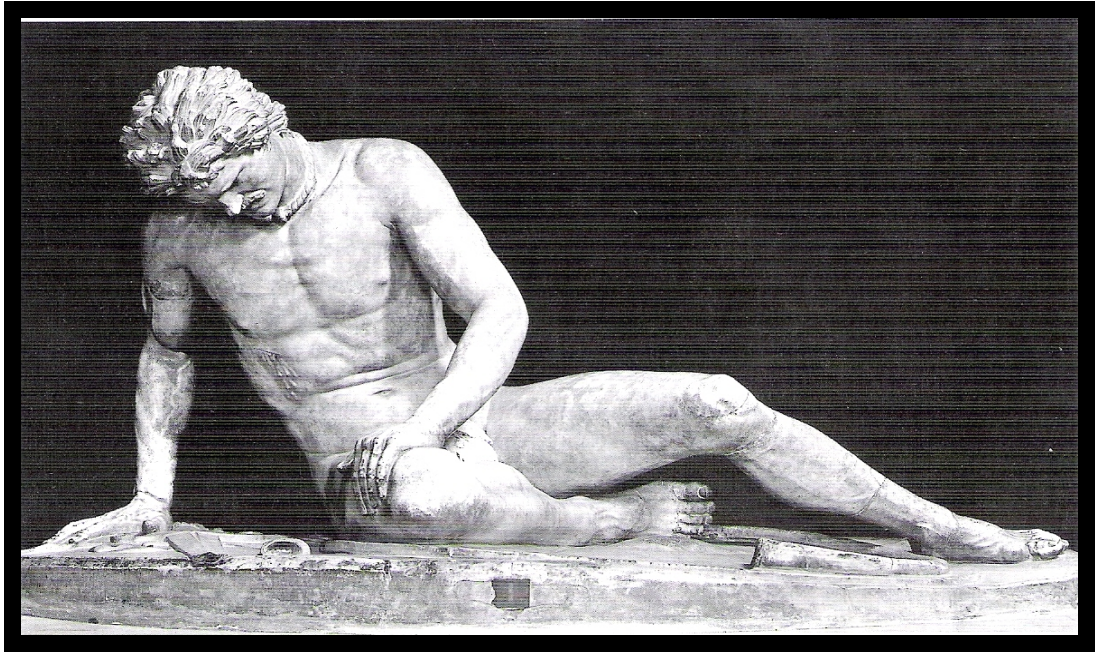


Figure 4.4 The dying Gaul (Cunliffe 1997)



Figure 4.5 From the round Monument of Athena at Pergamon (Cunliffe 1997)

In this campaign, he hired a Celtic group from Thrace as mercenaries, since the Kingdom of Tylis had collapsed in 218 BC. They were called the Aigosagi and eventually they settled in Alexandria Troas (Old Troy) in the area of Hellespontus, which Attalus had shown for them to settle. (Kaya, 2000: 50-51) During this period Attalus began to establish good political relations with the Romans, for whom this was a critical time-around 215 BC, as Hannibal was on the threshold of Rome. The high priests in Rome announced that the only way to stop Hannibal invading Rome was to bring the cult of Great Mother, Cybele, which was in Pessinus in Anatolia. Pessinus was within the boundaries of Galatia but it was governed independently and the priests were from the aristocratic class. The letter of Attis (high priest of Cybele) written to Attalus complaining about his brother who was a Galatian tetrarch, confirms that some of the Galatians were worshipping the Phrygian Great Mother Cybele and her priests were known to be spell-makers. The Pergamene king Attalus agreed to help the Romans and a consul from Rome took the cult from Pessinus, and the Galatians seemingly did not intervene in this procedure. (Lequenne, 1991: 65-73; Ünal, 2003: 50-53) By 204 BC, Rome had won and Hannibal had to flee, first taking refuge with Philippos V and then with Antiochus, who had become the ally of the Cappadocian king. (Arslan, 2000: 91) In 191/0, BC Antiochus III went to Greece to fight with the Romans but was defeated and forced to return to Anatolia. Then he obtained the support of the Bithynians but the Romans followed him. The Galatian Tolistobogii tetrarch Ortiagon (husband of Chiroma) tried to establish a united Galatian Kingdom and confronted the Romans at Magnesia (Manisa) in 190 BC. The Romans were victorious but the Galatians had fought very hard and they were the only important force to challenge the Romans in this war. (Kaya, 2000: 54; Lequenne, 1991: 77)

4.2.3 Galatians after Roman Interaction (189 BC -86 BC)

In 189 BC, the new consul Manlius Vulsus arrived in Anatolia and declared war without Rome's permission. Although the exact route is not known, according to Livy he marched through Apameia (Dinar), Metropolis (Tatarlı), Synnada (Şuhut), Beudos and Anabura (Enez), and camped around Abbasium (Göme). When he arrived in Gordion, it had been abandoned. The Galatian tetrarch Eposagnates tried

to persuade the Galatians to agree to peace but failed. (Kaya, 2000: 58-59) The Trocmii in the northeast left their families in the care of the Tectosages at Magaba (Elmadağ) before joining the Tolistobogii, who left their families at Olympos (Aladağ). The Galatian leaders were Ortiagon, Combolomaros, and Gaulotos. The Roman and Galatian armies met at Mount Olympos. Although the Galatians fought bravely they were defeated, and the women and children who tried to escape were either killed or captured by the Romans. One of the captured women was Chiomara, the wife of Ortiagon. She later returned safely to Ortiagon, proudly bringing the head of the Roman commander who had raped her. (Lequenne, 1991: 82-85) Meanwhile, the Tectosages tried to gain time in order to position themselves on the other side of the Halys. They sent a delegate claiming that they wished to negotiate, and planned to trap the Roman group but they escaped. They then confronted the Romans at Mount Magaba, but again were defeated and most of them were killed.

Those that survived did so because of the treasure they abandoned. (Lequenne, 1991: 86; Kaya, 2000: 64) The conditions for peace laid out by the Romans forced Antiochus III to withdraw to the Taurus and pay indemnity for twelve years. Hannibal was to be surrendered to the Romans and the hostages were to be released. The Galatians were the only group who did not respond to these conditions. (Lequenne, 1991: 78) Although Pergamon had become the most important kingdom in Anatolia, King Eumenes II was not happy with the result. When the Bithynian King Prusias II and the Galatians were forced to surrender their land to the Pergamene King Eumenes II according to the Apameia agreement, they refused and war broke out between them. The Galatians supported Bithynia but the Pergamon king won and again gained the title of 'Soter'. (Kaya, 2000: 66) Galatia became a dependency of Pergamon. In 182 BC, the two Galatian leaders Cassignatos and Gaezatorix agreed that Pharnaces I, king of Pontus and his army could pass through Galatia. This angered Eumenes II, so he sent his brother Attalos to Rome but did not receive the reply he desired. Eumenes II won the battle against Pharnaces I near Parnassus in 179 BC, and secured his domination of the Galatians. (Arslan, 2000: 118-119) In 168 BC, political change brought the Romans to the Galatians' aid and thus assured them the independence of their community. Through these events, the history of the Asian Celts became merged with that of the Romans, with the Celts

fighting on behalf of their new allies during the war against King Mithriadates V, who was killed in 120 BC. His successor was only a child and the Romans took the opportunity to separate Great Phrygia from the Kingdom of Pontus. (Kaya, 2000: 78)

4.2.4 New Social Structure Established in the 86 BC- 25 BC Period

The Galatian political constitution was Celtic/European rather than Anatolian, in spite of the strong Hellenistic-Anatolian influences. (Darbyshire, Mitchell, Vardar, 2000) According to Strabo, their social structure was based on the division into three tribes, which shared the Celtic language in Anatolia during the 1st century at the latest. They were further divided into four sections calling themselves ‘tetrarchies’, each having their own tetrarch with a judge and military commander subordinate to the tetrarch. These core groups were traditionally fixed identity, bearing and conveying unions, shown by the fact that the three migrating groups did not merge into a unified whole in the process of the ethno-genesis emerging from settlement in definite territories and which gave rise to the Galatian tribes. The subgroups or tetrachies followed the ancient pattern of internally subdividing Celtic people, each group having its own independent political structure. Together with these 12 tetrarchs, there were the 183 kin groups headed by noblemen as additional supporters of lineage. (Strobel, 2002: 6-7) Political organisation was at the level of the Galatian federation of states and was composed of the council of the twelve tetrarchs. This included three hundred men, according to the traditional group of one hundred. They all assembled at the place called ‘Drynemeton’ a Celtic word meaning ‘a sacred grove of oaks’, which was the main location for tribal gathering and was also the religious sanctuary of this federation, although its location has not yet been discovered. (Strabo, xii.v.i) (Mitchell, 1995: 27) This meeting formed a kind of collective judicature where death sentences were passed, while all types of judiciary matters were settled by the tetrarchs and judges. (Strabo, xii.v.i)

The question of whether this social and political organization was a characteristic of pre-migratory tradition brought with them from Europe, or a form of structure which developed after they settled in Anatolia is currently being debated. There is no record of the system of tetrarchs at the time of the invasion of Galatia by Manius Vulsus in

189 BC. According to Mitchell (1995: 27) gradual contact with Greek cities and Roman social systems in Celtic Europe may have stimulated the development from a loose tribal grouping ruled by a warrior aristocracy into the structured society of the tetrarchial organization. The existence of enclosures in central Europe similar to *Drynemeton* which functioned as public and sacred meeting places is a strong indication that this social organization was already part of the tribal tradition prior to migration to Anatolia. Strobel maintains that the Galatians were not nomadic, unsettled people until the end of the 3rd or even the 2nd century BC. The fort hillside at Karakasu near Bolu has a necropolis assigned to the Galatian princes, and is the original focal point of the Tolistobogii tetrarchy up to around 179 BC. This shows that settlement and social organization was part of the Galatian way of life by this period. (Strobel, 2002: 34-35)

Mitchell stated that nothing is known of their social and political structure at that period except that there was a system which prevented any despot from exerting supreme sovereignty. However in 86 BC, Mithriadates VI invited all the Galatian tetrarchs to a feast, where most of them were murdered and only three escaped, one of them being Deiotarus. This caused a transformation in the Galatian leadership as Deiotarus tried to unit the areas of the original tetrarchs into one kingdom and an aristocracy emerged which was almost completely Hellenized. (Mitchell, 1995: 29) He also became allied to the Romans and supported all activities in and around Anatolia. In recognition of all his efforts, the Roman consul recognized him as a 'king' in 59 BC, but the following year Brogitaros was also awarded the same title. Strabo stated that with this arrangement, Deiotarus became king of the Tolistobogii and Brogitaros, his son-in-law became king of the Trocmi. (Arslan, 2000: 155) In 50 BC, Brogitaros died and Deiotarus saw this as an opportunity to invade the kingdom of the Trocmi. During the civil war between Caesar and Pompeius, the Tectosages tetrarchs Castor and Domnilaos supported Pompeius. After Caesar's victory, Deiotarus became the most powerful king. On returning to Rome, Caesar was hosted by Deiotarus in both Blucium and Peion. However, Castor and his son Castor (grandson of Deiotarus) accused Deiotarus of planning to kill Caesar during the visit to Deiotarus' forts. (Arslan, 2000: 160-164) In revenge, Deiotarus killed Castor and his own daughter in their royal palace at Gorbeus (Oğulbey). (Arslan, 2000: 165) In

order to defend Deiotarus, his friend Cicero made his famous speech in Rome. After the death of Caesar, Antonius gave the kingdom of Paphlagonia to the Tectosage Castor's son Castor. After the death of Deiotarus around 40 BC, Castor became king for a short time but he died in 36 BC and Amyntas (Celt with a Greek name), Deiotarus' commander, became king of Galatia. The provinces which had originally been controlled by Rome under governors were, in the latter period of Roman domination, returned to the Galatians under Amyntas and other native rulers. The Galatians thus ruled almost all of central Anatolia during this period.

After the death of Amyntas in 25 BC, Galatia became a Roman province, becoming directly involved in the disturbances occurring in the high command in Rome. (Mansuelli, 1991: 19) Therefore, there were different stages in their administrative structure. All that is known is that the aristocracy especially had adopted the Hellenistic way of life by the end of the 1st century BC. The general population mixed with the native people of the area especially through marriage, but also continued their own way of life and language.

4.3 Galatia and Galatians

A change in Galatian social formation took place over three centuries. The problem of difference in space and time is encountered once again. The most documented periods are labeled as Hellenistic and Roman periods, but the time of initial emergence of the Galatian, settlement is not clear. The burials with weapons may show that there is a similarity with La Tène Europe, but at the same time, there are many differences in the archaeological material between Galatia and Europe. It is unclear from the documentation how the settlement size changed and what type of functions they accommodated. This information will potentially emerge from future excavations. However, by indicating the sites already reported, it is possible to obtain their spatial distribution and determine whether there is any distributed pattern or correlation between them. Therefore, in this thesis there is also an attempt to analyze the network between the sites.

By evaluating the artifact distribution, the results may bring to light what sort of spatial distribution they had, their social scale, their relations with sites, and whether they had any extended relations with outsiders. From the results, it is hoped to draw the outline of the political structure as well as the social and cultural structures, economic relations, trade and social organizations. This will eventually enable an extrapolation of the settlement pattern of the Galatians. The lack of documentation and excavation has limited the amount of data, which is essential in order to answer all these points, but the distributions of sites according to each other and to the trade roads have been analyzed.

4.3.1 The Boundaries of Galatia

The boundaries of the Galatian region in Anatolia show great variation according to the periods, as the Galatians have sometimes expanded and at other times lost most of their land. Not many useful aids such as boundary stones survive and their spread is often open to question, so precise limits are difficult to define.

In general, the region which Nicomedes presented to the Celts included the area within the large bend of the river Sangarius, and Galatia was bordered by the K rođlu mountains with the Bithynian Empire to the northwest, the southern limits of Paphlagonia or the kingdom of Gangra-Çankırı, (the basin of Krateia/Gerede and the country of the Galatian tetrarch Gaezatorix) and the fortifications in southern Paphlagonia in the north, the Great Salt Lake and Pisidia in the south can be attributed to the Galatians. Mitchell (1974 a) pointed out that there is no indication of the border between Galatia and Paphlagonia along the course of the Halys river and stated that the Galatians may also have exerted their influence on this area outside their official boundaries. Matthews (1998: 247) stated that there is at least one hill fort site in the south Çankırı region. Sipahi and Yıldırım (2002: 279) stated that, in the east of the Bey z  Kale in Çorum, so-called Galatian pottery has been found. Czichon (1999: 59) also reported that, around Halil Baba near Bođazk y, ‘Galatian’ pottery has been found although Seeher (1995) stated that only very few pieces from the Galatian period have been identified. Strobel regarded the Kerkenes fort of Mithridates and Aliřar  adır as the eastern boundary on the border of Cappadocia.

(Strobel, 2000: 27, 29) Podanalı (Kuşaklı) could be the southeastern boundary. The Amorium located at Hergan Kale near Hamza Hacılı formed the southern boundary of Galatia. (Mitchell, 1974a: 398) Strobel states that Ortakışla was the southern limit of the Tolistobogii. (Strobel, 2002: 31) Even though Yaraşlı lies within the boundary in this case, there is no clear evidence for this, so it may be a northern border settlement. Gümüşçü, Hacıbey lies northeast of Gangra, which is at present regarded as the northern boundary but a more detailed analysis is necessary. Odunboğazı in the south could be the boundary if Parnassus is on Cappadocian land. In the south west, Çanakçı borders on great Phrygia in Axylos (Strobel 2002 35) and Pessinus is within Galatian territory but it had an independent government. The western border was defined by Orciatum, which lay in the middle of Galatia Phrygiae. (Mitchell, 1974a: 398) The northwest boundary of the province lay along the Girmir Çay. The Juliopolis must have been located at or near Seriler Köprü over Aladağ çayı, near its junction with the Sakarya river, and therefore Galatian territory began a few miles east. (Mitchell, 1974a: 415)

The area is bounded on the east by the range of hills north and south of Axylos (Ayaş) and in the south by the valley of the Ankara River. (Mitchell, 1974a: 415) An indication that the boundary ran as far north as Kızılcahamam was the presence of a cult of Zeus Souolibrogenos in that area and the southwestern boundary ran along the Sakarya river. (Mitchell, 1974) Even after solving the problem of the general boundary of Galatia, the land was then subdivided within the boundaries. As stated previously, according to the classical texts, the land given to the Galatians was divided between the three tribes; (Figure 4.6) the Tolistobogii, Tectosages, and Trocmii.

The Tolistobogii occupied the large area to the west of the Sangarius bend with the urban centre of Gordion, and according to Strobel. (2002: 17) Topraklı (Andros) was the eastern boundary of the Tolistobogii; the Tectosages had the central strip which extended between the Gorges on the Halys east of Ancyra to beyond the river basin of Kırıkkale, and the Trocmii occupied the east Galatian area within the Halys bend, concentrating on the old fertile land. The main settlement in the area was Tavium. Darbyshire-Mitchell (1999: 166, 181, 184) stated that the Tectosagian area extended southwards to include parts of Pisidia in the 1st century BC and that the entire

northern part of Galatia was Tolistobogian and finally, the fortifications in southern Paphlagonia can be attributed to the Galatians. Strobel stated that Parnassus was a place in Cappadocia (Pol. 24, 14, 8) and there were no Trocmian sites further north than Çorum. (Strobel, 2002: 6)

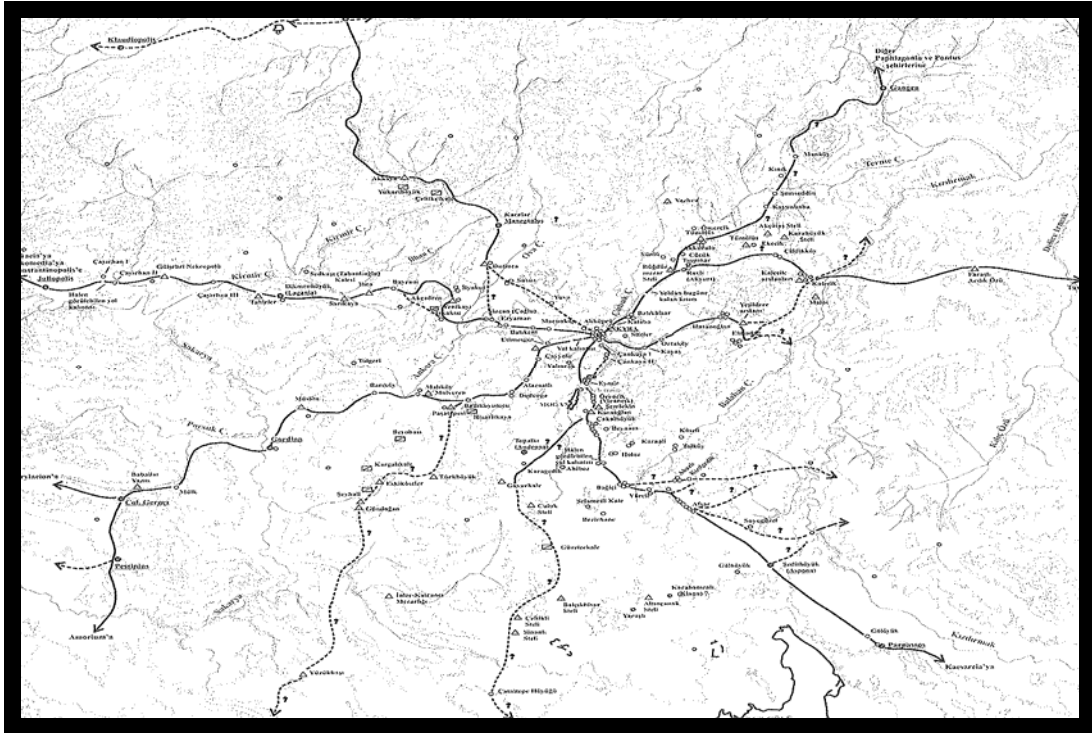


Figure 4.6 Roman Routes around Ankara (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, Özsoy, 2005)

During the 2nd or 1st century BC, the Tectosages had probably also extended south into the Proseilemene, ‘the added land’ including parts of Lykaonia, and possibly into parts of Pisidia. Northern and western Galatia was the territory of the Tolistobogii; to the north of Pessinus their land stretched west across the Sangarius, on both sides of the Tembris (Tembrogius) river (the modern Porsuk), to Phrygia Epictetus. At one period, their lands to the south probably spread to or bordered the Çile Dağı, as this is believed to be the ancient Mount Olympus, where the Romans defeated the Tolistobogii in 189 BC. (Darbyshire, Mitchell, Vardar, 2000: 79)

4.3.2 The Main Routes in Galatia

Galatia was a region whose importance was due to its location on the main east-west Anatolia trade routes and Ancyra was located at the crossroad of these main routes. The roads have been traced according to the milestones referred to by Macpherson, French and Mitchell, and Sanson's map was compared with the Peutinger table. Some of the main trade routes were the famous Persian road or Royal Road passing through Pessinus, Gordion, Ancyra and Tavium, the Ancyra to Pontus road and the Pilgrims' Road. According to the Peutinger table, the Pilgrims' Road described by Bordeaux (333 AD) passed through Constantinople and Ancyra to Jerusalem. The Pilgrims' road passed through Juliopolis, which was the last point before entering Galatia, crossing the Hyrcan River to Lagina/Agonnia, then on to Ipetobrogis, Mazania, Managordum, Cenoxepolis and eventually arriving in Ancyra. It was the natural line of communication between Nicomedia and Ancyra. From Ancyra, the road continued to Delenina, Gorbeus, Rotoloiacum, Aliassus, Aspona, Andrapa on the border between Cappadocia and Galatia, then headed to Parnassus. (Figure 4.6) (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, Özsoy, 2005: 98) This route can also be followed in the map drawn by Sanson in 1652. (Appendix A)

Along the roads are points at which bridges are found. Two are found on the Pilgrims' Road and another, known as Çandırköprü not far west of Pessinus, must have carried a road coming from the south. Perrot (cited in Macpherson, 1954: 112) proposed that this was on the line of Manlius' march into Galatia. The Sangarius river must have presented many problems and there are no material remains to show the exact points of crossing. However, the directions of the roads are useful for showing the areas where the bridges must have been built. The Dorylaeum to Ancyra road must have crossed the Sangarius close to Gordion. Traces of this road were found east of Colonia Germa near Babadat. Hamilton recorded a milestone in Mülk, a village through which the road must have continued towards Vindia (Celtic name for Gordion). (Macpherson, 1954: 112)

The Halys was the other major barrier to west-east communication in Galatia and there were two crossing-points; one at Yahşihan where the road passes eastwards from Ankara to Tavium, and the other called Çeşnir Köprü built by Seljuks.

Macpherson noted remains of ancient road surfaces beyond the village of Mülk, and there are three other places in Galatia where traces of ancient road surfaces have been noted. These are Ahıboz and Şedit Höyük on the southeast segment of the Pilgrims' Road from Nicomedia to Ancyra, and near Balıkhisar on the south east edge of the Çubuk Ovası on the road between Ancyra and Gangra. (Macpherson, 1954: 112)

In the Galatian territory passing through Toloscorium, (Appendix A) there is another road indicated in the Peutinge table which runs south east from Pessinus across the central plain (Tolastohara) (Mitchell, 1974a: 397) and the site is also included by Ptolemy in the territory of the Tolistobogii. Anderson located Toloscorium approximately midway between the Sakarya River and the Çelik Köy near Gökpinardere. (Mitchell, 1974: 398)

Routes of communication are determined mostly by natural conditions. It is certain that the Royal Road led east from Ancyra straight to Tavium, being verified by the milestones recorded by Macpherson (1954: 112). (Figure 4.7) Several more milestones have been discovered along the main routes of the ancient roads. The line of the Ancyra-Gangra-Pontus road can be more accurately defined because of the new milestones recorded in Çubuk Ovası, Buğduz, Balık Hisar, Akyurt, Şemsettin Köy, Koyunbaba, and Martköy. (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, Özsoy, 2005: 100-101; Erzen, 1946, 31-32) These milestones provide confirmation of the thorough reconstruction of roads in Anatolia in the 1st century AD. (Macpherson, 1954; 113) This is strong evidence that the roads must have existed previously in Galatian times, indicating that they were in control of trade routes throughout the region.

On the Pilgrims' Road towards Juliopolis, (today, the main road that runs to the Emir Yunus ruins) milestones were found at Emir Yaman (Eryaman), Irkaksı Stream, Bayram Köy, Macun Köy, Virancık, Köseli and Yörelî. (Macpherson 1954) Continuing to the east, the road runs through Parnassus (today, Parlasan). Milestones

were found around Çamlıkaya (Çankaya), Örencik, Beynam, Karaali, Ahiboz, Afşar, Sedithöyük, and Parnassus. (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, Özsoy, 2005: Map 22) The Royal road from Ancyra to Tavium (Büyüknefes Köy) has milestones in Hasanoğlan, Büyüknefes Köy, Kayaş Bahçesi, Ortaköy and Asi Yozgat (modern Elmadağ)(Macpherson,1954), indicating that it passed through Bolegasgus, Sarmalius, Ecobrigis, and Adapera. (Appendix A and Figure 4.7) Milestones on the Royal Road that runs from Ancyra to Pessinus (in the north of Balıkhisar today) and Sar Höyük, were found to the north of Eskisehir in Alacaaltı, Balıkuyumcu, Mülk, Germa and Vinda (Gordion). (Aydın, Emiroğlu, Türkoğlu, Özsoy, 2005: Map 22)

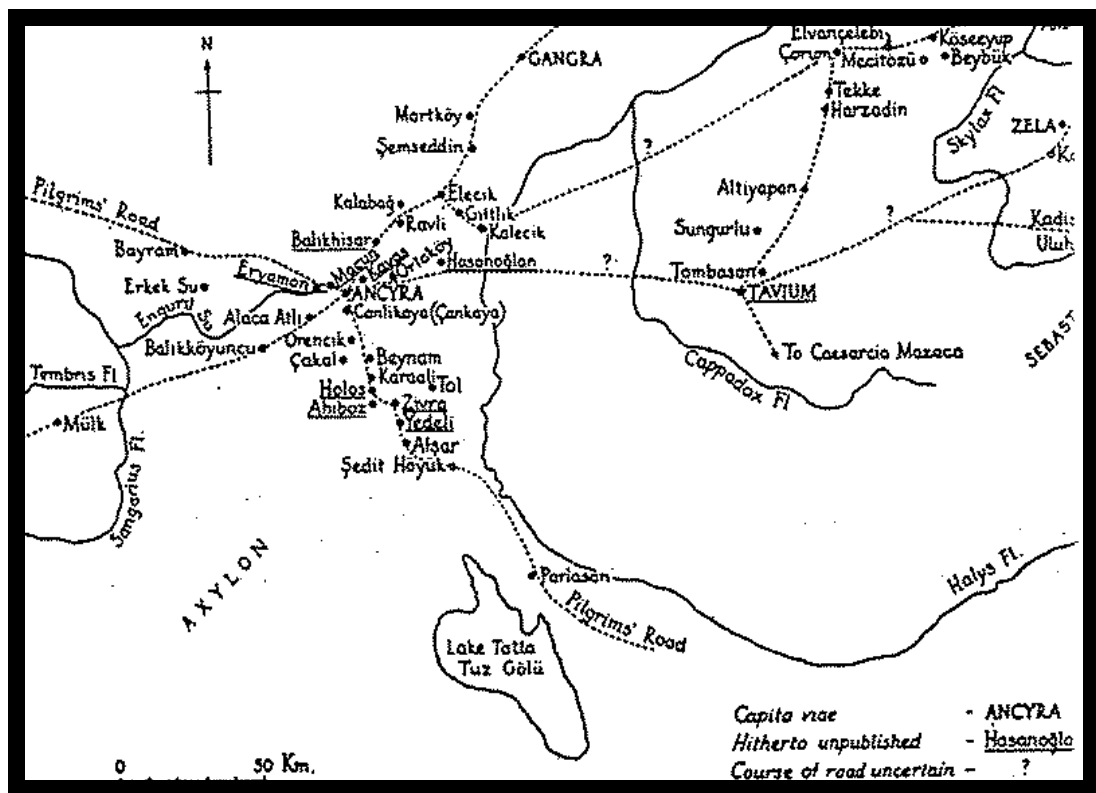


Figure 4.7 Roman Routes in Galatia (Macpherson, 1954)

From these milestones recorded by Macherson, the approximate routes can be drawn as follows:

The Pilgrims Road: (Juliapolis to Ancyra) passing through; 1. Eryaman, 2. Bayram Köy, (Macpherson, 1954: 113) 3. Macun Köy, 4. Örencik, 5. Köseli, (Macpherson, 1954: 114) 6. Yörelî, (Macpherson, 1954: 115) 7a. Ahiboz, 7b. Holoz, (Macpherson, 1954: 120)

The Ancyra-Tavium portion of the Royal Road: 8. Hasanođlan, (Macpherson, 1954: 115) two in Hasanođlan Street of the Köy Enstitüsü, 9-10-11. Hasanođlan, (Macpherson, 1954: 116) 12. Büyük Nefes Köy, (Tavium) 13. Kayaş Bahçesi, (Macpherson, 1954: 117) 14-15-16, Asi Yozgat (Elmadađ)

The Ancyra-Pontus Road: 17. Buđduz, (Macpherson, 1954: 118) 18-19. Balıkhisar, (Macpherson, 1954: 119)

It is significant to note that some of these place names are possibly Celtic place names. These are, Vinda (Gordion), Bolegasgus, Sarmalius, Ecobrigis, Gorbeus, Orsolograco and Ipetobrogis. (Aydın, Emirođlu, Türkođlu, Özsoy, 2005: 97) This supports the assumption that these roads were in use during the Galatian period.

4.4 The Archaeological Evidence of Galatia

In the surveys, neither the size of the settlements nor location of specific forms of ceramics have been reported or identified carefully. This is one of the main handicaps encountered. For this reason, neither a picture of the hierarchic structure nor of the population size can be drawn from this information. However, an attempt has been made to identify the Galatian sites occupied during the period of Galatians rule.

4.4.1 Archaeological Findings in Galatia from the La Tène Period in Europe

Galatian arrival in Anatolia corresponds to the period of La Tène B in Europe, which is why La Tène or similar style finds would be expected in Galatia where they settled. However, the archaeological findings are scarce and only a few La Tène type artifacts have been found to date, most of them being located outside the Galatian

region. Fibulae and rings were found in Boğazköy, Kuşsaray, Karacaköy, Ankara, and the Eskişehir environment. Fibulae which have been found dating from the 3rd-2nd century BC, around the period when they arrived in Anatolia, are not in the Galatian area but in the regions where they raided or probably fought as mercenaries around Çanakkale, Pergamon, Priene, Mersin, Adıran, Pazarcık, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri and Sinop, which confirms that they did not settle in Galatia as soon as they arrived in Anatolia. A gold buckle was found in Karalar, known as the royal fort of Diotarus, and a La Tène type torque in Taşoluk-Hıdırsihlar, (Darbyshire and Mitchell, 1999: 86) while only 4 La Tène style arm/leg rings have been found in Anatolia. A twisted-gold-ring ornament, which probably dates from the 2nd century BC, was found in the tumulus at Taşoluk/Hıdırsihlar. (Figure 4.8) (Darbyshire and Mitchell, 1999: 173) A ‘Hohlbuckel’ ring dating from the first half of the 3rd century BC was discovered in Finike. (Strobel, 2002: 24) These articles may have been brought during the migration, treasured as family heirlooms, and used as burial goods in the 2nd century BC.

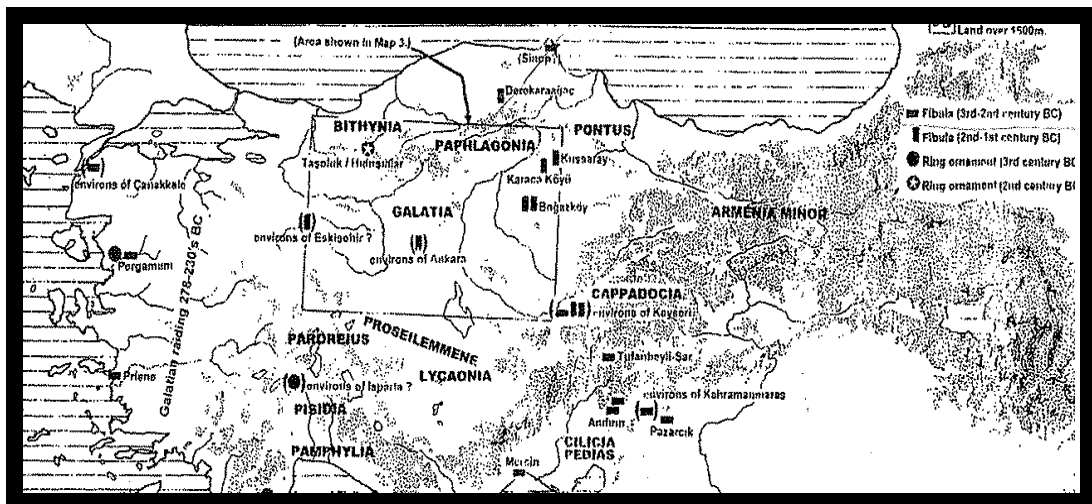


Figure 4.8 La Tène type findings in Anatolia (Darbyshire and Mitchell, 1999)

The Tolistobogii, whose territory adjoined that of Pessinus, adopted the Cybele religious cult, and the pottery figurines of the goddess Cybele in Gordion with the painted torques are evidence of this assimilation into Celtic tradition with the

goddess Galatianized in a classical manner. (Strobel, 2002: 10, 23) A piece of a male terracotta figurine was found in the Galatian layers of pre-189 BC Gordion, having a three-dimensional torque. In addition, a handle attachment depicting a man's head with the characteristic Celtic hairstyle is an example of locally made tableware in the Hellenistic style. The hair band, belt, and clothing were painted, while the torque was painted on at a later date. (Strobel, 2002: 23) Very little La Tène material evidence has been found, most material culture seems to be Hellenistic, but on iconography, the hairstyle remains Celtic and the torques painted on the goddess Cybele and the typical weapons are indications of their existence.

A unique type of painted polychrome fine ware, so-called Galatian ware, was identified in Tavium and Boğazköy, Chemical analyses reveal two centers of production dated as Late Phrygian pottery. Although some show Hellenistic influences, the majority are very simple, large-diameter beakers, bowls and dishes. This type of pottery is thought to have been made between early 3rd century BC and early 1st century AD and developed from the painted Iron Age pottery tradition in the Halys bend. In the late Iron Age, the specific characteristics of this centre were widespread-from Merzifon to Cappadocia. This painted pottery existed immediately before classical so-called Galatian ware. Old motives were continued and the painted polychrome strips element was added in the 3rd century, which was also the time when it was found as a new element in pre-189 BC Gordion. (Strobel, 2002: 28-29) This proves that the traditional technology of Anatolia was used by the Galatians but with some identifiable differences.

The Celtic names on the houses built in the early Hellenistic period show that the site was occupied during the Galatian times. A 3rd century abstract stone sculpture of a head on a pillar-like neck has been found which shows parallel characteristics with Central European Hallstatt D and Early La Tène stone sculpture carvings. This seems to be another example of a La Tène style sculpture in Gordion as well as the alabaster figurine of a lion originally painted in red ochre. This is clearly related to the cult of Cybele, being unrelated to Hellenistic art style, and resembles the depictions of lions in the Early and Middle La Tène periods. No La Tène style fibula has been recorded in Gordion but instead Phrygian fibulae are common. The iron

armlet (Inv. ILS 94 cited in Strobel, 2002: 22) is considered to have a relation to La Tène style.

The representations of weapons dating from the La Tène period are the only evidence of La Tène traditions of the Galatians; helmets of eastern Celtic types, chain mail with shoulder pieces, long oval shields with thickened ribs and bosses being characteristic of the La Tène culture. In addition, the war horns and two-wheeled chariots with which the elite warriors drove into battle are also specific to this culture. In Gordion, an iron armlet is associated with La Tène style. (Strobel, 2002: 23)

Mitchell argues that Galatian sites tended to be located in isolated positions outside the chief agricultural areas far from the major roads, although they could be reached easily. The strongholds were nearly enough to their sources of food, although the chieftains lived in secluded and secure locations. (Mitchell, 1974a: 426) The occupation must have continued but no indications of their settlements in the valleys have been found, possibly due to lack of exploration. (Mitchell 1974a: 427) It is traditionally assumed that Galatians were nomads, but they arrived in Anatolia in order to settle, as the Tectosages name indicates. They were engaged in trade and there is evidence that they were also involved in the slave trade. Their relation to these roads may have been mainly to control the route, but they obviously must also have been active in trading activities.

It can be seen that changes in the settlement patterns during different periods could reflect the changes in the structure of the society. The importance of the settlement pattern lies in the information, it can supply for determining the territorial organization of social and political structure around the centers. The organization of the settlement pattern will often have a high correlation with the organization of the society which created it. The hierarchy among settlements is determined from the size of the surrounding area with which it has exchange of certain goods and services. The size indicates the complexity of the society and the simpler settlements have a narrow range of variation in the number of towns, villages and hamlets which it comprises and reflect a simple society. Obviously, the frequency of the various factors will be in direct proportion to their size, having more hamlets than towns.

This clearly shows that the size, type and layout of a settlement is important in the study of settlement patterns together with careful and detailed documentation. Furthermore, in any analysis the sites should be occupied during the same period. Mapping is the key to accurate recording of the survey data. The surface features and site distributions provide important information concerning the character of the settlement.

In order to define the settlement pattern of the Galatia, the settlements have been classified into four groups;

- main settlements
- forts
- villages
- farms and hamlets.

However, as can be seen in the following discussion, the size of the forts and settlements are not clear. The information regarding the sites, period of the materials and the distribution of the artifacts are very incomplete. Therefore, further excavations and intensive surveys are necessary in order to derive a comprehensive settlement pattern.

4.4.2 The Settlement Pattern of Galatia

It is generally accepted that the Celts did not produce great *oppida* in Anatolia like those in Gaul and southern Britain. The *oppidum* in Gaul is dated to after 200 BC when the Celts of that region were starting to develop urban communities and culture, which developed into states after this period. Their arrival in Anatolia however was earlier and the lack of such settlements in Galatia indicates that they remained tribal until king Mithridates murdered the tetrarchs in 86 BC. (Strobel, 2002) Maggie concluded that the development of cities was not an important factor for the Galatian tribesmen since they lived mostly in and around their forts, dominating the villages, which they possessed. (Maggie, 1950: 455) In Galatia, there

were settlements which resembled forts controlling the major part of the country. (Mitchell, 1995: 84-85)

The main settlements were Tavium, Ancyra (around Ulus), Vinda (Celtic name for Gordion), Pessinus, Ekkobriga (again a Celtic place name), Hattuşa (Boğazköy-Büyükale), Podanala (Kuşaklı), Alishar at the border of Cappadocia, Tikmen (Örenköy-Beyazkaya) and Ceskale (north-west of Yozgat). The main Galatian forts were Tabanoğlu (Peium), Karalar (Blukion), Somanhisar (Karacakaya), Çanaklı, Yenikayı, Basri, Dikmenkale, Çanlı, Sirkeli, Güzelcekale, Oğulbey (Castor's location of Gorbeous), Hisarlıkaya, Balıkuyumcu, Odunboğazı, Taşlıkale, Ceritkale, Tizke, Tahirler, Çağlık (Çağlayık), Akçaören and Edige. Many sites also had pre-Galatian settlement patterns and most of them were influenced by the Hellenistic and Roman structures, which indicate that there was continuity in the sites. It is unknown what changes took place in these sites as a result of the Galatian invasion. However, from the evidence it seems that they combined the native settlement pattern with their way of life. The forts have been classified by Darbyshire, Mitchell and Vardar (2000: 91-93) in accordance to the type of defense construction plans, differing according to the shape; having a simple D shaped, triangular, square or polygonal form and having single or double enclosures with or without bastions. Since there is no documentation regarding the period in which the walls or structures were built, a Galatian period cannot be determined by this classification because some of the fort forms are from the era after the Roman occupation. Generally, the plans of the forts depend more on adapting to the geographic conditions rather than using a specific plan or type. Their high location and walls without mortar may be characteristics of Galatian settlements but it cannot be specifically stated that these characteristics only applied to the Galatians. Because the Galatian period falls within that of the Hellenistic period and is identified in the archaeological records as Hellenistic, only the settlements of the Hellenistic period are considered in this thesis. However, the question, which Bulgaria and Vassileva (1998: 15) ask, must be borne in mind; 'should all the Hellenistic tombs be associated with Celts?' Galatian settlements are those which were occupied during the period that the Galatians ruled the area and cannot be separated clearly from those of the Phrygians who were their predecessors in the area or the Hellenes who were the dominating cultural people in Anatolia

during that period. This may be regarded as an example of a complex of continuity with the previous cultures together with some of their original Celtic characteristic and the effects of the neighboring cultures.

There are also the residential strongholds of the tetrarchs. These are always located in naturally defendable sites on rocky outcrops or mountain peaks dominating a large area of fertile land and they have also been built according to a diverse cultural mixture of styles and techniques (for example, Hittite, Urartian, Phrygian, Hellenistic) nurtured on Anatolian soil and which could be loosely termed an Anatolian tradition of fortresses and fortified residences at least after the second half of the 2nd century BC. (Strobel, 2002: 32-33)

Residences of the tetrarchs of the Tectosages included the strongholds of Sirkeli for the northern tetrarch, Oğulbey/Gorbeus the residence where Deiotarus killed Castor and his daughter, Güzelcekale for the south western and Odunboğazı for the southeastern tetrarch. (Strobel, 2002: 35) The residences and strongholds for the Tolistobogii tetrarchs are Tabanoğlu (Peion treasury of Deiotarus) and Karalar (Blukion, the residence of Deiotarus), Yenikaya and Çanıllı. Strobel (2002: 35) also notes that the first stronghold for the Tolistobogii was Karacasu around the 3rd century BC, which later moved to Karahisar then Gordion up to 189 BC and eventually Basrikale. (Strobel, 2002: 35) In the Tolistobogii and Tectosages tribes, it is possible to follow the political order developing out of major settlements and centers of power. (Strobel, 2002: 34) However, Trocmii territories in contrast are characterized by the taking over of major fortified settlements with citadels. (Strobel, 2002: 34) The Trocmii strongholds are Tavium, Ekkobriga, Ceritkale and Podanalı (Kuşaklı). Other than these settlements, there are forts. Ortakışla is at the southern limit of the Tolistobogii border and Strobel suggested that this is the Galatian fortress Cuballum. Yanlızçam, Çanakçı, and probably Büyükkale and Küçükkale because of their similarities with Yanlızçam were all royal forts. Apart from these, the other settlements had strategic strongholds, which controlled the important traffic routes such as Somon Hisar-Karacakaya, Taşlıkale-Selametli and Çanıllı-Asartepe. (Strobel, 2002: 31)

On the other hand, Mitchell argued that Galatian sites tended to be located in isolated positions outside the chief agricultural areas far from the major roads although they could be reached easily. The strongholds were near enough to their sources of food although the chieftains lived in secluded and secure locations. (Mitchell, 1974a: 426) The occupation must have continued but no indication of their settlements in the valleys has been found, possibly due to lack of exploration. (Mitchell 1974a: 427) It is traditionally assumed that Galatians were nomads, but they arrived in Anatolia in order to settle as the Tectosages name indicates. They were engaged in trade and there is evidence that they were also involved in the slave trade. Their relation to these roads may have been mainly to control the route but they obviously must also have been active in trading activities.

4.4.2.1 Sites

In this context, it may be appropriate to refer to the works by Mitchell, which are especially important as they traced the Galatians through several periods and gathered basic information on settlements, inscriptions, and social structure. Strobel supplied both general and specific information regarding Galatian settlement and social structure. The settlement surveys carried out in the Galatian region by Vardar were the basis for determining the settlement pattern.

Caesar classified the Gallic settlements into three:

- the *oppida*, (fortified settlements)
- *vici* (villages)
- *aedificia* (single farmsheads)

Although there are no *oppida* in Galatia, the settlements can also be classified in a similar way.

- The first group consists of settlements with fortification. Tavium, Gordion and Ulus/Ancyra are main fortified settlements. It can be seen that most of the settlements in this group are located on the major trade routes and were mostly

occupied before the Galatian arrival. The smaller settlements are in some cases adjacent to the forts or nearby agricultural lands.

- The second group comprises the settlements which are not been fortified and could be named as villages.
- A third group, which differs from Caesar's classification, is the forts having no evidence concerning the existence of any settlements nearby.
- Finally, farm sheds are the last group, although there are not many evidences of them not because of non-existence but the lack of surveys.

Initially, a review of the **main settlements** in Galatia **with forts** in the settlement pattern is given below. (The map derived from the mentioned information is stored digitally and in soft-copy form of the supervisor's copy of this thesis)

Hacituğrul-Hisartepe: This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region, at Polatlı, 1 km north east of Gordion. There may be a fort of 314 m² on a hill with a terrace of settlement around it. The ceramics are from the Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman, Late Ancient and Byzantine periods (Vardar, 2004: 9)

Kınık-Hamamdere: This settlement is located in the Trocmii region and is a large fortified site on a low hilltop on the Roman road from Ancyra to Claudiopolis and reaching southwards to the Hamamdere stream. The fortification built with massive blocks enclosed about 250 m² but the area outside the fortification to the south and west was also occupied. Within the fortified enclosure were extensive remains of building foundations and the site contained an abundance of Hellenistic and Byzantine pottery and tile fragments. The ancient village Girindos is now called Fethiye 5 km from the site. (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 26)

Tavium/Büyüknefes: (Figure 4.9) Tavium is located 20 km south of the Hattuşa in the Yozgat region overlooking Cappadocia. It is on the main trade road and at the time of highest occupation the settlement possibly covered 150 ha. The settlement was known as Tawinija in old Anatolian sources and was important in the Early Bronze Age. (Gerber, 2005: 85-87) Strabo (12.5.2) stated that this was the main settlement of the Trocmii after 274/3 BC, having a sacred shrine dedicated to the god Tessop, or Zeus (Tavianos) in Hellenistic times which was of supra-regional

importance and included the right of asylum. Strabo stated that it had a massive bronze statue of Tessop.

This urban settlement was also important as a trade centre and Galatian ceramic was made here. (Strobel, 2002: 7) During the Galatian period the settlement was smaller than in the Hittite times. Nine tumuli have been found near the area.



Figure 4.9 Tavium/Büyüknefes

Gordion: (Figure 4.10) It was an old Phrygian settlement occupied by a considerable number of Galatians. (Mitchell, 1974a: 435; Sams and Voigt, 1989) The time of the Galatian arrival is not clear, but it could have been relatively soon after the Tectosages tribe began raiding central Anatolia in 270 BC. (Sams and Voigt, 1998: 564) It has been suggested that the Roman name of Gordion was Vindia or Vinda, a name of Celtic origin. (French, 1998: 107)

There were three periods of occupation, the first was abandoned and then probably at the end of the 3rd century BC at the same time that the Galatians arrived, the construction of the second phase began. Again evidence points to a more violent end to this with abandonment, fires and looting which corresponds to the arrival of Manlius Vulsus in 189 BC. The third occupation began probably decades after this and it is thought that the inhabitants were Galatians who were wealthy and rebuilding was started once more. (Sams and Voigt, 1998: 564)



Figure 4.10 Gordion Fort

From the archaeological evidence obtained from the excavations, it becomes clear that the previously held concept of Galatians as a primitive nomadic community inhabiting a ‘village’ must be reconsidered. The earliest Galatian settlers at Gordion were both wealthy and ambitious. The erecting of a stone-walled, tile-roofed public building at Gordion illustrates this. The ongoing excavations at Gordion are revealing evidence of manufacturing and other activities at the site and although the overall character and extent of the Hellenistic settlement remain to be defined, the evidence demonstrates that pre-existing traditions of Anatolian architecture continued in the Galatian period: rectangular-plan buildings with stone-footed mud brick walls and roofs of thatch or tile.

The Galatian occupation at Gordion is equivalent to the late Hellenistic phase and there are two new monumental Galatian structures (Sams and Voigt, 1998: 562)

which Sams and Voigt (1998: 563) considers inferior technology. There are Galatian burials with broken necks which are interpreted as illustrating the Galatian custom of killing sacrificial victims by hanging or garrotting. (Sams and Voigt, 1995: 437) (Dandoy, Selensky, Voigt, 2002: 44-49) In contrast, Karl (2003) opposes the concept of ritual killing as being the explanation for these burials, maintaining that they could as easily have been the result of attacks during invasions, punishments of criminals or many other reasons. Moreover, the burial rites of European Celts are far from uniform and the rites of human sacrifice are only found west of the Rhine (La Tène) with many weapons in ‘sanctuaries’ dating between 300-50 BC.

In the example of Gordion, the Celts had migrated to the Balkans around 358 BC according to the classical writers and there were no such burial goods with the decapitated skeletons found in Gordion. Potteries excavated from the site have both Hellenistic and Galatian features but the ceramic tradition also shows continuity throughout the periods in spite of a change in techniques. The material extracted from the site contained Attic imports as well as local ware dating from earliest Hellenistic times up to the Galatian period. (Sams and Voigt, 1989: 374-375) The equipment found in a house dated before 189 BC (second phase; Galatian period) could be interpreted as that of an artisan who made and/or painted terracotta figurines. (Sams, Voigt, 1989: 683) From the chronology of the locally produced pottery the change in settlement pattern in the Galatian period of Gordion can be derived. (Sams and Voigt, 1998: 561)

Boğazkale/Hattuşa: This settlement is located in the Trocmii region, near Hattusa. This settlement was the largest fort in the Iron Age, but its size shrank during the Galatian period. (Gerber, 2005: 88)

Ekkobriga: (Figure 4.11) This settlement is recognized as one of the largest fortified settlement in the Trocmii region. It is located between Kalekişla and Faraşlı with several terraces cut into the hilltop. It is also one of the main settlements on Ancyra-Tavium road. Its name has a Celtic origin. The town in the lower part of the settlement is protected by a wall of small stones and earth with a ditch outside of it. There is also a second double wall with well cuts rocks. The settlement has been occupied from the early Bronze Age until the Byzantine times.



Figure 4.11 Two views from Kaletepe to Faraşlı river in region of Ekkobriga

Pessinus-Ballhisar: This temple state was located near mount Dindymus north of Sakarya. It was in the region controlled by the Galatians but was governed independently of Galatia in the Hellenistic period. This has been borne out in the classical literature, one in the letter by Attis (high priest of Cybele) written to Attalus complaining about his brother who was a Galatian tetrarch, (Lequenne, 1991: 89) another the ambassadors of the priests of Pessinus who met Manlius Vulsus on the banks of the Sangarius, before the battle in Galatia at 189 BC. (Lequenne, 1991: 81)

A large house with at least nine rooms was found dating to the first half of the 1st century BC. (Mitchell, 1974: 265; Halbelt 1994) The coin in the mouth of the dead illustrates a Hellenistic burial ritual. (Mitchell, 1974a: 105) Also further finds are the head of a terracotta-figure and several fine hairpins made of bone (Devreker, Vermeulen, 1992: 266) together with ceramics of Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman, and late Hellenistic styles. (Devreker, Vermeulen, 1992: 365) Animal remains from Hellenistic and Roman periods. (Devreker, Vermeulen, 1993: 75) Hellenistic pottery, (Devreker, Vermeulen, 1993: 78) walls and a small building are all dated to the 2nd-1st century BC. Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman potteries have been found at this site. (Devreker, Vermeulen, 1994: 463)

Ankara-Ulus: This is one of the main Galatian forts. From the excavations carried out in Ulus there were pottery, late Hellenistic cups and small terracotta horses found in almost every part of the Ankara site which should be dated to the 1st century BC-1st century AD and they are probably connected with Galatia.

The horse figurines were also found in the excavations during 1982-1986 in the Ankara Roman theatre (Temizsoy, Akalın, Arslan, Metin, 1996: 15) and are similar to the ones found in Alişar, Boğazköy, Ahlatlıbel, Kültepe and Alacahöyük (CCVII). (Arık, 1937)

A ring stone which has an anchor motif on the outer face and 10 skyphos handles with anchor motifs on them. (Temizsoy, Arslan, Akalın, 1996: 7) The anchor design is important because Strabo stated that Ankara was a Galatian fort (Strabo, xii.v.2) which legend tells was named by the Galatians after bringing an anchor from the battle in the Black Sea. Pausanius however claimed that the Phrygians were the founder of the city. (Pausanius, I.4.5) It would be reasonable for the name Ankara to be considered as having been used since the Galatians. (Temizsoy, Arslan, Akalın, 1996)

Many fairly good quality specimens of different ceramic styles have been found dating to the 1st century BC-1st century AD, and a late Hellenistic wall (Temizsoy, Arslan, Akalın 1996: 12-13) together with a late Hellenistic red-coated group of ceramics. These have been produced in only a few centres in Anatolia, such as Pergamon, Samos and Çandarlı. Their forms are either open or closed pots, although the pots that are found are similar to the 'Pergamene' style according to their dough lining and most of them are printed. (Temizsoy, Arslan, Akalın 1996: 14-15)

Peium-Tabanoğlu: (Figure 4.12) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region, This is a fort situated 2 km north of the Tabanoğlu farm in the Beypazarı region of Ankara. (Arslan, 2004) The area of the fort is 110 m² with a terrace just below the fort but still in a protected position, (Vardar, 1997) and the area reaches 1.63 ha. It is one of the Galatian strongholds named by Strabo as Deiotarus' treasury fortress. (XII.V.2) and archaeological evidence confirms this. The Tabanoğlu fort is the finest fortress of its period in Galatia. (Mitchell, 1974b: 69)

The site of Tabanoğlu fort is extremely strong in contrast to the site of the royal residence at Karalar Peium. (Mitchell, 1974 b: 73) Both forts are located in the territory of the tribe of Deiotarus, which shows that this territory is much more extensive than is usually assumed. Although they were occupied by the most

powerful Galatians of the period both forts were comparatively small sites and can neither be compared with the fortifications of Anatolia or the Celtic hill forts of western Europe. As a defensive fort it was a small stronghold with a capacity limited to a refuge for a dynastic family and the immediate entourage and could not accommodate a whole tribe in an emergency. (Mitchell, 1974b: 74)



Figure 4.12 Peium-Tabanoğlu fort

Gavurkale: (Figure 4.13) This fort is located in Tectosages region in Bala 1.5 km west of the Bağıçi village on a 40-50 m high hill. The site of Tabanoğlu fort is extremely strong in contrast to the site of the royal residence at Karalar Peium. (Mitchell, 1974 b: 73) Both forts are located in the territory of the tribe of Deiotarus, which shows that this territory is much more extensive than is usually assumed. Although they were occupied by the most powerful Galatians of the period both forts were comparatively small sites and can neither be compared with the fortifications of Anatolia or the Celtic hill forts of western Europe. As a defensive fort it was a small stronghold with a capacity limited to a refuge for a dynastic family and the

immediate entourage and could not accommodate a whole tribe in an emergency. (Mitchell, 1974b: 74)

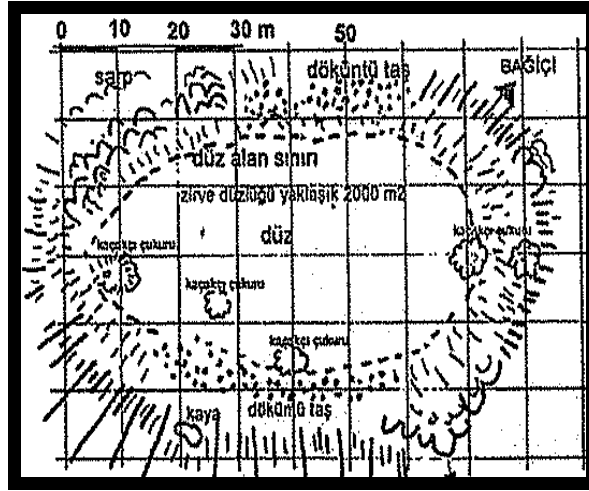


Figure 4.13 Gavurkale fort sketch (Vardar, 2006)

There are traces of an oval fort. In the east-west direction it is 70 m long and in the south-north it is 35 m long with an area of 2,000 m². There is a wide area with ceramics from the Middle Bronze Age, Hellenistic and Roman periods, indicating that there had been a settlement. Also milestones have been found in Yörelı nearby this settlement which indicates the transport potential of the area. (Vardar, 2006: 82)

Şabanözü: (Figure 4.14) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region. This site lies on a hill 2.5 km northeast of the village at Kaletepe, Polatlı having a view of the Gordion Tumuli. In general it can be described as having an oval shape with an east-west length of 56 m and width of about 40 m with an area of around 0.22 ha. Although the fort could be dated to the late ancient/Byzantine age, there are signs of settlement 400-500 m north of the fort about 5,000 m² with ceramics from the Hellenistic and Late Ancient periods. (Vardar, 2005: 267)

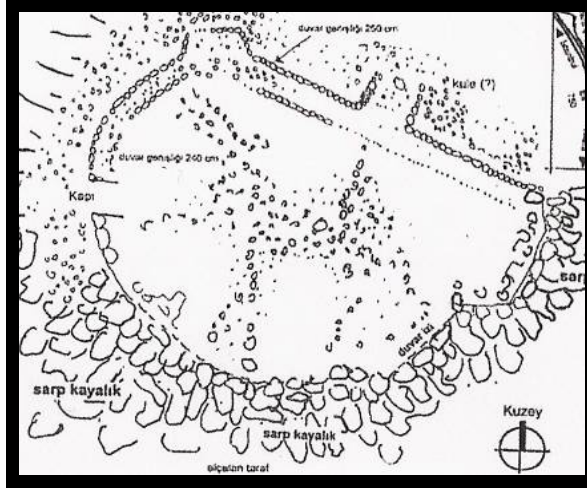


Figure 4.14 Şabanözü Kaletepe fort sketch. (Vardar, 2005)

Tacettin: (Figure 4.15) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region at Beypazarı 2 km east of Tacettin village. There is a ruin of a settlement about 250 m in diameters. The area of the fort is approximately 4.6 ha with samples of early Bronze Age and Hellenistic ceramics. (Vardar, 2007: 455)

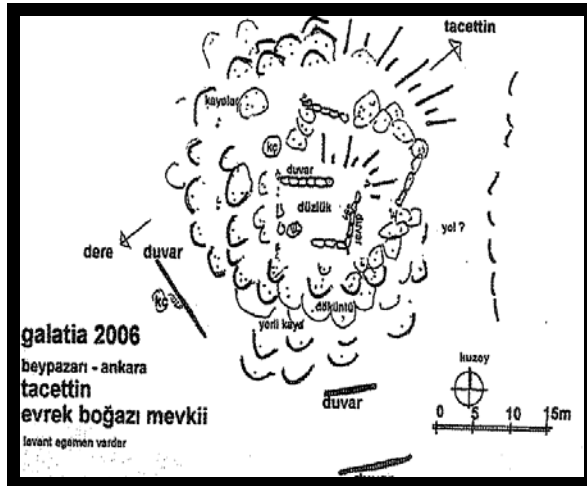


Figure 4.15 Tacettin fort sketch (Vardar 2007)

Kartantepe-Tahirler: (Figure 4.16) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region and lies 2 km north east of Tacettin village at Beypazarı. It has a strategic advantage for defence and covers an area of about 0.14 ha. The elevation is 1,080 m on a rocky hill about 20-30 m. high. There is a terrace which is suitable for settlement. The wall around the terrace is about 1 m high; the width of the wall is around 2 m. It is built according to the topography. The ceramic samples are on the southwest dating from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. There are two other sites at Beypazarı near Tacettin village which should be noted; one is 2 km east of the village where there are large granite blocks showing a settlement area with a radius of about 250 m and the ceramics are dated to the Old Bronze Age and Hellenistic periods. (Vardar, 2007: 455)

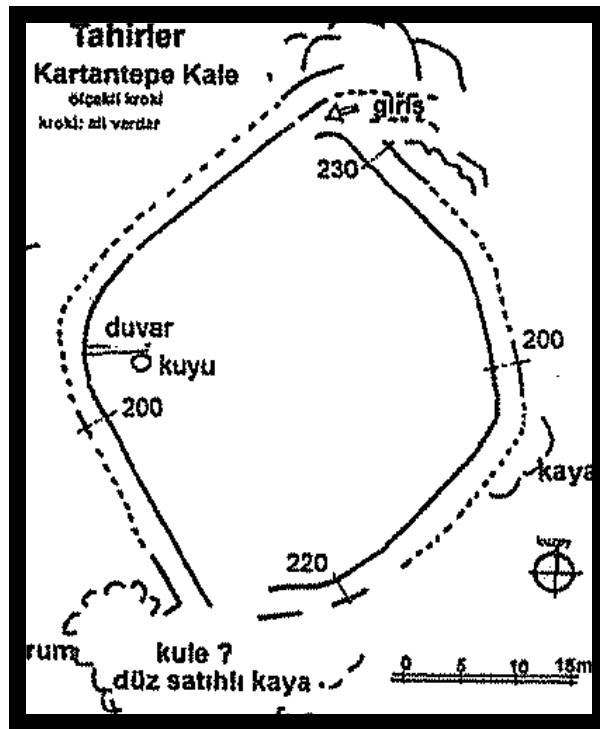


Figure 4.16 Kartantepe-Tahirler fort sketch (Vardar, 2007)

Ceritkale: (Figure 4.17) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region. It is in Ceritkale village in Kırıkkale/Keskin. Outside of the fort there is an unenclosed

settlement at the upper end of the valley. There are many remains from the Phrygian period including rock burials and a relief different from the classical figure of a bull known as Ankara relief has been found. Vardar points out the similarity of this with the symbols of Cybele found around Dümrek in 2002 (Vardar, 2003: 8) where the lion and bull have been stylized. Also near Kızılgüney, there are ceramic remnants of middle Bronze, Phrygian, Hellenistic and Roman periods.



Figure 4.17 Ceritkale

Kepekçikale: This settlement is located in the Tectosages region, 2.5 km southeast of the Selametli village at Gölbaşı. The area or the fort is 0.2 ha. The ceramics are from the Iron Age, Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. The ceramics outside the oval fort suggest that there had been a settlement there. (Vardar, 2003: 126)

The below mentioned ones are belonging to the second group ‘**unfortified settlements**’.

Tolgeri: This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region. It is on the south of the Ankara river. The area of the settlement is relatively small 0.14 ha. Mitchell suggested that this open settlement might be a local economic centre as it is not in a strategic position for defence and the high quality Hellenistic red ware pottery which is unusual on Galatian sites supports his hypothesis. Although it was occupied since the Bronze Age its commercial function seems to date to a much later period. The quality of the material from it is much better and these features differentiate it from the Galatian forts. Its function needs to be substantiated by further excavation. (Mitchell, 1974a: 418-19)

Beyözükale: This location is in Çorum. The area of the settlement is 3.75 ha. Ceramic pieces identified as Galatian are densely found east of the centre of Çorum with fewer in the west. (Sipahi, 2002: 27)

Oltan-Kefirçeşme: It is located in the Tolistobogii region, north of Tolgeri. There are traces of a settlement with one of its dimension more than 250 m. The ceramics found here are from old Bronze Age, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. (Vardar, 2007: 457)

Ballıkuyumcu: (Figure 4.18) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region, about 34 km west of Ankara. The area of the settlement is approximately 14.5 ha. Strobel (2002) stated that its topographic situation had strong similarities to Tavium and Ceritkale and was an important stronghold for the Tolistobogii tetrarchy. (Strobel, 2002: 35)

Archaeological evidence shows that the settlement here has been occupied since the Hittite era. Although Vardar (1991) and Mitchell (1974a: 433) did not mention that there was Hellenistic pottery at the site, Strobel stated that there was Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine pottery, which confirms that the settlement continued during these periods. (Strobel, 2002: 35)



Figure 4.18 Ballıkuyumcu

Yeşildere, Hasanöğlan; This settlement is in the Elmadağ region, 4 km southeast of Yeşildere. It is spread over a wide area around several rocky hills. It is located in a strategic position as it is the only passage east-west between mount Elma and mount Idris . There are traces of buildings with many ceramics from the Hellenistic period. (Vardar, 2005: 274)

Yalıncağ: (Figure 4.19) This settlement is located in the Tectosages region. This Galatian settlement is located in the territory of the Middle East Technical University and was excavated by Tezcan between 1962 and 1964. The area of the settlement is approximately 10.8 ha. The site has been occupied continuously throughout Hellenistic and Roman periods. The architecture of Hellenistic and Roman periods is predictably simple, consisting of small rectangular houses with stone foundation while their mud-brick superstructure has not survived. (Mitchell, 1974a: 436) Roman and Hellenistic period potteries have been found. At the site there is also an inlaid Zeus statue and a terracotta Cybele statue. Painted Galatian pottery (Tezcan, 1966: 3-7) and several fragments of Megarian bowls with moulded relief designs, which are

common at other Hellenistic sites in Ankara, have been recovered. (Mitchell, 1974a: 436)



Figure 4.19 Yalincak

The third group is the **forts without settlements**. Some are quite small, suggesting that the military, the tetrarch, and his family may have occupied them.

Blucium/Karalar: (Figure 4.20) This is located in the Tolistobogii region and is one of the Galatian strongholds named by Strabo as the Deiotarus residential fortress. (XII.V.2) The site lies on the east bank of the Girmir river about 4 km north of the Ankara-Beypazarı road, east of Beypazarı. (Arslan, 2004) The main fortification dates from the late Hellenistic period. The stonework blocks off the neck of a peninsula, which is defended on all the other sides by a large bend in the river. (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 25) Karalar was the central fort of king Deiotarus of Blucium (Arik, 1934: 165-66; Mitchell, 1974b: 65-67, 72-73; Arslan,

2004) and the site is on the hill known as Assarlıkaya, about 500 m west of the village of Karalar. On the hill slope south of and overlooking the site are three burial tumuli, one of them the tomb of Deiotarus the younger. There is a stone staircase which is similar to that found in Çanakçı. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 249) The chief features are a fortification wall, massive rock-cuttings on the hill, internal buildings and a well shaft hewn out of the rock. It is one of the few Galatian sites to have been excavated by Arık in 1933.



Figure 4.20 Blucium/Karalar

The defences consist of two concentric walls with several entrances. It is quite small, like all other known Galatian cities and the maximum diameter of its outer ring is not much more than 50 metres. The interior is divided into small rooms and corridors and slighter walls. (Mitchell, 1974a: 433) However since too little of the fort has

survived a plan of the fort cannot be drawn. (Mitchell, 1974a: 424) The fort was enclosed by a massive wall of large blocks of reddish trachyte which probably made it stand out from the surrounding hills. (Mitchell, 1974a: 424) Although the quality of the structures is not of the standard seen in the Tabanoğlu fort they are in better condition than most Galatian sites. (Mitchell, 1974a: 425) Archaeological remains of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine settlements were observed in the valley. However two or three Galatian sites are known in the side valley which connects with the main agricultural area. (Mitchell, 1974: 423) The site has usually been regarded as Galatians by travellers. (Hamilton and Anderson cited in Mitchell, 1974a: 434)

Oğulbey: This settlement is located in the Tectosages region and lies south of Gölbaşı in Beynam town. This is known as Gorbeus and was definitely a stronghold as the sources record. It is known that it was the residential fort of the tetrarch of the Tectosages Castor and his wife, who was also Deiotarus' daughter. Deiotarus killed Castor and his wife in Gorbeus after they betrayed him by accusing Deiotarus of planning to kill Caesar while he was visiting his forts.

Tizke-Ayaş: The hillfort is located near the village of Tizke Gökçebeş). This is a small oval enclosure with double enclosures built of rough stone walls with 28x50 m (1400 m²) dimensions again comparable to Asarlıkaya fort. (Mitchell, 1974a: 417) Here also, there is very little evidence although Mitchell stated that Anderson suggested that it was Galatian. Also a fort with a name indicating that it was a Galatian site was mentioned in the life of St. Theodore and Mitchell proposed that either Tizke or Asarlıkaya could be identical with this fort, which must have been situated close to Sykeon in north western Galatia. (Mitchell, 1974a: 418)

Somonhisar-Karacakaya: (Figure 4.21) This was one of the Galatian royal residential strongholds of the Tolistobogii. The small fortress was situated north-east of Sivrihisar and north of the site of Colonia Germa on a hill overlooking the modern villages of Karacakaya. The fortifications were built of large roughly cut limestone blocks, forming a small enclosure about two thirds of the way up the hill. The hilltop is covered with the remains of building scattered over the hills, clear evidence that it was designed to be self sufficient in an emergency. As in the Tabanoglu fort, Somonhisar fort was too small to be anything except a residence for a very small

group, perhaps a ruling family. Pottery from the site included a fragment of Megarian bowl, a piece of black glaze which can be dated to the Hellenistic period. (Mitchell, 1974; Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 25)



Figure 4.21 Somonhisar-Karacakaya

Çanlı-Asartepe: (Figure 4.22) This settlement is located in the Tolistobogii region. This village is a royal residential hillfort at an elevation of 1,040 m, and the dimensions are in keeping with the topography. The dimensions of the fort are 30-50 m wide and 60-70 m long making it approximately 3,000 m² in size.

There are two half-circle towers with defensive walls, probably from the early stage. Between the two towers there is a straight wall. Similarly there are traces of two other towers at the northeast end, one facing east, the other north. Another defensive wall, 60 m distant could be thought to be a tower or a part of the defensive structure.

(Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 260) There are traces of buildings of various sizes. Old oak trees can be seen and also Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine potteries were found at the site. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 261; Vardar: 291)



Figure 4.22 Çanlı Asartepe

İncekkale: This settlement is located in Tectosages region in Gölbaşı. There seems to be a double enclosure fort of approximately 1,000 m² with settlements around it hidden from the surroundings and with an elevation of 1,250 m west of İncek village. The ceramics are from Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. (Vardar, 2003: 120)

Yenikayı-Asarkaya: (Figure 4.23) This is situated in Sincan, 2 km west of the Yenikayı village on the old Ankara-Ayaş road. The fort was built on the top of a rocky hill at an elevation of 1,285 m overlooking the north, east and south, and the widest part of the fort is 35x85 m with an approximate area of 0.26 ha. To the north of the hill, it rises to a height of 4.6 m. The defence walls were built with carefully cut large rectangular blocks without mortar. There were two rectangular towers and the width of the defence wall was 1.10 m probably from the Roman period. There are

some other defensive walls parallel to the outer wall, roughly cut, built with slightly smaller 0.40 to 0.50 m stones, again without mortar and curving in order to fit the topography of the site. The rocks are used for protection. Vardar predicted that the old ancient road may have been controlled from here. There is a view of Mürted plateau and Ovaçay. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 257) It is therefore in a strategic location on the transport axis (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 258) and is probably from the Galatian period with Hittite, Phrygian, Hellenistic and Roman- Byzantium pottery.



Figure 4.23 Yenikayı Asarkaya

Dikmenkale-Beypazarı: (Figure 4.24) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region at Dikmen lying about 10 km due south of Tabanoğlu fort and is on a hilltop covered with oak trees being a much smaller Galatian fort. The area enclosed is about 200 m². It is shaped like a rounded triangle about 30 m across with three towers along the west side and a gateway in the south corner. Being at an elevation of 1,078 m, an

area of 20-25 km could be seen to the north and west. The length of the walls is at least 20 m and the width of the walls is about 2.20 m. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997) The rough masonry which is similar to that in Asarlıkaya probably shows that it is Galatian although there were no finds to support this. There was another fortification on the west side of the fort (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 25) indicating that it is in a position to control the east-west ancient road especially. There were ceramics dating to the Hellenistic period on the south part of the structure. (Vardar, 1997)

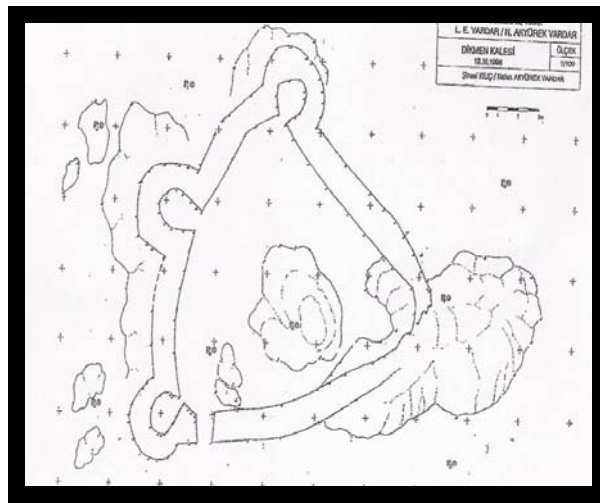


Figure 4.24 Dikmen Village fort sketch (Vardar and Vardar, 1997)

Hisarmağarası-Çubukdere: This Galatian Fort is located on a hill about 3 km southwest of Sirkeli besides a footpath leading towards Bağlum. (Mitchell, 1974a: 425) Its situation resembles that of Karalar closely, being built strategically but not inaccessibly above a side valley leading to the Çubuk plain. It is much further from the main valley than Karalar is from the Murat plain. (Mitchell, 1974a: 426)

Selametlikale: (Figure 4.25) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region. It is located 3 km northwest of Selametli village in Gölbaşı at an elevation of 1,125 m. Its dimensions are approximately 80x20 m in an oval form with five bastions. It covers an area of 1,600 m². Mortar was not used in the walls which are 1 m thick. Many ceramics have been recognized, especially on the north and east part outside the fort

for about 350 m. Especially on the north and east parts outside the forth indicate a settlement. The ceramics could be from the Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age and Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. (Vardar, 2003: 125)



Figure 4.25 Selametlikale

Büyükyağlı: This fort is located in the Trocmii region in Kırıkkale near the Samsun-Kırıkkale road at an altitude of 930 m, and controls the area to the east and south. No definite architecture was found on the hill. Being on a slope, it was used for agriculture. The ceramics belong both to the 1st millennium, Hellenistic and later periods. (Vardar, 2000: 238)

Jighiler-Ceğirköy-Karaviran: This is a Galatian Fort which Ainsworth visited. It lies north east of Karalar, to the north of the main valley area. It was a crude structure, consisting of a single wall built of large stones put together without mortar and enclosing a space of 1,200 m². Ainsworth's description is similar to that of other

walled structures such as Tizke, Asarlıkaya and Dikmen forts with which it may cautiously be classed. (Mitchell, 1974: 425)

Taşlıkale: (Figure 4.26) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region. It is located at Haymana, 6 km east of Boyalık village at an elevation of 1,160 m. The area of the fort is occupied 900 m². It has one semi-circular bastion in the north-west corner. The ceramics found are mostly from Roman and the following eras. However, Strobel and Gerber, (2000: 37) matched Selametli with Taşlıkale but in Vardar's record (1998: 293) in the drawings it is mixed with Şeyhali (Polatlı) by mistake.

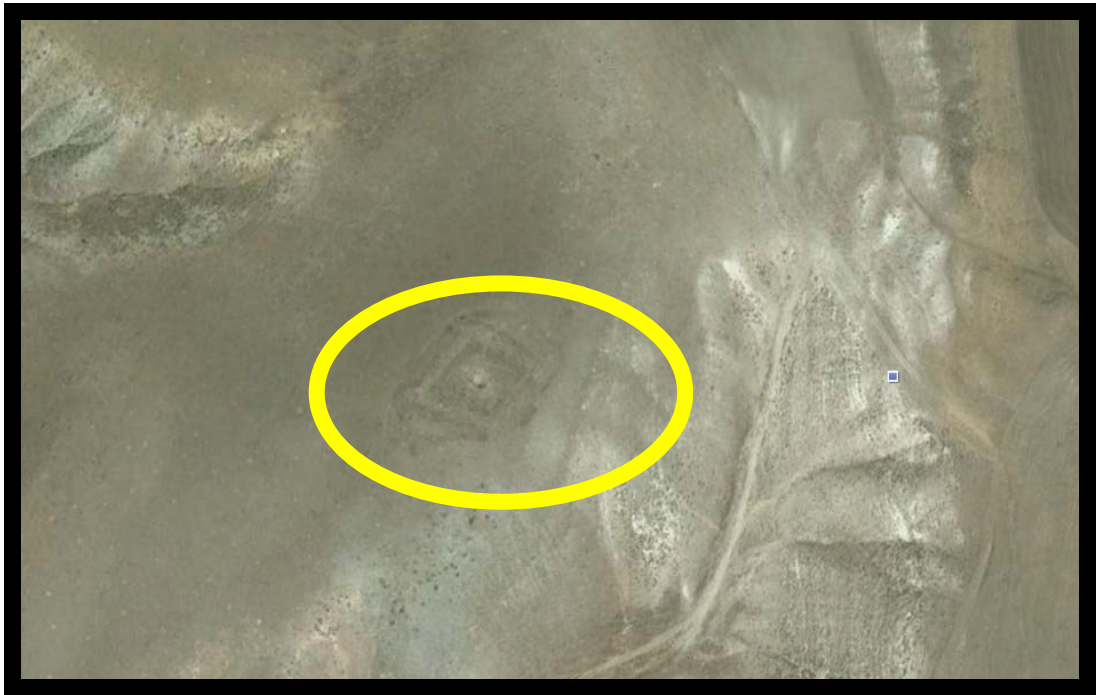


Figure 4.26 Taşlıkale

Çağlık: (Figure 4.27) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region close to the junction of the Ankara stream and the Sakarya, west of the village of Çağlık. According to Mitchell, this site is possibly Galatian. It was discovered by Von Diest in 1894 (Mitchell, 1974a: 435) and has only been described by Diest and Anton who

reported two enclosures near Çağlık on hilltops, and described the larger on the west hilltop which was around 2,400 m², surrounded by walls on the north and east side, while to the south and west, there was a steep slope down to the Sangarius. (Mitchell, 1982: 26) One of the forts has dimensions of 9x48.5=437 m² and a second and smaller one at 750 m east of the first one with dimensions of 14x4.5 m=62 m² exist. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 255)



Figure 4.27 Çağlık-Çağlayık

Çanakçı: (Figure 4.28) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region. Mordtmann (Mitchell, 1974: 435) noted that near the village of Çanakçı about 7 km away from the Kavuncu bridge toward Ankara, there is an ancient Galatian fort with an area of 1,400 m². (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982) The elevation is 1,029 m and there are oak trees in the surrounding area. It overlooks the Sangarius river valley and to the north it has a clear view of Gordion. There is a rectangular fort of the Roman period with Hellenistic ceramics. The construction, which has been made with carved rocks, faces east and attempts to establish the space as an open religious area. It has

4.20x7.85 m dimensions and is seen as a courtyard. A stone ‘pool’ of 4.80x4.40 m dimensions has also been recorded. The stone staircase is similar to that found in Karalar. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 249)

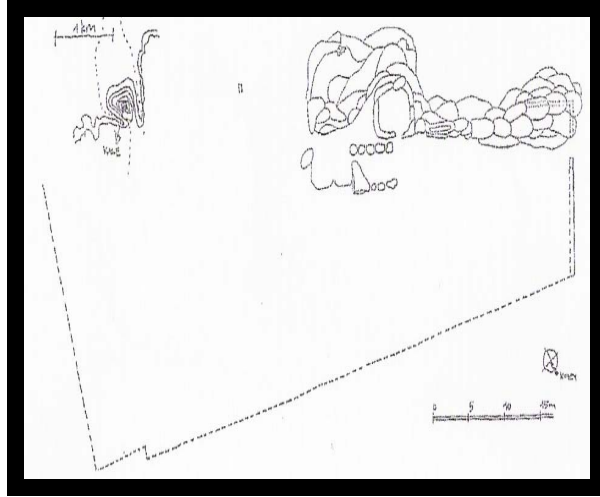


Figure 4.28 Çanakçı fort sketch (Vardar and Vardar, 1997)

Belçarşak: This fort is located in the Tectosages region 2.5 km north-northeast in Bala. It is pear shaped, being 110 m long in the east-west direction, 60 m in the north-south direction and has a double enclosure with an area of approximately 3,500 m². Although there are ceramic remains from the Late Hellenistic, Late Ancient and Byzantine periods, the construction indicates the Late Ancient and Byzantine periods. (Vardar, 2006: 80)

Küçükkale-Kınık-Hamamdere: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region, 5 km to the south of Polatlı at an elevation of 900 m. It has a clear view of the surrounding land including Kargalıkale, Basrikale and Çanakçıkale. Except for the south face, no defence walls were needed as a steep rock face surrounds it. The site covers about 1,700 m² and a wall 2 m long, 0.50 m high and 1 m thick in which mortar has been used has been recorded. In addition, a 7.5 m corner wall using both techniques with

and without mortar has been identified. Hellenistic and Byzantine period ceramics have also been found. (Vardar, 2003: 121)

Hisarkaya: (Figure 4.29) This fort is located in the Tectosages region about 7 km south of Ballıkuyumcu. It controls the ancient trade road with its area of approximately (25x36) 900 m². This site has usually been regarded as Galatian by travellers (e.g. Hamilton and Anderson). Perrot also claimed that it is a Galatian fort. (Mitchell, 1974a: 434) There are two concentric walls of rough stones with several entrances and the outer wall does not exceed 50 m. The interior enclosure is divided into small rooms and corridors as seen in Karalar fort. (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 26) The site has produced no distinctive sherd material. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 247)



Figure 4.29 Hisarkaya

Bağlum-Kınık-Hamamdere: This fort is located in the Tectosages region at Keçiören, 1 km. south west of Bağlum village. The fort is on a hill about 80 m high.

It is a 60x30 m (1,800 m²) rectangular fort and no mortar was used in building the walls. The ceramics dated from the Hellenistic, Late Ancient Age and Byzantine periods. (Vardar, 2004: 2)

Kuşçuali: (Figure 4.30) This is in Elmadağ about 1.5 km north of the Kuşçuali village on hill. There is no evidence of a structure but many ceramics of the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods and also grey ceramics have been reported. (Vardar and Vardar, 2000: 239) The area of the surroundings is about 0.65 ha.

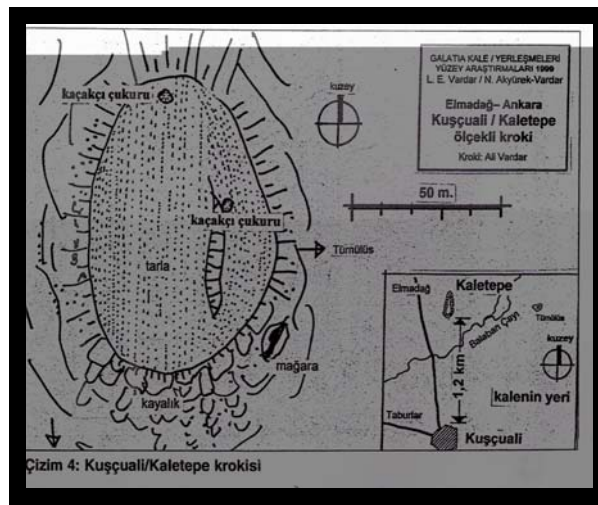


Figure 4.30 Kuşçuali fort sketch (Vardar and Vardar, 2000)

Sirkeli: This settlement is located in the Tectosages region and lies about 3 km west-southwest of Sirkeli beside a footpath leading to Bağlum. Traces of rock cut terracing and some Hellenistic pottery on the hilltop are similar to Karalar. No fortification indications have been found but it is known as a residential fortress. Remains of Late Roman or Byzantine buildings and pottery have also been found. (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982)

Basrikale-Polatlı: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region. It is a hillfort southeast of the village of Basri, a few km north of Polatlı. Although Vardar has not

reported any Hellenistic pottery, Mitchell regarded it as a possible Galatian site. (Mitchell, 1974a: 435) The area of the location is about 450 m² with three-tiered terraces at an elevation of 1,100 m. This site dominates the ancient road and valley to the west of the Sakarya River on the slope 5-7 m down south-west. There are mostly Byzantium ceramics. (Vardar, 1997: 248) Towards the southwest of the fort 20-30 m down and 200-250 m distant, there is a 20-25 m diameter tomb 10 m high. This tomb is on a hill that overlooks the Midas tomb and there are ceramics around it dating from the 5th-4th centuries BC. (Vardar, 1997: 248)

Kargalıkale-Polatlı: (Figure 4.31) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region situated 1.5 km southwest of the village on a 50 m high rocky hill. It has a view of Basrikale-fort on the north-northwest with Çanakçıkale fort and Küçükale fort to the southwest. It has an area of about 1,000m². There are ceramics from the early Iron Age, Hellenistic and Roman periods on the surface. (Vardar, 2003: 117)

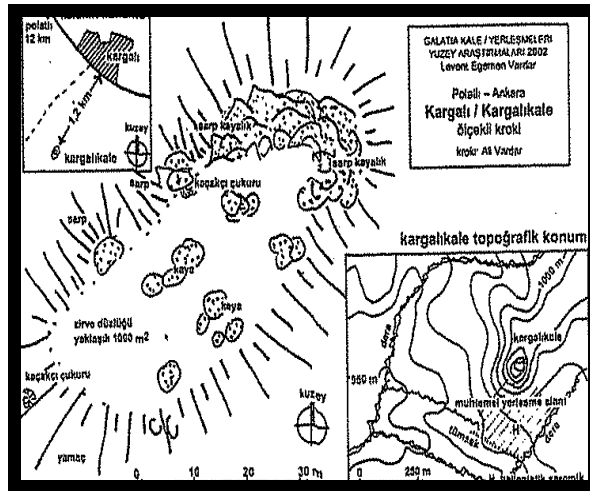


Figure 4.31 Kargalı fort sketch (Vardar, 2003)

Edige: (Figure 4.32) There is a double fort separated from each other by about 200 m on a twin hill. They are located in the Trocmii region 1 km east of the Edige village

in Elmadağ, The area of one of the forts is 375 m². The ceramics are from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. (Vardar, 2000: 238)

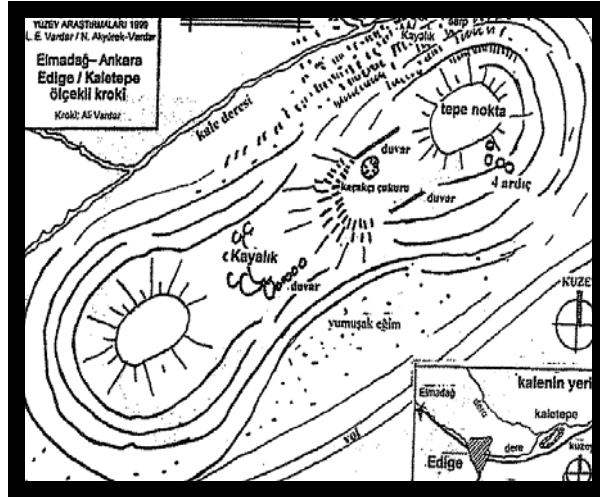


Figure 4.32 Edige fort sketch (Vardar, 2000)

Saray: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region in Mihaliçcık 1.5 km west of the village. There is a fort with a double enclosure. It is a forest area, where there is no view and Vardar suggested that it seems to be hidden. The fort is an oval shape 47.5 m long in north-south direction and in the west direction is around 30 m, covering an area of 1,400m². The walls are about 1 m wide there is no mortar in the wall, while there is a terrace of about 1,250 m² between the wall and rocks. The ceramics could be dated from Calcolithic, middle Bronze, Hellenistic and Byzantine times. (Vardar, 2003: 123)

Şeyhali-Polatlı: About 3.5 km northwest of the Şeyhali village, on a rocky hill about 100 m high, there is a fort which dates from the early Phrygian to Roman periods. It covers an area of about 2,500 m². (Vardar, 1998: 289-290)

Adaören: (Figure 4.33) This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region on the opposite side of the Tabanoğlu fort separated by the Siberis at Beypazarı. It dates from Late

Iron Age, Hellenistic and even some Late Ancient ceramics were found. (Vardar, 2006: 92) This is either a fort to protect Tabanoğlu bearing in mind that Tabanoğlu was the treasury of the Galatians or the fort on the other side of the border. It is interesting to locate forts so close.



Figure 4.33 Adaören

Çıtaklarbükü: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region, near Narlı village in the Mihaliçık province of Eskişehir and 2 km east of the fort is the Kapullu bridge over the Sangarios river. Vardar suggested that the fort was built on the Ancient road. (Vardar, 2007: 454) It has a double enclosure with a quadrangular plan. The inner fort to the east is 30 m long and to the south no longer than 40 m covering an area of 1200 m². The width of the wall varies, but it is around 2.30 m and it seems that mortar has not been used. (Vardar, 2007: 454) The ceramic remains are from the Iron Age, Hellenistic and Late Ancient periods. (Vardar, 2007, 462)

Yakupabdal: This fort is located in the Tectosages region in Çankaya, 1.5 km south of Asarkaya. There is a site with topographical similarities to Karalar. The fort is about 4000 m² but is not suitable for settlement. Although it does not contain Hellenistic ceramics, there are fragments from the Phrygian, Roman and Late Ancient periods. (Vardar, 2004: 5) Because of the similarity to Karalar, this site has been regarded as Galatian.

Yurtbeyi-Gerder-Gölbaşı: (Figure 4.34) This fort is located in the Tectosages region. The area of the fort is 0.36 ha. At an elevation of 1200 m, the fort is on a hill, approximately 40-50 m high and the width of the wall is 1.80 m. It was built without mortar and was in a position to control the ancient road. (Vardar and Vardar, 1997: 259-260)

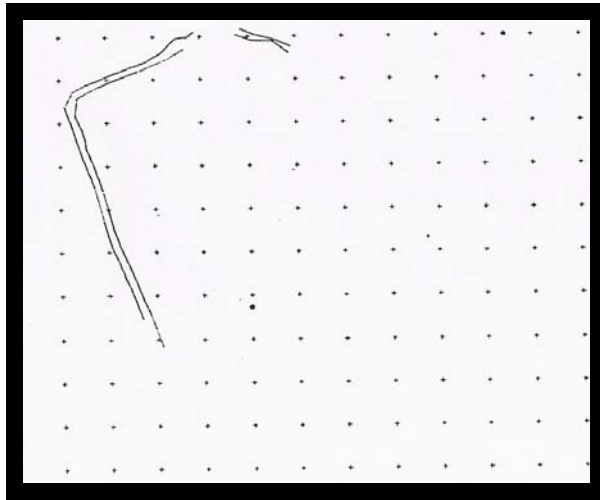


Figure 4.34 Yurtbeyi Gerder fort sketch (Vardar and Vardar, 1997)

Yaylalözü: This fort is located in the Tectosages region, in Bala 2.5 km. east-southeast of the village on a 50 m high hill and there is evidence of a possible fort with a view of Belçarşak fort 5.5 km to the west. There are a few ceramics from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. (Vardar, 2006: 81)

Yanlızçam: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region 1.5 km northeast of Yaylaçeşme in Beypazarı. Vardar (2006: 93) only recorded one ceramic from the Phrygian period; the others are all from the Late Antiquity. However, Strobel (2002: 31) stated that a building was found and there was a small stronghold with dimensions of 26x32 m and an area of 832 m². It seems to have been on the boundary of the Tolistobogii.

Girmeç: This fort is located in the Tolistobogii region in Polatlı, 2 km south west of the village at an elevation of 1,130 m on a steep rocky hill with an extensive view. It seems that it had two enclosures, the outer south side enclosure which is around 70 m long. The inner enclosure (2,000 m²) parallel to the outer wall is 3-3.50 m high and 17.40 m long and the width of the wall is 1.10 m. (Vardar, 2004: 3) Very few ceramics were found dating from the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods.

The last group is the **farms** and **hamlets**. Due to the lack of survey, the number is limited, but with further intensive survey, many more such sites may be discovered.



Figure 4.35 Lake Eymir survey area

There are only two farmsteads that have been found by METU-TAÇDAM (unpublished). The first is in the METU campus area at Eymir at the end of the peninsula. (Figure 4.37) There are findings of Hellenistic pottery. This has been adressed as a farmstead. The second is Frinkaya at the south east of Alacaatlı. Hellenistic pottery has been found in the site which has also been adressed as a farmstead.

4.4.2.2 Burials

There have been very few systematic research studies of the burial sites in Galatia. In Boğazköy, there are extended inhumations in stone cist graves. Some of these were most probably beneath small tumuli, indicated by the stone circle or curb around the cist and internments of children in jars. Burial in rock tombs was continued in Tavium. (Strobel, 2002: 19) The burials in jars represent an Anatolian tradition although cists are also known from limited regions of later prehistoric Europe. There are two in Gordion, three in Karalar, and two in Taşoluk-Hıdırşihlar, Iğdır, Yalacık and Cimşit. (Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh, 1982: 84-86)

Burial chambers of upper class Galatians show a high degree of Hellenisation with constructions of carefully worked ashlar blocks with barrel vaulting, intricate corbel vaulting, or large stone slabs making gabled roofs. Burial was in wooden coffins, terracotta coffins (larnakes) and sarcophagi. In the sites of burials of princes as in Karalar with the tomb of the younger Deiotarus and near Tavium, (Danacı tumulus) a terrace for the cult of the dead was constructed. Two tumuli were investigated at Gordion having a stone cist and a wooden coffin originally painted red. The Yalacık tomb was robbed during ancient times and later used again. At Bolu-Karacasu there are two tumuli predating 180 BC, which have been robbed. The Bolu and Karalar burial mounds show the continued existence of Celtic chieftain burials with weapons as grave goods. Northern Tavium is surrounded by nine tumuli, two in the south-west and four at least in Gündoğdu on the old main road to the west. Between the Ayaş-Bey pazarı road and the İlhan stream there is a large tumulus dating from the 1st century AD and this may belong to a tetrarch aristocrat. At Faraşlı/Ekkobrigia and

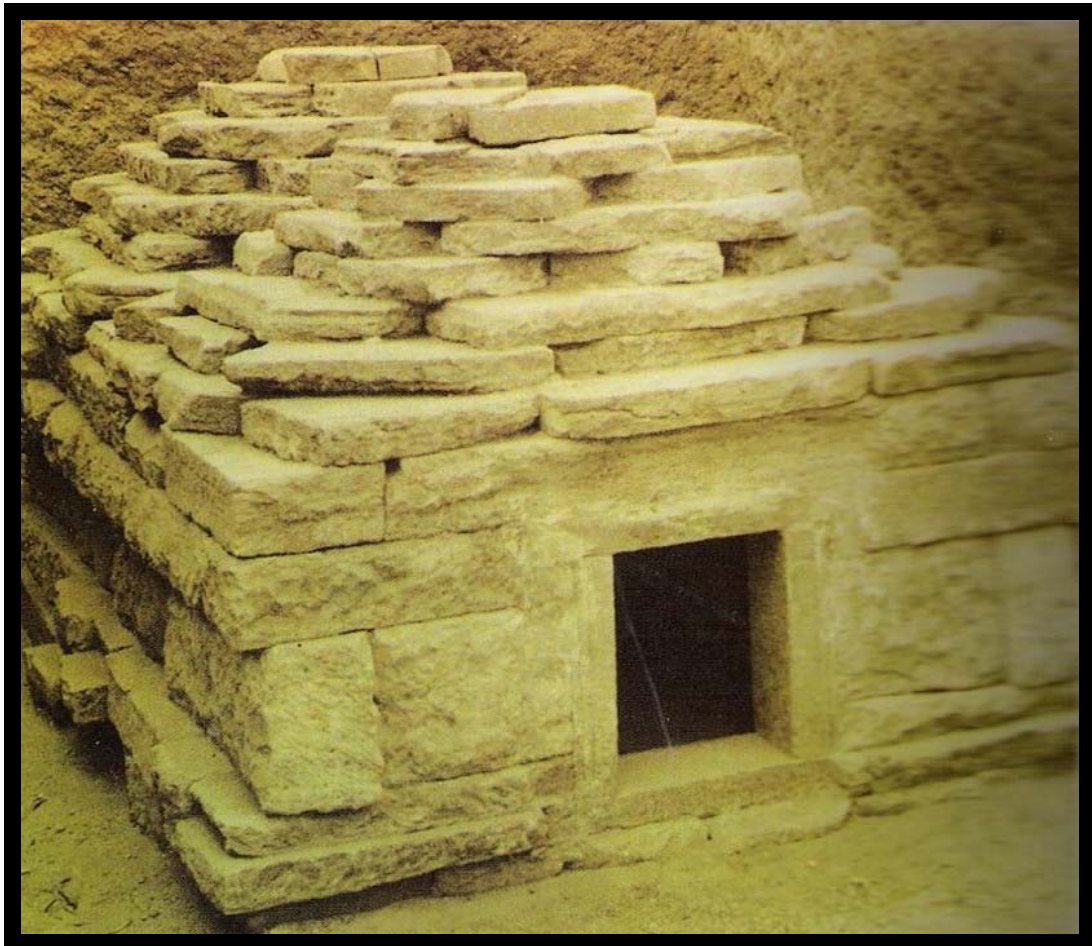
Çanakçı there are Galatian period tumuli with stone architecture near tetrarch residences and the burial mounds at Siskeli, Oğulbey/Gorbeus, Odunboğazi and Podanalı-Kerkenes Mountain are directly related to them due to their location near residential strongholds. The data obtained from Bolu definitely shows that the Galatian elite had adopted Hellenistic grave forms and architecture prior to 180 BC and furnished the graves with luxury goods. At least four generations of ruling tetrarchs, including Deiotarus, his father Sinorix and his son are buried at Karalar. (Vardar, 1992: 3; Strobel, 2002: 20)

The tumulus found by Young in 1954, one mile west of Gordion and dated from the 1st century BC, has a special roof structure, indicating that it was in the Galatian tradition brought from their homeland. (Temizsoy, Kaya, 2000: 7-8) Findings from Gordion and Karalar show that Anatolian style fibulae continued to be used. Various artifacts from the tombs indicate that the elite greatly valued high quality metalwork and ceramics in the Hellenistic/Anatolian styles. (Darbyshire and Mitchell, 1999: 174)

Darbyshire, Mitchell and Vardar (2000) have classified the tombs as:

- *Type I has a corbelled roof and some of these tombs have an antechamber and/or dromos. Karalar tomb C, one of those at Gordion, (Figure 4.36) Iğdır, Yalacık and further Tepecik, Gemlik, Kepsut, Milas, Belevi, Mudanya and Pamukkale are the examples.*
- *Type II has a peaked roof and a dromos. Karalar-B-and the east tumulus at Taşoluk-Hıdırşihlar, also the dromos of the tomb noted below as Beşevler are the examples.*
- *Type III has a barrel-vaulted roof and a dromos. Karalar tomb-A and outside Galatia, Küçücek, Beşevler, Kanlıbağ, İkiztepe are the examples. Of uncertain type Gordion, Taşoluk-Hıdırşihlar and Çimşit the significance of different types of chambered tombs within and outside Galatia should be explored in detail. (Darbyshire, Mitchell and Vardar, 2000: 86)*

It has been proposed by Sams that the recent excavated evidence from Gordion demonstrate that there were distinctive forms of ritual brought to Anatolia from Europe. This burial is dated to late 3rd or earlier 2nd century BC and includes two human torsos, laid one over the other; a human skull with attached vertebrae, set upright next to a dog skull, with a dog laid over both of them; a larger deposit with mixed equipment, bovine and human remains; and three other humans with broken necks. These burials are in close parallel to several parts of prehistoric Europe having with ritual burials. It seems that these deposits demonstrate the remains of Celtic rituals including human and animal sacrifice and decapitation, which are also recorded in the literature. (Sams, 1994: 436)



4.36 The burial from Gordion

However, Karl (2003) strongly criticizes this proposal as the burial remains in Gordion bear little resemblance to those found in France and Switzerland. He points out that, whereas in Europe there are assemblages of human and animal bones no similar pattern is seen east of the Rhine and during the time when the sites were used around 300-50 BC, the Galatians were already living far to the east. In addition, there are many weapons in these European sites which are totally absent in Gordion. There are typical features such as ditches or bridges in the European sites, and these are not found in Gordion. While the skeletons are almost exclusively male in the remains in France and Switzerland, this pattern is not paralleled in Gordion.

Some similarities that Kristiansen (1998) describes between the Hallstatt culture and Gordion should be considered. It should be remembered that this was the Phrygian period in Anatolia. There could have been a transfer of rituals and technology from Anatolia to Europe also and a two-way exchange of influences may have taken place.

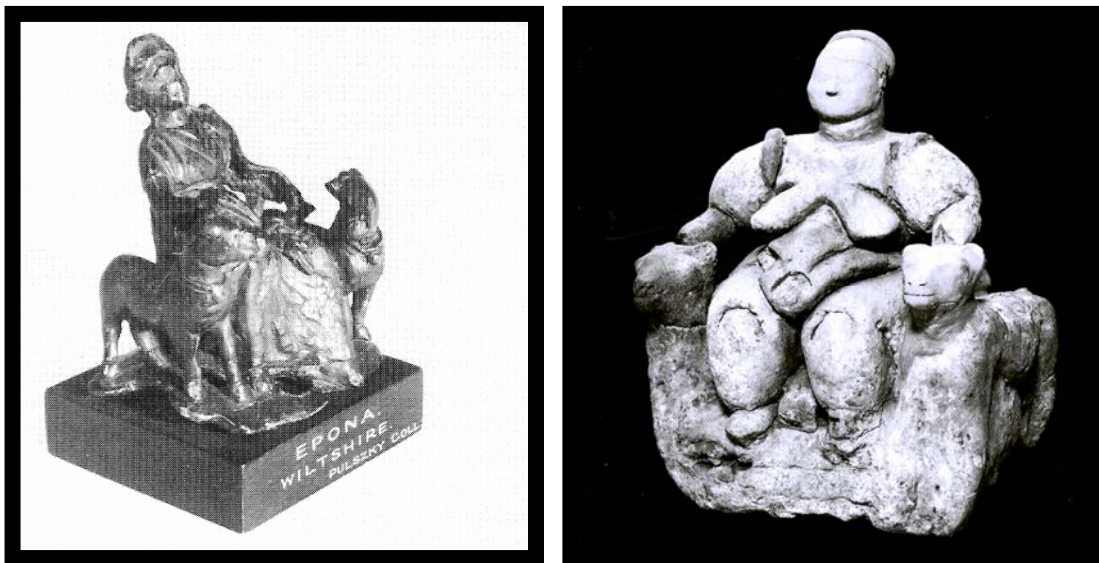


Figure 4.37 Left; Epona with her horses (Green, 1986: 174) and right; Phrygian Goddess Cybele. (Roller, 2004: cover page)

It can be seen that this cultural matrix spread significantly unmodified, most probably through Italy, but it could also have originated in either the Thracian or the Pontic region with their close contacts with Anatolia. This route mainly carried horse gear and weapons but the possibility of more wide-ranging influences cannot be excluded. The Figures 4.37 to 4.40 presents some examples of parallels between Anatolia (represented by Gordion) the Mediterranean and south Germany, which also included geometric designs and technical details in its leatherwork.



Figure 4.38 Left; Horse figure from Hallstatt (Museum of Vienna), right; Horses figure from Galatia. (Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations)

It was part of the gradual spread of the oriental style (including a new status kit) out of Anatolia from the 8th century onwards, first by the Phoenicians, later by the Greeks and finally by the Etruscans. Overall, the eastern Hallstatt area willingly adopted Villanovan/early Etruscan design and practices (coming through Este and by cross-Adriatic sea trade) in pottery, metalwork, and ritual. (Kristiansen, 1998: 220)

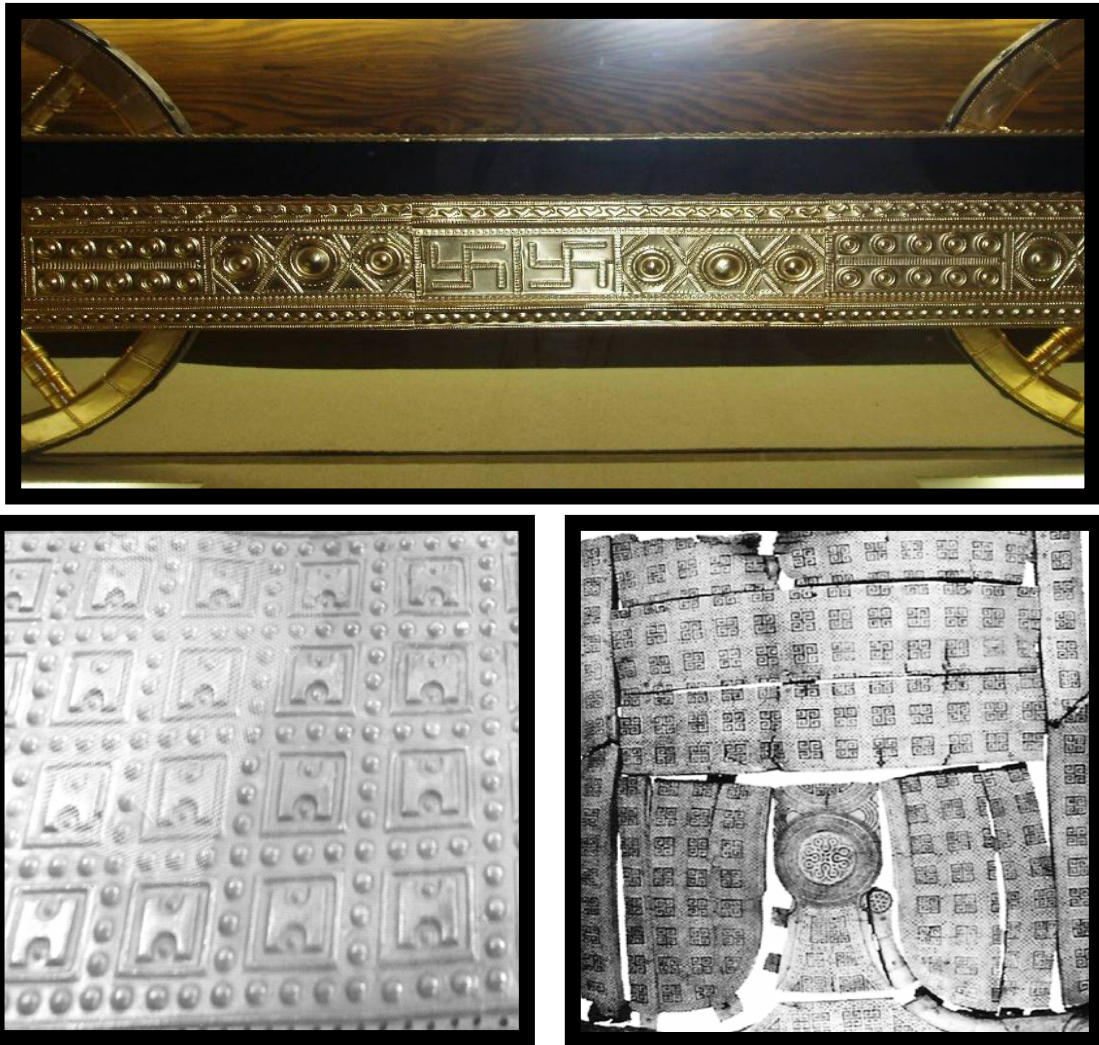


Figure 4.39 Top; A wagon reconstructed from the grave VI Hohmichele Baden Württemberg (National Museum of Vienna) and Bottom left ; Metal plate from Phrygian (Metin, 2007) and Bottom right; Wooden table from Gordion. (Roller, 2007)

Hallstatt C and D culture assimilated only some elements of the oriental style those being mainly concerned with warfare especially the dagger/axe to the east. Royal burials from Gordion in Phrygia to Salamis on Cyprus illustrate the royal context of the large cauldron (in the Iliad the value of the cauldron is described as corresponding to twelve oxen) whereas the axe/dagger symbols were those of warrior chiefs. At Gordion, nine large belts had been hung on the wall of the burial chamber giving a record of their special significance as royal symbols of power. Also there is

a parallel with the tomb at Hochdorf with regard to the dinner set of nine platters and drinking horns. (Kristiansen, 1998: 220) The filtering and transformation of materials from the east Mediterranean, Italy and Golasecca to Hallstatt is illustrated by the metal cup with a duck-headed handle—a local adaptation and development of the east Mediterranean/west Asian dipper. The overland network from the eastern Hallstatt through Macedonia/Thrace to Anatolia is demonstrated by the circum-Pontic/Balkan koine of metalwork from the 8th century BC relating to the expansion of openwork. (Kristiansen, 1998: 221-222) Bronze trefoil jugs, wagon fitting, horses, and goddess are given below as evidence of the link between Europe and Anatolia-Gordion.



Figure 4.40 Left; Trefoil jug from Hallstatt period (National Museum of Vienna) and right; Trefoil jug. (Phrygians, Catalogue, 2007)

4.5 The Linguistic Evidence in Galatia

According to Strabo, (xii.v.1) Celtic was used throughout the Galatian territory for unification by the 1st century BC and up to the 6th century AD it was the main language of much of the population. Even in Late Antiquity, Celtic was used together with Greek, and it may be assumed that the upper classes of Galatians spoke Celtic, Greek and in the Cappadocian area, Phrygian for general communication. This led to

Celtic becoming the dominant language. After the 1st century BC, Greek became the second language. During the formation of the Galatian tribes of Anatolia, the continuous effect of language and ethnic identity can be clearly seen. (Strobel, 2002:18)

Freeman (2001: 3) stated that around 120 Celtic words have been found in Galatia, most of which are personal names. However, it should be borne in mind that most of the words and names were written by non-Celtic speakers. Also it should be considered that at least some of the Galatians could write and apparently speak Greek only a few decades after they had settled in Anatolia. At least the upper classes of society had studied and used Greek literature, confirmed by the 1st century BC Galatian king Deiotarus. Lucian recorded that even in the 2nd century AD there were Galatians who were monolingual and not speaking Greek, while Jerome stated that Galatians were speaking a language similar to the tribe of the Treviri near the Rhine (Jerome Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians 2.3 cited in Freeman, 2001: 11) Cyril of Scythopolis confirmed that Galatian was still been spoken in the 6th century AD. Adarca-Dioscorides described a medicinal agent found in Galatia, although he may not be referring to Galatian only as Anatolian but also to the European Gauls. (Freeman, 2001: 9-15)

Clearly, there were considerable Hellenistic- Anatolian influences on the Galatians. However there are some important indicators to show that they were not assimilated but rather continued some of their traditions, language being the main one, since the inscriptions show that the Celtic language continued up to the 6th century AD and that Celtic names were used well into the 4th century AD. (Strobel, 2002: 18)

4.5.1 Inscriptions

As mentioned above, due to the oral tradition of the Galatians, there is no written evidence of how they identified themselves. However, the words, personal and place-names from the surviving inscriptions give valuable information about the Galatian language and show that it was in use until the 6th century AD. Some of the names also confirm the information given by the Greek and Roman writers. Inscriptions

give the most substantial evidence of the ancient Celtic language. There are four Celtic language sources which cover a wider area than the inscriptions: Celtic personal names recorded in Latin and Greek, names of Celtic divinities in Latin and Greek inscriptions which have a local context, Celtic vocabulary recorded by ancient writers or found in other languages as borrowed words, although this is a very mobile type of source due to migrations, conquests and mercenary and trade activities, and finally Celtic place-names which may be the oldest and most widely encountered evidence of the Celtic language. (Williams, 2006: 3-4)

The main source for the inscriptions from which these names and words were derived is the Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia-Minor (RECAM) by Mitchell, French, Greenhalgh in 1982. Celtic names of places and people are obtained from the inscriptions given below;

Doğray-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 19) *Brogoris* is a Celtic name.

Yukarı İğde Ağaç- Sivrihisar (RECAM: 29) *Meliginna* could be a Celtic name.

Doğanoğlu-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 41) *Barbollas* and *Vastex* are both Celtic names.

Güce (RECAM: 52) *Domna* which is very similar to *Domne*, was regarded as Celtic by Strobel (2002).

Kayı-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 60) *Aeitas* is recorded in Maysia at Apameia in Phrygia and Ancyra in Galatia.

İkizafer-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 75) mentioned the (?)*nobantini*, whose ancestral customs make sacrifices and vows to Zeus. According to Mitchell, French and Greenhalgh, this is ethnic and the form appears to be Celtic.

Nasrettin Hoca-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 113) *Gaudatos* is a Celtic name.

Mülkü-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 115). The form of the texts is Celtic and the name *Artiknos* is found in Ankara.

Kayakent-Elmadağ (RECAM: 139) Konklados appears on two inscriptions from Emirdağ. It might be Celtic as Con is a common Celtic prefix and *Clad-* is also a possible Celtic element.

Sarılar-Köprü-Sivrihisar (RECAM: 163) the name *Domna* is again seen in an inscription on a bridge.

Dikmen-Ankara (RECAM: 170) *Antessikopos* is also seen at Mülk (RECAM 115). It appears to be Celtic.

Yağmurdede-Gerede (RECAM: 172) *Articnos* is Celtic, seen in the adjective form of the name.

Aydan Çiftliği-Ankara (RECAM: 178) This inscription indicates that citizens of Ankara had connections with and presumably owned property in the fertile valley of Ova stream.

Karalar-Gerede (RECAM: 188) *Deiotarus* on the tümülüs of the son of *Deiotarus*.

Kızılcahamam (RECAM: 191) *Souolibrogenos*, the Celtic Name for Zeus is found on an altar.

Hasayaz-Çankırı (RECAM: 201) *Sentamos*, a Celtic Name, is found twice on an inscription from Karahöyük (RECAM: 206). It also occurs at Yenice (RECAM: 286) and Ankara. (Bosh no: 201)

Akçataş-Çankırı (RECAM: 203) *Bussurigos* is a Celtic name found on a block. In Dacia and Apulum, Latin dedications to *Bussurigos* were probably introduced by Galatian immigrants.

Karahöyük-Çankaya (RECAM: 204) Zeus *Boussourigos* is found again.

Çiflik-Çankırı (RECAM: 208) *Konkarztiakiton* is a Celtic place name with the suffix-*aco* which is found in other places in Galatia.

Kalecik-Çankırı (RECAM: 209) *Katomaros* and his Daughter *Domne* are Celtic names. **Elmadağ-Keskin** (RECAM: 214) *Bitognatos* is a Celtic name found on an altar.

Kayaş-Ankara (RECAM: 218) *Tektomaros* is a Celtic name on an inscription. It is also found in Ankara (Bosh no 147)

Topaklı- Ankara (RECAM: 230) *Bella*, probably a Celtic name, is found.

Tol-Keskin (RECAM: 238) *Blesamion* is possibly a Celtic Name.

İnder-Katranç (RECAM: 258) *Beitama* is probably a Celtic name,

Yenice-Katranç (RECAM: 286) the names ending in-*astes* might be Celtic. The Celtic name *Sentamos* is also found.

Canimana-Katranç (RECAM: 296) *Bellas* is probably Celtic, *Bella* is frequently seen in north Galatia (RECAM: 230, 298). Parallels with the Celtic west are closer and the distribution strongly supports a Celtic Galatian origin.

Canimana- Katranç (RECAM: 298) *Bella* is seen.

Büyükyağcı-Katranç (RECAM: 346) *Aueior* is a Celtic name.

Büyükyağcı-Katranç (RECAM: 347) According to Zgusta (KP 444 para 1325), the name *Rentomenos* is perhaps Celtic but Dressler (1967: 152) disagreed.

Büyüknefes-Yozgat (Tavium) (RECAM: 418). The cult of Zeus *Tavianus* was taken abroad to Napoca and Apulum in Dacia by Galatian settlers.

Büyüknefes-Yozgat (Tavium) (RECAM: 440). *Zoublos* may be a Celtic name according to Zgusta. (KP 180 para 393)

Haydarbeyli-Yozgat (RECAM: 498) *Saton* is very common in the Celtic west. *Sato* and *Deiotaros* are both Celtic names. The name of *Amyntas* is also seen in the inscription.

Baykuşbeli (Dallopoze) Strobel (2002) recorded this inscription, which gives the Celtic name *Aurelius* worshipping *Zeus Bussurigos* dating 218 AD, and *Domnus* and *Domne*. (Strobel, 2002: 16)

Ekkobriga and *Vinda* are also Celtic place names. There are also a few inscriptions with Celtic elements found around Ankara (Mitchell, 1977) and these are; one in a Roman bath Titianus Bouyiwvoç (*Bouyiwvoç* a Celtic name) *bogio* is already familiar in Galatia from the Tolistobogii tribe and from the name *Adobogiona*, used in Galatian tetrarchic families in the 1st century BC. (no: 9) In another Roman bath a 13 year old scholar with similar cultural aspirations can be seen in a 2nd century descendant of Galatian tetrarchs, (no:18) another in a Roman bath. Alternatively he might be descended from a freedman of the Galatian tetrarchs called Amyntas, probably the famous Amyntas whose kingdom Augustus inherited in 25 BC. (no: 32)

4.5.2 Celtic words and Celtic Names found in Galatia

The tribal and place names that have been found are given below:

- **Tribal Names**

Algoasges, Gaulish tribe brought across Hellespont by Attalus in 218 BC

Ambiouti, tribe near Gordion connected with Tolitobogii and Voturi

Ocondianoï, possible Celtic name from a Byzantine boundary stone east of Pessinus

Tectosages, tribe around Ancyra, one of the three main Galatian tribes

Toaiopoi, unknown tribe of 1st c. BC

Tolatoaioi, may be part of another tribe

Tolostobogii, most western of Galatian tribes, occupied area around Pessinus.

Toutbodiaci, associated with Tectosages

Trocnades, lived on northwest of Pessinus mentioned in 4th c. BC

Voturi, tribe near Gordium associated with Tolistobogii and Ambitouti

- **Place Names:**

Acitorigiaco, lies to west of Ecobriga on Peutinger table

Arteniacon, northwest of Ancyra

Drynemeton, Strabo stated that long before him Galatian tetrarchs and judges met in a great council here. Dry, may refer to oak tree nemeton = sacred place

Ekkobrogis, town between Ancyra and Tavium

Icotarlon, northwest of Ancyra

Ipetobrogen, on road between Lagania and Mnizus in northwestern Galatia

Xinoria, a 1st c. BC fort on Armenian border

Tymbris, Tembrogis modern Porsuk , only possible Celtic river name in Anatolia

Toloscario, a town of Tolistobogii in southwest Galatia

Vindia, name given by Galatians to old Phrygian capital of Gordion.

In addition to above listed tribal and place names, Celtic words and names found in Galatia are listed in Appendix B and all tables are derived from Freeman (2001), Strobel (2002) and RECAM.

4.6 Model Construction, Verification, and Evaluation

Mitchell maintained that Galatian sites tended to be located in isolated positions outside the main cultivated valleys and off the main lines of communication, while having easy access to both of these. The hills and plains were not discovered since, clearly, the chieftains who had their strongholds at Karalar, Karaviran, Sirkeli and elsewhere would have drawn their immediate livelihood from nearby plains but, for reasons of security, they chose to settle in relatively isolated areas (Mitchell, 1974: 426) and remote spots. Occupation cannot have ceased in the valleys but they have left no recognizable traces. (Mitchell, 1974: 427)

It is traditionally assumed that Galatians were nomads, but they arrived in Anatolia in order to settle, as the Tolistobogii name indicates. It can also be assumed that they were engaged in trade, and there is evidence that they were involved in the slave

trade, but there should be more to their activities than this. Their relation to these roads may have been mainly to control the route but they obviously must also have been active in trading activities. One of the main proposals of this thesis is that the Galatian settlements were located on the ancient trade roads and this hypothesis was tested statistically in the following pages of this study.

4.6.1. Main Steps of Model Construction and Verification

In this part of the thesis, this hypothesis has been tested. The names/locations used in this investigation were those that were definitely identified in researches and the literature. The geographical locations of these names were then determined as exactly as possible by means of Google Earth. However, it was challenging because it was observed that, in some cases there was more than one location for the same name and conversely, different names for the same location were used by different author/s. It was also seen that some of the locations were referred to according to locally used terms, but these could not be found in the records. Another criterion was that only Galatian locations that were related to the Galatian period, which is the time under survey in our research, were taken into consideration. In achieving this, those accepted by Mitchell and Strobel as Galatian forts were preferentially accepted. In addition, the locations referred to in Vardar's survey as those where Hellenic ceramics were found were included, since the Galatian and Hellenic periods overlap in Anatolia.

In Appendix C, the distances between the sites have been measured and also the relation of the sites with the trade road classified, but it should be borne in mind that the total number of sites and their location is unknown and will probably remain so indefinitely. The lack of documentation and excavation has limited the data essential in order to answer all these points, but the distributions of sites according to each other and to the trade roads have been analyzed.

The data relating to the ancient trade roads were obtained through the same literature research. During this literature review, milestones pertaining to these roads were

found and the roads were determined by joining these milestones as was detailed in Section 4.3.2.

The locations under investigation were built along the ancient roads in order to control the roads, which provided security or payment/taxes, and they were at one-day walking distances from each other, which was tested as an acceptable distance. In the overall settlement plan, it was expected to find settlements located close enough to one another and on the trade roads. By their 'location on the trade roads', the aim was that the locations right on the road or within visible distance according to the local topographic conditions should be within a confidence interval. As pointed out in Chapter 3 in the La Tène period, the sites were constructed near the roads and rivers and the distances between them ranged from 20 to 30 km, and similar distances are also expected in Anatolia.

Two assumptions would strengthen the verification of the hypothesis. The first is that the Galatians established the settlements with a view to trading and controlling the trade roads rather than for mercenary, raiding or tax activities. The second assumption is that, if the hypothesis were false, the trade roads would not be one of the main parameters determining the location for the site settlements. Considerations such as soil fertility for agricultural purposes, mineral deposits, climatic conditions, and pressure from neighboring tribes would then become of primary importance.

The coordinates of settlements and ancient roads were obtained by using 'www.earth.google.com'. Some coordinates are approximate due to the lack of information but the nearest measurements have been taken. The next step was to measure direct (bird's eye) distances, disregarding geographical (topographical) conditions. Surface measurement was not possible due to geographic (topographic) obstacles (high peaks, no existing road etc.) and the large number of settlements.

The distances (d_1, d_2, \dots, d_n) among all the settlements (n_1, n_2, \dots, n_n) were calculated with a matrix $n \times n$. The nearest settlements to every settlement were determined. The average for the nearest distances for each settlement was determined and the median value found.

Using the smallest number of saddle points between the milestones of the ancient roads, these were connected in as straight a line as possible. With this preference, the deviation was assumed negligible by minimizing the deviation from the original path of that period.

If the settlements could be related to more than one of the ancient roads drawn on the map, the distance to the nearest road was used in the calculations.

The mean and median values of the minimum distances to the ancient roads (d_1, d_2, \dots, d_n) drawn on the map were determined separately. The mean and median values were obtained for both the minimum distances among settlements (d_1, d_2, \dots, d_n) and among settlements and the roads. (d_1, d_2, \dots, d_n) The reason for this was the extreme values in the samples taken. In order to partially avoid and decrease the effect of the extreme values, the median values rather than the means are possible to use.

Variance analysis was carried out for the distances between the settlements and between settlements and ancient roads drawn on the map. In the analysis, a 99% confidence interval (CI) was used in order to partially tolerate the error arising from using bird's eye rather than topographical measurements. Although this preference decreased precision levels compared to the confidence interval of 95%, it enabled a zone containing a greater number of settlement points to be defined.

In the calculation of the CIs used for the distances, the 'one tail test' was used in preference to the 'two tail test'. The reason for this was that there was a constant minimum limit ($d_{\min}=0$) for all the smallest distances between the settlements and the ancient road drawn on the map. The standard deviation σ and variance s were calculated separately, however variance s was preferred in the calculations. The reason was that the sample size was greater than 40 and Excel MS automatically gives the calculations for this size as s .

The sample size for the distances among settlements and for distances among settlements and the ancient roads was 61.

Of the 61 sites, Gümüşhacıköy, Beyözü, Podanala-Kuşaklı, Çadır, Tikmen, Ceritkale, Kınık-Hamamdere, and Ortakişla were eliminated from the model because they are out of the range of the trade roots and confidence interval mentioned in this study. These forts are regarded as border forts and are connected to different road beyond the area of this research.

Gümüşhacıköy: This is found in the north east at a border point where there are no other known Galatian settlements. It is difficult to explain this isolated location.

Beyözü-Euchatia :French (1984: 124) pointed out that the site is located northeast of Tavinium on the Tavium - Amaseia road. However, the present research is limited to the Ancyra-Tavinium road.

Podanali-Kuşaklı and **Alişar** located on the south east, in contrast, are connected with the Tavium-Caesarea but not with the Ancyra-Tavium road.

Ceritkale: Strobel (2002) described Ceritkale as an important stronghold of the Trocmii. It is equidistant to the Ankara-Tavium and Ankara-Parnasus roads at the fork of these roads but is at a considerable distance from both.

Kınık-Hamamdere, in the north west of Galatia, is close to Güzelçiftlik, Karalar, Asartepe and Tizke. However, it is the furthest from the Juliopolis-Ancyra ancient road and it may be connected to a possible road between Ancyra and Flaviopolis.

Tikmen and **Ortakişla** in the south west of Galatia are moderately far from the Ancyra-Pessinus road. However, they seem to be connected with the Pergamum-Tacina road, which French described. (1984:124)

The test results are shown below. The 61 settlements whose coordinates were determined, the 53 settlements that were accepted for inclusion in the calculations, and the subgroups of forts, forts with settlements and settlements with their distances to the ancient roads were summarized in Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Distance of Locations to Ancient Roads

	Average Distances to Ancient Roads (km)	Median of Distances to Ancient Roads (km)	St. Dev. Of Distance to Ancient Roads (km)
61 settlements (all included)	16.85	8.90	26.27
53 settlements included	10.41	8.83	8.52
Forts (33)	12.33	10.00	8.08
Forts with Settlements (13)	7.45	3.48	9.47
Forts with Settlements (13) plus Forts (33)	11.11	8.88	8.58
Settlements (5)	6.55	6.57	7.69

Analysis of the table indicates that the 53 settlements are at a mean distance of 10.4 km and a median distance of only 8.8 km from the ancient roads. (less than or equal to two hours walking distance for adults)

Five settlements were very close to the ancient roads (mean≈median≈6.5 km). Another result which supports the closeness of the settlements to the ancient roads was the closeness of the forts with settlement group (mean=7.5km). The median values especially were surprisingly small (median≈3.5km). Although the forts were situated at approximately twice the distance of settlements to the roads, they were still within a few hours walking distance (mean≈12km, median≈10 km) and were located on hill tops at such a distance that the ancient roads could be seen and controlled. It is quite obvious that, whether the settlements were fortified or not, they were clearly closer to the ancient roads. The relative nearness to the roads is in turn settlements, fortified settlements and forts.

The analysis of the standard deviation shows that the forts are more widely distributed than the settlements. The hypothesis that some of the forts were built for the defense of borders and would thus be situated far from the ancient roads is therefore mathematically supported.

On detailed examination of the distribution of the 53 settlements around the ancient roads, (Table 4.2) it is observed that, of the 53 settlements, approximately 62% (33 settlements) are located throughout the length of the ancient roads along a 0-10 km wide band. In a 0-20 km band, this percentage increases to 85%, and in a 0-30 km band the percentage is 100%. In the 0-10 km band, most of the locations are forts with settlements (85%). Settlements (60%) and forts (51%) follow in frequency. When the band is widened to 0-20 km, all the settlements (100%) are found within this band. Also, forts with settlements (85%) and forts (82%) are within the band. As can be seen in the table, 83% of all the locations are situated within this band and there is a very high concentration of sites around the ancient roads. When these results are compared with the results of the European sites, it is seen that the Galatian sites are closer to the trade roads, indicating tighter control.

Table 4.2 The Distribution of Locations around Ancient Roads.

	Distance Range	Number of Place in Range	Percentage %	Cumulative Percentage %
61 settlements (all included)	0-10 km	33	54.10	54.10
	11-20 km	13	21.31	75.41
	21-30 km	8	13.11	88.52
	31-40 km	1	1.64	90.16
	more than 40 km	6	9.84	100.00
53 settlements included	0-10 km	33	62.26	62.26
	11-20 km	12	22.64	84.91
	21-30 km	8	15.09	100.00
	31-40 km	0	0.00	100.00
	more than 40 km	0	0.00	100.00

	Distance Range	Number of Place in Range	Percentage %	Cumulative Percentage %
Forts (33)	0-10 km	17	51.52	51.52
	11-20 km	10	30.30	81.82
	21-30 km	6	18.18	100.00
	31-40 km	0	0.00	100.00
	more than 40 km	0	0.00	100.00
Forts (33) plus Forts with Settlements (13)	0-10 km	28	0.61	0.61
	11-20 km	10	0.22	0.83
	21-30 km	8	0.17	1.00
	31-40 km	0	0.00	1.00
	more than 40 km	0	0.00	1.00
Forts with Settlements (13)	0-10 km	11	84.62	84.62
	11-20 km	0	0.00	84.62
	21-30 km	2	15.38	100.00
	31-40 km	0	0.00	100.00
	more than 40 km	0	0.00	100.00
Settlements (5)	0-10 km	3	60.00	60.00
	11-20 km	2	40.00	100.00
	21-30 km	0	0.00	100.00
	31-40 km	0	0.00	100.00
	more than 40 km	0	0.00	100.00

The results of analysis of sites according to their distances to each other are summarized in the following Table 4.3. The mean distance of 53 settlements from their nearest settlement is about 13 km and the median distance is close to 11 km. The difference between the mean and median values is due to the long distances of some measurements. The shortest distance among forts is an average of 18 km, among forts with settlements 28 km, and among settlements 26 km. However, as the function of forts, whether with or without settlement, is the same the nearest distance of all 46 forts to each other is an average of 15 km with a median distance of 12.7 km. The short distances between forts can be explained by the need for keeping the area under control. When all the locations are taken into consideration, the shortest

average distance is 13 km, indicating that they are very close to each other. However, it can be stated once more that the ancient road relationship is the main consideration in choosing the location of a site.

Table 4.3 Distances of Locations to each other

	Average Distance to Nearest Location (km)	Median of Distances to Nearest Location (km)	St. Dev. of Distance to Nearest Location (km)
61 settlements (all included)	20.20	11.47	27.38
53 settlements included	13.05	10.57	9.87
Forts (33)	17.95	13.87	14.27
Forts with Settlements (13)	27.79	20.90	23.36
Forts with Settlements (13) plus Forts (33)	14.71	12.72	9.97
Settlements (5)	25.89	26.81	19.06

On detailed examination of the distribution of the 53 settlements to each other, (Table 4.4) it is observed that, 54% (33 settlements) are located in 0-10 km wide band. In a 0-20 km band, this percentage increases to 75%, and in a 0-30 km band the percentage is about 89%.

Table 4.4 The Distance Range of Locations to Each other

	Distance Range	Number of Place in Range	Percentage %	Cumulative Percentage %
53 settlements included	0-10 km	33	54.10	54.10
	11-20 km	13	21.31	75.41
	21-30 km	8	13.11	88.52
	31-40 km	1	1.64	90.16
	more than 40 km	6	9.84	100.00

Both analyses; 53 settlements distance to ancient roads and to each other support the idea that these locations were built along the ancient roads in order to control the roads, to provide security and/or obtain payment/taxes and they were at one to two hours walking distances from each other. Thus, there seems no reason to consider that soil fertility for agricultural purposes, mineral deposits, climatic conditions and pressure from neighboring tribes were of primary importance to Galatians in selecting suitable locations for their settlements. The results strongly indicate that their choice of location depended on their proximity to the trade routes in order to control them. Proximity of forts with settlements to the trade roads might suggest that these settlements were designed for army and/or trade functions.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The idea of Celticity is still of cultural and political importance and a presumption of deep roots of unbroken traditions and 'spirit' going back over 2,000 years is a fundamental feature of Celtic culture. The studies on 'Celts' in Europe seem to have a strict correlation with the political and ideological agenda at any time. Ancient Celts have been incorporated into nationalist histories and ideologies during the last two centuries, and when Nationalism was understood as a modern phenomenon in the 18th century, culture appeared to be synonymous with 'nation'. It is not surprising that the Welsh, Scots, and Irish only come to describe themselves as Celts in the 18th century using the similarities of original languages traced as evidence for the cultural unity. The Celtic roots of the Irish, Welsh, Scots, Cornish, Manx, and Bretons are widely taken for granted. The French traditionally regard themselves as direct descendants of the powerful Celtic Gauls, and Spain is also incorporated into nationalist histories and ideologies.

Recently in Europe, the Ancient Celts have been used in the political arena as the prehistoric ancestors of the European Union, being especially useful as they are not associated with any specific nation. The ideology underlying the identity of modern Celts is altogether a different story, but in this study the question was who the Ancient Celts were. This allowed the formation of a basis for better understanding the origins and cultural identity of the Galatians of Anatolia in order to evaluate the archaeological findings, which have been recorded. At a time when Turkey is being considered as a candidate for membership in the European Union, some evidence of Celtic roots in Anatolia may in future form a historical link between Europe and Turkey and show that they are not so different after all.

The Celts are not only in a state of change with relation to time and place but also there are regional differences even during the same period. Consequently, these time-location changes have been taken into consideration at every phase of this study.

There are European-wide similarities and local variations in the archaeological records in time and space in the quest to identify the 'Celts' and their culture. Also, there were many opinions as to how the sources should be handled while interpreting in the present, looking back into the past.

While some authors deny the existence of a Celtic culture group, maintaining that this is an instrumentalist approach, other research workers go so far as to propose a Celtic imperialism, and that any attempt to demolish the Ancient Celts is interpreted as an attack on modern Celtic identity. In modern ethnicity, self-identification is an essential element in defining an ethnic group. There is very little evidence that these people thought of themselves as a unified group called Celts, rather than members of regional tribal units. Caesar noted that the Gauls identified themselves as Celts and some ancient authors considered themselves to be of Celtic or Gallic origin e.g. Marital, Sisonius Appollinaris, and Trogus Pompeius, indicating that there was some self-identification at that time.

The main statement of this thesis is that identity is not a static, inherent quality, but a dynamic and contingent aspect of the existence of people. Societies create their identities in relation to their interactions with others. The question of identity in Iron Age Europe and Anatolia should be approached in the context of changes that people experienced in the social world in which they lived. Therefore, cultural identity should be regarded as a pattern continuum. In such a continuum, no clear origin in either space or time can be determined for the entity called Celtic. As Chapman, Collis and James pointed out; they are not an ethnic group in the modern sense of the term. Rather, they can be described as small groups of people in contact with each other in some way, each having their own social structure which may be similar to or very different from the others. Furthermore, this structure is not constant, as it changes in place as well as in time. Collis states that there were some groups in the past who were labeled Celts, all having multiple identities, which can vary according to context, and so great care should be taken in considering the Celtic identity. Thus,

in this research, Celts are regarded as existing in all areas that spoke the Celtic language, which is an indicator that they had some interaction, bringing with it a common understanding that showed itself in archaeological evidence as a settlement pattern. However, it should be borne in mind that widespread archaeological material does not necessarily mean that there was a unified cultural identity, but instead may indicate religious rites. As Frey (1991) points out, a baseball cap and Coca Cola bottle do not make someone an American and conversely, people of the same group may not use the same material. In this research, the cultural identity of the Celts/Galatians was analyzed through the evidence of the classical texts, archaeological findings, language, and settlements.

One of the most important aspects of Celtic evidence is that the exact time of Celtic existence in central Europe is still not known, therefore the study begins from the time of their appearance in the oldest classical texts in 800 BC, with Homer and Hesiod. This date coincides with the Hallstatt period in European history. Also, the Hallstatt and following La Tène periods have been investigated in this thesis since the La Tène period is isochronic with the Galatians. The origin of the Celts was not questioned but rather, their ‘socio-structure’ traits and impact on the space were investigated. However, archaeological evidence could give different interpretations or be evidence of different social structures from the inferences in theoretical models. For this reason, the characteristics of those areas and people referred to as ‘Celtic’ in the first written documents were reviewed, as well as the archaeological evidence.

From the archaeological evidence in Europe, it is clear that the Celts established defended settlements, mastered the art of iron working and mining and traded with the classical world. It has been established that one of the earliest types of calendars was developed by the Celts. Furthermore, at the time of the Roman invasion, roads and bridges had already been built, so Romans merely used and improved upon already existing transport facilities. (Megaw and Megaw, 2001; Simon, 2005: 19) Their language also had a major impact, particularly in the area called Gaul and was used until the 6th century AD in Galatia.

In this research, the various aspects of Celtic occupation in Europe have been studied in order to allow evaluation of the archaeological evidence of Anatolia, and a more

complete perspective of the Galatians. The evaluation of the characteristics of Celtic identity and culture in Europe as the mirror image led to identification of the similarities in the Celtic culture of Anatolia. Emphasis on their habitat and settlement patterns in both regions was the main theme of this thesis, since this period has been mainly disregarded in Anatolian cultural history until the present time.

During the Iron Age, both of people and objects than most studies suggest much greater mobility. Researchers have focused on migration, trade, and Mediterranean imports, but these are only part of a complex pattern of interaction. Any identity during this period should be regarded with this mobility in mind.

From this standpoint, an attempt was made to trace the Galatian settlement pattern in Anatolia, keeping in mind that the Celts had an inherent diversity in themselves. Trying to trace their identity in Anatolia, which has been host to many cultures throughout early history, was very challenging. In spite of the social and political influence that the Galatians had in Anatolia during the Hellenistic and Roman period, relatively little information has been available regarding them. The primary reason for the lack of information about the Galatians is the origin of available written literature. Since Celtic culture had a basically oral tradition, the main source of information has been the Greek and Roman writers who were generally prejudiced against the Celts in their capacity as an enemy or dependency. Therefore, Galatians have been described as barbarians in the Greek and Roman inscriptions of war times when they were fighting against them. The other reason for the lack of information is the paucity of archaeological evidence due to limited excavation and hence documentation in the area until the recent decade.

The evidence suggests that the 3rd century BC, when Celts arrived in Anatolia, corresponded to the La Tène culture in Europe and is used synonymously with the Celts. By this time the Celts in Europe had established defended settlements, mastered the art of iron working and mining and had begun to trade with the classical world. When they arrived in Anatolia from their homeland, they settled in the old Phrygian region around Ankara, Tavium and Pessinus, which was little touched by Hellenistic civilization and was subsequently named Galatia, but their boundaries are not clear and changed within time. They brought with them their own distinctive

style of political and social organization, elements of their own material culture and, in particular, their own language. Indeed, their language is the most important evidence that can be traced. It was spoken in the area up to the 6th century AD and Freeman (2001) traced 120 words, most of which are personal names.

Changes occurred in Galatian social formation over a period. The most documented periods are the Hellenized and Roman periods, but the time of initial emergence of the Galatian, settlement is not clear. This is not only due to limited excavations but also to their occupation mainly with agriculture, thus living in open areas and farms instead of enclosures. The region also did not need massive defense forts, because there seems to have been no real threat to them until the Romans arrived in 186 BC. The architecture of tombs indicates that they belonged to a northwest Anatolian tradition and not the Celtic west. The Galatians never produced great *oppida*, as did the tribes of central Europe. The central and eastern Gaulish tribes who began to build large hillforts and establish the beginnings of an urbanized culture in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC were simultaneously evolving systems of government suggesting an early state rather than a tribal society.

While investigating the Galatians, it was logical to think that, especially when they first came to Anatolia, they would have brought materials from their homeland. These would obviously be their prestige goods, their techniques, culture, and language. Therefore, it was expected that some of these indicators of their existence in the area would be found. However, the archaeological material evidence is weak, and only a few La Tène arm/leg rings, fibula, twisted gold torques, and so-called Galatian pottery bear evidence of their link with La Tène culture. Furthermore, most of this evidence came from outside the Galatian area between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. This may be because Galatians were in various armies employed as mercenaries, so they were dispersed throughout Hellenistic Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean. In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the situation changed and they were settled in the Galatian area, but the material evidence is again very weak, probably because they were under the influences of surrounding cultures and by that time they had adapted to the new environment. It can be suggested that, when they arrived and settled in the old Phrygian area, the native culture did not seem very strange, because they met with a very similar culture, religious rituals, tumulus

practice, and some of their craft art. Therefore, they were not really assimilated but found an environment to fit easily into. The similarities between Hallstatt period design and Gordion materials are very exciting, being signs that they may have found major similarities with their homeland when they arrived in the Phrygian region.

It is difficult to identify a separate cultural entity of one specific group in an area of multicultural settlement, as French (1998) put forward very clearly. He emphasized that reconstruction of cultural and material identity based on the epigraphic and literary sources necessitates the supportive evidence of archaeological findings. When these are absent or scarce, it becomes difficult to reconstruct a definite pattern of settlement and cultural identity.

Phrygian and Galatian cultures have many common features in that they existed during Hellenistic domination. Phrygians migrated from Thrace, and their cultural pattern seems to be remarkably similar to that of the Celts. An example of this would be the Gunderstrup cauldron (fig. 3.20) depicting Celtic armor and deities wearing torques, while the details derive from Thracian art and the use of silver, which is rare among the Celts. The continuity of this interaction in Anatolia is seen in the Royal burials from Gordion in Phrygia, and the large cauldron and nine large belts which had been hung on the wall of the burial chamber has a parallel with the tomb at Hochdorf regarding the dinner set of nine platters and drinking horns. Perhaps a common tradition existed between Celts in Thrace and in Anatolia. This could have been the result of long standing cultural interaction and exchange of ideas and technology, which had been active even before they migrated.

There is no evidence of violent conflicts following the arrival of the Galatians in Phrygian territory. This contrasts sharply with the image of the barbaric Celts in the Hellenic world, when they attacked temples and cities. Hellenistic culture and religion were possibly very different from their own and understanding of this way of life required a long and painful period before the Celts became Hellenized. In the attack on Delphi, the Celts destroyed the temples and ridiculed the religious beliefs. However, this attitude and behavior was not documented in either the literature or archaeological evidence during the period of settlement in the Phrygian region. The Anatolian, Phrygian-Luwian population originally resident in the area was

undoubtedly many times larger than the groups of Celts arriving to conquer and settle in the land. On crossing into Asia Minor, they may have totaled a maximum of 30,000, although armed warriors made up the major proportion of them. Equally, it must be assumed that they suffered considerable losses in fighting up to 268 BC, and finally were faced with warriors leaving to become mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies. In consequence, gradual assimilation into the indigenous population would be a natural development. At the same time, they preserved many of their old traditions and adapted the old to the new lifestyle. During the late period, the worship of Zeus was in parallel with use of the Celtic name for the deity- Breginogion. The figurine of Cybele found in Gordion had a torque painted on later, adapting it to Celtic tradition. It seems that they were gradually losing touch with their homeland and adopting the beliefs of the native population, while most probably retaining continuous traces of their own religious tradition.

The Galatians seemed to have formed only a loose confederation, and local or religious ties were often given far more importance. This was observed in the conflict between Attis, a priest at the temple of Cybele, who complained to the king of Pergamon about his brother Arioirix, the tetrarch of the Tolistobogii, who upheld Celtic traditions.

Due to the differences in cultural material in various regions, it may be concluded that no uniform unchanging pattern can be imposed on European Celtic culture. Instead, a pattern continuum changing locally in time and space should be considered. This is also true for the Galatian culture.

In the 60s of the 2nd century, the process of settling in existing villages, as well as the rather rarer occurrence of founding new settlements, of which Ekkobriga is a special example, must have been completed. The ancient place names recorded for Galatia with its largely Anatolian tradition of names, illustrate the strong continuity of settlement extending over the 1st millennium, which stands out in many current studies.

In general, Anatolian Celt/Galatians, as their counterparts in Europe, have been regarded as nomads who were involved in attacking and looting other settled tribes.

However as the name Tectosages -‘search for home’- indicates, and the location of their forts along the transport routes implies, they were a settled people who had migrated for unknown reasons in search of a suitable location in which to settle. The sites have been classified under four groups similar to Caesar’s, and although the *oppidum* is not found in Anatolia, there are fortified settlements. The unfortified settlements, which Caesar calls village, are found also in Anatolia and although very few have been found there is evidence of farm sheds. However, Caesar did not mention the hill forts, which are very common in Anatolia. There are also similarities between La Tène and Galatian settlement patterns in Europe and Anatolia. In the La Tène pattern, the settlements were constructed near the roads and rivers and the distances between them ranged from 20 to 30 km. The model used in this study confirms that, of the 53 sites, 2/3 of them are placed in a network where the average distances among them and to the ancient roads are 13 and 11 km respectively (Appendix C). Again, of the 53 sites, the distances among them are having a median of 11 km. The criterion of a one-day walking distance from each other was the primary consideration in the formation of a settlement pattern, or in other words; both settlement patterns in Anatolia and Europe are identical, with a negligible difference within the above-mentioned range. One of the reasons for the smaller distances between settlements could have been the geographical conditions in Anatolia, where vision is restricted by many hills.

Another factor affecting the distances was the fact that the system of communication was probably superimposed on the road network of previous inhabitants, and in most cases, they used the existing forts and settlements, adding new sites when necessary. The network, which developed from this, was therefore a tighter system with closer relations. The hill forts were located in order to control the trade road. Some hill forts guarding the main trade roads and territorial borders seem to have been surrounded by small settlements, possibly because they were involved in trade or because the army was located there.

The settlements in the agricultural areas were larger. Furthermore, the agricultural settlements seem to have had no need for fortification walls, indicating that there were no major conflicts or outside threats, and that the area was efficiently protected. These settlements, with the exception of Ballıkuyumcu, are not located on the main

trade roads; however, they are not very far from them although hidden. Their social structure may be regarded as a complex tribal system or partly early state organization, which seems to correspond to this settlement pattern.

The relatively short distance between the sites confirms that they were near the transport roads, not simply to raid or impose taxes, but also in order to control the roads to carry out peaceful commercial interaction with each other. In other words, Celts/Galatians of Anatolia were not nomads, but were settled social groups organized around the production and trading of goods. Although the social organization was loosely formed, they were sufficiently close physically to allow interaction.

In this attempt to understand the pattern of the Galatian settlements there have been many difficulties in collecting the data, firstly because, they had an oral rather than a written tradition and secondly because the archaeological data was very limited due to the limited number of excavations and documentation. The recent surveys have been the main source, which gave a very general view, but in order to understand the settlement pattern, as detailed data as possible is needed. In order to make a classification of the settlements the information of the surveys should include the size and clear chronological range and information about how and where the artifacts were found should be clearly documented. This information will help to identify the regional and local centers together with villages and farm sheds. With intensive surveys, new sites and information about farm sheds may be found in the study area.

The environment in which the sites are located is also important. The climate, the sources, and types of all vegetation are important for understanding their lifestyle, which may also help to interpret the social structure. In the light of future surveys, more information will be found for further understanding of the settlement pattern of Galatians, who had great and varied impacts on the urbanization history of Anatolia during the 278- 25 BC period, just before the Roman domination of the region.

Throughout this study, it has become clear that many unanswered questions remain and the full picture has not yet been established. For example, the question of whether the settlement pattern continued during the Roman era is one of the subjects

to be investigated. In order to achieve a more comprehensive pattern of Galatian culture, further intensive surveys and detailed documentation of the whole region involving multidisciplinary collaboration is necessary.

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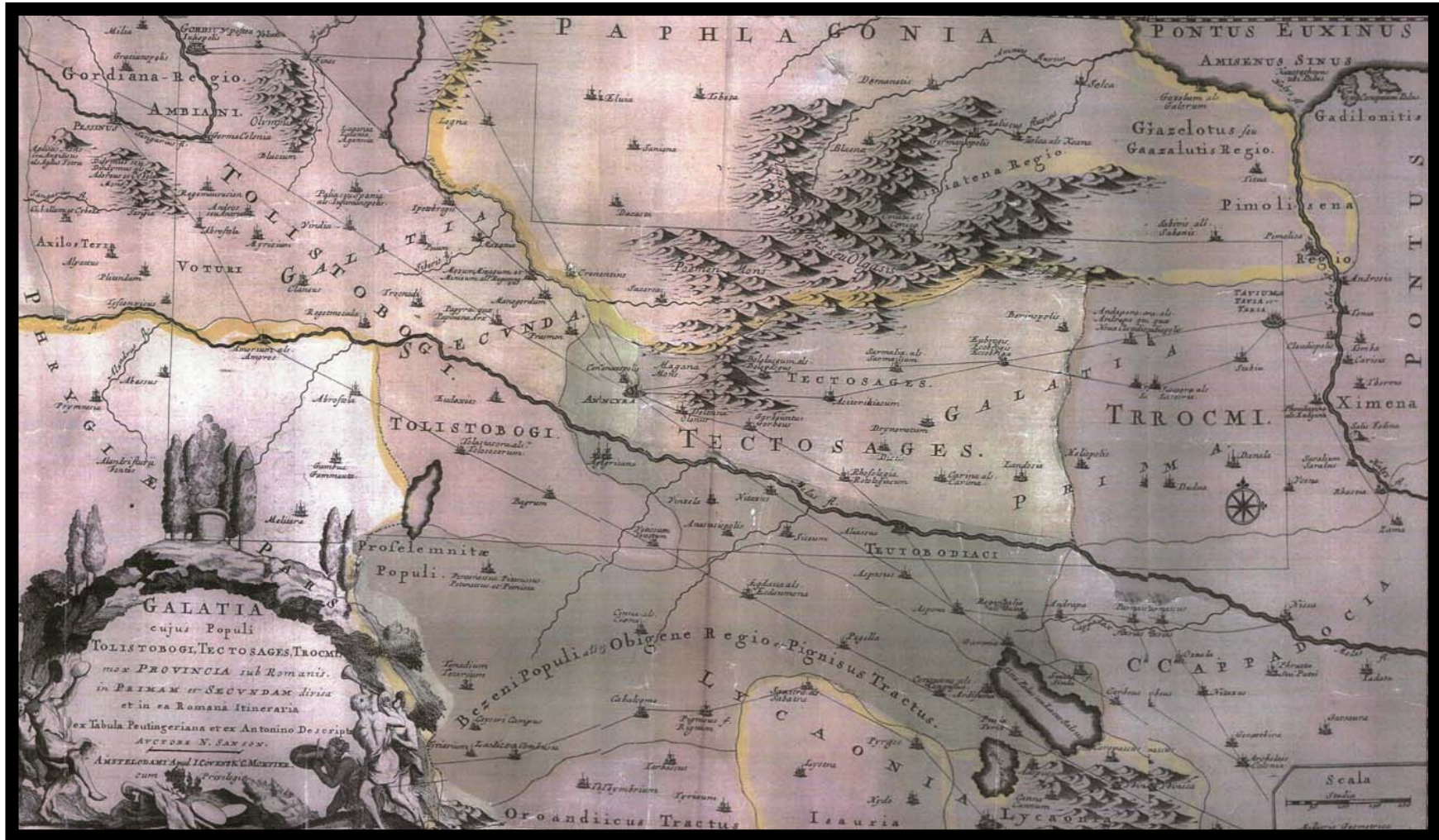
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APPENDIX A

Figure A.1: Map of Samson (1652)



APPENDIX B

Table B.1 Elements of Galatian Names

aco	Suffix, RECAM: 208
ad-Adobogiöna	Prefix?
alb-Albiorie	world
ambi-Amboaunioz	around, about
astes	Suffix RECAM: 286
ate-Atettorie	with intensive force
bit(u)-Bitorie	world of living things
bog-Goliobogioi	battle, fight or contest
boud-Boudoriz	victory, excellence
brig-Brigatos	high, exalted
brog-Brogoris	district territory
catu-Catomaros	battle, fight or contest
clad-konklados	Prefix, RECAM:139
devo- Deietaros	god, divine
dunno-Domneclöu	world, deep
epo-Epone	horse
gnato-Bitognatos	born, knows
maro-Brogimaaros	great
rig-, rix- -rex Adiatorix	king
sag-Algoasges	seek
sin-Sentamos	old, ancient
taro-Brogitarus, Deiotarus	bull
tecto- Tectomaros	journey
teuto-Ambitouti	tribe, people

Table B.2 Celtic Words in Galatia

adarce	horn of an animal (Irish)
bardoi	singing poets or bards
carune or carnion	Galatian trumpet
coccus	berry of kermes oak
ditriton or embrecton	'with wine'
droüggoz	nose
leiousmta	type of armour
marca	horse
tascoz	peg, badger
uz	kermes oak

Table B 3: Personal Names

Adiatorix, a Galatian of Pessinus in 1 st century BC, son of tetrarch Domnecleios?
Adobogiona, 1 st century BC Celtic woman , daughter of Deiotarus and wife of Aeitas given in RECAM:60
Albiorix son of Ateporie and priest of Augustos in Acyra AD 23/24
Aldorigos, name on a vase
Aloiserix, brother of Attis high priest of Cybele at Pessinus
Ambosunios, Galatian woman ,daughter of Amboaunios
Antessikopos given in RECAM: 115, 170
Arde, Galatian woman from Smyrna daughter of Amboaunios
Arteinos,Celtic origin from north west Anatolia
Artiknos, father of Mossnos priest of Augustus at Ancyra in AD 28/29
Ateporix, Galatian tetrarch in late 1 st century BC father of priest Albisrix
Aueiör , from a northern Phrygian inscription
Barballas given in RECAM: 41
Bella- Bellas given in RECAM: 230, 296, 298
Bepolitanos , young Galatian spared from execution by Mithradates
Bertama given in RECAM: 258
Bitocus, Galatian leader ally of Mithradates
Bitognatos, from inscription of Roman period
Biturix, a bronze coin from near the Black Sea
Blesamius, envoy of Deiotarus the Great to Rome in 44 BC
Bocerex, from an inscription near Ancyra
Boisagoros, man's name from a stele in northwest Galatia
Boudoris, on a gravestone from Hadra in Egypt
Boussourigios given in RECAM: 204
Brigatus, name of both Galatian ruler and father of tetrarch Amyntas
Brogillaros, man's name on a gravestone at Ephesus

Table B 3: Personal Names (contd.)

Brogitarus, 1 st century BC ruler of Trocmi, ally of Deiotarus the Great
Brogitarus, name found at Prynne on a gymnasium graffiti
Brogoris given in RECAM :19
Bussurigos given in RECAM:203
Camma, priestess of Artemis, widow of tetrarch Xinatos.
Cantuix, name on 3 rd or 2 nd century BC from Gordion or Vindia
Cassignatus, Galatian leader slain in 171 BC
Catumaros, on a gravestone from Galatia, also given in RECAM: 52, 163
Cauaras, from a root cavar common in Gaulish names
Centaretus, 3 rd century BC Galatian mercenary , killed Seleucid king Antiochus
Chiomara , wife of Gilitian Tolstobogii chieftain Ortiagon, avenged her enemy
Combolomarus, 2 nd century BC Galatian chieftain of Trocmi or Tectosages
Connacsrex, Galatian military commander of Mithriadates 73 BC
Contiacos, possibly Celtic name from eastern Phrygia
Deiotarus, ally of Rome leader of Galatia, Cicero defended him in a trial, also his son's name.
Deiotarus, king of Pamphlygonia great grandson of Deiotorus the Great
Deiotatian, Legion raised by Deiotarus the Great
Domne, daughter of Octaviane and Katomarus
Domnecleios, father of tetrarch Adiatorix
Domneion, father of Deiotaris
Domnilaus, tetrarch of Tectosages fought against Caesar in 48 BC CENTURY
Duteutos son of tetrarch Adiatorix ruled from 30's BC to 30's AD
Ebourena, daughter of Ebourmnos
Epone, woman's name from Ancyra during Roman era, also name of Celtic horse goddess (known in Spain and Balkans)
Eporedsrix, tetrarch of Tosiopoi executed by Mithradates in 86 BC
Eposogntus, chieftain of Tolistobogii, met for peace talks with Manlius.

Table B 3: Personal Names (contd.)

Gaixatsrix, Galatian tribal leader in 180 BC
Gaizatodiasus, father of Augustan priest Amyntas in late 1 st century BC ,name has Celtic base and Greek ending
Gaudatos given in RECAM: 113
Gaulotus, chieftain of Tectosages in 189 BC
Konkarztiakiton given in RECAM : 208
Konklados given in RECAM: 139
Leonarius, one of the two leaders of Gaulish migration to Anatolia in 278/7 BC
Lutarius, one of the two leaders of migration into Anatolia in 278/7 BC
Meliginna, wife of Zmerton also given in RECAM: 29
Onsotex from a memorial stone at Doghan Oglu
Orgiago, 2 nd century BC leader of Tolistobogii, husband of Chiomara
Rentomenos given in RECAM: 347
Sato, Saton given in RECAM: 498
Sauolibrogenos given in RECAM: 191
Sentanos, name on many inscriptions in Ancyra as late as AD 218
Sinarix, Sunarix , two leaders father of Deiotarus murderer of Sinatas
Sinatas, Galatian tetrarch, husband of Camma
Tactomaros , name found east of Ancyra and in city itself given in RECAM: 218 and Bosh, 147
Tavianus, given in RECAM: 418
Vastex, given in RECAM: 41
Zaublos given in RECAM: 440
Zmerton, husband of Meliginna
Zmertorix, from legend magistrate in Eumeneia

Table B 4: Divine Names

Bussurigios, Galatian epithet for Zeus may be introduced by Celtic immigrants
Xouolbrognnos, from an altar from Kızılcahamam dating to AD 157
Temrogeios, used with the Phrygian god Mas
Ouidieinos, on an altar with a relief of Anatolian god Attis or Men . Associated with town of Vindia

APPENDIX C

Table C.1 Distance of Galatian Locations to the Nearest Ancient Roads

Name of the Location	Distance to the Nearest Ancient Road (km)
Adaören, Beypazarı	5,58
Alişar	12,29
Asarkale, Yenikayı,	3,30
Bağlum, Keçiören	4,53
Ballıkuyumcu	1,11
Basrikale	9,05
Belçarsak, Bala	8,90
Beyözükale, Çorum	93,30
Büyükyazlı, Kırıkkale	13,80
Çağlık	15,39
Çanakçı, Polatlı	21,95
Çanlı, Ayaş	10,55
Ceritkale, Keskin	42,85
Çitaklar Bükü, Mihalıççık,	21,37
Dikmen, Beypazarı	4,35
Edige, Kaletpe, Elmadağ	10,00
Ekkobriga	0,94
Eymir	2,00
Fırınkaya	1,42
Gavurkale	24,88
Girmeç, Polatlı	6,37
Gordion	1,67
Gümüşhacıköy, Amasya	59,10
Güzelcekale	28,03
Hattuşa Boğazkale	22,26
Hisarlıkaya, Asarkaya,	11,22
Hisartepe, Bağlum,	7,44
Hisartepe, Hacituğrul,	3,48
İncekale, İncek,	2,60
Kaletpe, Kuşçualı	22,26

Table C.1 Distance of Galatian Locations to the Nearest Ancient Roads (contd.)

Name of the Location	Distance to the Nearest Ancient Road (km)
Kaletepe, Şabanözü,	0,42
Karacakaya,Somonhisar	8,80
Karalar (Blucium)	23,72
Karaviran, Ceğirköy	14,44
Kargalıkale, Polatlı	18,73
Kartankale, Tahirler,	4,98
Kepenekçikale,	7,84
Kınık, Hamamdere	35,50
Odunboğazi	1,65
Oğulbey, Gorbeous	2,65
Oltan, Kefirçeşme	11,99
Ortakışla	80,30
Pessinus, Ballıhisar	0,60
Podanala, Kuşaklı	52,00
Saray, Mihaliççık	26,20
Selametlikale,	8,85
Şeyhali, Polatlı	25,72
Sirkeli, Hisarmağarası	12,07
Tabanoğlu Peium	5,81
Tacettin, Beypazarı	7,40
Taşlıkale	14,15
Tavion Büyüknefes	0,60
Tikmen, Örenkaya,	161,05
Tizke, Gökçebeş, Ayaş	3,00
Tolgeri, Polatlı	13,98
Ulus, Ankara	0,60
Yakupabdal, Çankaya	11,40
Yalıncağ, Ankara	3,10
Yalnızçam	14,44
Yaylalıözü, Bala	5,17
Yeşildere, Hasanoglan	4,19

APPENDIX C

Table C.2 Nearest Distances of Galatian Locations to Each other

Name of the Location	Distance of Nearest Location	Distance (m)
Adaören, Beypazarı	Tabanoğlu Kalesi, Peium	480,38
Alişar	Podanala, Kuşaklı	78.235,75
Asarkale, Yenikayı,	Tizke, Gökçebeş, Ayaş	13.871,72
Bağlum, Keçiören	Hisartepe, Bağlum, Keçiören	3.404,83
Ballıkuyumcu	Hisarlıkaya, Asarkaya, Polatlı	12.153,59
Basrikale	Gordion	14.281,79
Belçarsak, Bala	Yaylalıözü, Bala	26.147,29
Beyözü, Çorum	Gümüşhacıköy, Amasya	38.636,71
Büyükyazlı, Kırıkkale	Ekkobriga	24.089,20
Çağnık	Gordion	19.655,39
Çanakçı, Polatlı	Basrikale	18.983,77
Çanlı, Ayaş	Tizke, Gökçebeş, Ayaş	11.474,12
Ceritkale, Keskin	Kaletepe, Kuşçualı, Elmadağ	42.546,36
Çitaklar Bükü, Mihaliççik,	Yalnızçam	8.512,41
Dikmen, Beypazarı	Adaören, Beypazarı	11.347,64
Edige, Kaletepe, Elmadağ	Yeşildere, Hasanoğlan	9.611,31
Ekkobriga	Büyükyazlı, Kırıkkale	24.089,20
Eymir	Yalıncağ, Ankara	6.152,02
Fırınkaya	İncekale, İncek, Gölbaşı	1.278,75
Gavurkale	Hisarlıkaya, Asarkaya, Polatlı	18.540,95
Girmeç, Polatlı	Tolgeri, Polatlı	8.518,68
Gordion	Basrikale	14.281,79
Gümüşhacıköy, Amasya	Beyözü, Çorum	38.636,71
Güzelcekale	Taşlıkale	19.657,27
Hattuşa, Boğazkale	Tavion Kalesi, Büyüknefes	20.902,35
Hisarlıkaya, Polatlı	Ballıkuyumcu	12.153,59
Hisartepe, Bağlum,	Bağlum, Keçiören	3.404,83
Hisartepe, Hacituğrul,	Kaletepe, Şabanözü, Polatlı	9.208,49
İncekale, İncek, Gölbaşı	Fırınkaya	1.278,75
Kaletepe, Kuşçualı,	Edige, Kaletepe, Elmadağ	10.053,54
Kaletepe, Şabanözü,	Hisartepe, Hacituğrul, Polatlı	9.208,49
Karacakaya, Somon Hisar	Saray, Mihaliççik	28.242,34
Karalar (Blucium)	Çanlı, Ayaş	23.845,54

APPENDIX C

Table C.2 Nearest Distances of Galatian Locations to Each other (Contd.)

Name of the Location	Distance of Nearest Location	Distance (m)
Karaviran, Ceğirköy	Yeşildere, Hasanoğlan	59.357,14
Kargalıkale, Polatlı	Şeyhali, Polatlı	7.574,76
Kartankale, Tahirler, Beypazarı	Tacettin, Beypazarı	2.797,48
Kepenekçikale, Selametli,	Selametlikale, Kırıklıkale,	5.864,27
Kınık, Hamamdere	Çanılı, Ayaş	28.504,07
Oduñoğazi	Yaylalözü, Bala	22.473,85
Oğulbey, Gorbeous	Eymir	15.197,64
Oltan, Kefirçeşme	Tolgeri, Polatlı	9.726,26
Ortakışla	Güzelcekale	58.451,86
Pessinus, Ballıhisar	Karacakaya, Somon Hisar	28.245,32
Podanala, Kuşaklı	Tavion Kalesi, Büyüknefes	64.437,78
Saray, Mihaliççık	Çıtaklar Bükü, Mihaliççık, Narlı	10.793,17
Selametlikale, Kırıklıkale,	Kepenekçikale, Selametli,	5.864,27
Şeyhali, Polatlı	Kargalıkale, Polatlı	7.574,76
Sirkeli, Hisarmağarası	Hisartepe, Bağlum, Keçiören	9.063,85
Tabanoğlu Kalesi, Peium	Adaören, Beypazarı	480,38
Tacettin, Beypazarı	Kartankale, Tahirler, Beypazarı	2.797,48
Taşlıkale	Selametlikale, Kırıklıkale,	7.587,38
Tavion Kalesi, Büyüknefes	Hattuşa, Boğazkale	20.902,35
Tikmen, Örenkaya, Beyazkaya	Pessinus, Ballıhisar	190.937,59
Tizke, Gökçebeş, Ayaş	Çanılı, Ayaş	11.474,12
Tolgeri, Polatlı	Girmeç, Polatlı	8.518,68
Ulus, Ankara	Yalıncağ, Ankara	10.568,81
Yakupabdal, Çankaya	Eymir	13.362,64
Yalıncağ, Ankara	Eymir	6.152,02
Yalnızçam	Çıtaklar Bükü, Mihaliççık, Narlı	8.512,41
Yaylalözü, Bala	Oduñoğazi	22.473,85
Yeşildere, Hasanoğlan	Edige, Kaletpe, Elmadağ	9.611,31

APPENDIX D

Dictionary:

Armorica or Aremorica; is the name given in ancient times to the part of Gaul that includes the Brittany peninsula and the territory between the Seine and Loire rivers, extending inland to an indeterminate point and down the Atlantic coast. The toponym is based on the Gaulish phrase *are-mori* "on/at [the] sea", made into the Gaulish place name *Aremorica* (*are-mor-ika*) 'Place by the Sea'.

Armoric; something belonging to Armorica or Armoricans

Fibulae; A fibula (Latin "to fasten") is an ancient brooch. Technically, the Latin term fibulae refers specifically to Roman brooches, however, the term is widely used to refer to brooches from the entire ancient and early medieval world. Unlike modern brooches, fibulae were not only decorative; they originally served a practical function: to fasten clothes, including cloaks. Fibulae replaced straight pins that were used to fasten clothing in the Neolithic period and Bronze Age. In turn, fibulae were replaced as clothing fasteners in the middle ages by buttons. Their descendant, the modern safety-pin, remains in use today.

Fossa graves; fossa is the Latin word for *ditch* or *trench*. Fossa grave is a shaft tomb or shaft grave is a type of burial structure formed from a deep and narrow shaft sunk into natural rock. Burials were then placed at the bottom. A related group of shaft and chamber tombs also incorporate a small room or rooms cut laterally at the base of the shaft for the placing of the dead.

The practice of digging shaft tombs was widespread but the most famous examples are those at Mycenae in Greece which date to between 1650 BC and 1500 BC.

Hellenistic; The term Hellenistic itself is derived from Ἑλλήνη (Héllēn), the Greeks' traditional name for themselves. It was coined by the historian Johann Gustav Droysen to refer to the spreading of Greek culture and colonization over the non-

Greek lands that were conquered by Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC. There has been much debate about the validity of Droysen's ideas; leading many to reject the label 'Hellenistic' at least in the specific meaning of Droysen. However, the term Hellenistic can still be usefully applied to this period in history and no better general term exists to do so.

Hellenisation; is a term used to describe the spread of Greek culture. It is mainly used to describe the spread of Hellenistic civilization during the Hellenistic period following the campaigns of Alexander the Great of Macedon. The result of Hellenization, elements of Greek origin combined in various forms and degrees with local elements, is known as Hellenism.

Hillfort; a hill fort is type of fortified refuge or defended settlement, located to exploit a rise in elevation for defensive advantage. They are typically European and of the Bronze and Iron Ages. The fortification usually follows the contours of the hill, consisting of one or more lines of earthworks, with stockades or defensive walls, and external ditches.

Hyperborean; In Greek mythology, according to tradition, the Hyperboreans were a mythical people who lived far to the north of Thrace. The Greeks thought that Boreas, the North Wind, lived in Thrace, and that therefore Hyperborea was an unspecified region in the northern lands that lay beyond Scythia. Their land, called Hyperborea or Hyperboria — "beyond the Boreas" — was perfect, with the sun shining twenty-four hours a day.

‘Murus Gallicus’ Murus Gallicus or Gallic Wall is a method of construction of defensive walls used to protect Iron Age hillforts and oppida of the La Tène period in Western Europe. The technique was described by Julius Caesar in his Commentaries on the Gallic Wars.

The distinctive features are: earth or rubble fill, transverse cross beams at approximately 2 ft (60 cm) intervals, longitudinal timbers laid on the cross beams and attached with mortise joints, nails, or iron spikes through augured holes, outer stone facing, cross beams protruding through the stone facing.

Oinochoe, oenochoe, also spelled oinochoe, (Ancient Greek: οἰνοχόη) is a wine jug and a key form of Greek pottery. There are many different forms of Oenochoe. The earliest is the *olpe* (ὀλπή) and has an S-shaped profile from head to foot.



Figure: Trifoil oenochoe, wild-goat style, ca. 625 BC–600 BC, Louvre

Road-opus; Name of a Roman built road, technique or a method or a style connecting road elements. The Romans primarily built roads for their military. Their economic importance was probably also significant, although wagon traffic was often banned from the roads to preserve their military value. At its largest extent the total length of the Roman road network was 85,000 kilometers (53,000 mi). This allowed a dispatch to travel a maximum of 800 kilometers (500 miles) in 24 hours by using a relay of horses.

The roads were constructed by digging a pit along the length of the intended course, often to bedrock. The pit was first filled with rocks, gravel or sand and then a layer of concrete. Finally they were paved with polygonal rock slabs. Roman roads are considered the most advanced roads built until the early 19th century. Bridges were constructed over waterways. The roads were resistant to floods and other environmental hazards. After the fall of the Roman Empire the roads were still usable and used for more than 1000 years.

Situla; a situla is a bronze vessel of the ancient European Iron Age. It originates from the Etruscans, but is also found in the Hallstatt region of Middle and Southeast Europe.

Also ivory can be use to make situlae, such as in the "Situla of Gotofredo" and others of the 10th century art (Italy, Germany). Situlae are used as vessel to carry consecrated water (Christian-Catholic).

Soter; derives from the Greek epithet *σωτήρ* (sōtēr), meaning a saviour, a deliverer; initial capitalised *Σωτήρ*; fully capitalised *ΣΩΤΗΡ*. Has been used as: a title of God: Poseidon Soter any heroized leaders of Hellenistic dynasties.

Tetrarchy; Tetrarchy (Greek: "leadership of four [people]") can be applied to any system of government where power is divided between four individuals. The term is usually used to refer to the tetrarchy instituted by Roman Emperor Diocletian in 293, which lasted until *c.* 313. The establishment of the Tetrarchy usually marks the resolution of the Crisis of the 3rd century and the recovery of the Roman Empire

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